THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SIRAIKI LANGUAGE IN PAKISTAN

BY

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ABSTRACT

Siraiki is the language of central Indus valley in
Pakistan. Although accurate figures cannot be extracted from
official statistics, it is spoken by approximately twenty-five
to thirty million people. The thesis examines the modern
evolution of Siraiki in Pakistan, first from the point of view
of identity and the ethno-national movement of which it is a
pivotal point, then with closer attention to linguistic
features of the contemporary written language and with
critical analysis of representative selections from modern
literary texts.

A brief historical introduction to the language and the
people is followed by four chapters devoted to the Siraiki
language movement. It is shown that this movement echoes the
rise of other ethno-national movements which resulted from the
constitution of Pakistan as a unitary state in a multilingual
area, and how in the 1960s, partly under the influence of the
Bengali and Sindhi nationalist movements, it started to oppose
the growth of a 'Panjabi identity'. Both fieldwork data and
contemporary archival material are used to develop a picture
of the different phases of the movement, from an initial
formulation of the identity in the 1970s to achieve
ethno-nationalism in the 1980s before relative quiescence in
the 1990s.

The next two chapters explore the linguistic basis of the
Siraiki identity proclaimed by the movement, and the
achievements of the activists associated therewith in the
standardization and modernization of the language, with

2

reference to both its basic Indo-Aryan features and the large
Arabic-Persian component in its vocabulary. The two following
chapters present sets of extracts from modern Siraiki
literature, first prose then poetry, in transliteration and
translation with brief commentary, before a final assessment
of the overall characteristics of the literature and a brief
conclusion.

Dedicated to Fida Husain Khan Gadi and

Mir Hassan ul Haidari

Table of Contents   **Page**

Notes on conventions used

In addition to the chapters-7 to 9 which include Siraiki vocabulary and Siraiki texts, thesis involves, frequent occurrence of non-*English*material, again Siraiki, Urdu, Panjabi or else. Non-English material is followed, or in the case of general occurrences preceded, by translation in quotes. Translations of non-English titles, except for those not placed in the bibliography and thus translated in the text, are given in brackets and quotes. The language of non-English texts other than Siraiki is indicated by the appropriate *x x x x x x x* abbreviation which follows the text, e.g. *Siraiki tahrik* U 'Siraiki movement'. In titles the abbreviation stands for the language of the text, e.g. *Majalis-ul-muminin* (Sr, 'Meetings of the believers').

Some geographical and other terms for the region and *sub*-regions of Pakistan are used as partial synonyms. 'Indus valley' is popular among the students of history and civilization and is preferred by local ethno-nationalist groups over the less historical 'Pakistan'. Similarly, the Panjab (which is also spelt 'Punjab' here in quotes stands for a larger area including the Siraiki region when used as name of the province. It stands only for the Panjabi speaking districts of the province when used in context with 'Siraiki' or Siraiki region, or when specified as 'central Panjab'. The same is the case with the words 'Siraiki' and 'Panjabi' whether used for languages or speakers. Another problem is of overlapping, as in statements about the language area of Siraiki, or in the words, texts and references to Siraiki,

Sindhi and Panjabi. For instance, language maps show Dera Ismail Khan under Siraiki or Hindko language zones while atlases place it in NWFP as a Pakhtun area, and dictionaries, even CDIAL, place many words of Siraiki under Panjabi. This problem has been dealt with by citing counter references, hence the possibility of a Siraiki word being Panjabi has been excluded by consulting a Panjabi dictionary (PanjDic 1994) to confirm that it has not been registered there.

Romanization

Parallel conventions of Romanization of South Asian languages written in Persian script are as old as the tradition of Romanization itself. For detailed discussion on Siraiki script and transcription Chapter-6.82 may be consulted. Among many contrasting forms in transliteration a few of the most important are mentioned here:

Some orientalists prefer International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) such as Masica (1991). Others, though not using IPA undertake detailed marking of phonemic contrasts through traditional transliteration. Both are avoided here because such exhaustive marking of sound segments would require independent theoretical discussion beyond the scope of this work.

Tab.A   Alphabetic correspondence between Siraiki and Roman symbols

Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman

Vowels:

Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman
ا , آ	a, ā,	ی	i, ī,	اُو	u, ū,
ﮮ	e, ē,			او	o, ō,
ﮮ	ai,			ﮮ	ae,
آؤ	au,			آو	ao.

Consonants:

Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman
ب	b	ب	b̲	پ	p
ت	t	ت	t	ث	s
ج	j	ج	j̲	چ	ñ
چ	ch	ح	h	خ	kh
د	d	ڈ	ḍ	ذ	d̲
ذ	z	ر	r	ڑ	r.
ز	z	ژ	zh	س	s
ش	sh	ص	s	ض	z
ط	t	ط	z	ع	'
غ	gh	ف	f	ق	q
ک	k	گ	g	گ	g̲
نگ	ṅ	ل	l	م	m
ن	n	ن	n.	و	v
ﮦ , ﮨ	h	ی	y		

In transliterations of non-English texts the rule of an initial capital is followed in the case of names and titles but not in sentences. Transliterations of certain words will be somewhat different from their standard form, for instance,

Siraiki is transliterated as *Seraeki*. The vowel sequences
'*ai*' and '*au*' of Urdu are '*ae*' and '*ao*' in Siraiki
transliteration but the Urdu spellings are preferred in
established names.

References

All references are given in brackets in the text in this
order: author/title, date, and page number where relevant
which is indicated by 'p. or pp.', e.g. (Abdul Haq 1964: p.13)
or <u>Report</u> 1959: p.289). Arabic numbers added without being
followed by 'p., or pp.' refer to Chapter numbers in this work
or the work cited, e.g. (6.1) means this work Chapter-6.1 and
(Farid 1944: 7) means *Divan-e-Farid* 1944 edition, *Kafi* No. 7.
Additional details, such as references to entry No. in
Chapter-7, to line No. of an extract in Chapters 8 and 9, to
couplet No. in Farid or to headword No. in CDIAL are added
following a slash (/), e.g. (7.1/22), (8.i/5), (Farid 1944:
59/23), (CDIAL/12459). Frequent reference to CDIAL in
Chapter-7 is endorsed by simple entries of headword No. in
brackets at the end of each entry.

Each brief reference in brackets in the text of the
thesis is also a code to its full entry in the bibliography
and can be located accordingly.

Curly brackets {} are selectively used to mark findings
and personal observations of this writer as a native speaker
of the language and researcher into contemporary developments.

List of abbreviations, contractions and symbols

General

Jk.   *Jhok*

Ju   Jukes

nd   not dated

NWFP   North Western Frontier Province

pn   place not mentioned

Languages

Ar.   Arabic

AP   Arabic-Persian

E   English

G   Gujarati

H   Hindi

IA   Indo-Aryan

L   Lahnda

Mult.   Multani

OIA   Old Indo-Aryan

Or.   Oriya

P   Panjabi

Pa.   Pali

Pk.   Prakrit

Per.   Persian

S   Sindhi

Sr.   Siraiki

SrC.   Siraiki Central

SrE.   Siraiki Eastern

SrN.   Siraiki Norhtern

SrS.   Siraiki Southern

SSr.   Sindhi Siraiki

Skt.   Sanskrit

Linguistic

c   consonant

cc   geminate

infl.   inflected

intr.   intransitive

lit.   literal

obl.   oblique

part.   participle

pl.   plural

prpt.   present participle

sg.   singular

tr.   transitive

vb.   verb

>   has become, becomes

<   is derived from

- -/   metrical foot

v-   less then a metrical foot

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Pakistan, one of the modern states which emerged after World War II, is situated in the north-west of South Asia. In geographic terms it can be located as lying between 24°N to 37°N and 61°E to 76°E. The area of Pakistan shows extreme geo-climatic contrasts by including the Himalayan parts of Karakoram in its Northern area with below freezing point temperature round the year, to the steppe region of Pothohar with 375-500 mm annual rainfall, down to the desert of Cholistan and Tharparkar and the barren rocky zone of costal area with the lowest annual rainfall, under 125 mm and a temperature up to 48 centigrade in summer afternoons. The population of the 796,095 sq km area of Pakistan was counted as 84,253,644 in the last census of 1981 and is estimated as about 120 million at present. The population density is uneven Lahore with all the districts of central Panjab, and the valley of Peshawar in North West Frontier Province showing highest population density of 401 to 600 per sq km. In contrast to this the vast stretches of southern Balochistan in the south west, and the desert along the Indo-Pakistan border in Thar region, in the south east which together make more than half of the total area of the country, show the lowest population density of 1 to 10 per sq km. With its fertile cultivated plains of Panjab, Sind and the valley of Peshawar, mineral rich heights of Balochistan and promising oil fields in the Siraiki region and Sind, economic self reliance remains an achievable goal for Pakistan.

Pakistan resulted from the sharp ethno-national conflict

which emerged in the British India as the dark side of the independence movement. It has gone through many turmoils during the fifty years of its history. With political dynamism as the most striking feature of the country, it invited many challenges and uncalled-for troubles, went into three wars with India including the one in which it lost half its territory in 1971. It sustained internal challenges and played the role of an efficient friend of the western powers in destabilizing pro-Soviet Afghanistan when the breakup of Pakistan itself was usually expected. However in spite of promising economic prospects including fertile lands, sufficient mineral resources and progressive international trade, it is the ongoing denying of democracy and social and political justice which darkens the scope of economic and political stability in near future.

Many post-colonial 'third-world' states face threats to their very bases which are posed mostly by the question of 'democracy' which the bureaucratic centralism of these states, justified in the name of development, denies their people who, in most cases, were made sensitive about their democratic rights during their struggle against colonial rule. Many more face a similar challenge from the problems of unsettled sub-nationalisms again, in many cases, intensified by state-centralism. The reliance of the administration of such states on 'state-sponsored nationalism' generates 'inclusionary rhetoric of singular nationalism' which only contributes to the rage of 'exclusionary nationalisms' (Bose and Jalal 1997: p.2).

In Pakistan's case, any discussion on 'exclusionary

nationalisms', generally ethno-nationalisms, quickly turns into the question of the legitimacy of the state itself. As compared to most of modern Afro-Asian states of its type 'the God-gifted-state of Pakistan' (*Mamlukat-e-Khuda-dad Pakistan*) made little progress in approaching the modern model of a nation-state. Hence the noisy debates on modern problems like problems of democracy, development and adoption of the new economic models etc. in present day Pakistan only cause further neglect of the vital problems, the need for putting straight the basic concepts about the nation. One such basic problem is the imposition of singular nationalism in one part of South Asia, which is a region marked with chronic multiplicities.

The ideological enforcement of singular nationalism dogmatized by Pakistani writers of the early period after partition brought about the confusion of some major questions. It is seen by ethno-nationalists as a projection of a misconception of a fundamental nature, changing the multinational character of Pakistan into a homogenous state (Kazi 1993: p.26). This is further aggravated by the state by its disregard of ethno-national entities and bracketing the language based grouping of the people, a common phenomenon in multilingual societies, with sectarianism (*lisaniyat aur firqawariyat*).

Except for the intelligence agencies, no body or commission was ever set to study the language issue. On the other hand, certain national issues have been over-projected at the cast of neglect of the others. Much energy has been spent on documentation of the dispute with India on Kashmir

but less on, for instance, analysis of the Pak-Afghan conflict on the indivisible Pakhtun area, the so called Durand Line dispute. Similarly, the Iranian claims on Balochistan which came to touch the level of interference in the last days of Raza Shah, and the Baloch aspirations for 'Greater Balochistan (cf. Janmahmad 1989: pp.319-20) are among the areas neglected by main stream Pakistani scholars. Adoption of this selective method of understanding of the basic national issues is not accidental; it is a manifestation of an approach adopted at the outset to meeting the challenge of putting together the components of the new state: the state, the people and the territory. The vacuum is then partly filled by the studies of scholars belonging to different aggravated groups which are useful only as view of the other side.

The nearest model to focus on as a contrast to the problems in Pakistan is India which is idealized, though covertly, by many among the intellectual elite of Pakistan for its liberalism and democracy. Of course, India's treatment of the problem of linguistic multiplicity has been different from that of Pakistan. Taking, for example, the case of Sindhi in India, the language of 1.4 million refugees at the time of partition which was left out of the 'Eighth schedule' of Indian constitution, was accommodated in 1967 as a response to a moderate Sindhi language movement without a single event of protest on record. On its recognition, a grant of Rs 10 million (probably much more than the total amount of the grants allocated for all regional languages in Pakistan) was announced by the government for development of the language, and a few radio stations spared chunks of time for Sindhi

broadcasts. As a typical case of the administrative technique of defusing a rising by acknowledgement, the Sindhi activists in India, however, lost their zeal for language immediately after its recognition by the government and the third generation is found with little ambition for their mother tongue (Daswani 1979: pp.61,66,67-9).

This Indian model of accommodation of multiplicity is referred to in positive tones in the writings of many independent Pakistani scholars (cf. Rahman 1996: p.12) although it too involves some problems of far reaching effects. First, it has brought about hegemony of a few 'Regional languages' as state languages at the cost of many smaller languages like Kurux of the Kuruxs or Oraons spread in the states of Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Many such tribal dialects are led to extinction causing anxiety among the speakers and concern among articulate sections and social organizations (Ekka 1979: p.99; cf. Nambisan 1994). Secondly, as was feared by Nehru, it remains possible that success of this multiple order may undermine the state and lead different units to secession (Smith 1983:214; Snyder 1982: p.XV).

Like any state-nationalism on its way to consolidation (cf. Smith 1983: pp.41-2), Pakistani nationalism required the disintegration of the traditional structures of its society and in this it was not much different from what was going on in India except that it had not prepared a major part of its society to a voluntary resignation to a nation-state. This was a difference of historical maturation between the Congress and the Muslim League. While the first had developed the

concept of a nation-state, the second decided to evolve a state-nation (cf. ibid: p.189). Hence in presence of numerous historically evolved ethno-national groups like the Bengalis, the Pakistan state-nationalism appeared to act as a 'macro-nationalism' of wider economic and cultural significance conflicting with the groups previously existing in their own economic and cultural zones, and turning them into unacceptable 'mini-nationalisms' (cf. Snyder 1982: p.XV). The gap between the stance of the two sides, the ethno-nationalists and the state-nationalists was perceived as irreconcilable by the second.

Ignoring the scepticism about establishment that it believed in achieving a forced uni-nationalism by removing all the barriers of linguistic and cultural diversity (cf. Kazi 1993: p.27), it can be said that in framing policies, the ruling classes have always been optimist about assimilation of all cultural groups into one national formation. It is however difficult to assess the success of such hypothetical policies in a society where the usual population census has been delayed for seven years (The News 30-9-1997). The gap of judgement between the policy centres of the state and the opinion-makers in academia and the press seems to be widening in the sense that where the first, out of rigidity or for lack of sufficient mandatory power, has become immovably against introducing the required changes in policy, the second, as said above, are raising and propagating the questions about the justification of partition and the legitimacy of the state. Assertions are made even in the widely reaching Urdu press that the 1937 elections actually falsified the Muslim

League's claim that the Muslims of the 'majority Muslim provinces' wanted Pakistan. That majority of these provinces instead voted for non-religious political parties which represented the provincial aspirations of the people (cf. Jalal 1990: p.23). However, the slogan of a separate homeland always having a mass appeal in the societies in trouble, the question whether the Muslims voted for Pakistan or not has little appeal because not all the modern states have been founded through a popular vote. The questions are: who had permitted it to happen, why 'All India' failed to stop partition, and why it seems that the issue of partition entails doubts about legitimacy of one state and not the other's. These questions are being crystallized today, and remain to be worked out in the following decades.

Coming back to the language issue, the Indian state did not perceive any threat from languages because Congress had not built its inclusive nationalism on language. The state of Pakistan, from the first day became sensitive to this issue because the Muslim league had used the Hindi-Urdu language cleavage in its interest during its movement for separation. It could get rid of it after having achieved Pakistan. But this burden was retained to serve the interests of Urdu speaking migrants who were the major ruling group during the first decade. Concentration of political power in the hands of smaller groups made this possible, and it was found useful even by the government of the Hindko-speaking Ayyub Khan (1958-1970) to use the one language formula to keep the many candidates for power sharing at distance. It was also feasible because of the smaller number of the speakers of Urdu

with their articulate section being already well adjusted to the national ideology.

