INTRODUCTION

The present undertaking is an attempt aimed at linguistic reconstruction of Siraji dialect spoken in the country-side of Mandi District H.P. The discussion will cover, among other things, aspects of historical linguistics. I have been concerned throughout with derivative and etymological aspects as also with broad grammatical structure of the dialect under study. Such words as could be traced to OIA and MLA sources have been classed and analysed, suggesting phonetic modifications that have taken place to account for their varying forms.

In addition to Linguistics, the present undertaking will seek to reproduce the Folk-Lore of the area of Siraji. That forms the second or supplementary section. Over five thousand couplets, known locally as Bāmmānu, Lāmmānu or Pantū have been collected for the purpose of supplying the data for linguistic investigation. Their texts are accompanied with translations. The object in view was to present not only Linguistics but also the language which could be collected from its Floating Literature. This is designed to consolidate the lexicon of the Pahādu Languages which have so far invited little or no attention from philologists.

Siraji is the hill-bound country-side of the Distt. Mandi. There is another Siraji region in Kullu Distt. of Punjab, the neighbouring State. This too is equally backward in view of wanting amenities of civilised life. There is another Sirāj in the Northern Distt. Doog of Jammu, Jammu and Kashmir.
The contiguous areas of Sirāji now located in three separate states, may have formed one political unit under the common rule, in some remote past. The people inhabiting these areas retain common habits of living. Whether their speech dialects retain common linguistic features, is a matter of future is a matter of future study.

What is the exact connotation of Sirāji? The Sirāji area of Mandi, happens to be the border area, adjoining the District of Kullu, now Punjab, but at one time, figuring as an independent feudal State. Mandi was equally a Feudal State. Their frontiers were most unstable elements of their administration till British came on the scene to consolidate the British Empire. No wonder therefore, that when passing through this area, one comes across ruins of ancient castles and fortifications which have now outlived their original purpose. It appears that the local people of these areas were ever busy in ceaseless feudal wet-like engagements with their next-doors. Some of the folk-songs refer in touching terms to the encounters with invading armies of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Sikh army appears to have been routed by means of blockade through narrow hill-passes and hurrying down on advancing armies of huge blockes of cut timbers. Sirāj, may have spelt as 'Sirāj' signifying a self-ruling principality which enjoyed a relative anatomy due to the requirements of defence and for the reason that it happened to be a border area ever under the menace of war. Sirāj abounds in thick green forests. Some of the Hill-tops such as 'Sikārī, reach to the height of 12000 feet above sea level. Some parts of the country-side are
inaccessible even to mule not to speak of transport. Most of the natives live on agricultural settlements or lop the timber in return for poor wages. They rear at best sheep and goats in small numbers a for supply of wool to protect them from severe cold of the area.

Siraj is a small country of boundless beauty, saddled in not too high mountains. Once a year during the spell of rains, in return to medieval pageantry, dances leap and whirl in homage to deities. Among the cash crops of the area can be listed potatoes and the apples which due to lack of transport, do not fetch much price for labour in their cultivation. During September, each year, we can see long queues of farm-hands with heavy loads of potatoes, threading their way over long distances towards the neighbouring markets. In some cases, they have to walk twelve miles to reach their destination. Huge quantities of apples are consumed for no price, by giant bats known in Siraj as 'Umala Kaa, Skt. Vamala Kaka. The people of Siraj are hardy and hospitable though superstitious. When I moved in the region, I had great difficulty in collecting language texts at places. The suspicious country people would not part with their treasure of songs for fear of being engaged in litigation. Some of them were openly suspicious and hesitant. They thought that these songs will be used to ridicule the customs and manners of hill-bound people.

In spite of difficulties natural to a work like mine, I have succeeded in collecting over five thousand couplets all of which are
appearing in Supplement. These are sung at country fairs and have been collected from door to door in person. During rains people of the area are rather free since they enjoy leisure from engagements of field work. Man-high in their held in the area during rains. Since maize crops are standing man-high in their fields and growing quietly, they have nothing better to do than gossip and sip tea and join occasionally in local fairs known as Basas. The couplets appearing in the Supplement, are collected at these gatherings. They reveal a highly romantic temper quiet in keeping with green rich surroundings, pleasing landscape and plentiful green.

