

PRE-ARYAN ORIGINS OF THE PAKISTANI LANGUAGES

The author of this monograph is a veteran of World War II who joined the Indian Army in 1941 and retired in 1974. At the time of independence of Indo-Pak sub-continent in 1947 he had to abandon the land of his forefathers and take refuge in Pakistan.

In his private life he is an ardent student of ancient history. It was about 40 years ago that during these studies he became inquisitive to know what language was spoken by the people of the Harappan Civilization. In his quest, he embarked upon the comparative study of his mother tongue Punjabi (the present language of the Harappan region) with that of Indo-Aryan, as well as the non-Aryan primitive languages of India i.e., the Dravidian, Munda and the Tibeto Burman.

These studies led him to the conclusion that the ancient non-Aryan languages of India especially the Dravidian group have played a basic role in the formation and development of the main languages of the northern subcontinent.

The author stresses that the existence of wide range of the Dravidian element in present day Pakistani languages is a living proof that in some by gone days the proto-Dravidian languages held sway in the Indus Valley, and the main languages of Pakistan have their roots deep in the pre-historic and the pre-Aryan times. The present monograph is the result of the author's 40 years keen and laborious studies in this field.



ORIENT RESEARCH CENTRE
TARIQ COLONY, MULTAN ROAD LAHORE - 25
PAKISTAN

Price: Rs. 150; \$ 15; pounds 10

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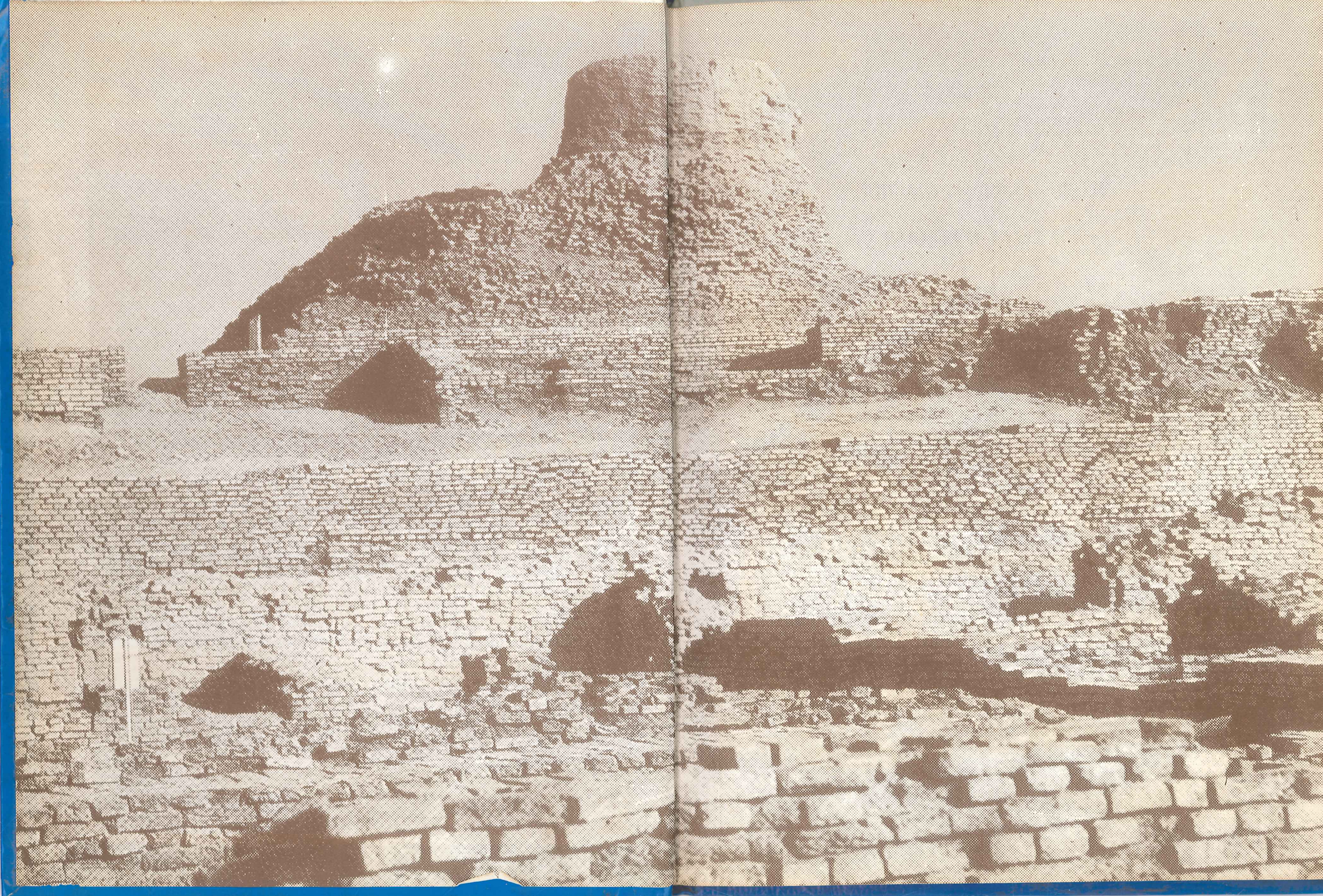
AINUL HAQ FARDIKOTI



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(A Monograph)

Ainul Haq Faridkoti

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First Edition: November, 1992
Number of copies: 500
Price: Rs. 150, US\$ 15, Starling Pounds 10
Composed by: Rhotas Books
Printed by: Nafees Printers, Lahore
Jacket designed by: A.H.F

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**This humble work
is dedicated**

to

Muhtarma Benazir Bhutto Sahiba

for

**devoting her life
for the uplift and wellbeing**

of the

downtrodden and suffering masses of Pakistan

CONTENTS

DEDICATION	7
ON THE TRACK OF THE HARAPPAN LANGUAGE	9
PAKISTANI LANGUAGES: THE GUARDIANS OF THE HARAPPAN HERITAGE	16
PRE-ARYAN HERITAGE	20
INDO-CHINESE VESTIGES	23
MUNDA HERITAGE	31
DRAVIDIAN ROOTS	37
BIASED OUTLOOK	64
DATIVE CASE: THE BONE OF CONTENTION	66
REFERENCES	79
BIBLIOGRAPHY	82
INDEX	

TABLES

1.	COMMON HERITAGE	18
2.	MUNDA ELEMENT	35
3.	DRAVIDIAN ROOTS-I	55
4.	DRAVIDIAN ROOTS-II	58

MAPS

1.	IMMIGRATION ROUTE OF MUNDA PEOPLE IN INDIA	27
2.	IMMIGRATION OF MUNDA PEOPLE IN PAKISTAN	29
3.	DRAVIDIAN MIGRATION TO INDO-PAK SUCONTINENT	60
4.	DRAVIDIAN MIGRATION ACCORDING TO M.S. ANDRONOV	62

ABBREVIATIONS

BENG	: Bengali	MAR	: Marathi
BI	: Bhili	MU, MUN	: Mundari
BR, BRH	: Brahui	NK	: Naiki
DR, DRV	: Dravidian	PAL	: Pali
GA	: Gadba	PAR	: Parji
GO	: Gondi	PB	: Punjabi
GUJ	: Gujrati	PRA	: Prakrit
H	: Hindi	SI, SIND	: Sindhi
KA, KAN	: Kannada (Kanarese)	SK, SKT	: Sanskrit
KO	: Kota	SANT	: Santhali
KOD	: Kodagu	TA	: Tamil
KOL	: Kolami	TE, TEL	: Telugu
KUR	: Kurukh	TO	: Toda
MA, MAL	: Malayalam	TU	: Tulu
MALT	: Malto	U, URD	: Urdu
D.E.D.	A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary		
S.D.E.D.	Supplement To The Above		

On The Track of the Harappan Language

(By way of Introduction)

The introduction of the Sanskrit language to the West by Sir William Jones (1748-1794) and later its popularization by Max Muller (1823-1900) gave a new impetus to the linguistic research in Europe. Although the speakers of the Indo-European languages belonged merely to a linguistic group and had nothing to do with any racial traits but nevertheless the French scholar Gobineau (1816-1882) coined the term of Indo Aryan Race and asserted of its superiority over all the other races of the world. The German scholars to advance their own claim of supermacy took cue from Gobineau, trumpeted it from every rostrum and took it as their national motto. Under this false impression the German scholars devoted their whole lives to the study of Indo-European languages and thus though failed miserably in establishing the superiority of the so called Nordic Race, nonetheless due to their devotion and enthusiasim they succeeded in producing some very remarkable results in the field of linguistic research. Due to their overzealousness sometimes they and their other European counterparts reached at some quite unbalanced conclusions. The claim of the Aryan origins of the languages of northern part of the

subcontinent is one of these unfounded assertions which is still fervently supported by the Western scholars.

Being an ardent student of the ancient history especially that of Indo Pak subcontinent I was keenly interested in the question of Harappan language. Time and again the question arose in my mind that after all what language was spoken by the highly civilized people of pre-historic Pakistan. To appease my inquisitive mind at first I tried to tinker with the pictographic seals bearing that enigmatic script which if could be deciphered in any way can unfold the mystery of Harappan culture including its language. Like the so many futile efforts by the scholars all around the world I also could not make any headway in this respect. Then it flashed in my mind that after all the language or languages which were spoken 5,000 years ago in the Indus Valley could not just vanish in the thin air without leaving any trace. I was sure that some how the vestiges of that ancient language can be traced in the present day languages of Pakistan.

It can be easily deduced that the language which was spoken in the Harappan streets in the pre-Aryan times could not in any way be an Aryan language. It can also be safely concluded that the Harappan language might have related to any non-Aryan primitive linguistic group. Naturally the Dravidian and the Munda languages remained as the main contenders in this respect. Keeping this in view about 35 year ago I commenced studying the literature pertaining to the vocabulary and the grammatical structure of the Dravidian and the Munda languages.

To my amazement I found that the modern languages of the northern sub-continent such as Urdu Hindi, Punjabi and Sindhi etc. do not only contain enough Dravidian and Munda elements in their vocabularies but at the same time their grammatical structure totally differs from Sanskrit or any other Aryan language and have close affinities with Dravidian languages thus clearly refuting the long standing claim of the western scholars of their Aryan origins.

As a result of these studies in 1959 I undertook to contribute a series of articles titled "sarmaya-i-Urdu" (treasure trove of Urdu vocabulary) to a local Urdu weekly magazine 'Lail-O-Nahar' (day and night) in which I discussed about the etymology of some exotic Urdu words. In one of these articles (dated August 2, 1959) I pointed out that the Munda and the Dravidian element as found in the Urdu language is not a borrowed one but in fact it has been inherited from their pre-historic ancestors.

In 1960 I contributed an article in Punjabi titled "Punjabi Zaban diyan jarran" (the roots of the Punjabi language) which appeared in a local Punjabi monthly magazine "Punjabi Adab" (Punjabi literature) in its October 1960 issue. In this article I had shown that the Punjabi has mainly originated from the Dravidian language which was prevalent in the Indus Valley in pre-historic times.

I further developed this subject and penned an article in Urdu language titled "Wadi-i-Sindh men dravdi zaban ki baqqiyat" (Dravidian vestiges as found in the modern

languages of the Indus Valley) which appeared in a Urdu quarterly "Urdu Nama" Karachi in its October 1961 issue, in which I had discussed about the Dravidian element as found in the various Pakistani languages especially Urdu, Punjabi and Sindhi. This article was appreciated by various schools of thought in Pakistan and consequently was adjudged as the best research work for the year by the Board for advancement of Literature, Lahore and thus was bestowed with the literary award.

I continued my studies in this respect and commenced to contribute articles on this subject to the literary magazines. One of these articles "Harappa se pehle" (pre Harappan period) is worth mentioning in which I had discussed about the Munda and the Indo-Chinese elements as found in the Pakistani languages.

Finally in 1972 the collection of my articles was published in the book form titled "Urdu Zaban ki qadeem tarikh" (ancient history of the Urdu language). This book was also adjudged as the best research work for the year by the Writers Guild of Pakistan and on this account was awarded the Daud Literary Prize. Three editions of this book have so far been published.

The present monograph is the culmination of these studies.

It will not be out of place to take a birds eye view of the efforts being made by other scholars to trace the language as spoken by the ancient people of the Indus Valley.

It is a strange coincidence that the research upon the Harappan script was commenced much earlier than the actual discovery of the Harappan civilization itself. During the Babylonian excavations in the mid nineteenth century some round seals were discovered which were totally foreign to Mesopotamia. Even at Harappan site some rectangular seals with exotic inscriptions were found as early as 1856 by Alexander Cunningham and were published by him in 1875.

During the excavations of various Harappan sites in the northern part of the sub-continent approximately 2,000 pictographic seals have so far been recovered. According to different interpretations the inscriptions as found on these seals consist of from 300 to 500 signs.