Looking on the issue more linguistically, the architects of Pakistan made excessive use of the device of language by creating a dependence on Persian-Arabic idiom. Hence any relaxation to the languages of the land would surely mean no escape from the Indo-Aryan vocabulary with which India identifies herself. For instance, changing the less familiar Persian-Arabic name of a Pakistani missile *Hatif* 'a voice from beyond' and replacing it with an Indo-Aryan name would lose the challenging contrast with the Sanskiritic name of the Indian missile *Agni* 'fire'.

Such technical problems could never be brought into discussion both for overall lack of academic interest in linguistics and for the gap between the stand point of the establishment and the ethno-national groups. Where the first is reluctant to accept the concept of Pakistan being a multilingual country, the latter asserts that this state was 'composed of six historically-evolved legitimate nations, i.e. Sindhi, Siraiki, Baloch, Pathan, Panjabi and Bengali' (Kazi 1993: p.26).

The case of Siraiki has four major dimensions to be considered: status as a group, level of language differentiation in relation to Panjabi, self-awareness among the Siraiki people and prospects of a Siraiki rising in terms of identity, autonomy or independence.

Linguistic definitions are not independent; these are determined in correlation with other factors. Urdu and Hindi became different languages mainly using the tool of difference

of script, while Brahui and Balochi, although mutually unintelligible languages of Balochistan, share speakers who behave as one nationality. In comparison to other major language families of South Asia such as Dravidian, Tibeto-Burman and Iranian, the Indo-Aryan language family is largest.

According to Deutsch, the process of assimilation is linked with mobilization and can be examined in a mobilized population which he also calls 'political public'. This is people of different language groups who are entered into intensive economic, social or political contact. Assimilation is seen growing if the number of persons learning the language of assimilated population is more then those who enter into close contact i.e. into the mobilized population but remain ignorant of that language. The economic or socio-political close contact between two different language groups does not necessarily lead to language assimilation. The technological and economic processes which force them together may instead lead them to acute recognition of their differences and experience of strangeness. There are two more relevant concepts: (i) the need to communicate versus ability to communicate, and (ii) growth of community in comparison to development of society. Among language groups entered into close contact, if the ability to communicate spreads faster than the need to communicate, or that if community is growing faster than society, it would mean that assimilation is taking place; if otherwise, it will be differentiation gaining ground.

The mobilization of the people of central Panjab started

27

with construction of canals and massive migration and settlement of Panjabi peasants in and around the town centres of western parts of the Panjab province at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was carried on with industrial development in the area of central Panjab added with concentration of military and political power in the same area after partition. With this the Panjabi language became the language of assimilation for the people of regions around who were entering into close contact with the Panjabis in almost every sphere of development. It was the role of the Siraiki language to resist this assimilation by developing ethno-national consciousness in the 1960s.

Panjabi became language of the marketplace, of transport and certain departments of the government like police and military also in the Siraiki area. The exact rate of linguistic change being unmeasurable in the absence of scientific studies, it can be said on the basis of evidence of literature that the Siraiki response has been less of assimilation and more of recognition of differentiation and experience of strangeness. The Siraiki middle class and intelligentsia reacted to the threat to their language in covert ethno-political terms. It, however, appears that the Siraiki working class in some urban centres like Multan, Bahawalpur, Rahim Yar Khan, Muzaffargarh and Leiah, finding Panjabi as language of business initially became bilingual and started a gradual reassertion of their language only recently. The linguistically convenient emergence of a mixed speech which would mean a development in the direction of assimilation, however, did not take place .

Siraiki is itself a language of assimilation in its western confines where it neighbours with Balochi and Pashto, the languages of less mobilized tribal language groups, Baloches and Pathans or Pakhtuns. A simple evidence of the gradual expansion of Siraiki in this area where the development of mixed dialect is not possible for basic linguistic difference between the Indo-Aryan Siraiki and the languages of Iranian family, Balochi and Pashto is that the number of speakers of Siraiki as a second language is much more than the speakers of Balochi and Pashto as second language.

This study addresses both linguistic and ethno-national aspects of Siraiki simultaneously dealing with some problems of the research in this area. In the absence of any recent reliable studies on Siraiki a lot of contemporary material had to be consulted and scrutinized to be brought to standard. The writings of the native speakers and the activists of the movement were full of a proud partiality and ethno-national bias, an aspect which had to be carefully treated at every step and also to be used to record the intensity of the conflict. In addition to this, the decentralized, rapid growth in literature offered many inconsistent standards in reference, orthography, language and presentation. For instance, compilers of annual bibliographies included numerous titles written in Urdu and some in English in their lists of Siraiki publications. An important booklet on Siraiki national question bears a Siraiki title followed by text completely in Urdu. A large number of publications had to be classified under the title of 'Archival material' given an

absence of name, date and place.

Besides his grammar, Professor Shackle has contributed with more than a dozen titles relevant to this study directly and many more indirectly. It has been a permanent challenge to make effective use of these references while avoiding repetition.

A word register of 239 entries of tested Siraiki words of Indo-Aryan origin has been placed in Chapter-7 for observation of the Indo-Aryan aspect of the language and for further reference in discussion of the language elsewhere.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND: A PEOPLE WITHOUT IDENTITY

1.1   The area

Siraiki is name of a language, a people and now of a
territory also called 'Siraiki belt', 'Siraiki region' or
'South Panjab' which lies in the centre of Pakistan. Critics
of the Siraiki movement note that (Kazi 1993: p.25):

> while Sindhis at least exist as a state-in-name in
> Pakistan (though without actual access to power), the
> Siraikis are non-existent on Pakistani and world map.

or that 'the Siraiki movement has a centre but lacks a circle'
(Shackle 1992 b)

However, as there are a number of social groups in
struggle for autonomy or independence who are-recognized
irrespective of their appearance on the maps, this is not so
big a drawback for the Siraiki movement as is its being at the
bottom of the chronological list of the modern social groups
of Pakistan. The word 'Siraiki' was the name of only a
dialect of the language before 1962 and the people were given
this name as a whole only in the second half of the 1980s (cf.
4.24).

Besides a number of references to the people and the
region in ancient and medieval historical texts, the modern
concept of the area as a distinct ethnic region stems from the
linguistic research mostly done by the British officials and
orientalists in 19th century. The first of these was E
O'Brien, a British deputy commissioner of Multan, who produced
a map of the language area in his Glossary (O'Brien 1881)
which although it is confined to the central Siraiki area from
Khanpur to Shorkot closely matches modern assessments

(map-1 p.33). Jukes (1900: p.IV) finds this 'Jatki or Western Panjabi' language spoken in a large area from west of Dera Ghazi Khan district to Bahawalpur on the east and from Sind in the south to confines of Kashmir in the north. Somewhat confusing is the description of the language area by Grierson.

In his investigation of the so-called 'southern Lahnda' language its area is largely misplaced (LSI 1919: pp.232-3; cf. 6.4). A more precise outline stated in existing geographical terms is to be found in Shackle (1976: p.1), that the Siraiki language is spoken in the south western parts of Panjab with the Sulaiman range on west and the Thar desert on east from 28°N to 33°N.

Since the emergence of modern Siraiki regionalism the linguistic boundaries are extended by the Siraiki writers to Sibbi, and Kachchhi districts in Balochistan, Khairpur, Sukker and Jacobabad districts in Sind, Sargodha and Jhang districts in central Panjab and Dera Ismail Khan district in the North West Frontier Province, NWFP (cf. Khan 1983) and are pushed back by the respective neighbours, e.g. by the writers of Hindko who lay claim to Dera Ismail Khan (cf. Shaukat 1977: p.8). A more balanced sketch is drawn by some modern native researchers which comprises the existing Siraiki speaking districts but excludes the parts now dominated by speakers of the neighbouring languages. Such a sketch includes Rahim Yar Khan, Bahawalpur, Bahawalnagar, Vihari (in part), Multan, Muzaffargarh, Leiah, Bhakkar, Mianwali, Dera Ghazi Khan and Rajanpur districts of Panjab province, Sukkur district of Sind, Sibi district of Balochistan and Dera Ismail Khan
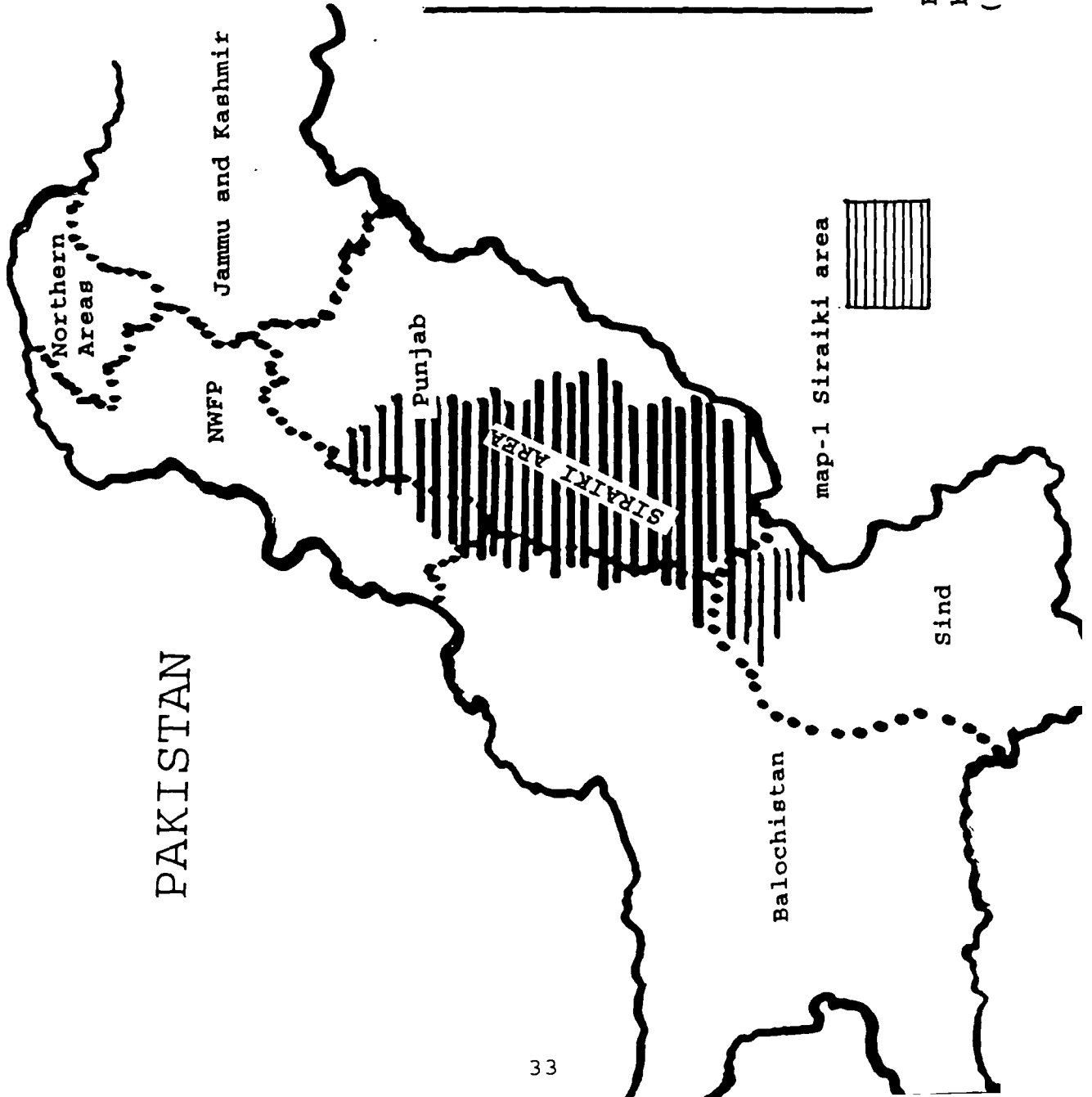
Emerging Siraiki Nationality as shown
by Ghaus Bakhsh Bizanjo
(Bizanjo 1986: title page)

PAKISTAN

Northern
Areas

Jammu and Kashmir

NWFP

Punjab

SIRAIKI AREA

Balochistan

Sind

map-1 Siraiki area

33

district of NWFP (Husaini 1972: pp.36-37). Clear-cut
territorial claims are however centred only on those districts
touched by the movement in Panjab and NWFP. The Siraiki area
in these two provinces is thus calculated as 122,575 sq km
which constitutes 15.39% of the total Pakistani territory of
796,095 sq km (Wagha 1989: pp.9-10; cf. Map 1).

1.2   The people

Jukes (1900: p.IV) estimated there to be 5 million
speakers of Siraiki language, and 76 years later the figure
was tripled by Shackle (1976: p.1). As the language is not
recognized by the Pakistan Census Department, the Siraiki
population is calculated through rough estimates even today.
These estimates are drawn by putting together the figures
given district-wise in the census report, and thus include the
non-Siraiki speaking settlers who in some cases make up more
than 30% of the total. On the basis of such estimates the
Siraikis in Panjab and NWFP provinces numbered 15,836,000
making 18.79% of the total population of Pakistan which
numbered 84,253,644 in the 1981 census (Wagha 1989: p.10).
The 1990 census is still incomplete. No scientific
anthropological research has been directed to the Siraikis as
a people yet. However some attempts are made by the
contemporary native researchers to project the Siraikis as an
admixture of the oldest strata of the populations of the Indus
valley. It is believed by them that the Astro-Asiatic black
skinned aboriginals and the Munda tribes who were joined by
Dravidian stocks during the later second to early first
millennia BC laid the foundation of the Indus civilization,

and were later on joined by the early Aryans to form the Indo-Aryan (and Dravidiean) community in this region. Driven out by the climatic hazards or pushed by the subsequent influx of the new intruders this early Indo-Aryan (and Dravidian) community had expanded to the southern and eastern parts of South Asia, but the groups left behind still make a good portion of the present day Siraikis particularly in Cholistan, the parts adjacent to Sind and the less disturbed pockets on both sides of the river Indus. The major ethnic groups appear to be of three types: (i) those agrarian groups which are common with Pamjab, like the Jats who are among the superior castes in Panjab but are in a subordinate position in most of the Siraiki region, (ii) those old castes which the Siraiki region shares with Sind and are either non-existent or rare in Panjab like the Dahar, Channar, Bhutta and many others and (iii) the modern stocks of the Pathans and the Baloches, the later being predominant in almost all the Siraiki territories. The Baloches make up a marked constituent of the Siraiki ethnic formation (cf. Wagha 1990: pp.95 ff.).

1.3   Cultural aspects: geo-climatic factor

Pakistan's state politics being over-sensitive towards regionalism, the Siraiki movement had to proceed under the umbrella of cultural promotion. This also attracted the willing involvement of the people who appeared to become aware of their distinctive typicality of temperament and the peculiarities of their everyday life. These typicalities and the peculiarities they partly owe to their environment. In between the rivers, the Siraiki area largely consists of

deserts. The region has an average annual rainfall of 226 millimetres, so the people were (and in most of the area still are) dependent for irrigation on rivers often uncontrollable in the summers and unmanageable in winters. The people had to escape the floods at one time and had to dig channels and devise methods of raising water through primitive methods to avoid famine at the other (Dani 1967: p.10; Skemp 1917: p.17). They were always caught between hope and despair. The people of this region were less often dislocated by human disasters and wars as they were uprooted by natural forces. The Indus, its tributaries and its offshoots altered their courses a hundred times in the past. The sudden changes in the beds of Beas and Indus and the drying up of the river Hakra in Cholistan changed a major 'fruitful' part of the country to 'a howling wilderness' (Raverty 1892-97: pp.136,155; cf.10.3). In these typical conditions socio-economic patterns were marked by a predominantly pastoral economy in the vast streches of desert, an agrarian economy with the primitive modes of cultivation in the small valleys around rivers and a prevalence of small-scale local industry and handicrafts in the cities and towns, the centres of trade in this region.

1.4   The contributors to Siraiki culture

Unlike the well protected Gangetic region, the plains of the Indus were open to the movements of peoples and armies from the Middle East, Iran and Central Asia. Unlike the great Himalayan ranges, the Hindukush and the Sulaiman ranges provided access routes to the north-west of the Indian sub continent (Dani 1967: p.3).