They are interesting for another reason. They help in study of Anthropology. The subject of Anthropology has been always included as a basic course for advanced students of Linguistics. In most of the foreign Universities, there is provision of teaching Linguistics to the students of Anthropology. The linguistic data collected here, it is hoped, will help in promoting the study of social science of Anthropology and quicker assimilation of a traditionally humanistic discipline to the behavioural sciences.

My attempt to reconstruct the linguistic picture of the Western Pahadi, is not first of its kind. We have memorable work of Grierson, Vol.9. L.8,1 where some broad generalisations are recorded. Great as was his achievement, it was restricted by

* On a second arrangement their number was reduced.
the basis of his survey and was primarily exploratory in character. The stupendous work of Grierson suffered from many limitations. His work does not claim to be exhaustive in presentation of material. Since his survey was vast, he had to limit the scope of study. As we all know his work does not cover the State of Haidarabad and areas adjoining to the South.

The present linguistic study covers a small area in terms of miles, where in tiny villages though geographically close is incorporated a world complete in itself. The intervening high mountain-walls have isolated the area for ages. These closed areas of hills in terms of miles do not represent the proper association of distances which one would like to do with plains down. In plain tracts, the vast areas of cities and towns are noticed retaining identity of linguistic features, while a corresponding area of hills will present a bewildering variety of speech form, delightful to linguistic investigation.

The area of Siraj is called Valley of gods. In view of numerous deities and gods whom the natives worship and adore, Fetishism is their cult. Nearly each village has a god of its own cast in gold or silver and the same is transported frequently on long stout bamboo stocks on manly shoulders over long distances, when the fair is over.

These idols preside over the fairs locally called 'Jāccā, Skt. yātrā. These yātrā, Jāccā festivals are marked with great pomp and show and attract large numbers. Good many immoral
practices, chief among them being kidnapping can be traced to these gatherings. There is allowed uninhibited association of both sexes. The so-called dancers laugh and enjoy and the dances last very often past midnight, where ill-conceived passions take their full play and inflict fully penalty on offenders and innocents alike. Many ill-directed passions are enkindled and are set moving. The area of Siraj is known for allowing freedom of association to womenfolk, who are in most cases unlettered and exposed to designs which lead to embittered family life and wild drift. We are not to travel long distance to come across a victim of such ill-begotten passions, worked on simple people. Curious as it may seem to read, that against freedom of association conceded to fair sex there is the practice of marrying the wards by parents at quite an early age. This naturally leads to consequences too grave to overlook. Child marriage ill accords with personality and concept of freedom in love for women. Family discipline is neglected. The career of wild love is preferred and the foundation of family life sapped with the result that the sense of racial consciousness in love is retarded. Insecurity in love haunts the character and lust for romances exceeds the bonds of human propriety of conduct. During my visits to the region, I came across mothers, having eloped with one whom they regarded as their lover, leaving behind their children to take their own care. Romance is looked upon as an escape from the oppressive domestic drudgery of family routine. Cleverness
in love is extolled as virtue and fooling in love is regarded as pastime and that too like a game with no sense of gain and loss involved. Runaway marriages are in vogue. These irregularities have been normalised by customary Law, applicable to the area of Siraj. Women are sold in return for cash and consent to fresh partnership in marriage, will be held in case another suitor with heavier purse and slick speech appears on the scene. The Customary Law, in this way regularised selling and reselling of women and has managed to preserve the society. The disregard of discipline in love has met with deserving penalty. One cannot escape crime. There are widespread venereal diseases in the area. If not prevented in time, they might lead to total depopulation of the area.

There may be historical explanation of this abnormal conduct in sex. The area of Siraj is border area linking the erstwhile feudal state of Mandi/ka sikh in Siraji being border area, its people were often called upon to take arms and consequently were driven to live away from their homes for years. Frontier was an area of regular battle-fields. The battles were waged with varying fortunes for contending parties. That explains why these people have come to look upon love as diversion only. The soldier is ever looking for relaxation from tension of crisis. The cheap love has come to be associated with soldier all over the world. The area of Siraj is still studded with ruins of castles, to name among many, the fortresses ruins of Tung Dhär hill-side. The whole
belt of high hills, linking the village of Rūmbaṇi to the
village of Ghaniār called locally Sapahani Dhār (See Supplement
Folk-Lore) is lined with fortress ruins, still scattered over
the area. This brief reference to morals and manners of Siraj
was necessary to enable the student to a close understanding
of couplets appearing in the Supplement. Their contents will be
better appreciated if the preceding discussion of Sirāji
people is kept in view.