As previously the Egyptian hieroglyphics, Babylonian cuneiform, Mayan pictographs and Hittite inscriptions had been deciphered by the hard labour of the scholars which ultimately led to the study of these languages and consequently some yawning gaps in the ancient history of the world were successfully filled up. Thus at the discovery of the Harappan pictographic seals the scholars all over the world concentrated their whole energies towards deciphering these new enigmatic inscriptions. Unfortunately no Rosetta stone, nor any trilingual or bilingual inscription has so far been discovered in this region which could help in decodifying these pictographic seals. This longstanding uncertainty provided a free for all game, every scholar was free to interpret these signs according to his own whims and so reach the goal of his own liking. Some scholars claimed that these Harappan signs are identical with Egyptian

heiroglyphics others asserted their affiliations with Hittite inscriptions; there were claims of their affinities with Etruscan, Sumerian, Elamites, Dravidian, Indo Aryan, Arabic and even such a far fetched place as Easter Islands.

The latest development in this field are the attempts made by Asko Parpola and associates from Finland to decipher the Harappan script by utilising the computer technology. They had commenced their efforts in 1969 and are still working on the problem. Although they have not so far been succeeded in their efforts but nevertheless on account of their persistent studies they have concluded that the language pertaining to this script belonged to Proto Dravidian thus affirming my claim as made in 1959. Likewise the Russian scholar Yuri Knorozov on the basis of his independent studies have also reached at the same conclusion.

Mr. A.L. Basham while summing up the efforts made by scholars in the last seventy years to decipher the Harappan script has said in his monumental work "A Cultural History of India":

"The most important and recent statement of this position (i.e. the prevalence of the Dravidian language in the Indus Valley) is that of Asko Parpola and others, in three special publications of the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies. While the authors have indeed amassed much evidence in support of their view, we are of course still none the wiser. It should be added that similar conclusion have been reached by Russian scholars, led by Yuri Knorozov, also using computers". Finally Mr. Basham has concluded :-

"The Mohenjo-daro seals are not yet read, nor is their language or its structures identified for certain."

The main reason for the failure of the scholars to solve the linguistic enigma of the Harappan civilization is that they took it for granted that the pictographic seals are the only key which could solve this problem thus they continued to concentrate their all out efforts towards the decipherment of the Harappan inscription and failed to tap any other avenues. If only they would have paid a small percentage of their efforts to seek the solution in the comparative study of the local languages then surely they would have succeeded since long in solving this problem.

At the end I will like to thank Mr. Zaffar Iqbal of Coopera, Lahore for his constant guidance and encouragement during the preparation of my previous works as well as this monograph. My thanks are also due to Mr. M.H. Rumi the renowned artist and designer of Pakistan for his expert suggestions for the general lay out of the book and designing its jacket.

Ainul Haq
Faridkoti
Lahore,
20th January, 1991

Pakistani Languages

The Guardians of the Harappan Heritage

It is a pity that so far no serious efforts have been made to trace the origins and development of the modern Pakistani languages, especially their ancient heritage from the Harappan civilization have been totally ignored.

No doubt quite a number of sham efforts have been made not to trace the origins of these languages but rather to link them by hook or by crook with the Aryan stock. The authors of this theory have not so far been able to produce any convincing proof in support of their point of view, nevertheless this false claim was trumpeted from every rostrum with such regularity and vehemence that the people were misled to believe it as a biblical truth and thus no body dared to raise his voice against this false claim.

Most probably the present monograph is the first effort of its kind where an unbiased study of the subject matter in its true perspective has been made.

Keeping in view the common phonetic system, analogous grammatical structure and the identical basic vocabulary of the main Pakistani languages i.e. Urdu (cum Hindi), Punjabi and Sindhi it can be easily deduced that these languages have sprung from a common source and the non-Aryan nature of these elements points out towards their pre-Aryan origins.

To elucidate the nature of the common heritage of the main Pakistani languages a list of some basic verbal roots is appended in the adjoining table as a sample. The similarity in the grammatical structure is discussed in some detail in the present text.

I have taken the Punjabi language as the main representative of the northern group of the languages for the reason that it has a long, unbroken and chequered history to its credit. It is the mother tongue of the majority of Pakistanis and its total adherents all over the world amounts to 120,000,000 people. Thanks to the migratory instinct of the people of the Land of Five Rivers the Punjabi is spread all over the face of the earth. More over Punjabi being my mother tongue I can discuss it with more confidence.

Although Pashto, Baluchi and other languages of northern Pakistan i.e. Gilgat Agency have equal claim to their antiquities and have nearby gone through the same process of development and thus have some common features with the main Pakistani languages but these do not fit in the present scheme and demand a separate treatment thus these have been left for a future discussion.

Table. 1

Common Heritage

A sampling of common and basic verbal roots into main Pakistani languages including Hindi.

English	Urdu/Hindi	Punjabi	Sindhi
to eat	khana (کھانا)	khavan (کھاون)	khaeno (کھاڻو)
to drink	pina (پيڻا)	pivan (پيوان)	piyano (پيڻڻ)
to wake up	jagana (جاڳڻا)	jagan (جاڳڻ)	jagano (جاڳڻ)
to sleep	sona (سونا)	sovan (سووان)	somhano (سمهڻ)
to sew	sina (سيڻا)	sivan (سيوان)	siyano (سيڻڻ)
to wash	dhona (دھونا)	dhovan (دھوان)	dhoeno (دھوڻڻ)
to die	marna (مرڻا)	maran (مرڻ)	marano (مرڻ)
to live	jina (جيڻا)	jivan (جيوان)	jiyano (جيڻڻ)

English	Urdu/Hindi	Punjabi	Sindhi
to remain	rahna (رهڻا)	rahan (رهڻ)	rahana (رهڻ)
to write	likhna (لکھڻا)	likhan (لکھڻ)	likhano (لکھڻ)
to read	parhna (پڙهڻا)	parhan (پڙهڻ)	parhano (پڙهڻ)
to keep	rakhna (رکھڻا)	rakhan (رکھڻ)	rakhano (رکھڻ)
to taste	chakhna (چکھڻا)	chakhan (چکھڻ)	chakhano (چکھڻ)
to open	kholna (کھولڻا)	kholan (کھولڻ)	kholano (کھولڻ)
to connect	jorna (جوڙڻا)	joran (جوڙڻ)	jorano (جوڙڻ)
to know	janana (ڄاڻڻا)	janan (ڄاڻڻ)	janano (ڄاڻڻ)
to ask	puchhna (پڇهڻا)	puchhan (پڇهڻ)	puchhano (پڇهڻ)
to flow	bairna (بهيڻا)	vaihan (ويهڻ)	vaihana (ويهڻ)
to swim	tairna (تيرڻا)	taran (ترون)	tarno (ترون)

Pre-Aryan Heritage

Naturally there might have been quite a number of languages and dialects in use in the pre-Aryan society of the Indus Valley, the study of the non-Aryan languages of the subcontinent does show that three major linguistic groups i.e. Mon-khmer, Munda and the Dravidian held the sway.

About 3500 years ago the Aryans along with their flocks of kine, sheep and goats arrived in the Indus Valley, the local people had nothing to grudge against them as there was ample space to accommodate the new comers. As the Indus Valley people belonged to an agrarian society the trouble arose only when the large flocks of the Aryan nomads began to forage their cultivated fields. Consequently an unending feud ensued between the intruders and the local people resulting in small skirmishes and sometimes in pitched battles. In any way the Aryans were not allowed to take foothold in this region and were continuously pushed out towards the south. The Aryans might have won some battles of local nature but final victory remained in the hands of the Indus Valley people who ousted the Aryan nomads from the legendary Sapta Sindhva (i.e. Punjab, Known to Aryans as the Land

of Seven Rivers) and drove them out towards the Gangetic Valley. It was in that region that the Aryans had some sigh of relief and thus laid down the foundations of their particular civilization over there.

The drive from the Indus river to the Gangetic valley was a slow and the lengthy process which was covered in hundreds of years. During this protracted move there were bound to be long pauses of respite providing opportunities for mutual cultural exchange between these warring sides. Secondly some factions of the Aryan nomads might have preferred to settle themselves and live peacefully with the local people which further strengthened the mutual cultural relations.

Under the overwhelming impact of the local society the new comers absorbed heavily from the local cultural traditions including linguistic elements, likewise the local languages also borrowed from the Aryan speech. Consequently two parallel languages evolved in the region i.e. Sanskrit and the Prakrits, the former was based upon the linguistic structure of the new comer Aryans but heavily infused with the local elements. With the passage of time its usage got limited to the extent of religious ceremonies and it survived only due to the patronage of the priestly class which preserved it to keep their own importance.

The Prakrit on the other hand was based upon the structure of the pre-Aryan languages particularly the Dravidian with borrowings from the Aryan speech. From the very beginning it continued to serve as the medium of expression by the common populace.

Present day languages of the northern subcontinent are the continuation of the early spoken Prakrits and are not originated directly or indirectly from the Sanskrit as is generally presumed.

Indo Chinese Vestiges

After their expulsion from the Indus Valley when the Aryan nomads crossed the river Yamuna and pitched their tents on the banks of a big river called by the local people as Ganga (گنگا) or (گانگ) they adopted the same name for that river and also commenced venerating the same as per local traditions.

In Sanskrit the word Ganga means in general 'a river' and also as the name of a particular river. In Punjabi language there is a cognate word "kaang" (گانگ) which stands for a river especially when it is in spate. The word Ganga points out towards its far eastern origins. In Chinese language there are the words 'kiang', 'giang' and 'kanqi' for the river. In Indo-Chinese as generally termed a Mon-Khmer group the river is called 'khong' thus we have the name Mae Nam Khong (mother water river) which has been contracted to (Me-Kong) (mother river) and has the same connotations as the 'Mai-Ganga' (mother river) of the Hindu traditions.

During the Vietnam war the constant mention in the news of names of certain villages and towns such as Dak Sut, Dak Poko, Duc Pho, Duc Hung etc. startled me, after all what does these names have common with the villages and towns of Punjab with similar names such as Dhok Khabba, Dhok Ratta, Dhok Hassu, Dhok Wazir etc. Thank god that Mr. Howard Sochurek in one of his articles 'Viet Nam's Montagnards' (1) solved my problem as it stated that; "Names of many rivers and hamlets include the word 'Dak', meaning both 'stream' and 'village'. Very same is the case in Punjab and other provinces of the Pakistan. Prior to any further discussion on this point let us have a look at the probable route of this word.

In Mon and Talaing, branches of the Mon Khmer group the word for water is *tok* and *dak* respectively, in Nicobari of Andaman island it is *dak*. In the Munda group of the central India the words used for water, stream and the hamlets settled upon the stream banks are *dak*, *dak* and *dag* (*داک، ڈاک، داگ*), thus we come across names of the localities such as Hotu Dag, Jamu Dag and Lahar Dag etc. (2) In Uttar Pardesh itself 'Gango *dak*' (*گنگو ڈاک*) stands for 'the water of the river Ganges'.

After this long journey we enter the Land of Five Rivers where the districts of Rawalpindi and Jhelum are full of villages and settlements with the names prefixed with '*dhok*' (as quoted above) which are located (or were located) on the banks of streams, rivulets or water ponds. In district Sialkot and adjoining areas there are streams and rivulets by the name of Dek and Deg (*ڈیک، دیک*). In Kashmir we come across settlements with

similar names such as Mundi Dhok, Panchal Dhok and Sultan Dhaki etc.

In lower Punjab and the Sind province the word '*dhok*' is changed to '*jhok*' (*جھوک*) with the same connotation thus we find villages and hamlets over there with such names as Jhok Baluchan, Jhok Harbans, Jhok Hussain and Jhok Sharif etc.

In NWF province there are quite a number of towns and villages with prefixes and suffixes of *dag*, *dage*, *dhaki* (*ڈاگ، ڈاگی، ڈھکی*) etc., such as Dag Ismail Khel, Dag Besud, Dagi Khel, Dhakki Hamid Khan etc. Like wise near the city of Kohat there flows a small stream named Landai Dag which means small stream (*Landai*, small; *Dag*; rivulet).