It was only after the start of the present millennium
that the increased invasions of India from the Central Asia,
using the route of Khyber Pass mostly bypassed Multan and
other areas of Indus region in favour of Delhi and the
Gangetic region.

Many religious movements made their way into the Siraiki
region to shape the temperament of the people. In addition to
Buddhism, Tasawwuf and *bhakati* form of Hinduism which have
their influence on the Siraiki region overall (cf. 10.3), the
Isma'ilism of Qaramita and the Shiite Islam are of particular
significance with regard to Multan.

The Qaramita took their name from Hamdan Qarmat who was
an Isma'ili activist in Iraq before the year 873. Isma'ili
missionaries (*Da'is*) entered Multan with the start of 9th
century. The existence in Multan of some Alid Muslims is
recorded in the early 9th century which is further
strengthened with the Isma'ili myth of arrival in Sind region
of some of the many unnamed sons of 'Imam Isma'il'. The
gradual concentration in Multan of Isma'ili opponents of the
centre of Baghdad some of whom were in direct link with the
Fatimid kingdom of Egypt was strengthened by the efforts of
some local Sindhi Da'is. One such anonymous Sindhi Da'i
succeeded in converting to Isma'ilism a prince from the
previously ruling Abbasid Muslim dynasty of Multan and a large
number of local people by introducing some relaxations in
their version of Islam against the orthodox Islam to
accommodate the local norms. One of his follower referred to
as Jalam or Halim succeeded to power to change the formal
'proclamation' (*khutba*) of the Caliphate of Baghdad to that of

37

Fatimid ruler in 965. This rule, however, ended with the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazna in 1005 who arrested the Qaramita ruler Daud bin Nasr, killed many Isma'ilis and mutilated others (Maclean 1989: pp.130-3,139). Although eliminated, the thematic features of 'Isma'ilism' subsequently mixed with the Shi'ite Islam and Tasawwuf can be traced in Siraiki literature and culture today.

Buddhism was flourishing in this area at the time of the visit of the Chinese tourist Hiuen Tsiang in 7th century and was losing ground when the Arab historian Ibn-al-Nadim came to record his famous accounts in 10th century (Dani 1967: p.77). Buddhism was eliminated from the region because of the mass conversion to Islam of the Buddhist mercantile class of the Indus region whose commercial interests were at stake after the Arab conquest of the region. The local form of Islam then would have been mixed with the Buddhist thought and spirit by these ex-Buddhists who formed majority of the local Muslims (cf. Maclean 1989: pp.155-6).

The impacts of these earlier religious movements were strengthened by the latter influx of the Sufi mysticism from the western centres of Islam and that of the *bhakati* ideas from the central areas of India (cf. 10.3). The region thus preserved a synthesis of all these humanitarian creeds. Among the visual signs of these movements are the temples and the shrines of mystic Saints such as the temple of Prahalad Bhakat and the tomb of Bahaud-Din Zakariya of Multan and the continuation of the dynastic successors of the Muslim 'saints' (*pirs*) who have exercised a great influence over the society (Skemp 1917: p.5). The Muslim Sufi mystical characters were

mixed with Hindu myth, for example, the legend of Khwaja Khidr with its local Hindu version Zinda Pir. This phenomenon was in its elementary form at the time of rise of Arabs in Sind and was multiplied after collapse of their authority (Maclean 1989: pp.112-40). This important historical and cultural feature, the Siraiki people share fully only with the people of Sind, as it appears only in a lesser degree and is of different type in Panjab and the other two provinces of Pakistan. Among the less visible but frequently mentioned (cf. Maclean 1989: pp.111-3,114-5) legacies of the above contributors to the culture are the ineffectiveness of the caste system of India and a touch of non-materialistic behaviour in the people (cf. 10.3).

1.5   The bases of Siraiki cultural identity

It is a culture mainly presenting a feature of antiquity which distinguishes Siraikis from non-Siraikis. Mostly pre-modern thus undefinable, the factors which contributed to shape the identity of the people seem to be outcome more of the geographic conditions and the spells of history and less of the achievements of the people themselves.

The Siraiki people loosely divide their country into three domains under the names of, (i) Rohi, the desert land of Cholistan most of which is occupied by the former state of Bahawalpur (ii) Thal, the northern desert lying between the fork of the Indus and Chenab and (iii) Daman, the western foothills between the Indus and Sulaiman range from Dera Ismail Khan to Rajanpur, which is called 'Derajat' in some historical records. The inadequacy of this popular division,

however, is apparent from the lack of any reference for Multan itself.

An interesting change effective on social set up of Siraikis which is only partly recorded in the surveys of the nomad communities of the banks of Indus (Gadi 1993) is the role of river as means of transportation and close link between the people on its both sides in the past, and as a barrier between them and a blockade in the particular social and cultural mobility with opening of other means and directions of mobility at present. The people living on the opposite banks of the river were more closely acquainted with each other than with those living on a shorter distance across a jungle. Until recent decades the Indus was an important means of transportation hence has served for centuries as a link between the people from Kashmir to the Arabian Sea. In the early British period the 'Indian Flotilla Steamship Company' had a monthly service for the transportation of trade goods between Karachi and Multan in 1844 and a military flotilla fleet of 5 steamers shuttled regularly between the two cities in 1847 (Ganadhaya 1984: p.7).

A number of old towns developed on the left bank of the river (the right bank remained comparatively unsettled probably because of its openness to invaders from across the western mountains). However some of these old towns like Uch Sharif, Seetpur, Shuja'abad and Dinpanah lost their importance gradually while others which were situated on the modern land routes like Multan, Bahawalpur, Mianwali, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Rahim Yar Khan prospered in modern times.

The above scenario reflects the establishment of ancient

and medieval cultures in the region. The prospects of a
growing local mobilization to promote a local culture in the
present period do not, however, seem to be very promising. As
the time gap between the glory of the past and the long
awaited renaissance has widened, the atmosphere of local self
rule required for a full cultural transformation remained long
absent from the region. The most serious blow to local
autonomy was the elimination of the local states at the hands
of the British. This brought about a loss of support for
institutions which would promote art, music and ideas.
Nevertheless, factors which are strong enough to distinguish
the Siraikis from the people of other provinces and the Panjab
include their peaceful habits and the fact that in spite of a
long agrarian tradition there are no signs of the existence of
proper village communities like those in the adjacent Panjabi
area. The urban centres are decaying for staganace in the
sphere of economic activity. Yet it is hard to assume that
the region is at the verge of loosing its antiquity (cf. Dani
1967: pp.42,64) without being translated into a modern
identity.

1.6   Political history: the Multan province

jiska Multan mazbut uski Dilli mazbut U

'The one who is strong over Multan is strong over Delhi.'
                                                    -- a proverb

A modern Siraiki nationalist researcher Mirani (1991:
p.25) regrets:

> After the advent of the conquest of India by Ghaurids and
> the establishment of the empire of 'Ghulaman' (the Slave
> dynasty) in the middle of 11th century the province of
> Multan became a checkpost at the tail of the Sultanate of
> Delhi.

It was however only in 1230 that Multan was formally annexed to the Sultanate as a province (Khan, N 1983: p.72). Then, and even afterwards, the whole region, then called 'Sind Sagar doab', was a dependency of Multan province and at the time of invasion of India by the hordes of Changez Khan in 1245 the strongholds of Uch and Multan were in position to defend themselves in one way or the other (Raverty 1892-97: p.156).

The image of the Siraiki region as a country and the casual nature of its subordination to Delhi is reflected in the opening phrase of the Siraiki folk story-tellers (cf. Skemp 1917: pp.145-5), i.e. 'once, when the country was with Delhi --' (*hik vari mulk dilli nal ha...*). After remaining under the Sultanate for some three centuries, Multan once again became independent under Langahs. To some historians Jats and to other Baloches, the Langahs ruled over the region for nearly 80 years (1443-1527) with Sultan Husain Khan I as the most stable and popular king of the dynasty (Khan, N 1983: pp.70-82). However the Langahs could not check the Baloches pouring down from the steppes of the Sulaiman range into the western and northern parts of the Siraiki area.

A number of Baloch rulers, mainly from two of the three main tribes, i.e. the Rind and Hot but excluding the Lashar, occupied different parts of the area until the emergence of Sikhs in the early 19th century. They established the two Derajat princely states of Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan and a number of city states in the Thal like those of Mankera, Amvani and Bhakkar in Thal. The Miranis, the founders of the states of the Derajat, are recorded as the

most powerful Baloch dynasty. A number of modern towns, including the old Dera Ghazi Khan, on the right bank of Indus, and Kot Addu, Kot Sultan and Naushehra on the left bank were founded by Ghazi Khan II (1605-27) and his sons (Khokhar 1988: pp.90-6). This points to the existance of very favourable economic and social conditions in the middle Indus valley in that period. Perhaps the Baloch are the only race who even after having lost power maintained their influence in the region to the last.

After the short gap provided by the Langah rule, Multan was again attached to Delhi as a province under Mughals in 1527 and this subjugation continued with minor fluctuations until the conquest of Delhi by Nadir Shah of Iran in 1739. While at Delhi, he intervened in the affairs of Multan by appointing Hayatullah Khan Saddozai governor of Multan, awarding him with the title of Shahnawaz Khan. This marked the final separation of the Siraiki region from Delhi as the Saddozai Pathans and the subsequent rulers of Multan and the Derajat were mostly in some willing or unwilling connection with Kabul. Later on Delhi formally surrendered the revenue of the province of Multan to the Afghan invader Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1750. Kabul carried on sending governors to the Derajat and using its influence in the whole region, e.g. in the defence of Multan from Sikhs in 1780 and in the war between Multan and Bahawalpur in 1784 (Khan, N 1983: pp.100-4, Khokhar 1988: pp.90 ff). Throughout this period of its affiliation with Kabul, the region was developing politically and socially in conditions different from those in Panjab and the rest of the India.

1.7   The Sikhs and the Saddozais

The Saddozais, a dynasty that was product of the influence of Kabul in Northern India, reigned for two periods alternating with Sikh occupations of Multan. The Sikhs emerged in Panjab in second half of the 18th century and a militant group of Sikhs called 'Bhangis' started attacking Multan. They were strong enough to receive a ransom of Rs 14,000 from Abdali, the Afghan plunderer of Panjab, for the release of his Pathan relatives whom they captured at Multan in 1769. The Sikh guerilla bands gradually developed into a regular military force. They twice conquered Multan and ruled over the region, first in 1772-80 and then in 1818-48. Their second period of rule was under Ranjit Singh, and began with the defeat and death on the battle field of the popular and brave Saddozai ruler Nawwab Muzaffar Khan 'the martyr' and his three sons and a daughter. Ranjit Singh, content to receive huge amounts of revenue, preferred to a succession of local Hindus as governors, Divan Sawan Mall being the most famous and successful among them (Khan, N 1983: pp.117-43).

Under Sawan Mall (1821-44), most of the Siraiki region, except the state of Bahawalpur, was brought under the control of Multan. After his death, his son and successor Divan Mul Raj had to face the British, who after they had advanced into Panjab after the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 had been administering the region since 1845 through a Council of Regency in the Sikh court at Lahore. Under British pressures on issues like reduction in powers, duty-free trade and demands for a large amount of revenue, Mul Raj decided to resign from the governorship of Multan in 1848. He was

however destined to be adopted as the protege of the rebellion
against the emerging British rule which spread after the
accidental death, or perhaps deliberate murder of two British
military officers at Multan by the local soldiers. With the
rebel groups gathered around him, Mul Raj had a few battles
with the British forces. The British were supported by a
number of Muslim troops, including a 5,000-strong force of the
ruler of Bahawalpur. The Divan finally surrendered and was
arrested in front of his fort at Multan on June 22, 1848. He
was tried mainly on the charge of the murder of the two
Britishers and was sentenced to death, later converted into a
life imprisonment and exile to the 'Black waters' (kala pani),
i.e. beyond the sea in the Andamans. He died in Benares in
1851, however, before the order of exile was implemented
(ibid: pp.124-55).

The fate of Divan Mul Raj has a close resemblance with
that of the Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar king of Delhi in the
rebellion of 1857 but, hardly surprisingly, we do not see any
treatments for the first as we see for the second in the
subsequent Muslim literature. Thanks to the communal
commitments of the local Muslim historians, the 39-year long
reign of the last Saddozai ruler Muzaffar Khan is preserved
and highlighted in the historical records with an emphasis on
his religiousness. He built a number of mosques, canals and
forts including the fort of Muzaffargarh, now a big town on
the right bank of Chenab.

The Sikh period is criticized particularly for the
rulers' disregard of the mosques and shrines of the Muslims.
For this the critics mainly base themselves on the travel

45

documents of Alexander Burnes, a British envoy who passed through the region during the Sikh rule (ibid: pp.142-3). Influential groups among the Muslims had no sympathy with the local non-Muslim rulers, and perhaps this was the reason that the Sikhs and Hindus were isolated when Multan was attacked by the British. Sawan Mall was, however recognized as a good ruler and there were stories of his justice and strong administration among the masses (cf. Skemp 1917: pp.13-6).

Since its attachment to the Sultanate, Multan scarcely ever lost its status as a province enjoying total autonomy. The Ranjit Singh administration did not even bother to make any changes in the administrative set-up, so much so that the court language remained Persian in both Lahore and Multan. The centre, whether it was situated in Delhi or Lahore, hardly played any role besides collecting revenue, in the social developments there except through destabilizing the province by occasionally supporting those who rebelled against the local rulers. Multan became independent whenever Delhi was weak, and so did the small tributary states of the Siraiki region when Multan was weak. As against Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan and Bahawalpur, the northern Siraiki area between Sargodha and Dera Ismail Khan had experienced the direct control of Lahore from time to time, for instance under Ranjeet Singh (cf. Mirani 1991: p.26). This may be one of the reasons that to the people of this part of the Siraiki region the Panjabis are not as alien as they are to the people of rest of the Siraiki belt. The Bahawalpur state (cf. 1.13) did not greatly attract invaders, its poor economic resources in the past being perhaps one of the reasons.

1.8   British period

After the Mul Raj episode, the British ultimately decided to rule the region directly. The most detrimental development, as is now interpreted by the Siraikists (cf. Ganadhaya 1984: p.7), was the subordination of Multan to Lahore at the hands of the new rulers, as this, on the one hand, deprived the region for the first time of its 'provincial' status and, on the other, damaged its subsequent claim to a cultural identity distinct from Panjab.

To save the administrative expenses and perhaps also to defeat the traditional power brokers in the small local centres the British combined the 18 'districts' (*kardaris*) of the province of Mul Raj into a single district and merged it with the large province of the Panjab. The new set-up that they introduced was an effective chain of power holders linked at three points: the village, the town centre and the district headquarters. The trio of 'a guard' (*chaokidar*), 'a revenue collector' (*nambardar*) and 'a land steward' (*patwari*), at the bottom, was linked through the 'revenue officer' (*tehsildar*) and 'police officer' (*thanedar*) stationed at smaller towns to the deputy commissioner, collector, district magistrate and superintendent police at district headquarters. The effectiveness of this 'British administration' (*angrez di hakumat*) and its appeasement of the Muslims through restoration of the mosques and religious liberties are cherished by the common man to this day (Khan, N 1983: p.164; Khokhar 1988: pp.144-9).

Another main contribution of the western rulers was the land settlements carried out in 1860 and then in 1880 and

47

onward which were based on detailed surveys and sound demarcations. This however strengthened a new class of landlords, the loyalists of the Raj through giving a permanence to their ownership of large landed properties, and thus stabilizing their hold on the rural areas. This was a group about which Dobbin (1970: p.26), in the context of Bengal, commented as follows:

> -- new landowners whose organic and traditional contacts with land were far less and who had few of the virtues and most of the failings of the old feudal landlord.

What resulted was total break up of the centuries old agrarian system more or less based on communal ownership and the systematic mutual distribution and redistribution of land called 'distribution within a clan' (khanagi vandara). In that system the ruler or his grantee landlord were masters of the villages having only a right to receive revenue, not to interfere in the matters of tenure, etc.

In the towns and the cities the effects of the colonial administration were seen in the growing communal rivalry between different religious communities. Emerson, a deputy commissioner of Multan, was blamed for encouraging the first Shi'ite-Hindu riots in Multan in 1922 (Khokhar 1988: pp.153-6). The Siraiki region, however, did not suffer as much under British rule as did those regions facing it earlier and remaining under it for a longer period, but it thus had a smaller share in modernization. The preservation of culture and history mainly in the form of district gazetteers and the glossaries of the language, etc. was another valuable contribution of the foreigners to the region they ruled.