Some of the gods worshipped in Sirāj can be traced to
Cl. Epics. In one of the villages of Siraj, they worship
Śukanāsa, the famous expounder in Kādambari. The majority
of gods are, however local and non-Aryan.

The greater part of the area of Siraj, now forming part of
H.P. was called in eventful times of Epics, as Trigarta meaning
the area of three-gartas, meaning three lakes as opposed to the
adjoining region of Dvigarta; Duggarta; Dogara State of
Jammu and Kashmir. Nearly thirty miles from Jammu, to the
north, there are still two huge lakes of clean blue water,
locally called Saruisar and Mansarovara separated from each
other only eight miles. Close to Mandi, there is Rivālsar
lake, a place of pilgrimage to Buddhists of Laddakh. Uphill from
Rivālsar, there are still three big lakes overflowing with water,
attracting tourists - the Trigarta having three lakes.

Mountains are welcome to those who come for sight-seeing
but to one who sought to exact linguistic material out of them
they turned a frightful face. They are pleasing to look at but hard to explore. They can be compared to palaces which have fine exterior but contain fright within. I am reminded of Goethe who said - Steine sind stumme Lehrer. Sie machen den beobachter stum and das beste was man von ihnen learnt, ist nicht zuteilen, "Hills are bad teachers. They do not easily submit to observation and what at all you learn from them is harder still to communicate".1.

The dialect of Sirāj Pahādi is related to the group of languages listed under Western Pahādi.

The origin of the work, Sirāj, is obscure. It may be phonetic corruption of the base-Satalaj river of that name. The river Satalaj forms one of the frontiers of the area of Sirāj.

2. A brief reference to those contributing on the subject under study.


4. Cf. Grierson-linguistic Survey of India. Vol. 9. Grierson observes, "According to local tradition, a difficult mountain country is known as Sirāj i.e., "Shiva Kingdom". It may be pointed out here that in Sirāj - Siri Simkhar means a hill peak. See also my discussion on the origin of Siraj in Foreword, p.1.

5. See Dike-"The Kullu Dialect of Hindi and A Glossary" vide Introduction page 1. cf. "The tract between the two rain rivers comprising the high ridges of watershed and infinity of mountains is locally called Saraj or the High Lands. Sirāj could be from the base-Sataruj, (Skt. Śatadru )."
The original inhabitants of the area of Siraj appear to be Khasas 6.

Though in course of time the admixture of other races was inevitable 7. The present attempt is aimed at the historic reconstruction of the dialect of Western Pahari. Grierson gave only a descriptive outline of the dialect of Siraji and that too of Simal Siraji and not of Himachal Siraji. His outline of Siraji, was in the nature of survey and as such sketchy casual and lacking in depth and detail 8.

6. That Khasas ruling over the ne area of Siraj held sway over a large political dominion will be evident from the fact that they once dominated and demanded ransom for release of Dhruvasvaminî, the Queen of Šarma Gupta one of the rulers of Gupta Dynasty when they had defeated in straight battles the Gupta army. cf. -Gayakavada Oriental series. No.1 Kāsi Nāgarī Prasārinī Sahā Part I. Indian Samvat, 1977, cf. -the text of the following verse:

"datvā ruddha gayati khasadhīpataye Devā Dhruvasvāminīṁ, yasamāṭkhanditayāhāso nivāyṛte Śrīśārmagupte kṛpah. Tasmānteva Kiśālaya guruguhākoṇakvanatākare giyante tava Kārtikaya nagarastraṁgan ganaṁ kīrtaya."

"Gupta ruler Śrī Šarma Gupta had lost the battle to Khasas and was asked to deposit a huge sum for the release of the queen Dhruvasvāminî."