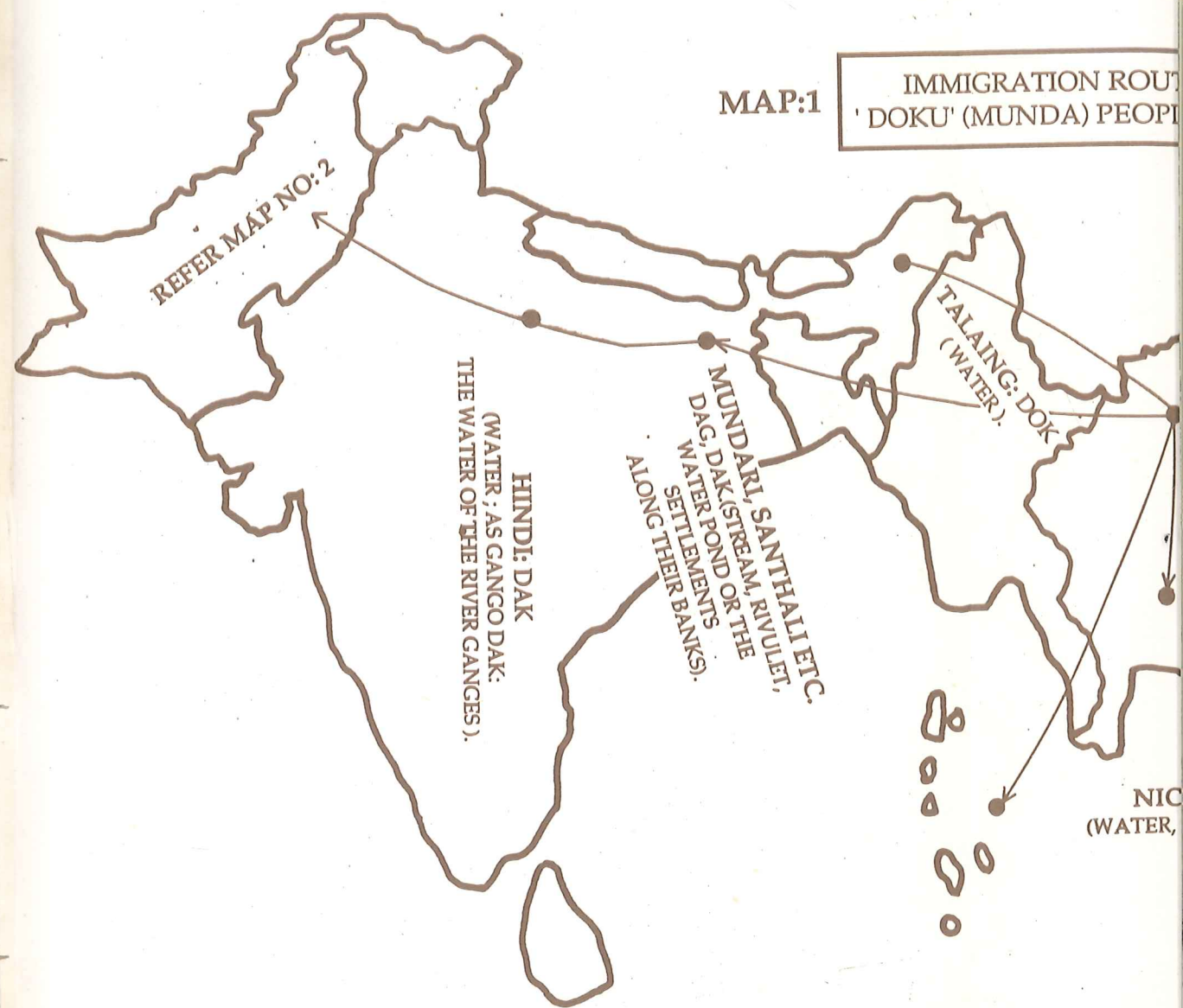
In Baluchistan province also there are examples of towns and settlements with akin names such as Bala Dhaka, Mukhtar Dhaka etc. In Qalat district there is a stream named Doku and there is a water spring with the name of Doku Khand means water pond (*doku*; water; *khand*; pond). (3)

Mr. T. Burrow in his monumental work 'The Sanskrit Language' has also cited some Sanskrit words of Mon-khmer origin such as *alabu*, *undru*, *tambula* etc. (4) Surely the Aryans had borrowed these words from the local speech and not directly from the Indo-Chinese itself.

The linguistic relationship between Indo-China and Punjab does not end here quite a number of other such examples can be cited which is a separate subject.

The above discussion does show that in some remote rather the most remote period the people of Mon-Khmer origin were spread all over the eastern as well as northern part of Indo-Pak subcontinent and have left its mark on the linguistic structure of this region. A thorough study of this linguistic akinship can shed new light on the migration and counter migration of early man in Asia.

LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS OF THE HARAPPAN

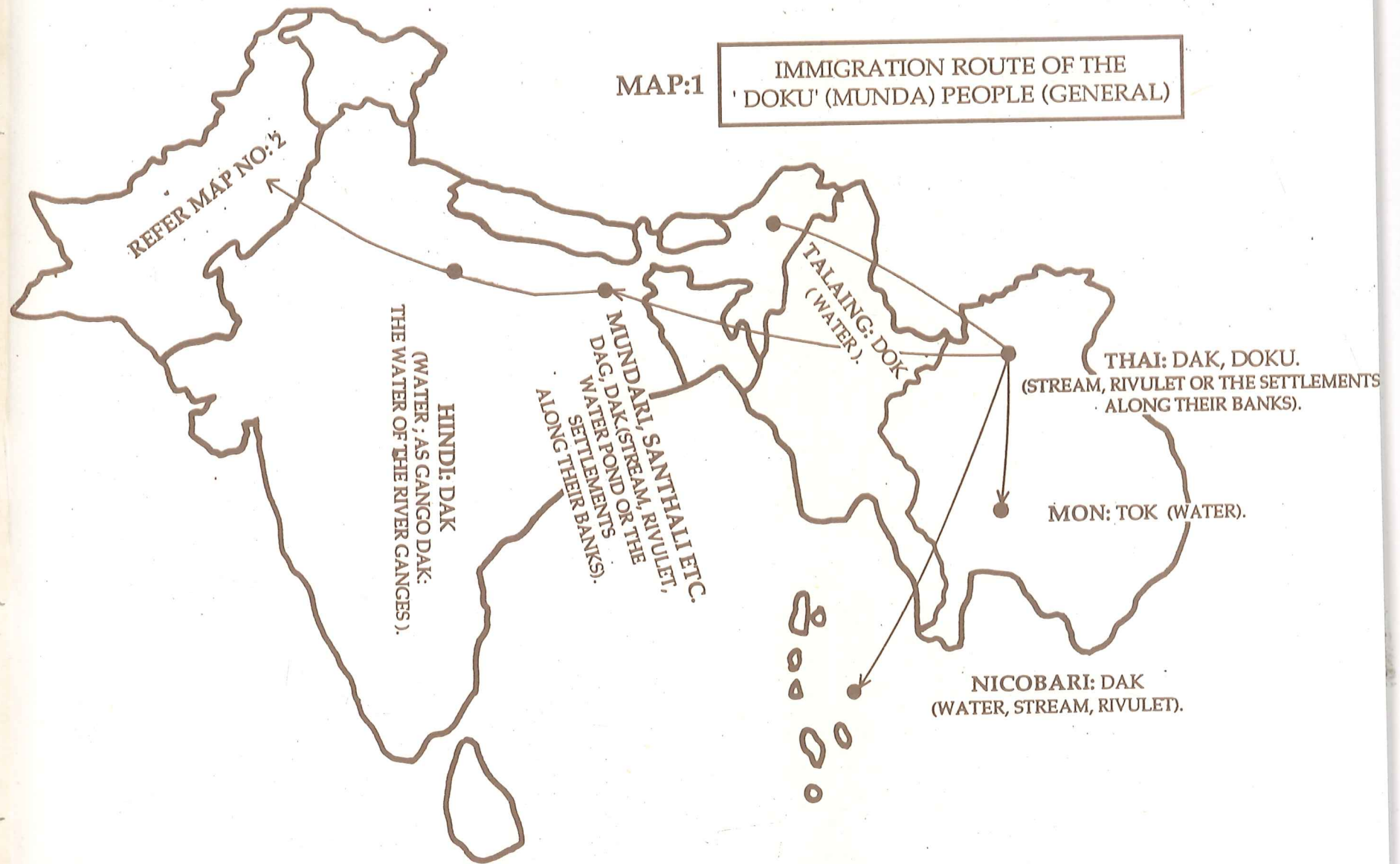


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LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS OF THE HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION.

MAP:1

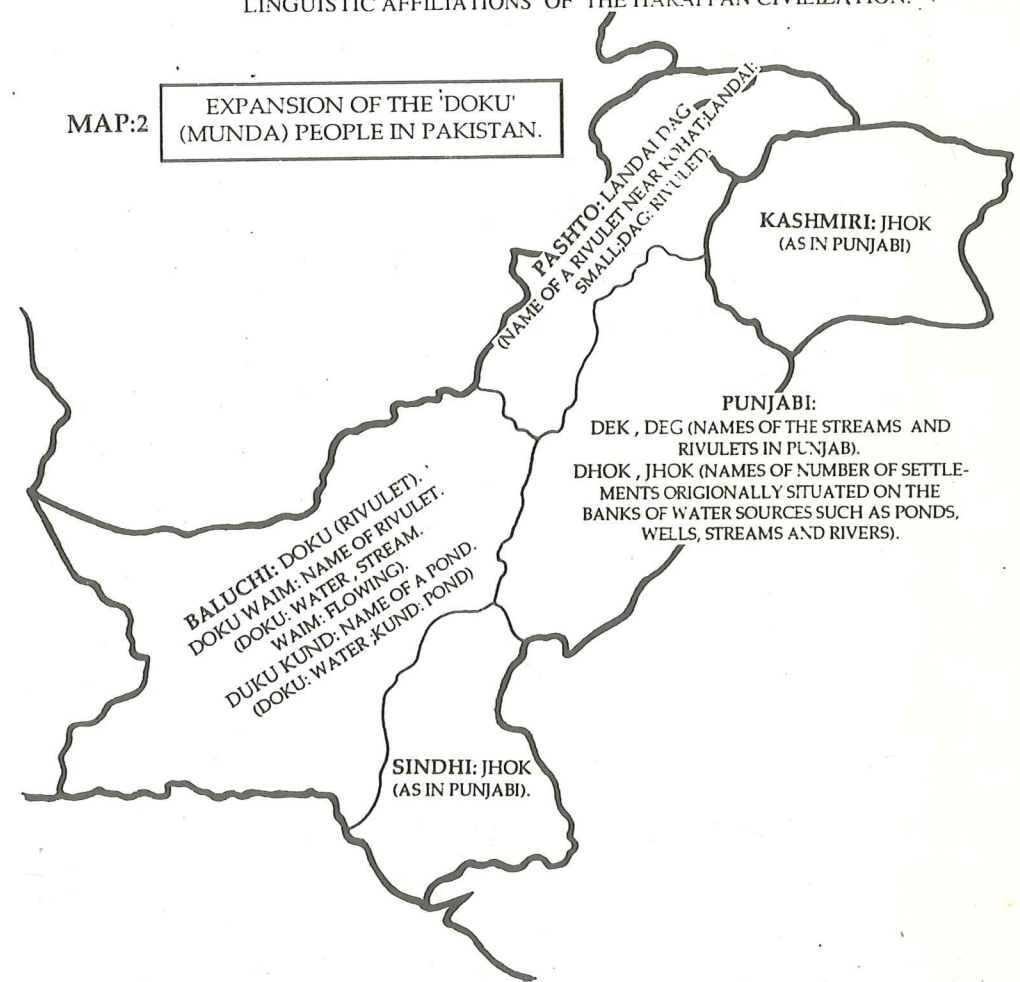
IMMIGRATION ROUTE OF THE
'DOKU' (MUNDA) PEOPLE (GENERAL)



LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS OF THE HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION.

MAP:2

EXPANSION OF THE 'DOKU' (MUNDA) PEOPLE IN PAKISTAN.



Munda Heritage

Mundas (i.e. Kols, Bhils and Santhals etc.) were the next to Mon-Khmer group in antiquity and seems to be the second largest group after the Dravidians during the times of Harappan civilization.

At present in Pakistan there is not any noteworthy trace of the Munda people nevertheless inspite of the passage of thousands of years their superstitions, rituals, birth, death and marriage ceremonies and festivals alongwith their linguistic elements still exist among the people of Pakistan especially in Punjab. Few examples from the Munda vocabulary alongwith its Punjabi equivalents are cited below as a living testimony. (5)

dulda (dul: to pour; da: water. To pour water. Pb. dohlna: (*ڈولنا*) to pour).

A ceremony of pouring consecrated water on the bridal pair. In Punjab the same ceremony is known as "pani warna". (*پانی وارنا*) (pani: water; warna: to pass over the head of the bridal pair).

da hirchi: (da: water; hirchi: to sprinkle).

The ceremony of welcome to the bridegroom in the house of the bride where the mother in law sprinkles water over the bridegroom. This ceremony is performed in the very same manner in today's Punjab.

da au: (da: water; au: to bring)

A ceremony connected with the marriage where four maidens go out to the neighbouring well or stream and bring water from it to the bride's house. The very same ceremony is performed in the same manner all over the present day Punjab and is known as Gharoli. (*گھڑولی*) (In Punjabi gharoli means a small water pitcher).