1.9   The partition and migration

The sharp regrouping on religious grounds of the Indian masses had caused a large scale human migration, the biggest in the history, immediately before and after the enactment of the partition in 1947. The balance sheets of exchange of population prepared by the governments on both sides show an exodus of 5.5 million non-Muslims from the western part of the new Muslim domain repaid by an influx of 6.5 million Muslims in addition to the migration in Kashmir. The exchange was mainly between the Indian portion of Panjab and the adjacent states, and the Panjab province of Pakistan (Symonds 1950: pp.77,83). The Panjab province also had to accommodate a furhter share of refugees for Balochistan and NWFP provinces where the number of the new settlers did not equal that of the evacuees. After some burden had been shared by Sind province, Panjab had 5.3 million Muslim settlers against 3.9 million non-Muslim refugees who migrated to India. There was a complete evacuation of Sikhs and near a complete evacuation of caste Hindus from Pakistan Panjab (Ahmad, Q 1985: p.186).

For Panjab proper, it being within the same language region, the migration appeared to be a harmonizing factor. For the Siraiki region, however, it was a disruption of linguistic homogeneity as non Siraiki-speaking Muslims were brought in the place of Siraiki-speaking non-Muslims whose proportion, e.g. in Multan district, according to the 1941 census was about 28.19% (i.e. 326422 non-Muslims against 1157911 Muslims) (Census 1941: pp.62-3; cf. 3.2). And yet the influx was not limited to match the level of the evacuation but it continued to increase as a result of internal migration

of the people of Panjab to the Siraiki region. The majority
of Hindu evacuees belonged to cities (14.6% of Hindus as
against 5% of Muslims were part of the urban population) and
in addition the newcomers concentrated on urban areas, for
various reasons like better opportunities for jobs and shelter
(Ahmad, Q 1985: p.193). This entirely changed the cultural
formation of the Siraiki cities including Multan, Dera Ghazi
Khan, Dera Ismail Khan, Muzaffargarh, and Bahawalpur, etc. The
major urban centre of Multan was affected most with migrants
comprising 44% of its population (Elahi 1985: p.28). Most of
these new citizens who rapidly occupied the centre and the
trade of Multan city belonged to Rohtak, a region lying
between eastern Panjab and Rajasthan, thus were called
Rohtakis and spoke a dialect which is classified by Grierson
(LSI 1916: p.610) as Bangaru. The great settlement of people
in the canal colonies of Panjab, also a major shift of
population, had already disturbed the old linguistic
composition in the Siraiki (cf. 3.4) this time spreading
beyond the Siraiki area into Sind. Besides the cultural
upheaval, economic contradictions also found roots as soon as
the enterprising and hardworking migrants dominated the fields
of production and trade. In the urban centres the locals
noticed with pain the cheating and adulteration introduced by
the new traders in the market and compared it with the dealing
of old Hindu shopkeepers now remembered as honest, fair and
flexible.

Worse was the scenario in the rural areas where tenants
of agricultural lands were suddenly made to realize that the
lands they had been cultivating for generations, being the

property of the Hindu deportees, were now declared state properties and were being rapidly allotted to the migrants against their 'claims' of the landed properties they had left in India. Even the landless migrants were allotted 12½ acres per head of the agricultural land in some of the Siraiki areas (cf. Symonds 1950: p.129). A large number of peasants was evicted or had to purchase the right of the ownership of their lands for high prices from the new allottees. The 'Thal irrigation scheme' implemented by the government in the 1950s to settle the Panjabi migrants successfully met the target of cultivation of hundreds of thousands of acres of barren land but also brought a feeling of deprivation among the Siraikis of the present districts of Muzaffargarh, Leiah and Bhakkar (cf. Mirani 1991: pp.47-54). Defeat of the illiterate locals, at the hands of clever and well-informed migrants with linkages in the new government, became a routine matter in the property disputes at the law courts. Bogus property claims by migrants remained a well known scandal until recently. In one such case in the town of Taunsa a tenant purchased his piece of land from three different allottees and each allotment proved to be bogus. It might have taken only a few years to consolidate a general dislike between the two factions. The division of 'local versus migrant' (lokal-te-muhajir) or 'local versus Panjabi' (lokal-te-panjabi) appeared to replace the old communal division of Hindu and Muslim (cf. 3.2; cf. 10.1).

1.10   Pakistan - the dilemma of legitimacy

After the two-nation theory had been established in

pre-partition India the Hindus were led by the Indian National Congress while the majority of Muslims were destined to be represented by the Muslim League. The latter however contrasted significantly with the first. Congress, formed by a group of the native members of Indian civil service, was rooted in the modern nationalism of the 19th century. The presidential address made by Mr. Bonnerji, a Bengali lawyer to its opening session held in 1885 in Calcutta reflected All Indian nationalism through phrases like 'lovers of country', etc. (cf. Dobbin 1970: p.37-8). More advanced ideas of devotion to the 'motherland' and initial suggestions for a self-rule for India within the British empire are found in a draft appeal to Indian youth made in 1905 by another Congressman, G K Gokhale (Kennedy 1968: pp.166-7). However the Hindus who had remained for centuries deprived of their role as a dominant majority, instead of being sufficiently confident and flexible, were most of the time engaged in criticizing the narrow nationalism of the Muslims without making any concessions to the potent Muslim minority which was estimated at 62 million in 1901, forming 20% of the population of India (Dobbin 1970: p.67).

On the other hand, the League, at first an outcome of the Muslim fear of rising Hindu domination, grew out of the seeds of an anti-majority, isolationist tendency. Pan-Islamism, a legacy of the long emotional attachment of the Indian Muslims to the Ottoman empire, besides later directing their loyalties towards the oil-rich Arab kings of the Middle East, also helped the leadership of the League to monopolize communal politics under their centralistic control. This Islamic

syndrome of the concentration of power and authority in the

figure of the 'the head' (*amir*) was intensified after Pakistan

was achieved (cf. Ulyanosky 1980: p.53). Religion, the

uniting force for the All-Indian Muslims, itself seems to

having brought a cultural shock to both the migrants as well

as the locals for Islam of the first was far more

institutionalized and conservative as compared to the simple

and liberal Islam of second. The words 'Islamic republic', in

spite of the considerable opposition vote, were added to the

name of Pakistan in the constitution of 1956. This signified

the government's attitude to keep religion as an

unquestionable source of power in dealing with political

problems. This also encouraged the the religious leaders to

put forward ideas for an Islamic system of government which at

the end of the day meant little but mistrust in a simple

democratic system. Even the moderate Islamic scholars like

Asad Muhammad and Maududi could not help suggesting a type of

supra-democratic rule by an *amir* for the Islamic republic

(Callard 1957: pp.121-3; Ahmad, M 1985: pp.232ff).

Jinnah, facing a mountain of problems in settling the

affairs of a new state, rapidly exhausted his undisputed

authority in implementing his one-man decisions, and is

criticized by the historians for setting a tradition of

autocratic rule in the country (Kennedy 1968: p.42).

Kulkarni, an Indian writer came to the following ruthless

conclusion about Jinnah and his colleagues (Kulkarni 1988:

p.110):

> --his new nation had been achieved, the bigots were in
> position of authority. The leaders of orthodoxy and few
> 'old families' had the final word, and to perpetuate
> their power, were seeing to it that the people were held

in the deadening grip of religious superstitions.

The legal status of the first constituent assembly which comprised the members elected in pre-partition elections to the legislatures in 1945-6 was itself doubtful and any subsequent attempt to hold a new general election was sabotaged. Most of the top-rank members of hierarchy, including Jinnah and Liaqat Ali Khan themselves, were aliens (and as such had no constituency to contest elections) in their new domain. A democratic system was openly opposed by the top members of the League, e.g. by the Panjabi leader Feroz K Noon, on the floor of the house. This resulted in the dissolution of the constituent assemblies in 1954 ultimately leading to the first martial law in 1959 (Callard 1957: pp.37,77,185). As Wilcox (1963: p.195) noted:

> Surely no democracy in the history has been as innocent of elections as that of Pakistan.

1.11   Urdu and rival languages

> We must at present do our best to form a class who may become interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern--a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and inintellect. (Macaulay, in Dobbin 1970: p.18).

Such was the proposal advanced by Macaulay in 1825. This fine imperialist plan met with success and we see the class of persons he foresaw a hundred and fifty years ago now grown up in the late 20th century. Macaulay's minute as president of the committee of 'Public instruction' on English education for India which clearly degraded the local Indian languages and literatures in a comparison with the Western languages and their literature impressed the authorities and a decision was taken by the Governor General on 7 March 1835 to educate the

British subjects in India in English (Dobbin 1970: p.18).
With the growing need for literacy beyond the elite, it
however became difficult later on to abandon the local
languages, thus a few lingua francas and local languages like
Urdu, Hindi, Sindhi and Pashto, etc. were variously chosen as
mediums of instruction, parallel to English during the 19th
century.

Urdu, the language of 5% of the population of Pakistan,
but supported by the majority province of Panjab, was
confronted on one hand, by English, the favourite language of
elite, and on the other, by those provinces which were not
ready to identify themselves with it. In the western wing,
with its diversity of spoken dialects, not matching the
administrative/provincial boundaries drawn by the British, the
case of regional languages however remained weaker (Shackle
1985: p.313), as compared to the struggle in Bengal. Started
with the disagreement on the medium of instruction expressed
by one of the Bengali deligates in the conference of
provincial ministers of education held in Karachi in 1947 the
language issue developed to a continuous resistance against
Urdu in East Bengal. Taking notice of the growing unrest
among students the government bowed before the pressure,
declared Bengali the second national language and made it part
of an agreement known as the Murree Pact approved by the
Constituent Assembly, in 1955 (Rahman 1996: pp.92,95; cf.
Symonds 1950: pp.151,182; cf. 3.1). This was followed by a
similar confrontation in Sind and the Bahawalpur state a few
years later. The ideal plan of replacement of English by Urdu
was finally long postponed through an early draft of the

constitution of 1954 which suggested the formation of a
commission to work out a plan for a period up to 1976 (Wilber
1964: p.76; Callard 1957: p.183). Thus the situation in the
offices and the educational institutions did not change much.
Only in Panjab did the legislative assembly approve Urdu as
the official language of the province in 1953 (Khokhar 1988:
p.165). However in the developing sphere of media and culture
Urdu prospered as much as the regional languages remained
neglected. The 'ad hocism' in running of the country did not
allow the governments even to bring the provincial languages
up to the same level. As a hangover from earlier British
policy, Sindhi and Pashto were used as media of instruction at
primary and secondary levels respectively, while the rest of
the regional languages had been kept out by Urdu since the
introduction of modern education by the British. This state
of affairs continues to this day (cf. 3.1).

1.12   The centre versus provinces and the states

The British had placed different areas of India under
different constitutional categories. At the partition they
left behind five types of administered regions: the governor's
provinces, the chief commissioner's provinces, the tribal
areas, the excluded areas and the princely states. These
distinctions became particularly unmanageable for Pakistan
because of its complex contradictions in ideology, politics
and practice. Under British rule the tribal Agencies like
Khyber Agency, etc., mainly in NWFP, and 'excluded areas' such
as the Baloch tribal belt of Dera Ghjazi Khan fully enjoyed
autonomy in their internal affairs (cf. 5.3). The princely

states had their traditional rulers with their rights of royality protected with difference of degrees according to the aggreements made in individual csaes at the time of their attachment to the British Raj, for instance the States of Amb and the State of Bahawalpur in Pakistan. Among these, the best developed and affluent was the State of Bahawalpur which was actually exposed to the settlers from outside in the 1920s by the British scheme of canals and settlement of Panjabi peasants (cf. 3.2). As it appears, people of Bahawalpur were first to realize the cleavage between them and the Panjabis even before partition. A disassociation to them is reflected both in the writings and the efforts for promotion, rather planning of the 'Riasti' or Multani language in the 1940s (Talut 1944: p.13). In other words activity in the name of publication of *Divan-e-Farid* in 1944 was reflective of the beginning of the Siraiki identity which waited for further expression to take place in the 1960s and a form of political movement in the 1970s.

Additionally, the India Act of 1919 included an agreement between the British and the state rulers of India resulting in recognition of the princely states. By this, though checked by the British Residents, the state rulers continued to enjoy sufficient powers through their effectiveness as themselves being biggest landlords of their respective states. The agreement also provided them with a legal means to check British interference. The Muslim League's own policy before partition had been of staying away from the internal affairs of the states and denying membership to the subjects of these states in order to win over the princes. The princely states

of the western part which acceded to Pakistan, i.e.
Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Kalat, Makran, Kharan and Lasbela, were
regarded initially as autonomous except in defence, foreign
relations and communication.

But immediately after the achievement of Pakistan,
Jinnah, through a special 'Ministry of States and Frontier
Regions' looked after by himself, proceeded to make immediate
arrangements for annexation of these states to Pakistan
(Wilcox 1963: pp.91-6). Amongst these also were the Northern
regions and states of NWFP and Balochistan which had for
centuries been accustomed to an unchecked freedom and
possessed a strong tribal identity which directly conflicted
with the monotheistic Islamic ideology of the League.
Conversely, Jinnah's own previous strategy of denouncing
centralism in undivided India, which remained the policy of
the League throughout since 1935, was to be given a sharp
U-turn after partition. On the other hand, the situation on
the ground was that the unity created between different parts
like Panjab, Sind and Bengal did not prove lasting and as soon
as the non-Muslims were removed from the scene this unity
started giving way to regional separatism (Snyder 1982:
pp.241-2; cf. 3.2). The India Act of 1935 was the only agreed
constitutional document, but Jinnah completely ignored its
federal section, replacing it with his personal edicts which
was unacceptable to the states and unexpeted to the provinces.
A rapid reaction to all this was observed in East Bengal in a
number of events, particularly in the emergence of a radical
organization, the Democratic Youth League in Rajshahi within
one year after partition. The same pattern was followed in

Sind without delay (cf. Gamal 1952: pp.80,89).

The bureaucratic type of top leadership with feudals as its B team exercised every method but franchise to consolidate the country. This denial to the democratic method of resolvng political problems resulted in gradual replacement of genuine provincial leadership with a handpicked group of individuals. The democratization introduced in the early years 1947-1950 was reversed in the following years in many ways; the ruler of Bahawalpur, for instance, was asked by the Governor-general in November 1954 to dissolve the state legislature, sack every institution except the court and send a selected representative to replace an elected one in the Constituent assembly. Major General Iskandar Mirza, the minister of states, was straightforward in expressing his firm belief before a correspondent of London Daily Mail that Pakistan's illiterate people were neither interested nor competent in politics, a typical expression of the colonialist training of the men at the helm (Wilcox 1963: p.181). This was also a simple reflection of the incapability of the ruling clique to face an election. A favourable analysis of this behaviour of the ruling body, can at the best be given in Shackle's words (ibid: p.6),

> --the processes against allowing a development of 'unity through diversity' on the Indian model were much stronger in Pakistan--where the leadership was constrained by the chronic Pakistan fear that the encouragement of diversity might ultimately lead, not to the unity of Pakistan but to absorption into the ever waiting unity of Hindu dominated India.

One can compare the haste of the Pakistani leadership in their dealing with the political matters of the state of Pakistan during its first decade of consolidation with that of

Lord Mount Batten in his enactment of the partition plan. In
addition to that there was a disregard at the part of the
leadership towards the agreements and the commitments as we
see in the process of succession of the state of Bahawalpur
This easy annexation of Bahawalpur can be seen as an interlude
to the everlasting effects on both the psych of the people of
Bahawalpur in feeling uncomfortable with Panjab and the state
itself in developing a new conflict in a settled central
region of the country in a contrast to other regional problems
which Pakistan inherited from the history. Whatever the form
and potential of the Siraiki movement in other regions, it .
was the state of Bahawalpur where the seeds of this movement
were sown.