Examine also Grierson-L.S.I. Vol.9 on the identity of Khasas who were known as Yakṣas in Skt. See on the location of Yakṣas, Grierson"Pisaca Languages of the north west". Vide Appendix p.1 also of numerous references to Khasas in Fold-Lore Supplement.

7. Grierson speaks of Gujjars who formed a major part of the population of Khasas area of Siraj cf. L.I.S. Vol.9.

Dikes' attempt to reconstruct what he calls a dialect of Hindi (Kullu Dialect of Hindi) has been most halting due to his inadequate information in the sources of CIA and MIA 9.

9. Some of the omissions and commissions of Dike are listed below, cf. Dike: "The Kullu dialect of Hindi and A Glossary p.3, vide 'Consonantal Change'. The change of the palatals into sibilants or vice-versa, is instanced in the word for 'white' which in the Siraj dialect is 'citā' (with both vowels long). The word in question is current in Siraji Pahādi Western, so also in the plains of Punjab. But in the Rias valley it is 'śetā' (a palatal with long syllabic vowel); the word śetā, meaning white is current in Siraji Pahādi and also the word, 'citā' (t-cerebral) cf. also Punjabi, citā, with long final syllabic vowel and duplicated cerebral. It is being used to signify 'black'.

I am afraid Dike was ill-informed. - Cita means -citra; multi-coloured and - śetā, means fair cf. Skt. -sveta.

Most of the observations of Dike were miscarried due to his attempt to equate Kullu Dialect of Siraj with Hindi. He calls Kullu Siraji as the dialect of Hindi. Little wonder, his observations on etymology are examples of misconstrue derivations. For more errors see pages 6, 7, 8, 9 of his work. "The Kullu Dialect of Hindi. The value of his work consists in supplying the Glossary of Kullu Dialect of Siraji."
Historic reconstruction involves etymology which Pischel suspected. Perhaps objection of Pischel was against strained etymology, devoid of reference to usages. Derivative effort as an understanding of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, has been highly recommended by Turner. Katre and Dr. Verma support the same view.

The dialect of Siraji is indebted to MIA phonology for certain sounds. Cf. for instance, words with an overwhelming number of an initial syllable and intervocalic -l. Certain cases of -ka reduced to -ch, also cases of ceraleresation are due to the influence of MIA phonology.

12. See Dr. Katre-Skt. Lexicography and MIA. Vide Woolner Comm. Vol. 8, Initial-jh. Also examine Chapter 'Preservation of Aspirate Sounds in Siraji Pahadi' of the present work.
13. Pahadi Siraji retains intervocalic sonant- l, ceraleresation see Chapter 'Modifications.' Cf. Ceraleresation in Siraji Pahadi of the present study.
14. Dr. Katre-'Skt. Lexicography and MIA', Vide Woolner Comm. Vol. 8,
The subject has been discussed under five heads as follows:

1. Preservations.
2. Modifications.
3. Semantics
4. Extensions - Grammatical and Pleonastic.
5. Lexicon.

The Chapter on Semantics will include a reference to peculiar context associations of words among other things. Some of the local dialects of remote hills retain original context distinctions. Skt. lexicons in their anxiety to list synonyms had lost the context distinctions at quite an early stage. The following will illustrate the point-of. Siraji Pahadi, which uses three words- agi; Skt. angi, fire.

Sir.-Basanner; Skt.-Vaisvänara-kitchen fire;
Sir.-ael; Skt.-anala. meaning heart-burning.

In Pahadi Siraji, they retain their separate identity of meanings, -Basanner, means only kitchen fire, while -ael means - heart burning. Also of. -Punjabi and Hindi- Hallâ; also dialectal-ael, heart burning.

Folk-lore is appearing in Supplement. It supplies the necessary data for historic linguistic investigation. Folk-lore may appear at first sight to be an odd assortment in a work.
devoted mainly to research. But lost etymology should run astray in its preoccupation with academic type of derivations, the current usage as embodied in folk-lore would serve as corrective. Nearly each word included in his linguistic investigation, can be traced to Supplement of Folk-lore. Such words as are common to Fakulti and Hindi are avoided to escape the obvious. This is the study of the dialect both from the point of language and literature, "Floating literature" i.e. folk-lore is recorded for the first time. It will reveal, it is hoped not only the popular speech but also the popular mind. It would have an additional gain from the anthropological standpoint.