Chauli-heper: (Chauli: rice; heper: to throw over).

A marriage ceremony in which the rice is sprinkled over the head of the bride. The same ceremony still exists among the Hindus of Punjab.

Karam: A festival celebrated on the 11th day after the new moon in the Hindu month of Bhadon (*بھادروں*) (Aug-Sept). The same festival is celebrated in Punjab in the same season under the name of Tiyyan (*تیئیاں*) in which the girls and womenfolk of the village assemble under some big trees outside the village for swinging and merry making.

Mage-porob: (Mage: the Hindu month of Magh (*ماگھ*) i.e. Jan-Feb; porob: festival). A festival celebrated on the full moon day in the Hindu month of Pous (*پوس*) (Dec-Jan) when the spirits of dead ancestors are worshipped. The same festival is celebrated by the Hindus of Punjab under the name of Maghi (*ماگھی*).

Phagu: (Phagu: pertaining to the Hindu month of Phalgun (*پھالگن*) (Feb-Mar). A festival celebrated on the full-moon day of the Hindu month of Phalgun in which 'gular' (*گلال*) (red powder) is thrown over one another and also smeared on their faces. The same festival is celebrated by the Hindus under the name of Holi (*ہولی*).

If the Munda elements as found in the cultural life and the languages of the present day people of northern subcontinent may be taken into consideration, then a good sized book will be required, however for the sake of brevity few more examples from the names of ornaments and dress as worn by the Munda people are appended in the following Table to show the persistence of the Munda influence through the ages.

When the new comer Aryans came into contact with the local population they borrowed freely from the local languages, especially the names of local flora, fauna, geographical features and most of all daily commodities, so much so that even the name of a common substance such as "water" (Munda: pani, Skt. paniyam) was adopted from the local languages, almost abandoning their Aryan name for it. (Skt. Udak). Sanskrit shali (rice) is another example of the borrowings from the Mundas. Hence Mundari: Chauli; Pb. Chaul, (چاول); Urd/Hind: Chawal (چاول); Sindhi: Chanwar (چانوار)

Mr. Burrow has also cited some of the Skt. borrowings from the Mundas such as Jambala (mud), jim (to eat), tambula (betel) and langala (plough) (6).

Due to the lack of proper studies of this subject the exact nature of these borrowings and their extent have not so far been fully realized.

Table 2
ARTICLES OF DRESS AND ORNAMENTS
OF MUNDA ORIGINS

MUNDARI	URDU/HINDI	PUNJABI	SINDHI
gehna : ORNAMENT	gehna (گہنا) : ORNAMENT	gehna (گہنا) ORNAMENT	gehno (گہنو) : ORNAMENT
noth : A NOSE RING	nath (نٹھ) : NOSE RING	nath (نٹھ) : NOSE RING	nath (نٹھ) : NOSE RING
mundra : EAR RING	mundra (منڈرا) : EAR RING	mundran (منڈران) : EAR RING	-----
tukui-lutur: A KIND OF EAR RING	mundri (منڈری) : FINGER RING	mundri (منڈری) : FINGER RING	mundi (منڈی) : FINGER RING
anga : COAT	-----	tokan (ٹوکان) : A KIND OF EAR RING	-----
	anga: (انگا) : COAT	-----	-----
	angrakha (انگرکھا) : LONG COAT	-----	angrakho (انگرکھو) : LONG COAT
	angyya (انگیا) : BODICE, CORSET	angi (انگی) : BODICE, CORSET	angi (انگی) : BODICE, CORSET
	langot (لنگوٹ) : CLOTH	langota (لنگوتا) : LOIN CLOTH	langot (لنگوٹ) : LOIN CLOTH
langa: A SHORT LOIN CLOTH	langoti (لنگوتی) : A SHORT LOIN CLOTH	langoti (لنگوتی) : A SHORT LOIN CLOTH	langoti (لنگوتی) : A SHORT LOIN CLOTH

MUNDARI	URDU/HINDI	PUNJABI	SINDHI
chira : A WOMAN'S MANTLE	lahnga (لہنگا) : A PETICOAT lungi (لنگی) : A COLOURED CLOTH WORN BY MEN AROUND THE WAIST chii (چھی) : A WOMAN'S MANTLE chira (چیرا) : TURBAN	lehnga (لہنگا) : A PETICOAT lungi (لنگی) : A COLOURED CLOTH WORN BY MEN AROUND THE WAIST chira (چیرا) : A WOMAN'S MANTLE chida (چیدا) : "" chira (چیرا) : TURBAN	----- longi (لونگی) : A COLOURED CLOTH WORN BY MEN AROUND THE WAIST ----- chiro (چيرو) : A VARIEGATED TURBAN

Dravidian Roots

Prior to the advent of the Aryans, the Dravidian people held in the INDUS VALLEY and a language or languages akin to the modern Dravidian Group was spoken by the local masses, a fact which can be borne by the Dravidian remnants, which still exist in the languages of the people of the northern sub-continent such as Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and the Sindhi, which in fact are the real heirs to the Harappan civilization.

The afore mentioned Pakistani languages have not only inherited the whole of the phonetic structure of the mixed language (i.e. the mixture of the Dravidian and the Munda languages) as spoken by the common man in the Harappan period but at the same time almost all the grammatical forms of the Dravidian languages are found in the main Pakistani languages especially Punjabi in one or the other way.

The publication of "A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary" by Mr. Burrow and Mr. Emeneau has proved a great boon for the

scholars of the Indo Pak languages and has opened new vistas in the linguistic research. Previously one has to collect the vocabularies and other data pertaining to various Dravidian languages from the scattered and the scanty sources, a problem which the writers of these lines had also to face in his early studies. The earliest article of the author on this subject as published in Urdu in 1961 under the heading 'The Remnants of the Dravidian Languages in the Indus Valley (*دادی سندھ میں دراوڑی زبان کی باقیات*) was penned down under such arduous conditions.

VOCABULARY

While examining the aforesaid monumental dictionary, to my amazement I found that against all expectations, quite a great part of the vocabulary of the present day Pakistani languages have their roots in the Dravidian stock. For example out of 965 entries in D.E.D. under the letter K/G, 296 entries are common with the Pakistani languages which comes upto 30% of these entries, near about the same is the case with the entries as given under the letters P/B and M. Over all about 20% out of the total entries in this dictionary are related to the present day Pakistani language and that is inspite of the passage of 5000 years since the time of Harappan civilization.

To elucidate this point of view few examples from the entries under the letter K/G in the Dravidian Etymological Dictionary are cited in the following table.

Even multiple derivatives from the single Dravidian roots are in common use in the present day Pakistani languages, for example

from (D.E.D. 1735) Ta., Mal:-, koti; Ka:-, kudi; Te: guda; to boil etc. we have a number of derivatives as shown in the appended table.

Even a casual look at the Dravidian and the Aryan vocabulary as found in the present day Pakistani languages, does clearly show the differences in the nature of these two elements, where as the Dravidian element mostly pertains to the cultural life of the people, there the Aryan element is generally related to the learnings and the religious character. From the nature of these linguistic differences it can safely be deduced that the Dravidian element has in fact been inherited from the Harappan ancestors and the Aryan element has been acquired at a later stage through the learnings and thus is not so very deep rooted.

Grammatical Affinities:-

First we take the formation of the cases which in this case is considered as the most controversial question:

Accusative Case:-

In the Dravidian Languages this case is generally formed by suffixing the signs of mu, ni, in, un, anna, and annu. The signs of ni and nu are more common such as 'bidda-nu' (to the infant), 'kukos-in' (to the boy). (7)

In Punjabi this case is generally formed by using the sign 'nun' (نوں) such as 'munde nun' (مُنڈے نوں) (to the boy), 'baniyye nun' (بانیئے نوں) (to the shopkeeper). In Gujrati the sign of ne is used for this purpose, such as 'chhokrian' ne (to the girls).

In Sanskrit mostly the sign of 'am' is suffixed to form the accusative case, such as 'rathi am' (to the charioteer), 'devi-am' (to the goddess), 'bhuv-am' (to the earth) (8).

At some later stage some Dravidian languages have also borrowed the sign of 'am' from the new-comer Aryans for example in Kan. from 'arasan' (king, Skt. arajan) accusative case is 'arasan-am' and from 'ur' (village) 'uram' (9).

The Northern group of Languages have retained their original and pre-Aryan form through out their long catastrophic history.

DATIVE CASE:-

In the Dravidian Languages the dative case is generally formed with the suffixes of Tam: ku, Mal: kku, nu; Kan: ke, khe, ge; Tel: ku(n), Brh.ki. For example in Kurukh from 'kukkos' (a-boy) it is 'kukkos-ge' (to the boy), in Kui from 'aba' (father) it is 'aba-ki (to the father) and in Tel. from 'ur' (village) it is 'uri-ki (to the village). (10) In Mal. from 'maram' (tree) it is 'maratti-nnu' (to the tree). (11)

In the northern languages of the sub continent the dative case and some times accusative case as well, is formed by suffixes akin to Dravidian cases. In common Punjabi, the suffix of 'nun' (نوں) is used to form the dative case such as from 'munda' (مُنڈا) (boy), it is 'munde-nun' (مُنڈے نوں) (to the boy), from 'abba' (father) it is 'abbe-nun' (اَبے نوں) (to the father). In the Lahnda dialect of the Punjabi the suffix ku' (کُو) or kun (کُون) is used, such as from 'main' (میں) (I) it is 'mai-kun' (میں کُون) and from 'oh' (اوہ) (he) it is 'oh-kun' (اوہ کُون). Likewise in Pothowari and Pahari dialects the sign 'ki' (کی) is used such as from 'mi' (می) (I) it is 'mi-ki' (می کی), from 'tu' (تُو) (you) it is 'tu-ki' (تُو کی) (to you). In Dogri also the sign 'ki' (کی) is used as a dative suffix such as from 'puttar' (پُتر) (son), it is 'putter-ki' (پُترے کی) (to the son).

In Sindhi the sign 'khe' (کھے) is used as dative suffix, such as from 'zal' (زال) (woman) it is 'zal khe' (to the woman) and from 'ghar' (گھر) (house) it is 'ghar khe' (گھر کھے) (to the house). (12)

In Bengali the sign 'ke' is used as a dative suffix such as 'ama-ke' (to me), 'Ram-ke' (to Ram). (13).

In Urdu and Hindi the sign 'ko' (کو) is used as the dative suffix such as from 'bap' (باپ) (father) it is 'bap ko' (باپ کو) (to the father), from 'gaon' (گاؤں) (village) it is 'gaon ko' (گاؤں کو) (to the village).

In Sanskrit the dative case is normally formed by suffixing the sign 'e' for singular (ai, in case of feminine), bhyam for dual and 'bhyas' for plural, such as from 'tanu' (body) and 'devi' (goddess) it is 'tanu-e' (to the body), 'tanu-bhyam' (to the two bodies) and 'tanu-bhyas' (to the many bodies) and from 'devi' (f) it is 'devy-ai' 'devi-bhayam' and 'devi-bhyas' (14).

In this instance also the formation of the dative case in the northern languages fully corresponds with the Dravidian languages and totally differ from Sanskrit.

GENITIVE CASE:

The suffixes as used in the Dravidian languages to form the genitive case can loosely be divided into four main groups i.e.

- i) in, na, ni, anu, such as:
- Gond:- 'marri-na': of a son (marri:son),
'rohkna': of a house (rohk:house).
- Kan: 'uri-na': of the village (ur: village).

Brah:	'xaras-na': of the bull. (xaras: bull), 'Bava-na': of the father. (bava: father).
Tam:	'pon-in kadam': vessel of gold. (pon:gold; kadam: vessel).
Tel:	'mra-ni': of a tree. (mra: tree).
Kui:	'marh-nu': of a tree. (marh: tree).

In the Pothowari and Pahari dialects of the Punjabi language the suffix 'na' is used to denote the genitive case such as:

'rawala-na pindi': (راول نا پنڈی) the village of the Rawal tribe. (pindi: village),

'mahiye-na pakhi': (ماہیئے نا پکھی) the hand fan of the beloved (mahi: beloved; pakhi: hand fan).

Even in the common Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi the sign of 'na' is discernible as a sign of genitive case in the word 'apna' (اپنا) (ap: self, na: of) i.e. our (of us).

In the Gujrati language also the suffix of 'na' is used as a sign of genitive case, such as 'kalje-ni chhokrian': the girls of college i.e. college girls. (kalj: college; chhokri: girl); mukhe-ni sundrta: the beauty of the face. (mukh: face, mouth; sundrata: beauty).