1.13   The princely state of Bahawalpur

The emergence of the state of Bahawalpur between the two
states of Thatta and Multan in the early 18th century seems to
have been an outcome of the strategic vacuum which resulted
from the disintegration of the first and the weakening of the
second through the centuries-long interference of Delhi. The
local governors were no longer capable, nor interested in
their borders as all their energies were spent in maintaining
their centres. The new dynasty, called 'Daudpota' was a
cousin branch of the Kalhora rulers of Sind. As against their
cousins, the Daudpotas emphasized a claim of to having descent
from the Abbasids of Iraq and of having migrated to the Indus
valley from Egypt. They established a small power base first
at Uch and then in the historical fort of Derawar in
Cholistan. The state was actually established by Sadiq

Muhammad Abbasi I under the patronage of Multan and Delhi in 1716. The foundation of Bahawalpur, the proper capital of the new state, was laid in 1748 by Bahawal Khan-I (1746-9). In a few decades' time Bahawalpur state was able to provide protection to Multan against the Sikhs in 1770 and 1780, and to defend itself from the Kabul-backed attack on Multan in 1784 (Kalanchavi 1988: pp.36-8,49,52-4,104; Khan, N 1983: pp.120).

Apart from the objective developments in the region, skilful diplomacy by the rulers may be reckoned for one of the main grounds for the prospering of Bahawalpur in an age of political and social decay all over India. They managed to repel with the Sikhs and got Dera Ghazi Khan on lease from Ranjit Singh in 1825 (Kalanchavi 1988: p.54). They also welcomed the emerging British in the region and helped them in their attack on Multan (cf. 1.8). For this service Bahawal Khan III was rewarded by Lord Dalhousie with Rs 100,000 as a pension and a similar amount was paid to him for each month that his army was in the field during the Multan expedition (Latif 1891: p.567).

Bahawal Khan III further pleased the British by celebrating the arrival of the British military in his state on its way to Kabul and supporting the expedition through . contributing 100 men. Immediately after this the Khan extended a formal request to the Governor General for protection from Ranjit Singh and for the appointment of a British agent in his state in 1833. The request was accepted and after signing a treaty on February 22 Lt Mackeson was sent as the first British political agent in the same year. This

protection did not cost much but it was followed by the surrender of some fertile areas to the British Panjab in 1843, an agreement for duty-free transit of the British trade ships through the Sutlej in 1847 and the establishment of a Regency council to control and reduce the Nawwab's disbursements in 1852. The terms went increasing in the direction of the needs of the new administrators until the recognition of the states through the India Act of 1919.

An additional significance of the Act for Bahawalpur was the extension of canals to its lands with an imposed settlement of hundreds of thousands of Panjabi yeomen through the 'Sutlej Valley Project' 1922. These 'boisterous but clannish newcomers', as referred to by Wilcox, were supported by the Lahore centre, and posed a threat to the 'gentle' Bahawalpuris whose maximum approach was to the court of their ruler. Thus in Bahawalpur the conflict of 'local versus Panjabi' did not have to wait for the partition but was to be experienced by the people in the third decade of this century (cf. Wilcox 1963: p.70; Kalachavi 1988: pp.63-75,141). The pre-partition guarantees of the internal sovereignty of the princely states sought from the League through British mediation could not satisfy the ruler of the state. The groups enjoying higher position in the courts of these states felt more threatened than the rulers themselves who were quick in seeking to bargain with the new rulers for the security of Privy Purses or pensions. Persuaded by his Chief Minister Mushtaq Gurmani, the Amir of Bahawalpur (Muhammad Sadiq V Abbasi) issued a declaration of sovereignty ten days after partition. Besides endorsement of the significant titles of

'His Majesty the King' (A'la-Hadrat Jalalat-ul-Mulk) for the Amir, the declaration on the one hand made it clear that the state had reserved its right to decide about its future and on the other, stated that it would send its representatives to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. This apparent contradiction was an indication of the intention of the ruler to drive a hard bargain so as to secure a quasi-independent status for his state within Pakistan (cf. Wilcox 1963: pp.73-5). Under continuous pressures from the Pakistan government, the Amir at last signed the first 'instrument of accession' on 5 October 1947 which through its article 7 however guaranteed the right of choice of participation for the state in the case of any revised constitution to replace the India Act of 1919 (ibid: pp.109-10).

The revision of the 'instruments' continued in the following years, reducing the status of the ruler to a mere Constitutional monarch to allow a 'State Assembly' (the Bahawalpur majlis) and other reforms on 8 March 1949 and leading to placement of the name of the state in the list of Federating units of Pakistan in 1951. A comparison between the first instrument of succession of the state of Bahawalpur signed in October 1947 and the second instrument signed in April 1951 shows a clear shift from partial internal autonomy of the state to its near complete integration into the Federation of Pakistan. Where the first instrument, besides other reservations, denies the Federal legislature or the Governor-general the powers of land requisition or law-making for the state, the second impowers both in almost all spheres of government from law-making to tex-collection and there is

no reference to any guarantees about land requisition or the allotments (ibid: pp.127-8,134-8). Central control was further tightened apparently because of internal administrative problems of the state and the smuggling of grains through its border to India. It is said that heavy bribes from the Nawwab each time worked to secure his pension and save his rule from final extinction.

An automatic wave of democratization resulting from the political struggle during the partition which had touched the middle class in the town centres everywhere, was further enhanced by the settlers and the migrants in Bahawalpur. This pressurized the rulers of Pakistan (although their interest in democracy seemed to be even smaller than that of their British forerunners), to impose reforms and strengthen the Central Muslim League against the State Muslim League and the Left Muslim League in Bahawalpur. The first election in the history of the state in 1951 also introduced the feudal tactics and the intrigues of the Panjabi politicians in the Centre, for instance, through the Nawwab of Mamdot who by projecting the young local leader Hasan Mahmood and his Rural party ensured the defeat of the Left Muslim league of the unacceptable local leader Sardar Mahmood Khan. The 'Organization of the Migrants' (Anjuman-e Muhajirin) also supported the Official Muslim league and the latter was announced as winner by 35 out of 49 seats on 28 May 1952.

The blessings of the fresh democracy were remarkable in the state. Development programmes greatly increased under the Hasan Mahmood government. The education budget, for example, jumped from Rs 00.4 million to Rs 3.7 millions, the number of

school going children rose from 35,000 to 125,000 and the establishment of rural dispensaries from practically nothing to 80 in the period between 1948 to 1956. The State assembly was also liberal enough to reject the proposals for official Islamization,and approved the replacement of Urdu by English as the Court language. For the rulers in the centre, perhaps the chief attraction in the states of Khairpur and Bahawalpur was their profitable revenues and not the assemblies. The One Unit brought an end to all such democratic experiments and decentralised developments (cf.ibid pp.117-40; Callard 1957: p.185).

1.14   One Unit

The resistance to a unitary system by the units brought together in West Pakistan had some justification as these were not as artificial as the proposed unification which was being achieved at the cost of the complete negation of these units. The provinces were also watching the rapid replacement of the Hindus by the Panjabis who were both strangers and stronger. On the other hand the new ruling class, a mixture of a clique from the central provinces of India and the Panjab politicians, started acting as if threatened by the homogeneous majority of Bengalis against the heterogeneous representation in the West wing which lay in their pocket. As a remedy within the democratic arrangements a proposal was forwarded for a Zonal federation. This was to be a three-tier system with a chain of governments at central, zonal and provincial levels. This proposal was however not taken seriously and the 1954 draft constitution was to permit nine

units vez. Panjab, Sind, NWFP, Balochistan, Balochistan
States Union, Bahawalpur, the Frontier States and Karachi.
The West Pakistan leaders at the centre lost their democratic
stamina when United Front which emerged in Bengal in 1954
started pressing for provincial autonomy, a right which could
not be extended to the nine units and it was thought necessary
to enable the western wing to receive autonomy at par with the
eastern wing. With this revision in the collective faith in
democracy for Pakistan, the Governor General Ghulam
Muhammadexpedited the 'One Unit' plan for the Panjab dominated
western wing to finally turn it into West Pakistan. To get
this plan formally approved by the units and to enforce it in
the centre a dictatorial atmosphere was required everywhere.
First of all, the Prince of Bahawalpur was asked by the
Governor General in November 1954 to dissolve his 'State
Council' and send his selected representatives to replace the
elected ones in the constituent assembly (cf. 1.12). The
rulers of the Balochistan states were closeted in Karachi in
December 1954 to announce a merger of their states with the
Balochistan province as a first step and the next year
Balochistan province was annexed to West Pakistan.

While the Khairpur state legislature did not resist much,
the ministry of Sattar Pirzada in Sind rejected the plan with
a vote of 74 out of 110, and was dismissed by the Governor
General for 'maladministration' in twenty-four hours. Ayub
Khuhro was given a chance to form the government, and he got
the plan approved by the same assembly by 100 votes to 4,
giving rise to rumours of the use of unfavourable tricks
including abductions. The approval by the NWFP was left

pending and an 'Act of Consolidation of West Pakistan' was passed on 30 September 1955 which was followed by the Governor General's West Pakistan Order No. G G O 4/1955 of October 14 finalizing the complete integration of the parts and burying the six princely states of the Balochistan, Sind and Siraiki (southern Panjab) regions in the mist of history. The northern states and the frontier regions were however left as 'special areas' under the executive authority of West Pakistan Province through the President. 22 November was selected as the date for formal proclamation of the unified West Pakistan. In his speech Muhammad Ali, the prime minister announced the following guarantees (Wilcox 1963: p.184):

> --no domination of one section on the other, no change in the services arrangements, continuation of the provincial languages and safeguard of the rights and conditions of all areas.

However these were all promises which were to be particularly reversed in the practice (Callard 1957: pp.184-6, Wilcox ibid. pp.181-5,196-7, Harrison: 1981 p.27). And at last a state of 'no exit' was brought in by the self-proclaimed President of Pakistan Major General Iskandar Mirza in 1958, ending a political process without any chance of completion in foreseablle future. The legislature of the the Frontier province approved One Unit after two years with the condition that until 1965 the seats of Panjab in the parliament should not exceed 40 (Wilber 1964: p.196). The response to this grave step of reversion from democracy was to be measured throughout the ensuing history of Pakistan. This divided the country into two parts, Panjab and non-Panjab, and fomented an anti-Panjab alliance from Gwadar in Balochistan to Santosh in East Bengal. The more the neglected they were the

more determined were the activists of the smaller regions,
who, though deprived from power, were capable politicians
trained in opposition during their long resistance to British
rule.

Expression of disagreement with the new rulers was
initiated by the Baloches. These wanderers of the vast,
barren high lands of the western corner of South Asia had
developed a high sense of self-esteem during their
centuries-long life as pastoral nomads. Bound by nothing in
between the earth and the heaven, the Baloches were accustomed
to absolute freedom and also had some heroic records of
national defence. They had resisted the British advances in
1839 securing the honour of national martyrs like Mir Mihrab
Khan who was killed in battle defending Kalat, and also had
fought a war against Iran in 1928 and established a claim for
340,000 sq. miles of Baloch territory extending over
south-western Pakistan and the adjacent parts of Afghanistan
and Iran. Their occasional clashes with the modern rulers
continued before and after the partition to establish a myth
of Baloch chivalary and national resistance (Inayat Allah
1985: pp.335, 338-40,349-57).

After the episode of the rebellion of Prince Karim,
brother of the Prince of Kalat whose state was annexed to
Pakistan, his arrest and the suppression of the nationalists
the first Marxist-style organization was formed with the name
of the Balochistan Peace Committee as early as in 1950 (ibid.;
Janmahmad c.1989: pp.172,196). As we will see in the
following pages, the Baloch resistance left far reaching
impacts in the Siraiki region, particularly in the Daman tract

adjacent to Baloch territory.

The other two provinces, i.e. Sind and the Frontier were motivated in this direction mainly after the partition. A working relationship between the socialists and the nationalists was to become a permanent natural alliance of the two factions in Pakistan situation, and was initiated with the commencement of Peoples Party in 1948 (cf. Gamal 1952: p.78) (not to be mixed with the Pakistan Peoples Party of Z A Bhutto formed in the late 1960s). The Peoples Party of the nationalists of the 1940s had as members Ghaffar Khan of NWFP, Sheikh A Majid Sindhi, Hisam-ud Din Rashidi and G M Syed of Sind, and Sheikh Zahir-ud Din, a Congress man of Balochistan and Munshi Ahmad Din of Panjab. It was however after the declaration of the One Unit that a grand alliance of the nationalist parties, viz. the National Party of Balochistan, 'Ward Pashtun' and the Red Shirts of the Frontier and groups from Sind delegated by Mir Ghaos Bakhsh Bizenjo, Samad Achakzai, G M Syed and Wali Khan, etc. were merged into a single National Party in a meeting in Lahore in 1956. In a following meeting in East Bengal, after the inclusion of the Awami League (the People's League) of Maulana Bhashani, the name was altered to National Awami Party, later known as NAP, which was to play an important role in the conflict in the following two decades (Inayat Allah 1985: pp.335, 338-40,349-57; Khan 1990: pp.154-5). The position taken by the leaders of the smaller provinces varied throughout according to the political atmosphere, from a struggle for complete separation to demands for provincial autonomy and socialist reforms.

Throughout this period we hardly see any politicization of the Siraiki region nor any movement reaching the masses. This indifference, typical of the Siraiki people, allowed the evolution of a feudal leadership, typified by Mushtaq Gurmani, who was known as one of the most active politicians of 1950s, a real power broker and at one time governor of West Pakistan, but we hardly find any reference to his political relation to, or at least his connection to his native area of Muzaffargarh district, let alone the Siraiki region.

CHAPTER TWO

THE MOVEMENT

2.1   The beginning

One of the earliest and authentic references to raising

the issue of Siraiki region on a political forum which is also

significant for its inclusion of both language and deprivation

as marks of identity of the region is a statement made by M

Sajjad H Makhdum, head of the main Pir dynasty of Multan at

the floor of National Assembly in 1963 as follows (NAPD II

pp.766-7):

> Multani is spoken in 10 districts of West Pakistan and so
> far there is no provision for a radio station at Multan.
> There is no road link between Karachi and Multan and
> Lahore. This strip of 800 miles [is] lying as it is,
> without any modern means of communication.

2.11   Local self-awareness

Prior to any assessment of the various internal and

external factors responsible for such developments which now

entitle the Siraiki socio-political phenomenon to be termed as

a movement, it seems reasonable to mention some of the

geo-historical factors which have helped keep the local past

of the people intact over the centuries. The Indus, though it

could not develop as much religious significance as the rivers

of the Ganges basin, has had an esteemed place in the

spiritual mind of the people throughout, even after their mass

conversion to the monolithic religion Islam. Until recently

ordinary women were seen singing and throwing coins in the

water while crossing a branch of the mighty river on boats,

perhaps a remnant of Hindu rituals. It held a strong

significance in the environmental formation of the people (cf.

1.3) who recognized their 'Indus' *Sindhu* (< *sin* 'water', *sinaj*

71

'wetness', *sinna*, 'wet' < Skt *Snih-* (7.1/122) also called 'father of the rivers' (*Abäsïn*) or 'waters of Indus' (*Äb-e-sïn*), as a unifying symbol of their identity to be revived in the latest genres of Siraiki literature (cf. 9.13).

It may not be inevitable for a society to be 'typically traditional' but once formed the traditions become a pleasant burden for the people who adhere to them. One of the traditionalist marks of Siraiki society is its Shi'ite leaning resulted from the continuous concentration in the region of 'upper Sind' of promoters of Si'itism since the 8th century onward. Sind, as the whole region including Multan is referred to in some Arab accounts of history, became a retreat for the pro-Ali Arab offenders of the central rule. Started from al-Ashtar's refuge in a town of upper Sind, the influence of Shi'ite tradition in the region continued to develop with the development of Shi'ite Islam itself. It seems as if for the rule of necessity, the Shi'ite preachers were more flexible in accommodation of the local cultural norms and beliefs in their version of Islam (cf. Maclean 1989: pp.126-9, 132-3; cf. 1.4).