I have quoted extensively from German authors chiefly from Wackernagel and Debrunner—"Altindische Grammatik" Vide his 4 volumes and Brugmann"Grundriss", whenever it suited the discussion "Altindische Grammatik" is often referred to by name of the authors only with of course difference of volumes indicated. The citations from German works have not been reproduced in original but appear translated in English for fear of presenting a varied text of mixed languages as also in view of the additional difficulty of typing of reverse vowels of German language. All throughout the phonological discussions, the Roman transcription is followed to avoid misspelling.
Historic investigations will help in shaping the linguistic map of India.

16. Cf. -Dr. S.M. Katre, "Skt. Lexicography and Middle Indo-Aryan", Vide Woolner Comm. Vol. 8. Cf. the remarks, "There is vast field to be investigated in the words cited in Skt. Lexicography and separated into OIA i.e., inherited from Indo-European or Indo-Iranian, MIA and other sources, such as Austro-Asiatic, Tibhato-Burman. etc.

Dr. Katre observes, "A systematic study of both MIA and OIA including of course the Vedic with reference to modern Indo-Aryan and other families of languages current in India is still a desideratum".

Also Cf. -Dr. Verma- "The Place of Dogari in the languages of India", "The present decade has opened tremendous new problems for historical reconstructions. History is no longer the 'drum and trumpet' history of battles and conquering hordes. Our widened historical horizon, categorically demands the history of every culture, for which investigation of historical development of the languages concerned is indispensable".
ETYMOLOGY IN GENERAL

Etymology seeks to explain the origin of words. It is preoccupied with words which are half matter and half mind and being as such most wonderful of productions.

Etymology to be scientific, must follow established general principles or natural laws. There are three sets of laws, involved in the history of origin of words. The laws of their original production; The laws of their subsequent change in utterance or form; The laws of their subsequent change in meaning.

The present study is concerned mainly with the second of these laws, with what success, may be left to the critical judgement. Even partial success, attending the present investigation may suggest of what may be expected of fuller and more complete undertaking in this field. It is my attempt to lay bare the laws of phonetic correspondences as they have baring on Pahadi Siraji Western, with reference to OIA bases, through MIA phonological modifications in operation. One may must be familiar with these laws of phonetic correspondences but their application to pahadi Siraji Western as a base, is indeed first of its kind 17.

The present undertaking has been strictly limited end of historic reconstruction of Pahadi bases and stems. The discovery

of original words, may be regarded as the ultimate end of labour. The groups of words and bases with their modifications, will be brought together not only in strict identity of forms but by similar mode of production, involved in phonetic correspondences. Abundant variety of expressions available in Skt. most original of all the members of I,E. languages, has been availed of, for the simple reason that formations in Skt. preserve the most archaic character and original fulness of form, in which one can sufficiently know how the primitive speakers sought to give expression to a varied mode of thinking which was by no means subtle. Skt. is particularly suited to the end in view. It has a large variety of bases with hardly any difference in meaning. One cannot ignore the advantages of Skt. Lexicons, where there are available not only different bases (radicals), conveying the same idea but also a number of meanings widely different from each other is found belonging to the same base- of. Pahādī radical base meaning movement, 18. An alternate base is used for conveying the same idea, i.e. ainā (n-cerebral) in the sense of coming. Pahādī Sirāji uses also-īh to come (with long syllabic vowel) in the same meaning 19. This undoubtedly indicates great abundance of expressions, though a state of more archaic than

19. Ibid. Āūpī Ceṣṭāyāṁ, p. 388, (184).
what obtained at P.I. stage. Similarly the OIA-ṃā, (ṇ-cerebral) 20, which was used to mean to be lost in Skt. has come to mean -to run away, in Phaḍi Sirājī - Cf. Siraji-nāhanā (ma-final syllabic cerebr.al) with long vowel) meaning to go Siraji-māṭṭhā; meaning, -went away, 21.