- ii) da,adu, ta, tu, attu, such as:
- Kan. 'mra-da': of a tree (mra: tree),
'hima-da': of the snow (him:
snow)
'meji-da': of a table (mej: table).
- Tam: 'cillpa-di kadam': anklet of the
gold
(cillapa : gold; kadam: ring),
marattu koppu: the branch of a
tree (mar:tree; koppu: branch).
kulattu min: the fish of a pond
(kulam: a tank, a pond; min: fish).
- Kurkh: 'padda-ta alar': the men of the
village.(padda: village; alar: men,
people).

In Punjabi the post-position of 'da' and 'di' is commonly used from Attock in the north to Bahawalpur in the south to form the genitive case, such as:

- 'munde da': (مُنڈے دا) of the boy (munda: (مُنڈا) boy),
'baniye da': (بانیے دا) of the shopkeeper (baniya (بَیَا):
shop keeper).

iii) ka, ki, yokka or yoka, gahi and ghi, such as:

- Kurukh: 'kukkos-gahi': of the boy (kukkos:
boy) 'mukka-gahi': of the woman
(mukka: woman).
- Kui: 'kor-ka': of the buffalo (koru:
buffalo).

These last mentioned suffixes are rarely used and appears to be foreign to the Dravidian idiom. There is every likely hood that the Dravidians might have borrowed these suffixes from their predecessors and neighbours Munda people where especially in Rajmahali, Uraon, and Mikir languages similar suffixes such as 'ki', 'ghi' and 'tok' or 'ayok' are commonly used to denote the genitive case.(15)

In Urdu and Hindi the use of ka, ke, ki as a genitive sign is quite common, such as:

- 'gaon ka': (گاؤں کا) of the village. (gaon: (گاؤں) village),
'logon ke': (لوگوں کے): of the people (logon (لوگوں): people).

In Punjabi the use of the same genitive sign is generally found in the names of quite a number of villages and towns such as:

Murid-ke (مرید کے), Kamo-ke (کامو کے) and Patto-ki (پتو کی) etc.

iv) ra, ri such as:

- Kui: 'aba-ri': of the father (aba:

father)-

Kurukh: 'ada-ra': of that i.e. his (adu: that, he)-

Coorg: 'marat-ra': of the tree (mara: tree)-

Like the above example (iii) these suffixes are also alien to the Dravidian idiom and likewise have been borrowed from the Munda people, where the use of the sign 'ra' to denote the genitive case is quite common, such as:

'marattu koppu: the branch of a tree (mar:tree; koppu: branch)-

Mundari: 'ini-ra': of that i.e. his (ini: that, he), 'han-ra': of a foreign place (han: foreign place) - (16)

The sign of 'ra', 're' and 'ri' is commonly used in Punjabi, Urdu, Hindi and Bengali to form the genitive case from the pronouns, such as:

Punjabi, Urdu: 'tera' (تیرا): of your i.e. your [tu (تُو): you],
and Hindi: 'mera' (میرا): of me i.e. (main (میں): I) -

Bengali: 'tomar': your (tuṃi: you) 'amar': my (ami: I).

The use of the Munda signs in the languages of upper sub continent to form the genitive case has been inherited directly from their pre-historic Munda ancestors and not through their Dravidian fore fathers.

In Sanskrit the genitive case is normally formed by suffixing the particle '-----as' for singular form, 'os' for dual and 'am' for plural, such as from 'rajan' (king) and 'maghavan' (bountiful) contracted to 'maghon'.

Singular	Dual	Plural
rajn-as	rajn-os	rajn-am
maghon-as	maghon-os	maghon-am, (17)

It is evident that the particles as used in the languages of northern sub-continent to form the genitive case are quite akin to the Dravidian and the Munda languages and have nothing in common with the Sanskrit language. (18)

TENSES

The Dravidian traits are also discernible in the formation of various tense forms in the languages of northern sub-continent (19)-

Preterite Tense:

In the Dravidian languages mainly the particles 'd' and 'i' with their various modifications such as 'nd' and 't' in place of 'd' and 'y', 'gi and 'si' for 'i' are used as the sign of preterite as is evident from the following examples:-

Tamil:-

In Tamil the preterite sign of 'd' is sometimes nasalized to 'nd' hence from the root 'var' to flourish we have 'var-nd-an' he flourished ('an' represents a pronominal fragment), from root 'sey' to do, it is 'sey-d-en' I did. Occasionally the particle 'd' is softened to 't' or 'tt' such as from 'padu' to lie 'padu-tt-en' I lay.

The particle of 'i' is also used as a sign of preterite, hence from 'pad' to read, to sing 'pad-i(n)-en' I sang.

Malayalam:-

In this respect Mal. generally conforms with the Tam. language, hence from the root 'chey' to do, the preterite is 'chey-d-en' I did.

Likewise the particle 'i' is also used as a sign of preterite hence from root 'pad' to sing, to recite we get 'pad-i-en' I sang.

Kanarese. :-

In line with the Dravidian languages the particles 'd' 'du' and 'i' are used as the sign of preterite hence from root 'gey' to do, we have 'gey-d-em' I did; from 'kal' to learn, 'kal-du-em' I learned and from 'bal' to live 'bal-i-anu' he lived.

Telugu:-

Normally the particle 'i' is used to form the preterite in Tel. but in certain cases the particle 't' (a modified form of 'd') is also used but even in that case the particle 'i' is suffixed to the verbal

participle hence from 'adu' to play we have 'ad-i-ti-ni' I played and from root 'chey-u' to do, 'ches-i-ti-ni' I did.

Gondi:-

In Gond also the particle 't' is used to form the preterite, hence from 'guha' to take, we have 'guh-t-an', I have taken and from 'wankana' to speak, 'wunk-t-an' I spoke.

Minor Dravidian Languages:-

In some minor Dravidian languages the particles 'th', (as in thin), 'ch' (as in chair), 'si' and 'ji' are used as the sign of past. In Toda from the root 'od' to dance we have 'ad-th-b-ini' I danced, likewise in Tulu we have 'bind-ch-p-ini' I asked. In Gond 'si' and 'ji' are used as signs of past hence in Gond 'Kei-si' having called, 'wunk-si' having spoken.

It appears that the particles of 'th', 'ch', 'si' and 'ji' are in fact the softened form of particle 'd'.

Past Perfect Tense:-

Where the past perfect tense is to be formed, there in some cases any form of particle 'd' is further appended with the verb. For example in Tulu from the root 'malpu' to do, preterite is formed by suffixing the particle 't' hence 'mal-t-e' I did, the perfect is formed by further suffixing the particle 'd' hence 'mal-t-d-e'.

Northern Group of Languages:-

To form the preterite tense in Urdu, Hindi, Punjabi and Sindhi the very same particles as used in the Dravidian languages are applied with the addition of vowels 'a' and 'o' to prevent the hiatus.

Although just like the Dravidian languages the particle 'i' (y) is suffixed to form the preterite in the northern group of languages but in certain cases the particle of soft 'd' ('th' as in then), soft 't' and hard 'th' are also used as the sign of preterite which are the modified forms of Dravidian particles 'd' 'nd' and 'tt'.

Punjabi and Sindhi

Hence from Punjabi root 'bairh' (بیرھن), Sind, 'vaihno' (ویرھنو): to sit, the preterite is 'baitha' (بیٹھا) and 'baitho' (بیٹھو) respectively and from Ph. 'khan' (کھان) Sind. 'khaino' (کھینو): to eat it is 'khadha' (کھا دا) and 'khadho' (کھا دھو).

Likewise in certain cases the particle of soft 't' is also used to obtain the preterite hence from Pb 'pin' (پین) and Sind 'pee-no' (پیئو) to drink, the preterite is 'pita' (پیتا) and 'pito' (پیئو) respectively; from Pb 'dhon', (دھون) Sind 'dhoeno' (دھونو) it is 'dhota' (دھوتا) and 'dhoto' (دھوتو), washed.

It should be noted that in Pb. and Sind. 'na' and 'n' is the sign of infinitive which is deleted when forming the different tenses and respective particles are suffixed with the root so obtained.

Urdu and Hindi

The particle 'i' (y) which is commonly used as a sign of preterite in the Dravidian languages is as commonly used in the Punjabi, Sindhi, Urdu and Hindi also hence from Pb., Urdu and Hindi 'rona' (رونا) to weep Sindhi, 'roeno' (روئو) the preterite is 'roya' (رویہ) and 'royo' (رویو) respectively, likewise from Pb, Urdu and Hindi 'banana' (بنانا), to make and 'charana' (چرانہ) to steal, Sindhi 'banaen' (بنائین) and 'charaen' (چرائین) it is 'banaya' (بنایا), 'charaya' (چرایا) and 'banayo' (بنائیو) 'charayo' (چرائیو) respectively.

Past Perfect Tense:

In certain Dravidian languages the past perfect tense is formed by duplicating the preterite sign as in Tulu from root 'malpu' to do, preterite is formed by suffixing 't' to the root thus 'mal-t-e' I made and perfect is formed by further suffixing the preterite sign of 'd' hence 'mal-t-d-e'. (20).

The very same method is applied in the northern group of languages for forming the past perfect tense where the modified forms of 'd', 't' and 'y' such as 'th' (as in thin), 'sa' and 'ha' are further suffixed to the preterite thus in Punjabi from the roots 'khan' (کھان) to eat and padhn (پڑھن) to read the preterite is 'kha-da' (کھا دا) and 'padh-ya' (پڑھیا) and the past perfect is 'khah-da-si' (کھا داسی) 'padh-ya-si' (پڑھیا سی) (having eaten and having read). In Sindhi from the above roots we get 'khadho-ho' (کھا دھوہو) and 'padhyo-ho' (پڑھوہو).

In Urdu and Hindi the particle 'tha' (تھا) serves as the sign of past perfect hence from 'khana' (کھانا) to eat, 'rona' (رونا) to weep

and 'banana' (بنانا) to make the past perfect will be 'kha-ya-tha' (کھایا تھا), 'ro-ya-tha' (رویا تھا) and 'banaya tha' (بنایا تھا) respectively.

Thus it does clearly show that the particles 'd', 't' and 'y' with their various modifications are commonly used as the sign of the preterite by the Dravidian and as well as by the northern group of languages.

On the other hand in Sanskrit no such set rule exists to form the past tense and mostly the words like 'pura' (formerly) or 'satra' (always) are used in the sentence itself to obtain the sense of past, for example: 'pura' nunam ca stutaya rshinam paspradhre (the praises of the seers have vied together in past times and do so now). (21).

Present Tense:-

According to Caldwell in classical as well as colloquial Kan. and Tel. the particle 't' or its various forms such as utu, uta, ute, tu and du etc. are used to form the present tense. For example in Kan. from 'bal' (to live) the present tense is 'bal-utt-ene' (I live) (bal:verbal root, utt: particle of present tense and ene being a pronominal fragment) like-wise from Kan. 'mad' (to do) we get 'mad-utt-ene' (I do).

In Punjabi, Sindhi, Urdu/Hindi the corresponding particles of 'da' (دا), 'tho' (تھو) and 'ta' (تا) are used respectively to form the present tense.

Hence in Punjabi from verb 'jan' (جان) to go, the present tense is 'oh jan-da-hai' (اوہ جاندا ہے), he goes, and from 'khan' (کھان) to eat it is 'main khan-da han' (میں کھاندا ہوں) I eat.

In Sindhi from 'tarsano' (ترسنو) (to wait) the present is 'ho tarsi tho' (ھو ترسی تھو) he waits.

In Urdu and Hindi from 'jana' (جانا) to go, the present tense will be 'woh-ja-ta-hai' (وہ جاتا ہے) he goes and from 'khana' (کھانا) to eat it is 'main kha-ta hun' (میں کھانا کھوں) I eat.

In Vedic Sanskrit there is no set rule to form the present tense as we have in Dravidian and northern group of languages. According to Macdonell in some cases the particle 'pura' (formerly) is used with the present to indicate an action which has extended through the past down to the present: e.g. 'kva tani nau sakhya babhuvuh, sacavahe yad averkam pura cit', (where has that friendship of us two gone, inasmuch as we have hitherto associated inoffensively) (22).

Future Tense:-

According to Caldwell the oldest form of the future - of which a few traces only survive in the poets --- was formed by adding 'g' or 'k' to the root, with the usual enunciative 'u' e.g. in Tamil (from 'sey' to do) 'sey-gu-en' I will do: from 'pad' to sing 'pad-gu-am' we shall sing. (23).

The use of particle 'g' or 'k' as the sign of future is not limited to the classical Tamil only but is also found in other Dravidian languages.

Hence in poetic Kanada from 'sey' to do, 'sey-g-en' I will do. (24).

In Gondi from 'guh' to do, 'guh-k-an' I will do. In Toda from 'kan' to see, 'kan' 'k' 'en' we shall see (25).