The Shi'ite form of Islam appears to be a combination of rituals and cultural performance rather than a code as is characteristic of the Sunni form. In Pakistan, apart from some small pockets in the remote Northern areas, or groups of migrants from Lucknow settled in Karachi, it is the Siraiki belt which most widely preserves the deep rooted Shi'ite tradition. While the 'Shi'ite sermons' (*majalis*) and 'models of the tomb of Imam Husain' (*ta'zias* lit. 'mourning'), are famously associated with Multan, the residents of Dera Ismail

Khan are proud of Fidvi, a 19th century 'Shi'ite orator' (*zakir*) who is known as the first writer and composer of 'format' (*bandish*) of formal *majalis* (Mirza: CRI-9). The post-1857 movement for the reinforcement of 'puritan Islam' (*Wahabiyat*) (cf. NI-7), an outburst of the Muslim fear of the elimination of Islam at the hands of the Hindu culture of the majority, although it flourished in few areas like the northern parts of Derajat, did not affect the old cultural patterns in the Siraiki region as much as it did in some other Muslim pockets of South Asia (cf. 10.1).

The historic language dichotomy (Shackle 1979: p.192) which prevented a number of the languages in South Asia from being used for literature was not earlier so effective in expelling the Siraiki language from literature as it became after the British rule of Panjab in the second quarter of the last century. This imposed an arbitrary division between so-called standard and regional languages. Persian, the language of the Qaramita rulers of Multan (965-1010), of the Mughal court (1526-1857) and of the court of Ranjit Singh (cf. 1.7), had of course achieved the status indicated in the saying 'the Persian language will get me on the horse's back i.e. will guarantee success' (*farsi ghore charsi*). But because of the fully alien character of the Persian as against that of Urdu today, it was however impossible for any section in any way interested in public instruction to ignore Siraiki as a parallel medium.

There were three main fields of literary use of the language: the traditional learning, the versified stories and the love poetry of the Sufi mystic poets. A number of

73

'Persian to Siraiki' grammars and versified dictionaries, some
of which are still in use in the traditional religious
schools, remained part of the standard curriculum. The
earliest of such grammars titled _Khaliq Bari_ ('The Creator the
Compassionate') is vaguely attributed to the famous poet of
Persian and Hindi, Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) who remained in
Multan for five years in the 1280s. The grammars like
Qawanin-e sarfiya manzuma hindiya ('The versified rules of
syntax in Hindi') composed by Shah Walayat Multani, and a
moral poem _Pardesi jindri_ ('Transitory soul') by Shaikh
Abdullah of Multan, are attributed to the 15th and 16th
centuries, and have definitely been commercially available
since 19th century. The language was taken to a full lead
through the prevalence of the religious texts popularly known
as _Me'rajnama_s ('The praise of the Holy Prophet's ascension').
The _Me'rajnama_ type of Siraiki texts had a currency extending
to level of semi-literate men and women, and were used
alongside or in place of the daily recitation of Qur'an (cf.
Haidari 1971: pp.276-80; CRI-20). As a sole medium of
instruction in the traditional schools a standard form of
language of instruction had developed (cf. 10.2).

At least as the teaching medium in primers and the
text-books of Arabic syntax the language used had standard
form from Makhad Sharif (a religious centre near Mianwali) to
Bhung (a town on Sind-Panjab border) as may be seen from the
following specimens:

(a)

'je koi puchhe tūn kērhi takhti parhdēn'

'khari madi takhti'

'kitle bhattēṇ'

'hikka bhat'

'kivēṇ paṛhije'

'evēṇ paṛhije'

'if someone asks you which table are you studying?'

'it is table of long a vowel'

'how many alternates/forms?'

'only one form'

'how to read?

'it is to read like this'

(b)

zaraba zaidun amran: zaraba fe'l, zaidun fā'il, ate
amran maf'ūl his
fe'l nāl fā'el ate maf'ūl de mil kēṇ jumla fe'liyā
khabriya thiyā

'*zaraba* is a verb, *zaidun*, its adjective and *amran*
its object. The verb (in subject position), joined
with the adjective and the object, became a verb
based, complemented sentence' (NI-9).

Although there has not been a substantial tradition of
theatre in the Siraiki region, people at least mention the
name of one Ustad Gaman as the founder of the Siraiki theatre.
There is a tendency in modern writers to interpret the choice
of local languages made by the 16th-19th centuries' Sufi poets
of Panjab and the Siraiki region for use as vehicle of their
poetry together with the heroic events of local rebellions
against British rule or even of those against Mughal rule in
terms of the anti-imperialist theories of to day (cf. Malik
1989: pp.27,39 ff). It is, However, hard to agree with such

interpretations of the events of the past except in the case

of quite modern instances of revolt like that of Bhagat Singh

(executed in Lahore in 1931 for placing a bomb in the building

of Panjab Legislative (ibid.; Singh 1977). On the contrary,

it seems mainly for social and psychological reasons, the most

obvious being a response to the local inspirations and the

pleasure of having an audience available for communication,

that a number of Siraiki Sufi poets enriched the language with

their compositions (cf. 9.1), and a still larger number of

established 'pirs' and members of saintly families

acknowledged the poetic quality of Siraiki poetry. Siraiki

'verses' (*kafis*) were sung in a form of 'religious devotional

music' (*qawwali*), in the shrines of the Chishti Sufis.

A Persian ode dedicated to the Khwaja written by a famous

Muslim religious orator of the 'Unslaved ones' (*Ahrar*), a

party of Muslim freedom lovers who struggled against the Raj

in the later British period, namely Ataullah S Bukhari

(*Siraiki Majlis* 1977: title page), otherwise a member of the

anti-mystic Devbandi sect, is a testimony to the

unquestionable status of Khwaja and his Siraiki poetry among

the elite and intelligentsia. His reputation overshadowed a

number of poets of the same Sufi tradition like Maulavi Lutf

Ali (1716-1794), writer of *Saif-ul-muluk* and Chiragh Awan

(18th century) composer of *Hir* (cf. 10.2).

One of the reformist movements flourishing at the turn of

the century in South Asia was that of revival of radical Islam

led by Ubaidullah Sindhi (d c.1945). He was born in a Sikh

family of Jampur (district Dera Ghazi Khan) but was converted

to Islam and educated under Muslim influence. Sindhi was an

energetic preacher of the thoughts of the 18th-century Muslim philosopher Shah Waliullah of Delhi with emphasis on his revolutionary idea of 'breaking all the existing systems' (*fakk-u kulli nizamin*). His movement combined programmes of anti-imperialism and social change (Sindhi 1945: pp.9-14,31). Himself a good writer of Arabic and Persian, Sindhi realized the need for literacy through the mother tongue for the masses. Based in Sind, his movement also left some footprints in the southern Siraiki region. His 'Group of supporters' (*Jami'at-ul-Ansar*) published a well conceived four-page grammar, the first of its kind, titled *Riyasti zaban ka qa'eda* on 28 March 1939 from Dinpur in district Rahim Yar Khan (*Qa'ida* 1939). The *qa'eda* bears a line of dedication to the prince of Bahawalpur state to signify the possibility of patronage for the language by the Bahawalpur court.

Some references to the history of the institutionalization of Siraiki language in the princely state of Bahawalpur can be traced back to a period as early as 1773 when the poet Ghulam Muhammad expressed his gratitude to a member of the ruling dynasty, namely Ghazi Muhammad Khan Daudpotra, for his patronage of the poet's epic *Laelan Chanesar* ('Laila and Chanesar'), a translation into Siraiki of a well known Sindhi folk story. The epic is mentioned as having been published in one of the numerous issues of *al-Aziz* now scarcely available (cf. Haidari 1971: p.285). A proper attempt in this direction under the patronage of the Bahawalpur state was made by Maulana Azizur Rahman, a retired member of the state judiciary who first managed through one of his friends the publication of a short-lived periodical

al-Islah ('The reform') and then convinced the ruler to grant

him special permission to instal a printing press, a highly

restricted technology in those days, to publish his own

monthly journal *al-Aziz*. Azizur Rahman's efforts included the

formation of the first script committee responsible for a

systematic marking of the additional Siraiki sounds, the

preservation of various pieces of the Siraiki literary

heritage and his hallmark publication of the authentic

collection of the poetry of Khwaja Farid i.e. the

Divan-e-Farid (1944). Together these raised a vague sense of

their local past among the people of Bahawalpur and Multan to

a greater band of shared awareness (cf. Shackle 1977 b: p.391;

CRI-20).

S Ubaidur Rahman mentions the prestigious status of

Siraiki in Bahwalpur as second to the official language

Persian as it was much used by the court until after

partition. He remembers the welcome banners in Siraiki

parallel to those in English hung all over the streets at the

occasion of visit of the Nawwab and foreign guests to an

exhibition in Bahawalpur in about 1935. He comments (CRI-20):

> Through most of our history we, as an independent state,
> remained separate from Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan or rest of
> the Siraiki region. It was only because of the sense of
> linguistic and cultural uniformity that we owned these
> towns as our own.

Even prior to the beginning of local self-awareness in recent

decades the people realized their common identity and used to

express this through a centuries-old expression; 'we are a

people of one domain, our language is one' (*asan hikke tal de*

lok haen, sadi boli hikka he) (Wagha 1990: p.135).

2.12   Sindhi reinforcement of Sind-Multan relations

References to Sind will appear in more than one place in this thesis (cf. 1.2). One of many features common to the two regions is the hold of the centuries-old 'saint plus feudal' families whose power base of sainthood remained everlasting as against the political lords who emerged and were lost in the dust of history at the hands of political upheavals and wars. For example, the traditional Qureshi and Gilani families of Multan and the 'Imadud Din (Makhdum) dynasty' of Bahawalpur Division show a contrast to the modern feudal families of Panjab who are mostly Jats, like the Tiwana, Noon, Wattu, etc., and at the same time they provide an effective similarity with Sind. Despite the complete loss of the administrative and economic relations between the two regions since British rule, the influence of the Pirs i.e. Qureshi and Gilani families through the spread of the staunch followers of Baha-ud Din Zakariya of Multan (d 1262) over Sind and vice versa those of Pir Paggara family of Sind over Bahawalpur is still an important political factor (cf. Ahmad 1993; Shibli 1994: p.59; the News 16-2-1996).

The post-partition political crisis in Pakistan (cf. 1.12) produced an active group of intellectual nationalists in Sind headed by G M Syed. The pioneer group which included Ibrahim Joyo, Maulana Ghulam Mustafa Qasimi and Hisam ud Din Rashidi, the last being the most consistent and influential, was convinced of the idea of the unity of Sind with the Siraiki belt included in Panjab. In the late 1950s, they decided to advance a brotherly claim over the Siraiki area and to convince the influential Siraiki leaders on this subject.

'The original Sindhi language is Siraiki', they maintained.
The annual meeting of the 'festival at a saint's shrine' (urs)
of Baha-al Din Zakariya, and his formal descendant Makhdum
Sajjad Husain Qureshi were selected as the occasion to be
utilized and the person to be convinced.

Rashidi (1911-1982), a member of the historically
respected Rashidi family of Sind was known as an eminent
scholar of history and literature particularly for his study
of Persian literature. As it happens with historians,
Rashidi's nostalgia together with his search for origins led
him to concentrate on Sind-Iran relations of the distant past.
His studies earned him the special attention both of Iranian
scholars and of the Shah in the 1960s. He was invited to
present a paper on 'Sind-Iran relations' in an officially
organized international congress on 'Iranology' held on 6
August-13 September 1966 in Teheran (cf. Lakho 1992: p.82 ff).
He was also awarded the 'medal of gratification class one'
(nishän-e sipäs darja-e awwal), the highest medal of the
Iranian Court, during the '2500th Anniversary Celebration' of
the Achaemenid Empire in 1971. Rashidi was responsible for
establishment of 'The Cultural Centres of Iran' (khana-ha-e-
farhang-e-Iran) in Hyderabad and Multan and was always in
touch with the Iranian Councillors, including Aqa e Jafar
Qasai, who used to visit office of Sindhi Adbi Board 'Sindhi
Literary Board' from time to time, recalls Nafis A. Shaikh,
ex-editor Mehran ('Indus'), the Sindhi language journal, who
is proud of having been close to Mr Rashidi (CRI-24).

This all lasted as long as the Shah's dreams of a
regional imperialism. After the Shah's demise the unhappy

friend of Iran was heard murmuring 'Iran is ruined' (*Iran viran shud*) (ibid.). Besides the religious impact of Iran over the Shi'ites of the Siraiki region, which still divides their active factions according to contemporary political divisions in Iran, the signs of Iranian political influence on Multan via Sind were manifest throughout the 1960s and the early 1970s. A number of Siraiki activists of the early phase in Multan were led by Ghazanfar Mahdi, a favourite of M Sajjad H Qureshi and through him some of them came into contact with Sindhi scholars and nationalists. Rashidi, with some of the scholars of Sind, used to visit Multan and attended events there and is also quoted as author of the idea of promotion of unity between Sind and Multan through holding a series of seminars in the names of the Sufis common between the two regions. The idea was implemented through the 'Zakariya seminar' in Sukkur in 1969, and the 'Lutf Ali seminar' and 'Sachal seminar' both in Multan in 1969 and 1972 respectively. He presided over the Sachal seminar held in Bagh Lange Khan, Multan and delivered a speech on this theme. (NI-1; CRI-19; CRI-22; CRI-32).

2.13   The catalyst of the Panjabi movement

One of Shackle's (1979: p.198) observations on the Siraiki movement is its being a reaction to the Panjabi movement in Lahore. This we find more true of the second phase of the Siraiki movement in the 1970s rather than the first phase of 1960s. The early prospects of promotion of Panjabi, the most significant of which is stated to be the plan put forward by Sir Shahabud Din as speaker of Panjab

Legislative in 1947 for teaching Panjabi in schools in three scripts, viz. Persian, Gurmukhi and Devanagari, were lost in the changed atmosphere of the new state of Pakistan (CRI-28). The post-partition beginning of investigation of the local past in the Siraiki region was apparently as self-propelled and spontaneous as the restart of the quest for local identity in Panjab. Despite the difference in degree of manifestation resulting from the contrast in the degree conditions at their respective centres, with the Panjabi movement emerging in Lahore, the centre for publication and media, while the Siraiki movement started in the dust-covered towns of Multan and Bahawalpur, the record of the first post-partition phase of both shows them to have been contemporary developments without there having been noticeable signs of any direct relation between the two. After the establishment in 1956, of a government-funded Panjabi Academy, an organization of little significance (cf. Shackle 1970: p.244-5), the activities of the advocates of the Panjabi remained low profile for nearly a decade. The works of the Panjabi pioneers like Maula Bakhsh Kushta in 1960 (Kushta 1960) might belong to the same period of the late 1950s, which were the years of investigation by Mahar Abdul Haq into the Multani language eventually awarded a Ph D degree only in 1967. The upper hand gained by the Panjabi revivalist movement through having a reasonable quantity of literature, facilities of publication and a larger number of committed persons, such as Dr Faqir Muhammad Faqir, to provide it with a ready base (CRI-28), did not however help it to speed up perhaps for lack of any provocative blow equal to that of the post-partition influx of heterogeneous refugees

(cf. Haidari 1971: p.260; 1.9) followed in 1955 by the shock

of One Unit (cf. 1.14) for the Siraiki movement.

The early developments regarding awareness of Siraiki

started from a token publication in Karachi of _Panjnad_

('Meeting point of five rivers'), a Siraiki journal in the

1950s, to the celebration of a series of 'cultural festivals

in the name of Khwaja Farid' (*Jashn-e-Farid*) held during

1961-63, the establishment of the Bazm-e Saqafat ('Association

for Culture') in 1961, that of Siraiki Academy in 1962 and

Siraiki Adbi Board 'Siraiki Literary Board' in 1974 etc.

mostly preceded or coincided historically with the similar

events in the field of Panjabi, viz. the celebration of the

annual 'Festival of lamps' (*mela charaghan*) at the tomb of

Shah Husain, a 16th century poet in Lahore by Shafqat Tanweer

Mirza and his group of Panjabi sympathizers in 1962 and

formation of well-known Panjabi literary and cultural

organizations like Majlis Shah Husain 'Shah Husain

Association' in 1965, Majlis Waris Shah 'Waris Shah

Association' in 1966 and the Panjabi Adbi Board in 1975 (cf.

Shackle 1977 b: pp.392-6; Malik 1989: pp.18-9; 2.13).