It will be found that quite a diverse number of roots came to convey kindred meanings and not only that, roots quite unlike each other in form, for used with significations in between which it is hard to draw distinction, when the differences are so fine. Thus as Curtius 22 points out there is in Skt. among the I.E. languages quite a number of clusters of roots meaning to go, and yet without the smallest phonetic connection with each other. Also compare the multitude of different roots which signify-to speak or shine or glitter. It was noteworthy feature of Skt. as of other members of I.E. languages with abundant expressions of the finest shades of meanings of roots fit for the purpose - Cf. for instance, Pahādi radical base-phasī (s-palatal sibilant) phasī, phasī-phāphasī, to grope in dark, reduplicated form of -spaś, to see 23.

20. Ibid. p. 257. 442 Divadaya.
21. Siraji-māṭṭhā, is corrupt modification of Skt. radical-ṃaṭṭa.
22. Max Muller has listed groups of Skt. roots identical in form with difference of single consonants only, conveying the same sense of action. Cf. "Lectures on the Science of languages", 1 p.305.
It may interest Inf to note that -spas, is scarce used in OI as a verb, meaning to see, except in nominal base-spasa, a member of secret service. Some of the dialects under study may offer corroborating evidence of many now considered outdated meanings associated with OIA roots. The great and remarkable habit of grammatical and phonetic analysis has at its source the employment of roots in such abundance and so finely distinguished. The same is attested by the evidence of Pahadi-radical bases-Cf.-ich; to come, with incoative suffix-ch.)

Next to the duplicating presents, the most characteristic stems are those with incoative suffix -oh; (Skt.-gach; pgoch, etc.) The incoative radical suffix-ch, became very productive in lat. and F Germanic but in Skt. it remained confused to few roots only 24. That explains why in Skt. the number of quite different meanings, which so often belong to what is apparently the same root 26. Bethlink and Roth 27 have cited Skt. root-pat; (t-cerebral with short syllabic vowel) in the meaning of going, speaking, giving


26. See Introduction p. 4 and 5 of Gr. lat. and Gothic roots by James Byrne.

27. Examine "Wackernagel and Debrunner" p. Band I.
light and splitting together with the substantive -pata; (t-cerebral) meaning, cloth. How does it agree with the popular notion of various meanings with various roots? 28. Curtius thinks that in such cases, a single surviving root is the decayed representative of roots originally different in form. For instance -pat, represents the confusion of -pat and pati, -pati, to explain cerebralisation in NIA 29, and NIA languages. An instance of similar character is furnished by Pahadi Siraji, radical base-ud, (with long syllabic vowel and d-cerebral sonant). The same is to be bracketed with the OIA radical base, -ud-di, to fly; OIA radical is insufficient to explain cerebralisation in -di; the only radical base of OIA with an initial retroflex cerebral is surviving in Siraji Pahadi 30.

It was originally a radical form with -urdhva day, meaning to go up, which was subsequently confused with -di (cerebral)- Cf.-day, to go, 31. -di (long syllabic vowel) in meaning of simple going, referring to human movements, is still retained in Siraji Pahadi-Cf. -den (both long syllabic vowels) past tense

29. Cf. Woolner-"Introduction to Pkts", p. 15, also Wackernagel and Debrunner-Altindische Grammatik", Band I.
30. See Chapter 'Preservation of Initial cerebrals' of the present study.
of the root-\textit{di} went away. It is clear that originally same
utterance was used to express quite different meanings.
Consonants having more contents of sounds than the vowels, which
have voice, were found to be more expressive in varied fulness.
There are numerous instances in \textit{Sirāji} of an identical same
word with phonetic modification, leading to semantic distinctions,
\textit{Cf.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>\textit{Sirāji}</th>
<th>Skt.</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>chāge</td>
<td>chatra</td>
<td>umbrella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chūcci</td>
<td>chatraka</td>
<td>mushroom. Because of the two, resembling in form.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēri</td>
<td>kṣetra</td>
<td>plain ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>checce</td>
<td>kṣetra</td>
<td>fields</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jet or joth</td>
<td>ḍyoti</td>
<td>hill–peak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dotti 32.</td>
<td>ḍyoti</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the singular expressiveness of consonants, see
Mahābhāṣya 33.

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32. See Chapter 'Semantic Distinctions', of the present study.