Now in Punjabi the particle 'g' is the main sign of future where as in Urdu and Hindi it is the only particle used to form the future.

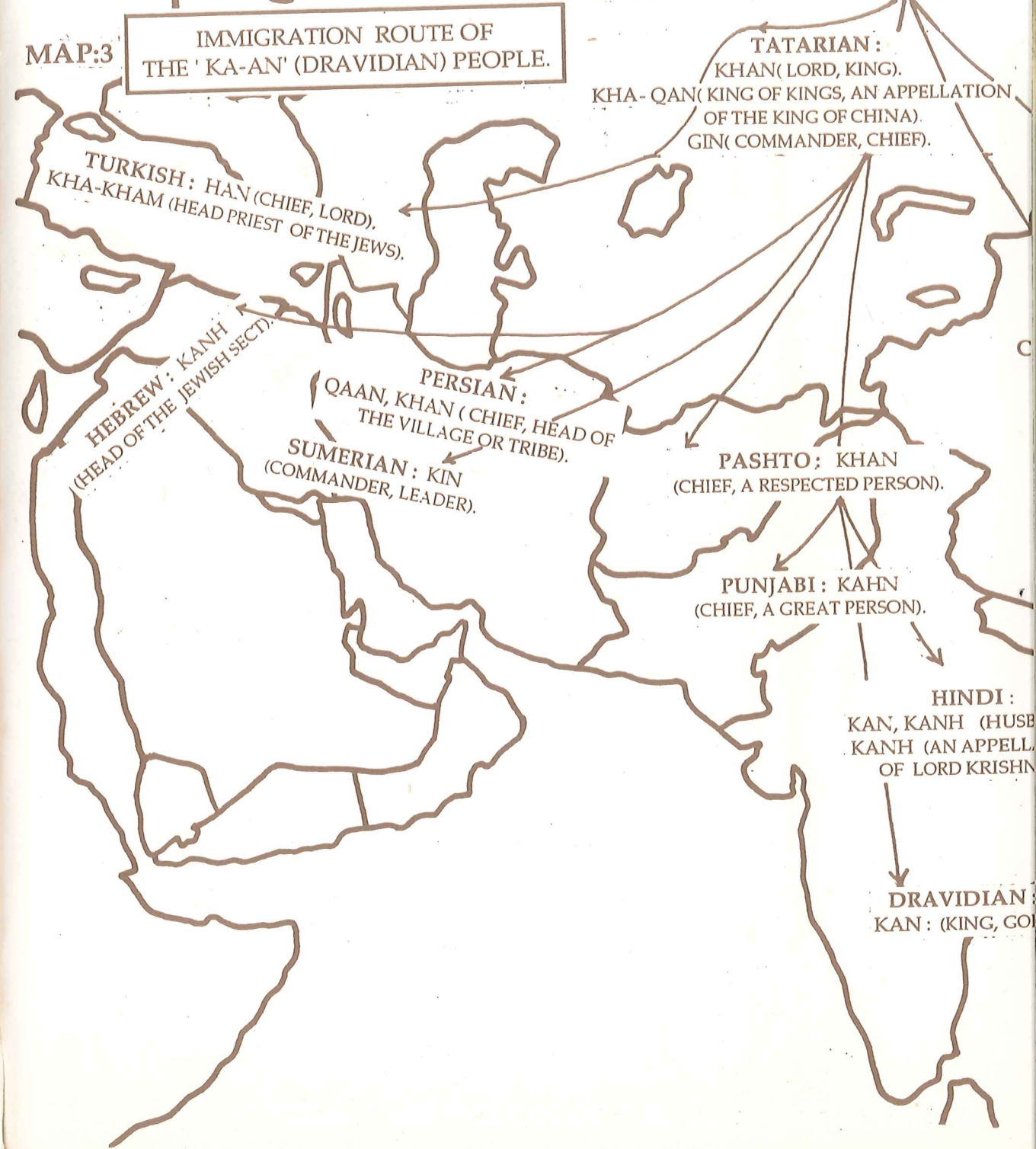
Hence in Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi from 'jana' (جانا) to go, 'main jaoon ga' (میں جاؤں گا) I will go and from 'khana' (کھانا) to eat, Punjabi 'oh khaoon ga' (اوہ کھاؤں گا) Urdu Hindi 'woh khae ga' (اوہ کھائے گا) he will eat.

In the Vedic Sanskrit the simple future is formed by suffixing the particle 'sya' or 'i-sya' to the root. According to Macdonell the use of future tense is not common in the Rig Veda, being formed from only sixteen roots. (26).

MAP:3

IMMIGRATION ROUTE OF THE 'KA-AN' (DRAVIDIAN) PEOPLE.

LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS OF THE HAI



'k' as the sign of future is not limited
ut is also found in other Dravidian

from 'sey' to do, 'sey-g-en' I will do.

-k-an' I will do. In Toda from 'kan' to
(5).

e 'g' is the main sign of future where
nly particle used to form the future.

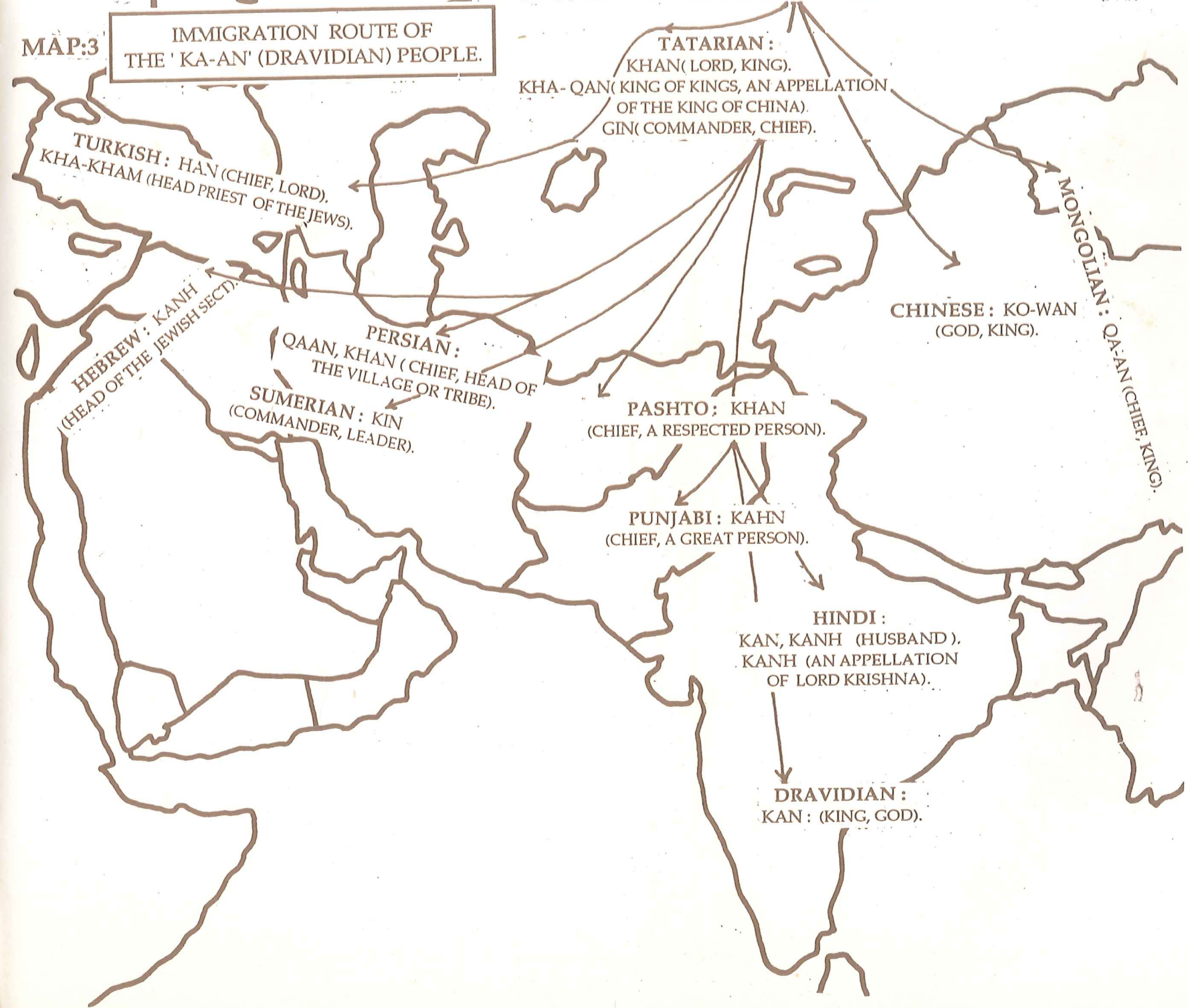
and Hindi from 'jana' (جانا) to go,
will go and from 'khana' (کھانا) to
(اور کھانے) Urdu Hindi 'woh khae ga

simple future is formed by suffixing
e root. According to Macdonell the
non in the Rig Veda, being formed

LINGUISTIC AFFILIATIONS OF THE HARAPPAN CIVILIZATION.

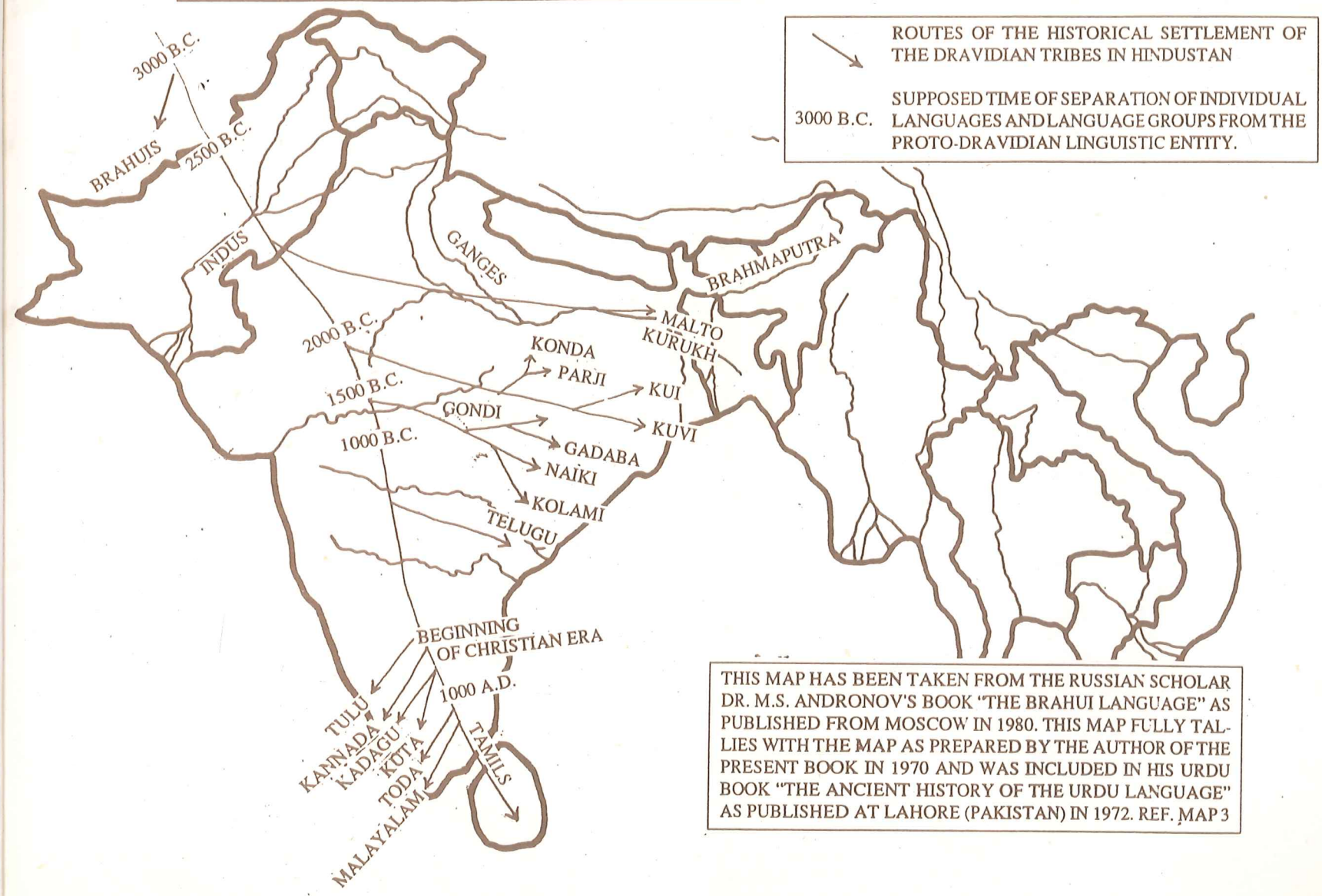
MAP:3

IMMIGRATION ROUTE OF THE 'KA-AN' (DRAVIDIAN) PEOPLE.