There lies a difference between the Siraiki resistance to

the Panjabi domination and the Siraiki reaction to the Panjabi

movement. The former started earlier taking place not only in

the minds of the lovers of local past, but also in the

feelings of the Siraiki professionals and the government

officials who found themselves being victimized by their

Panjabi counterparts as expressed by A Jabbar Khan one of the

pioneers of the Siraiki movement (CRI-33):

> *sada moharrek e ehsas ha jo asan samajhde hase asan*
> *viktam haen Panjab de*

'we were motivated by the feeling that we were victims of Panjab.'

An indirect impact of the Panjabi movement on the beginning of the Siraiki movement can however be observed in the latter's attraction for pro-establishment sections of the Urdu and Bengali intelligentsia in the 1960s (cf. 2.14). A fear that their children would have to face Panjabi in school, created by the efforts made in Lahore from time to time for the recognition of Panjabi as a medium of instruction in the province, also worked as a spur to the Siraiki activists in their struggle (cf. 2.17).

A direct Siraiki reaction to the Panjabi activists who had quickly developed an incentive to give their movement an expansionist character, appeared at a later stage in a pattern of counter-argument to such claims as that Siraiki was a dialect of Panjabi, coupled with the condemnation of the inclusion in Panjabi anthologies by the Panjabi writers of the Siraiki poets, whom the Siraikis owned as distinctively theirs (*Raport* 1975: p.23; cf. Qureshi 1972). Shackle (1977 b: p.402), during his field trip of the region, found Siraikis complaining against Panjabis for three types of encroachment on Siraiki: its linguistics, its poetry and its music. In confirmation of the basic difference between the thinking of the two groups, the defence advanced by the Panjabi intellectuals that the poetry of the universalist Sufis was to be spread as a common property of humanity and not to be confined by linguistic claims (CRI-28)), hardly satisfied a Siraiki mind, which, on the contrary, interpreted such attempts as mere tactics by the Panjabis to deprive the Siraikis even of their precious cultural heritage like the

poetry of Khwaja Farid (CRI-20). The elaboration of the
Panjabi movement in Lahore started to be reflected in the
trends characterising the Siraiki movement in the 1970s. A
similarity in the patterns of demands from the government was
particularly striking (cf. Shackle 1978 a: 228; 2.15).

An interesting fact is that in developing the cleavage
against Panjabi as pivotal point of the movement, the Siraiki
activists of the first phase attributed to Panjabis many
assumed language controversies without any real and direct
academic or political difference having taken place between
the two sides as they developed an acceptance for Sindhi
language without going into the study of the linguistic links
of Siraiki and Sindhi or even to learning Sindhi which remains
an intelligible language to most of the Siraiki intellectuals
even today. In regard to Panjabi, articulation of the first
difference, i.e. the economic conflict, was given second
priority which was emphasised only in the 1980s after the
language identity was established (cf. 4.2; 4.23).

2.14   The vanguard

As is the nature of history, it is always difficult to
pinpoint the exact start of a phenomenon. There is a
beginning behind every beginning. Such is the case with the
beginning of the Siraiki movement. It is, however, the name
of Riaz Anwar to whom most people refer to when asked who was
responsible for the start. Besides contemporary witnesses,
his role is also highlighted in Shackle (1977 b: p.393) and
Rahman (1992: p.9). As far as the events are concerned, Anwar
was responsible for a series of Farid festivals in 1961, 1962

and 1963 in Multan. These set a trend and were followed throughout the decade by a series of similar though smaller festivals in the name of Farid, even at remote centres like Kot Mitthan, the burial place of the poet in 1964, organized by Khan Rizwani a journalist of Multan and one of the Siraiki activists of 1960s (NI-1). Rahman (1992) mentions the first Farid festival by Anwar as being held in 1960 in Muzaffargarh, his home town. This is, however, not confirmed by other sources, particularly S A Jabbar Khan, Anwar's close friend, teacher and comrade in the struggle (CRI-33). The festivals at Multan are remembered for their high level of attendance, their glamour and the wide range of the cultural events they introduced in the otherwise neglected city of Multan. Besides readings of papers and speeches, quite a few famous singers of their time, namely Firdausi Begum (of East Bengal, then East Pakistan), Rubina Qureshi and Arjamand Bano were invited and some of those were made to sing the Siraiki poetry of Khwaja Farid, a taste which these singers carried with them to other parts of the country. Pathane Khan, now a major figure in Siraiki classical singing, is said to have been discovered by Anwar during this period. The notable feature of these events was their being centred on the figure of Khwaja Farid. In an atmosphere where the search for regional identity was to grip the societies of post-colonial South Asia, the name of Farid, a saint-poet, earned this experimental phase of the movement an approval from the masses, a 'no objection' from official sections in the less than tolerant government of Ayyub Khan and a durable ideological pole around which the future struggle would

revolve. As prime symbol of a culture, this name surpassed the other two names, i.e. of Bahaud Din Zakariya and the apologetically advanced name of Shah Shams Sabzawari, both celebrated saints of Multan (cf. Shackle 1977 b: p.393; CRI-33; NI-1). Naturally all this could not be one man's perception. Thus there is at least one factor which we can add to the personal genius of Riaz Anwar, i.e. his attachment to the Pakistan Writers Guild, a semi-official literary organization of Ayyub Khan era which was extended to both wings of the country.

The Guild was formed on the initiative of Qurat ul 'Ain Haidar, the famous Urdu novelist who used to live in Pakistan, and her circle of writer friends, with the effective support of Qudratullah Shahab, then secretary to Chief Martial Law Administrator Ayub Khan, in an All Pakistan Writers Convention attended by 212 delegates from all over the country, held in January 1959 in Karachi. Shahab was elected president of the new organization and remained in charge throughout (Shahab 1990: pp.747-8). The notion, which obtained support from the ruler himself, of the new organization as an outlet for men of ideas and as a stage to be used for promotion of national cohesion through literature, became popular among those writers fond of self-projection at the government's expenses. Riaz Anwar, himself a poet, got entry into the Guild and through it got chances to develop links with well-known Bengali writers like Kawi Jasimud Din and Salahud Din. Whatever else he was, a writer in Bengal was supposed to be a nationalist as in Sind today. There were reciprocal visits between Dhaka and Multan, Khwaja Farid was broadcast from

Radio Dhaka, and Bengali language classes were started in Multan as a result of the visits of Kawi Jasimud Din (CRI-19; CRI-33). However, all this was only possible after a shift in the Ayyub regime's policy, now directed towards using the regional languages for effective propaganda, when in the early 1960s, it was decided to exploit the regional languages for the mobilization of the masses on three issues: agriculture, family planning and national integration (cf. Tahir 1990: p.36).

It appears in the statements of those concerned that the Farid festivals were appreciated and attended not only by locals, Sindhis and Bengalis, but also by the Urdu speaking elite. Akhtar Husain, a man from UP, at that time Governor of West Pakistan, himself presided over one of the sessions of the second festival. This friendliness of the Sindhis and Bengalis and the patronage by the Urdu lobby towards the Siraikis resulted in an additional interpretation of all what was going on at Multan by the Panjabi groups, namely that the Siraiki movement was a conspiracy of the rival Urdu mafia through Shahab, hence they called Anwar's group 'the Shahabian sect' (firqa-e shahabia) (NI-1). Whether or not true, the allegation carried at least a certain logic in the light of events. A group of Panjabi activist writers were expelled from the Guild for their involvement in the Panjabi movement in Lahore in 1963 (Shackle 1970: p.258) and at the same time, and as some of the Siraiki activists of this period now admit, Shahab himself helped the Siraikis by providing funds for the Farid festivals and other purposes through Jabbar Khan.

A lack of financiers and patrons was to be a permanent

drawback of Siraiki movement. Anwar's group of 1960's,
however, included a few supporters among the local aristocracy
for instance S. A. Jabbar Khan, himself a successful advocate
who retired as a judge of High Court, M Karim Khan Taunsavi,
Deputy Director Information, K. B. Buchcha, a well-known
member of Ayub cabinet from Leiah and later Umar Kamal Khan
advocate. These individuals provided considerable help for
the activities of his organization, Khwaja Farid Society,
later converted to Bazm-e Saqafat 'Association for Culture' in
1961. And as recalls Jabbar Khan (CRI-33):

> Nawwab Sir M. Sadiq Abbasi, the last ruler of Bahawalpur,
> used to contribute for the event ten thousand rupees and
> in addition to his poem in Khwaja Farid's honour to be
> recited at the festival each year.

One of the important achievements of this group was producing
translations of Khwaja Farid into three main languages, i.e.
Urdu, Bengali and English translated by Anwar himself, Kavi
Jasimud Din and Jilani Kamran respectively. The publication
of the Bengali version was, however, still pending at the time
of the fall of Dhaka (1972) and the manuscript still lies in
the piles of the papers left by late Kavi Jasimud Din with
his daughter in Bangladesh (CRI-33).

Although the contemporary members of the group mentioned
above do not for certain reasons, the notable being religious
differences, extend any credit to Makhdum Sajjad H Qureshi and
the men who worked under his protection, yet the significance
of their contribution to the cause cannot be denied. The
latter were looked upon as belonging to Shi'ite sect and acted
covertly in keeping with historic legacy of the Shi'ites
pattern. Although his own role was nominal, Makhdum Sajjad
gave his blessings and favour, and the permission to use his

traditionally influential name which was always a great
support for the persons in his circle. These were Ghazanfar
Mahdi who launched a series of events to revive the
historical, sacred status of the 'Multan, the city of saints'
(*waliyen da shahar Multan*), Mazhar Arif and Mir Ghulam Rasul
Hassan ul Haidri, a Baloch villager by origin who was
initially editor of *Astana-e Zakariya* ('the Court of
Zakariya') and *Tufän* ('Storm') two Urdu journals of the
Barelvi sect of South Asian Islam. Haidari was an able man of
multiple talents (NI-1). As a scholar of Arabic with strong
faith in the Suharwardi branch of Sufism, he did work on
Arabic classical poetry which has remained unpublished and
produced a useful article on the history of Siraiki literature
(1971). He also formed one of the first four Siraiki
organizations of the period 1961-2 in Multan including the
Siraiki Academy. The other three were the Khwaja Farid
Society, Bazm-e Saqafat and the Multani Adbi Board 'The
Multani literary board', later renamed as the Siraiki Adbi
Board in 1974 by Mahr Abdul Haq. He was in a close working
relationship with Akhtar Baloch in starting the first regular
organ for Siraiki, initially a newsletter and than a weekly,
titled *Akhtar* ('Star'). Though this was mainly in Urdu, every
fourth issue was reserved for creative writings by Siraiki
writers (cf. CRI-18; CRI-29; Rahman 1992; 2.15). In addition
to such individuals, well-exposed to the political currents of
their time and equipped with organizational skills, there was
a large number of individuals, mostly teachers like Tahir
Ghani and Hasan Haidarani in Multan and its suburbs who,
mainly guided by their instinct of attachment to the local

past, were continuously engaged in literary activities. Their 'poetic and literary meetings' (*musha'iras* and *majlises*) attracted to Siraiki some poets mainly writing in Urdu like Arshad Multani. Such meetings were held in schools, one being the Pilot Secondary School. Umid Multani and Khadim Malik, the founders of 'Siraiki Society' (*Siraiki Majlis*) in 1972, an organization known for its regular fortnightly meetings for several years, can be related to this group (cf. Rahman 1992; *Siraiki majlis* 1977: pp.4-6).

And there was a man apparently at a distance from all these organizations, yet most of them looked towards him for advice. This was Mahar Abdul Haq. A 'man from Thal' (*thalochar*) by origin and an officer in Department of Education, Abdul Haq was a hard working scholar of history and traditional linguistics. He was made to perform as a ready reference on matters related to linguistics for the activists of the Siraiki language movement in Multan (cf. 8.4), as was B A Zami for those in Bahawalpur.

The activists at the second major centre of the movement, Bahawalpur, though more committed politically, appeared to be self-centred in style, a quality they inherited from the princely rule of their Nawwabs under which both the need and the chances for exposure to the rest of the region were limited. The links of their leading men like Riaz Hashimi, a lawyer, were normally with Karachi. They were additionally facing confusion over their political future,, i.e. whether to stand for the reinstatement of their state or a Bahawalpur province or to become part of a wider identity, i.e. the Siraiki region (cf. 2.16).

The first group of the Bahawalpur locals to spread local self-awareness included B. A. Zami, a teacher by profession and a writer on linguistics, Siddiq Tahir, a well-known student of local history and literature, Professor Dilshad Kalanchavi, again a writer and Seth Ubaidur Rahman (nephew of Maulavi Azizur Rahman (cf. 2.11). In 1962, the group started meeting at the bungalow of Nazir Ali Shah, in Fauji Basti, Bahawalpur. With the initiative and also the financial resources of N A Shah, the group was able to get an official declaration for a quarterly journal <u>Siraiki</u>, the first issue of which was printed in 1964, to be published in 1965. This quickly led tothe declaration of the formation of a purely literary organization called Siraiki Adbi Majlis. This was to be a body responsible for the publication of the journal, a precautionary measure against a possible allegation by the government of subversive activities against the individuals in the group. The names: B. A. Zami (d c.1979), N A Shah, M D Bashir and S Najmud Din Laghari are remembered as pioneers in Bahawalpur. The pattern of Multan festivals, Jashn-e-Farid, was repeated in Bahawalpur in 1966 and onward as 'Rohi festival' (*Jashn-e-Rohi*) again to reflect the separate entity of the ex-state. Applause greeted a line from Tahir's poem recited in the festivals 'this yellow sand is our pain, this yellow sand is also the remedy' (*iyha pili ret he dard sada iyha pili ret dava he*) (cf. Ubaid ur Rahman 1990: pp.39-45; Tahir 1990: pp.32-6). A liaison between the activists in Bahawalpur and those in Multan was maintained mostly through Ubaidur Rahman and S. Tahir.

The counter-activists among the Panjabi settlers of

Multan namely Mashkur Sabiri, a lawyer, and Wali M. Wajid, a journalist, did not long delay in responding to the separate cultural activities by the locals. Sabiri formed a Panjabi organization called Majlis Waris Shah and as is stated, Wajid was responsible for creating a sectarian controversy about Shah Shams Sabzawari by declaring the popular saint as to have been a Shi'ite so as to damage efforts by some Siraikis who were trying to establish him as another Siraiki classic (NI-1). However, no such open conflict surfaced in Bahawalpur during this period.

2.15   Who invented 'Siraiki'?

For a number of reasons, such as the shorter length of British colonial rule over the region, neither the need nor the circumstances for a collectivized identity existed until recently. One of the reflections of this situation was the lack of a concept of linguistic uniformity as there were numerous names in use for the same language (cf. 6.4). The miraculous acceptance by the whole people of the one name 'Siraiki', unfamiliar even to academics until recently (cf. Shackle 1977 b: p.379), prepared the ground for the movement and also marked the natural boundaries of the language-region. The term automatically gained currency in the areas innately prepared to join the new identity, comming to exist in parallel to 'Panjabi' which they were entitled administratively. When and how it happened, and who was responsible for introduction of this successful scheme are questions currently under debate and still awaiting a well documented answer.

In an interview for a special edition of an Urdu daily, the senior scholar of Siraiki, M Abdul Haq, declared that it was he who proposed the one name for the language and got it approved in a meeting in 1962 in Multan (Abd ul Haq 1987). However, this claim was immediately challenged by Riaz Anwar through an explanatory note published in a subsequent issue of the same paper. Contradicting M Abdul Haq, Anwar put forward his own claim to have raised the issue of the language's independent status along with a demand for a separate sub-region in a Writers Guild meeting at Dhaka in 1960's, when the fact of the language's numerous names brought him embarrassment. He then worked on it and got the name 'Siraiki' unanimously approved by the relevant parties from both centres, Multan and Bahawalpur, including M Abdul Haq himself in a special meeting in 1966, and the name was subsequently published and propagated (Arch-1).

A similar contradiction prevailed in the statements of the pioneers in Bahawalpur until recently. In an attempt to secure the credit for Bahawalpur, Siddiq Tahir (Tahir 1990: pp.32-8) and S. Ubaidur Rahman (cf. Ubaidur Rahman 1990: pp.39-45) appear to differ indirectly from each other in two articles published in the same issue of the same journal. According to Tahir, it was the Siraiki Adbi Majlis 'Siraiki Literary Association' formed in 1964 which was responsible for extension of the uniform name. However, Ubaidur Rahman recalls (CRI-20) that their group had used this name for the language verbally since 1962 but that they deliberately avoided putting it on record for fear of the repressive government. An editorial note by A K Baloch (cf. Akhtar VI.5

1969: p.3-4), indirectly confirms Riaz Anwar's claims.