MAP:4

IMMIGRATION ROUTE OF THE
DRAVIDIAN PEOPLE AS CONCEIVED BY
M.S.ANDRONOV (A RUSSIAN ORIENTALIST).



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(24).

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Table 3
DRAVIDIAN ROOTS OF THE PAKISTANI LANGUAGES
(A SAMPLE OF VOCABULARLY)

DED No	Dravidian	Urdu/Hindi	Punjabi	Sindhi
1138	Ta. Kan : <i>kara</i> } anklet Toda : <i>kari</i> }	<i>kara</i> (کرا) : anklet	<i>kara</i> (کرا) : anklet	<i>kari</i> (کڑی) : anklet
1144	Ta., Kan., <i>kari</i> : much, great,	-----	<i>kari</i> (کاری) : much, great	-----
1145	Ta : <i>Mali</i> ; <i>kari</i> ; sea water, salt pan Ta; <i>kalar</i> : <i>saline</i> soil	<i>khari</i> (کھاری) : salty <i>kallar</i> (کلر) : saline soil	<i>khari</i> (کھاری) : salty <i>kallar</i> (کلر) : saline soil	<i>kharo</i> (کھارو) : salty <i>kallar</i> (کلر) : saline soil
1149	Ta., <i>karuttai</i> Mal: <i>karitta</i> Ka, Tu; <i>katte</i> ass, donkey Tel : <i>gadida</i>	<i>gaddha</i> (گدھا) : ass, donkey	<i>khota</i> (کھوٹا) : ass, donkey <i>gadden</i> (گدین) : ass, "	<i>khodro</i> (کھودرو) : The foal of an ass <i>gadha</i> (گدھا) : ass,

DED No	Dravidian	Urdu/Hindi	Punjabi	Sindhi	
156	Kol : <i>gaddi</i> Pa : <i>gadde</i> Ta., Ka., Ka.: <i>kal</i> : to steal, to rob Brh., <i>khalling</i> ; to steal (cattle) Ta., <i>katt</i> : to weed	<i>kala</i> (کالہ) : a thief (as in kala chor (کالا چور) ----- <i>katal</i> (کاتل) : distiller and and a seller of liquor <i>khalyan</i> (کھلیان) : a threshing floor	<i>kala</i> (کالو) : a thief <i>godī</i> (گودی) : to weed <i>katal</i> (کاتل) : distiller and a seller of liquor <i>khalwara</i> (کھوڑاڑہ) : a threshing floor	----- ----- <i>katal</i> (کاتل) : distiller and a seller of liquor -----	donkey ----- ----- <i>katal</i> (کاتل) : distiller and a seller of liquor
160	Ta, Mal, Kan ; <i>kalam</i> : a threshing floor	<i>kala</i> (کال) : black <i>kunda</i> (کونڈا) : an earthen jar a platter	<i>kala</i> (کال) : black <i>kanal</i> (کنال) : a large earthen vessel used by dyers	----- <i>karo</i> (کارو) : black <i>kan</i> (کن) : a large earthen vessel or vat used by dyers	
175	Ta, Mal, Tel etc; <i>karu</i> : black	<i>kala</i> (کال) : black	<i>kala</i> (کال) : black		
191	Ta, <i>kannal</i> earthen vessel, Ka ; <i>kandal</i> water pot	<i>kunda</i> (کونڈا) : an earthen jar a platter	<i>kanal</i> (کنال) : a large earthen vessel used by dyers		

DED No	Dravidian	Urdu/Hindi	Punjabi	Sindhi
	Tu ; <i>kandelu</i> large pot	<i>kundi</i> (کونڈی) : a mortar	<i>kanali</i> (کنالی) : an earthen platter used for kneading the dough. <i>kunda</i> (کونڈا) : i) an earthen platter used to form curds ii) an earthen or stone mortar	

Table 4

Multiple derivatives from a single Dravidian root

D.E.D. 1735 : Ta, Mal, koti., Ka; kudi., Tel; guda : to boil, to grieve

Urdu/Hindi	Punjabi	Sindhi
<i>karha</i> (کارھا) : a decoction prepared by boiling medicines	<i>karha</i> (کارھا) (as per Urdu)	<i>karho</i> (کارھو) : (as per Urdu)
<i>karhi</i> (کارھی) : a dish made by boiling the meal of gram with spices and sour milk	<i>karhi</i> (کارھی) : "	<i>karhi</i> (کارھی) : "
<i>karaha</i> (کاراھا) : a large iron boiler, a cauldron	<i>karaha</i> (کاراھا) : "	<i>karaho</i> (کاراھو) : "
<i>karahi</i> (کاراہی) : a frying pan, a small cauldron	<i>karahi</i> (کاراہی) : "	<i>karahi</i> (کاراہی) : "

Urdu/Hindi	Punjabi	Sindhi
<i>karah</i> (کاراہ) : a sweetmeat prepared by boiling flour, ghee and sugar together	<i>karah</i> (کاراہ) : "	-----
-----	<i>karhn</i> (کارٹھن) : boil	<i>karhno</i> (کارٹھنو) : boil
-----	<i>karhan</i> (کارٹھن) : to boil	<i>karhano</i> (کارٹھنو) : to boil
-----	<i>karhni</i> (کارٹھنی) : an earthen pot used for boiling milk	-----
-----	<i>karhaya</i> (کارٹھنیا) : an iron pan used for boiling grams etc. for animal fodder and also utilized for other purposes.	-----
<i>karhna</i> (کارٹھنا) : vexation in the mind, to grieve	<i>karhan</i> (کارٹھن) : as per Urdu	<i>karhno</i> (کارٹھنو) : as per Urdu

Biased Outlook.

The more we compare the languages of the northern sub-continent with the Dravidian and Sanskrit the more we are convinced of the conformity of the northern languages with the Dravidian and their variance with the Sanskrit. It is beyond my comprehension that after all what lead these classical scholars and on what grounds to claim the Aryan origins for these northern languages. It is with great reluctance to say that their approach appears to be totally unscientific because in the first place they had set their aim to prove by hook or crook that the northern languages have in all respects been derived from none else but the language of the new comer Aryans, thus they went out of the way to reach their preconceived goal and produced some bulky volumes which were sufficient to convince a gullible reader. They might have reached at some balanced conclusions provided they had taken into consideration the local non-Aryan languages i.e. Dravidian and Munda etc. alongwith the Sanskrit while discussing the development of the northern languages. It is a great pity that the classical scholars deliberately barred the non-Aryan local elements from their discussion as though the northern languages had developed in some air tight vacuum tube where no language other than Sanskrit

could influence them and further more that influence was only one way business because the Sanskrit was installed upon the pedestal of godhood and was endowed with the appellation of Deva Bani (the language of the gods) hence considered totally immune from the local influences.

It is but natural that such a heavily biased mental attitude could yield only biased results.

Dative Case : The Bone of Contention

To show the futility of the reasoning of some of the scholars it will suffice to cite the example of various theories as advanced by them pertaining to the derivation of the dative case as used in the northern group of languages.

I will like to assert that I have full respect for the classical scholars and have no doubt what so ever about their sincerity and integrity because they believed with heart and soul in their set aim but it is their methodology and approach towards the subject matter with which I dare to differ.

As already discussed that in the Dravidian languages the particles 'ku' (Tam), 'khu' (Mal), 'ke' (Kan), 'kun' (Tel) and 'ki' (Brah) are used to form the dative case. In northern languages the analogous particles are commonly used for the same case, such as in various dialects of Punjabi the particles 'ku' 'kun' (Lahnda), 'ki' (Pothwari, Pahari and Dogri), and 'ko' (Gojri) are employed as the

sign of dative case, likewise the particles 'khe' (Sindhi), 'ko' (Urdu, Hindi), 'ke' (Bengali) and 'ku' (Oriya) have the same value.

It should be remembered that in the pre-Aryan period and even during the early stages of the Aryan penetration the Dravidians not only held sway in the southern part of the subcontinent but were spread all over the northern parts as well. The present day Brahuis, the Gonds, Kurukh, Kui and the Malto tribes are the remnants of once wide spread Dravidian population. Thus the Dravidian element as found in the modern languages of north has either been inherited from their Dravidian ancestors or otherwise has been borrowed by them directly from their Dravidian neighbours in the early stages of the development of their languages and there is nothing unnatural about it.

The classical scholars when came across such close analogies between Dravidian and the northern languages could not bring themselves about to accept the apparent truth because it struck at the very roots of their long cherished but premediated theories and thus they found refuge in turning away from the truth and to appease their inner turmoil they vehemently denied any relationship between the Dravidian and the northern languages. When they failed to establish any relationship between Sanskrit dative particles 'e' and 'ae' and northern particles 'ku' and 'ke' etc they busied themselves in finding some out of the way clues from Sanskrit which was nothing but a subterfuge.

The eminent scholar Ernest Trumpp (1828 - 1885) while completing his monumental work 'The Grammar of the Sindhi Language' when came face to face with the same dilemma he also

succumbed to the prevalent theories. Observing the close analogies between the dative particles of the Dravidian and the northern languages he argued "that the fact the Arian vernaculars, which border immediately on the Dravidian idioms, have not adopted the use of 'ko' as the sign of the dative, shows that it is improbable that the dialects more to the north have been indebted for this form to the Dravidian idioms" (27)

After doing away with the main contesting and most probable theory the field was now wide open thus Dr. Trumpp took it upon himself to fill the void according to his own leanings. As the Sanskrit dative signs 'e' and 'ae' could not in any way be linked with Sindhi dative particle 'khe' thus he delved in the Sanskrit lexicon and came up with locative 'kr te' meaning 'for the sake of, 'on account of'. Though this word 'kr te' not only differed grammatically from the Sindhi particle 'khe' but had very little resemblance in sound pattern and more remote in its meanings. Nevertheless by ingenious elisions, additions and changes and out of the way inter-pretations this Sanskrit locative 'kr te' meaning 'for the sake of' was finally transformed to Sindhi dative sign 'khe' meaning 'towards'.

Even if for the sake of discussion we may take it for granted that the dative particles 'khe' 'ke' 'ko' and 'kun' etc. of the northern languages have been derived from the Sanskrit locative 'kr te' and 'kr' ten' etc. then we have to assure that the use of these Sanskrit roots was so very common and extensive that almost all the northern languages from Sindh and Maharashtra upto Bengal derived their analogous dative particles from it which is rather quite improbable.

In the words of John Beams "the mind is not satisfied with the parallel affiliation of 'ko' to 'kr ten' (28)

After a detailed discussion about the claim of Dr. Trumpp and being not satisfied with it Mr. Beams points out towards another theory as advanced by Mr. Hoernle for the probable origin of these dative signs. Mr. Hoernle has suggested that the Bengali dative particle 'ke' has been derived from Bengali locative 'kachhe' meaning 'in the arm pit', 'by the side', 'nearby' etc. This locative has been formed from the Bengali noun 'kachh' meaning 'arm pit'. Thus it was suggested that the Skt. 'kaksha' after passing through various stages and forms was finally changed to modern dative particles 'ke', 'ko' etc. (29)

But then the same question arise again whether this Skt. locative 'kakshe' was so very common and so extensively used right from the Arabian Sea to the bay of Bengal that the people with different linguistic background took the same locative sign and changed it to nearabout the same dative particle?

To solve this problem we refer to well known Sanskrit lexicographer Mr. V.S. Apte, according to him the word 'kaksha' (arm pit) is quite a late commer in the Sanskrit and is not traceable in this language earlier than the seventh centruy when the poet Magha (late 7th century AD) used it for the first time in his court-epic Sisupalabadha. (30)

Although as already shown the word 'kaksha' is found in the later Sanskrit literature but as a matter of fact this word is not of an Aryan origin as no cognate words to that effect are traceable in the

sister Aryan languages such as Avesta, old Greek and Latin etc. It is evident that the later Sanskrit writers borrowed it from the neighbouring non-Aryan languages.

The words akin to 'kāksha' are quite common in the Dravidian languages. Thus when we turn the pages of the monumental Dravidian dictionary by Mr. Burrow and Emeneau (a Dravidian Etymological Dictionary) we find the following relative entries:

Parji:	kavkor		arm pit (31)
Gondi:	kakari		
Gadaba:	kusul		

(DED, 1034; DEEDS, S213)

Following analogous words are found in the northern languages:

Punjabi:-	kachh: (کچھ)	arm pit
	kukh (ککھ)	side of the belly under the arm pit.
Sindhi:	kachho: (کچھو)	arm pit.
Hindi/ Urdu:	kukh: (ککھ)	side of the belly

Marathi: kakh:(کاکھ) side of the belly

Bengali: kachh:(কচھ) arm pit

Following relevant words have also been derived from the same Dravidian roots.

Kui		kiti		tickling
Munda				
Kuwi:		gidori		tickling
Gondi:		kutke		
Kurkh:		gutu arm pit (32)		
Punjabi:		kutkutari (کٹکٹاری)		
Sindhi:		kutkai (کٹکائی)		
Urdu/Hindi:		gudgudi (گڈگڈی)		tickling
Urdu/Hindhi/ Sindhi:		gud (گڈ): lap		

In this whole discussion we come across a very amusing coincidence, as none of these scholars dealing with the development of the northern languages have found it necessary to refer to the Prakrits which is normally taken as an essential part of such discussions, because it is taken for granted that the modern languages of the north have originated from the Sanskrit through various Prakrits.

In the discussion about the dative particles the Prakrits were passed by because it could not serve their purpose as none of the Prakrits contain anything resembling with the dative signs as used in the modern northern languages. As a matter of fact the Prakrits closely follow the practice of Sanskrit syntax. Hence from 'putta' (son) we have the following dative forms:-

Magdhi and Maharashtri:	puttaa
Ardmagdhi:	puttaya
Jainamagdhi:	puttae (33)

With the advent of the Muslim rule in the subcontinent the Sanskrit as well as the literary Prakrits were deprived of their patronage and thus were vanished in the thin air without leaving any trace on the tongues of men because we don't find any single example in the whole of the subcontinent where at that moment these forms of language were employed as a spoken media. The common languages which emerged on the stage were totally different in structure. Moreover we don't find any evolutionary step which can be claimed as an intermediary link between the literary Prakrits and the common spoken languages.

Although the Prakrit literature continued to exist upto 12th century as Hemachandra (1089-1172) is considered to be its last savant but the Punjabi literature which precedes it at least by 200 years employ the dative particles akin to the Dravidian group. In this respect we refer to the poetry of the 'Naath Jogis' also known as

'kanphata jogis' pertaining to the 10th and 11th centuries and is taken as the earliest form of the Punjabi literature.

The 'Naath Jogis' have invariably employed the dative particles 'ku' 'kun' etc. in their poetry as is evident from the following examples:-

Machhandar Nath (C 9th Century) . He was founder of the Nath Jogis movement and was a spiritual guide of Gorakh Nath, Charpat Nath and Chaurangi Nath. Although some authorities, claim that he belonged to the 7th century as he was the spiritual guide of Raja Narendra Dev of Nepal in 657 AD (34) but generally it is asserted that as all his disciples belonged to the 10th century thus he can be assigned the period of 9th century.

"Jal kun chahe machhli

"dhan kun chahe mor

"sevak chahe Ram kun

"chitwat chann chakor.

(Literal translation)

The fish loves to water (i.e. loves water)

The peacock loves to hot season (loves hot season)

The servant i.e. worshipper loves to god (loves god)

and the red-legged partridge beholds the moon. (35)

Charpat Nath (890-990 A.D.) born at Chamba and later migrated to Jhelum in Punjab.

(i) "mritak hoe kare chatrai

"dhrig janani, wan ko laj na ai

(being a mortal why he act so coquettishly

curse on the mother, did no shame came to her i.e.

did she not felt any shame for giving birth to such a son).

(ii) "awati sandhya ko singi na bajaauun

"kapt ka jogi kabhun na kahaauun.

(To the coming of dawn i.e. at the early in the morning I will not blow the sacred horn.

I do not like to be called a fraudulent jogi (36)

Gorakh Nath (C. 940-1031 A.D). He was a head of the Tlla Jogian at Jhelum but most of the time he spent in wandering from place to place.

(i) "dam kadh baghan le aya

"maun kahe mera put biyaha

"gili lakdi kun ghun laya

"tin dal mool sabh khaya.

(He brought home a life-destroying lioness i.e. wife. The mother claims that her son has married. It is just like offering a fresh sappling to a weevil which will consume it all including its branches and roots.)

(ii) "nahaebe ko tirath ar pujbe ko deo" ()

(To take a bath there is a holy pond and to worship there is an idol of god) (37).

Chand Bardai (C. 1126-1194 A.D). Originally he was a resident of Lahore and belonged to the Bhat clan. As the Punjab was taken over by the Muslims thus he was deprived of any patronage. In search of new pastures he migrated to Rajsthan which till then was under the rule of petty Hindu Chiefs and he joined the court of Prthviraj Chauhan and compiled the epic of his wars with Shahab-ud-Din Ghori.

Although this epic known as Prthvi Raj Raso is compiled in Rajsthani but nevertheless it contains some elements of the Punjabi language. He employed the dative sign 'kun' and 'kahun' which is akin to Punjabi and other northern languages such as:-

"prat same bar doojan kahun

"bant ap kar din.

(A^t early in the morning a gift to the Brahmins dispensing with his own hands.) (38).

Baba Farid (بابا فرید) (1173-1265 A.D). A mystic poet of Punjab generally known as Farid-ud-Din Masaud Ganjshakar. (فرید الدین مسعود گنج شکر). He is equally venerated by the men of all creeds and is claimed to be the harbinger of Sufi Mat and Bhagti Lehar movements.

(i) "jind namani kaddhe ei

"haddan kun kadkae

"sahe likhe na challni

"jindu kun samjhae.

(He i.e. the angel of death will take the soul out of the body

by crackling the bones.

warn thy soul that the appointed time has come.

now no excuse of any sort will help.

(ii) "dhundedi-e suhag kun

"tau tan kai kor

"jinhan naon suhagni

"tinhan jhak na hor.

"Oh ! the seeker of thy beloved (i.e. God)

"there is something wrong with your ownself.

"those who are true seekers

"they have no need to look towards others

(i.e. the beloved, the God resides in ones ownself).

Apart from the dative case a number of examples can be furnished in respect of other grammatical forms to substantiate the hypothesis that the modern languages of the northern Indo Pak subcontinent have sprung from the primitive Dravidian stock which was once prevalent all over the subcontinent and not from the Aryan stock as is generally suggested.

It becomes incumbent upon the modern scholars to restudy the whole subject anew and thus reach at their own conclusions instead of go on harbouring upon the outdated labours of the early scholars.

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INDEX

- accusative case 42, 43
- Andaman Island 26
- Apte, V.s; 72
- Arabian Sea 72
- Arabic 16
- Ard-magdhi 75
- Aryan 11-13, 17, 22, 23, 25, 27, 36, 39, 41, 42, 67, 70-72, 79
- Aryan Languages 22, 23, 73
- Asia 28
- Asko Parpola 16
- Attock 46
- Avesta 73
- Babylon 15
- Bahawalpur 46
- Bala Dhaka 27
- Baluchi 19
- Baluchistan 27
- Basham, A.I; 16
- Beams, J; 72
- Bengal 71,72
- Bengali 43,48,70,72,74
- bhagti lehar 78
- Bhils 33
- Brahui 43,45,69,70
- Burrow, T; 27,36,39,73
- Caldwell, R; 54,55
- Chamba 76
- Chand Bardai 78
- Charpat Nath 76
- Chaurangi Nath 76
- Chinese 25
- Coorg 48
- Cunningham, A; 15
- Dag Besud 27
- Dagi Khel' 27
- Dag Ismail Khel 27
- Dak Poko 26
- Dak Sut 26
- dative case 43, 44, 69
- Daud Literary Prize 14
- Deg Nalah 26
- Dek Nalah 26
- Dhakki Hamid Khan 27
- Dhok Hassu 26
- Dhok Khabba 26
- Dhok Ratta 26
- Dhok Wazir 26
- Dogri 43, 69

Dravidian 12-14, 16, 22, 23, 33,
 39-44, 47-61, 67, 70, 71, 73, 75,
 79
 Duc Hung 26
 Duc Pho 216
 Duku 27
 Duku Khand 27

 Easter Islands 16
 Egyptian Hieroglyphics 15
 Elamites 16
 Emeneau, M. B; 39, 73
 Etruscans 16
 Europe 11
 European 11

 Farid, Baba; 78
 Farid Koti, A.H; 17
 Finland 16
 future tense 55

 Gadaba 33
 Ganga 25
 gango dak 26
 Ganges 26
 Gangetic Valley 23
 genitive case 44
 German 11

 gharoli 35
 Ghauri, Shihabuddin 78
 Gilgat 19
 Gobineau, J.a; 11
 Gojri 69
 Gondi 44, 51, 56, 70, 73, 74
 Greek 73
 Gujrati 42, 45

 Harappa 12, 14, 15
 Harappan Culture/ Civilization
 12, 15 17, 18, 33, 39, 40
 Harappan Heritage 18, 41
 Harappan Language 12
 Harappan Script/seals 15, 16, 17
 heiroglyphics 16
 Hemachandra 75
 hindi 13, 19, 36-39, 44, 45, 47,
 48, 52-61, 70, 73, 74
 Hindu 25, 34, 35
 Hittite Inscriptions 16
 Hoernle 72
 Holi 35
 Hotu Dag 26

 Indo Aryan 11, 16
 Indo Chinese 14, 25, 27
 Indo European Language 11

Indo Pak Subcontinent 28, 79
 Indus River 23
 Indus Valley 12-14, 16, 22, 25,
 39, 40

 Jaina Magdhi 75
 Jamu Dag 26
 Jhelum 26, 76, 77
 Jhok Baluchan 27
 Jhok Harbans 27
 Jhok Hussain 27
 Jhok Sharif 27
 Jones, Sir W; 11

 Kamoke 47
 Kanerese 41-44, 46, 50, 54, 56,
 59
 Karachi 14
 Kashmir 26
 Knorozov, y 16
 Kohat 27
 Kols 33
 Kui 43, 45, 47, 74
 Kurukh 43, 46-48, 70, 74
 Kuwi 74

 Lahar Dag 26
 Lahnda 43, 69

 Lahore 14, 17, 78
 Lail-o- Nahar 13
 Landai Dag 27
 Land Of Five Rivers 19, 26
 Latin 73

 Macdonell. A.a; 55, 56
 Machhandar Nath 76
 Magdhi 75
 Magha 72
 Maghi 35
 Maharashtra 71,75
 Malaylam 41, 43, 50, 69
 Malto 70
 Marathi 74
 Mayan Pictographs 15
 Max Muller 11
 Mekong River 25
 Mesopotamia 15
 Mikir 47
 Mohenjodaro 17
 Mon 26
 Mon Khmer 22, 25-28, 33
 Montagnard 26
 Mukhtar Dhaka 27
 Munda 12-14, 22, 26, 33, 37, 39,
 47-49, 67
 Mundari 20-22, 36-38, 48

Mundi Dhok 27
 Muridke 47
 Narendar Dev 76
 Nath Jogis 75, 76
 Nicobari 26
 Non Aryan 19
 Nordic Race 11
 N.w.f: 27
 Oriya 70
 Pahari 43, 45, 69
 Pakistan 12, 14, 17, 19, 33
 Pakistani Languages 18, 19, 39-41
 Panchal Dhok 27
 Parji 73
 Pashto 19
 past perfect tense 51, 53
 Patoki 43
 Pothowari 43, 45, 69
 Prakrit 23, 24, 74, 75
 Pre Aryan 22, 23
 present tense 54
 pretrite tense 49
 Prithvi Raj 78
 Prithvi Raj Raso 78
 Proto Drayidian 16
 Punjab (Also Land Of Five Rivers) 19, 22, 27, 33-35, 76, 78
 Punjabi 13, 14, 19-21, 25, 33, 34, 36-39, 42, 43, 45-48, 52-61, 73-75, 78
 Punjabi Adab 13
 Qalat 27
 Rajmahali 47
 Rajsthan 78
 Rajstahni 78
 Rawalpindi 21, 45
 Rigveda 56
 Rosetta Stone 15
 Rumi, M.H; 17
 Russia 16
 Sanskrit 11, 13, 23-25, 27, 36, 42, 44, 49, 54, 67, 68, 70-72, 74, 75
 Santhals 33
 Sapta Sindhwa 22
 Scandinavian Institute Of Asian Studeis 16
 Sialkot 26
 Sind 27, 71

Sindhi 13, 14, 19-21, 36-39, 43, 52-55, 57-61, 70, 71, 73, 74
 Sochurek, H: 26
 sufi mat 78
 Sultan Dhaki 27
 Talaing 26
 Tamil 41, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 55, 56, 69
 Telugu 41, 43, 45, 50, 54, 69
 Tillah Jogian 76
 Toda 50, 56
 Trumpp, E; 70, 71, 72
 Tulu 50, 53
 Uraon 47
 Urdu 13, 14, 19-21, 36-40, 44, 45, 47, 48, 52-61, 70, 73, 74
 Uttar Pardesh 26
 Vedic Sanskrit 55, 56
 Vietnam 26
 Writer's Guild (Pak) 14
 Yamuna 25
 Zaffar Iqbal, Sh. 17