My own investigation, however, revealed some evidence to
support the candidature of Mir Hassanul Haidari (cf. Shackle
1977 b: p.391) for the credit, or as Mahdi descrbes (NI-1):

> It was Haidari who used the word Siraiki for the language
> in 'astana-e Zakariya' in 1960, andit was Sardar Muhammad
> Karim Khan Taunsavi who triggered the movement and who
> masterminded all its initial activities in early 1960s'
> says Mahdi.

Haidari's son and a lecturer in Siraiki, Javed Chandio,
recoding his interview reacted to the above claims as
(CRI-18):

> Haidari introduced the name and started the struggle.
> However, as he is out of Multan and of the region for
> more than thirty years they may claim whatever they like.

Nazir Laghari, a journalist and a zealous Siraiki activist in
Karachi who used to attend most of the events at Multan,
confirms the last two statements (CRI-23).

A more reliable evidence of his (Haidari's) role, I was
able to find in five documents, one printed and four xeroxes
of handwritten manuscripts, bearing his signatures which I
classified here as Haidari-1, Haidari-2, Haidari-3, Haidari-4
and Haidari-5 (Haidari 1961-62). Haidari-1, a handwritten
report of a meeting tells about a unanimous decision of those
present, viz. A. Rashid Talut, Tahir Ghani, Shabbir H Akhtar
and others, in favour of the foundation of an organization to
be called Siraiki Academy Multan. Two press-cuttings showing
the coverage of the news of the event in next day's papers are
also attached. The first paragraph of the document, in Urdu,
reads as follows:

> aj moarrakha 6 aprel 62 ko kashana-e-haidari (khadija
> manzil) daolatget rihaeshgah-e-khaksar mir hassan ul
> haidari suharvardi par siraiki (multani) ke shaedaiyon ka
> ek ijlas hua

> 'A meeting of the lovers of Siraiki (Multani)   was held
> on 6 April 62 at *Kashana-e Haidari (Khadija manzil)*
> Daulatgate, the residence of this humble Mir Hassanul
> Haidari Suharwardi.'

Besides the aims and objectives of the new organization, this document includes Haidari's argument in favour of the general adoption of 'Siraiki', the name of the same language in Sind.

Haidari-2, published from the same address only four days after the event, is a printed form of the above, additionally covering the idea of arrangements for a conference on the issue, a dream which we see fulfilled thirteen years later in 1975 (cf. 2.17). Haidari-3 is a handwritten report of a meeting held on 10 June the same year focusing on his trip to Muzaffargarh and Dera Ghazi Khan districts to expand the 'academy', during which he met a number of dignitaries like Khwaja Nizamud Din of Taunsa, and which earned him at least some encouragement and promises for co-operation in the future. The minutes of the meeting also include his criticism of an anonymous member for intrigues. Probably it was the same intrigues which were to be reflected in Haidari-4, the handwritten report of the proceedings of the meeting of the organization held on 21 October in the same year, which declared its change of name from Siraiki Academy Multan to Multani Adbi Board. It is said that it was M. A. Haq, then a prisoner of his Ph D thesis which called the language Multani, who resisted the name Siraiki. The last document Haidari-5, again a handwritten report of the meeting of the Board held on 16 February 1963 shows Haidari's frustration over the failure to develop a collaboration among his fellow members in the organization. He complains of their irresponsibility and still emphasizes the need for development of institutions at

the pattern of Sindhis.

It seems likely that Haidari, originally from an area at the border of Sind was able to import and sell the Sindhi term in Multan. However, the process of its acceptance as a whole might have gone through more than one development.

2.16   Call for 'Bahawalpur *Suba*'

The enactment of One Unit (cf. 1.13) failed in less than three years. In 1957, the West Pakistan Assembly unanimously passed a resolution advanced by the the Republican Party and the National Awami Party demanding the dissolution of the West Pakistan province into its previous units. Rapid notice of the development was taken by a group of 12 members from Bahawalpur who in a statement reminded the government that in case the One Unit was dissolved the ex-state of Bahawalpur would seek restoration of its constitutional status as a separate province (*goli nambar* p.21; Rahman 1990: p.10). However, the political process was frozen by Martial law in 1958 and the Ayub regime (October 1958-November 1969) was mainly to act as a protector of the One Unit through its centralist policies. In Bahawalpur, as in Sind, the One Unit and later the merger of Bahawalpur with Panjab were seen as schemes for 'greater Panjab' (CRI-20).

From Bahawalpur, except for Makhdum Hasan Mahmud who joined hands with the Panjab masterminds in the centre to introduce an idea of 'zonal federation' leading to the One Unit and thus allowed his action to be interpreted as a betrayal by his people in Bahawalpur, no group or individual ever came happily to approve the merger of the state. On the

contrary, in a number of individual attempts the development was resisted from time to time. Rahmatullah Arshad, a parliamentarian from the region, raised his voice in the National Assembly in 1964 and in the subsequent period demanding 'give us back our Bahawalpur' (*Bahawalpur vapas do*). Riazul Hasan, an advocate from Bahawalpur practising in Karachi, represented Bahawalpur in the 'Anti One Unit Committee' initiated by the nationalist leaders from Balochistan (ibid). A local organization called Tahrik Tahaffuz-e-Bahawalpur 'Movement for the Protection of Bahawalpur' was formed in November 1969 (cf. *Goli nambar* p.2). A tricky point throughout the conflict has been its concentration on the restoration of a province (which never existed) instead of the state. This was, however, understandable given the background of the political process which went on after partition (cf. 1.9).

Ayyub Khan's eleven-year rule ended in martial law in 1969. The new dictator, Yahya Khan, announced the abolition of One Unit on 28 November in the same year. The Bahawalpuris were put on alert. Through a series of political events, memoranda, statements, and manoeuvering with various political parties they hastened to pressurize the new government to stop it from attaching Bahawalpur to Panjab, as the details of the plan of dissolution of the One Unit were still awaited. But in negation of all their efforts, the martial law regime did what was feared. On 6 March 1970 Yahya Khan, as part of the the decision of merger of the Pakistan ex-princely states into the provinces, declared that Bahawalpur was to remain part of Panjab.

At this point the people of Bahawalpur turned to a modern political practice for the first time ever in their history. Political leaders, viz. Rahmat-Allah Arshad, Chauhdury Farzand Ali, Nizamud Din Haidar, Seth Ubaidur Rahman and others belonging to different political parties formed an alliance called Bahawalpur Muttahidda Mahäz 'United Front' on first February 1970 to face the situation. On 29th of March, the Front started with deviation of martial law orders of restrictions on political activities by leading processions on the streets of Bahawalpur. Significant was the participation in the movement of some members of the ex-ruling dynasty, Prince Saeedur Rashid and others, under the banner of their Anjuman-e-islah Daudpotagan-e-Abbasi 'Association for Betterment of Abbasi Daudpota Dynasty'. An equal spirit was shown by the old settlers, particularly the Muhajirs, 'the Urdu-speaking migrants from India'. Though the leadership was all arrested and put in jail at the beginning of the egitation, the daily processions led by the new volunteers and greatly inspired by emergence of Tahira Mas'ud, hailed as 'Joan of Arc' and Zarqa-e-Bahawalpur, referring to the name of a name of a Palestinian woman freedom-fighter. The movement also attracted crowds from the suburbs and was given token support by similar activities if on a smaller scale,in other towns like Bahawalnagar, Ahmadpur Sharqia and Rahimyar Khan. The government came to take notice at higher level of what was happening on 23 April by sending from Lahore a military officer as representative of the Governor of Panjab, General Atiqur Rahman, for negotiations with the leadership. The negotiations failed and on the next day the protesters were

welcomed with batons, tear-gas shells and, finally, firing
which killed Azim Khan, an old man of 60, and Hafiz Muhammad
Shafiq, a youth of 21, thus entitling the movement to claim
two martyrs. This day of 24th April 1970 was, however, the
last day of the protest movement. Those arrested were tried
in special military courts and sentenced to various terms in
jail (cf. *Goli nambar* pp.4-7,20-8,140; Shackle 1977 b: p.401;
Rahman 1992; CRI-10).

The April episode won the movement attention from the
rest of the country. In addition to this, most of the
political parties of both the right and the left wing, from
the Awami League of Mujib ur Rahman of East Pakistan to the
Jama'at-e Islami 'Islamic Party' of Maududi, but with
exception of Bhotto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP), came to
support strongly the demand of the people of Bahawalpur. The
movement partly passed the test of the December 1970 elections
by smashing the Hasan Mahmud groupand and by securing three
national and 12 provincial seats for the candidates of the
Front against the stormy popularity of the PPP. which,
however, saved few seats through its neutral stance on the
issue. The quick pace of events at the end of the decade in
Pakistan brought the fall of Dhaka, the Indo-Pakistan war and
replacement of Yahya Khan by Bhutto in 1971. Although this
charged the ethno-nationalist parties in what was left of
Pakistan with a new confidence (cf. 4.2), in reality it
exposed them as having played on the strength of the Bengali
nationalist movement, while having far less potential in
themselves. The Bahawalpur groups continued reminding the
government and the nation of their demands. Their members of

parliament signed a presentation to Bhutto, then president, arguing for the province in 1972. Bhutto, however, had more important issues like the pre-Constitution settlements with National Awami Party, etc., on his table (Rahman 1992: pp.10-8; _Goli nambar_ pp.0,21-8).

The experience of the April movement brought a change in the organizational patterns as well as in the outlook of the people in Bahawalpur. After the first shift from their stand for the state to the 'Bahawalpur Province', there was an increasing readiness for a larger identity based on the language, Siraiki. Bhutto, during one of his visits in 1971 was welcomed with a mysterious sign captioned with a word _siraika_ wall-chalked throughout the town by an anonymous group. The group was later known as Pakistan Siraiki Anjuman 'Pakistan Siraiki Association' with Afzal Masud, Ajmal Malik and Siddiq Sikandar in its centre. The sign Siraika ⊐€- - was interpreted as a skeleton map of the Siraiki province (NI-3). A more significant step in this direction was Riaz Hashimi's writ in High Court in 1972 for the placement of Siraiki on the list of languages in Population Census (Shackle 1977 b: p.397), although was later withdrawn to avoid the risk of the Court's confirmation of the existing situation. There was an effective group still clinging to the Bahawalpur idea. S Ubaid ur Rahman and his colleagues, the founders of Bahawalpur Suba Mahaz, 'Bahawalpur Province Front' continued to work for a separate province for "the people of the state' (_Riastis_). The Front remained active until recently. In the late 1980s, it was renamed as Siraiki Suba Mahaz 'Siraiki Province Front' (cf. 5.1).

The *suba* movement with all its historical significance
fell short of a number of components like penetration to the
peasantry, an essential element for mass movements in South
Asia. The ideals were of a primitive and revivalist type. A
section of the people involved in the movement were dreaming
of the restoration of the mythological Islamic state where,
for instance, Christian missionaries would not be allowed to
preach (*Goli nambar* p.13). It was thus a struggle partly for
reversal of the modernization which had been taking place
after partition, with real linguistic and cultural grounds for
the movement yet to be worked out. Thus the movement was
apparently cut off without any achievements. It, however,
placed Bahawalpur on the list of the regions waiting for a
constitutional adjustment (cf. 1.13).

2.17   The Multan Conference of 1975

The seeds of this conference were sown as early as 1962
(cf. 2.15). A second attempt was made in 1969, in a meeting
in the Kaife Arafat restaurant' in Multan. The group in
command at that time consisted of Ghazanfar Mahdi, Riaz
Parvez, Arshad Husain Arshad and others who deputed Umar Kamal
Khan, then a fresh recruit to the Siraiki movement, to act as
secretary for the planned Siraiki Conference. But then
martial law was announced. Posters for the Conference had to
be removed overnight from the walls of Multan city and the
programme was sabotaged. 'I was a PPP activist and had nothing
to do with Siraiki directly. More or less the same group with
addition of Riaz Anwar knocked at my door in early 1975,
pushing me again to act as the secretary for All Pakistan

Siraiki Adbi Conference Multan 1975, as they wanted to work behind the curtain. With a two thousand rupees contribution from Riaz Anwar's Pakistan Foundation we started the job to carry it to success', recalled Khan (CRI-29).

It seems as if the organizers of this 'literary conference' had also calculated on the political situation of the country in the background. The Bengalis had deserted Pakistan in 1971. The Sindhis had got the status of their language partly restored after the Urdu-Sindhi riots of 1972, the Baloches were engaged in armed struggle and the Pakhtunistan separatist movement was at its climax. The Multan Conference did not indicate any direct relation to the aforementioned Bahawalpur *suba* movement yet the experiment was kept in mind and all due care was taken.

Held on 14-16 March 1975 in the Junior Railway Institute, the conference mainly consisted of speeches and paper readings during the day, and cultural events like music and poetry recitations in the evening. The largest-ever participation of Siraiki representatives from main towns of the whole region from Dera Ismail Khan to Sukkur was the most notable feature of the event. Besides the mass gathering of the people concerned with the Siraiki, it was also attended by a number of individuals with higher social or political status, for instance Mir Ahmad Yar Khan of Kalat, Sahibzada Faruq Ali, Speaker of the National Assembly, Rasul Bakhsh Palijo, known as a staunch Sindhi nationalist and others. Twelve out of 23 organizations registered for participation had the word Siraiki in their names. The rest were named after Khwaja Farid and some after the names of their individual founders.

Among the important businesses of the Conference were the formation of a committee on script (cf. 6.28) for writing Siraiki in accordance with its phonetics, an attempt to mark its independent position as separate language, and the unanimous approval of a set of resolutions and demands which can be summarized as assertion of the status of Siraiki on a par with the four provincial languages already recognized (cf. *Raport* 1975: pp-1-5,19-21,23; Shackle 1977 b: pp.398 ff). Christopher Shackle's participation added to the grandeur of the Conference an 'international' stamp. As a Western scholar who was able to speak the Siraiki language and very keen to know about its future prospects, he pleased the audience with his sentiments regarding the language (ibid: p.18; CRI-22).

A telling feature of the Conference as an event of the movement in its early stages was its being in hands of the individuals firmly against the theme of 'politics'. The given impression was that the main aim was simply 'service of the mother tongue'. Condemnations were directed only at the Panjabi groups in Lahore who labelled Siraiki as dialect of the Panjabi and were bent upon introducing the Panjabi language as the medium in primary education in the province, which the secretary of the Conference interpreted as a conspiracy against the national language Urdu, though, paradoxically, a resolution advanced a similar demand in favour of Siraiki (ibid: pp-5,19). It was only the speakers from Bahawalpur whose speeches were directed to political issues. S Ubaid ur Rahman mentioned the non-co-operation of Multan during the Bahawalpur *suba* movement; Prince Mamunur Rashid Abbasi pointed to the economic deprivations of the

Siraiki region, Haji Saif-Allah was perhaps the only speaker who made a clear cut demand for Siraiki *suba* but this was disavowed by the secretary of the Conference immediately after his speech (ibid: pp.13,15-6). As against the Bahawalpur *suba* movement which attracted heterogeneous groups of non-Siraiki speakers, in the Multan Conference we do not see any signs of support or participation by the non-Siraiki settlers.

2.18   Achievements of the first phase

The fifteen or so years after 1961 marked both the introduction of Siraiki and its emergence as a language movement. The events and the festivals, mainly *musha'iras*, arranged for the purpose of cultural propagation also introduced new regionalist themes for the new literature and brought about the making of distinctively Siraiki styles in literary actitvities which were previously dominated by Urdu patterns. Eearly attention was paid by the planners to searching for symbols of pride in past history, concentrating mainly on the *sufi* saints and the mystics. A few names of political leaders like those of Nawwab Muzaffar Khan Shahid (cf. 1.7), Sardar Kaora Khan of Muzaffargarh and Munshi Ghulam Hasan Shaeda were reintroduced as heroes, but these were not emphasized (cf. NI-1; CRI-29). The credit for linking the whole Siraiki region in an undeclared agreement partly goes to the method of 'no threat, no challenge' applied by the pioneers.

A real achievement of the period may be seen through the organizations bringing out journals, collections of poetry and anthologies to meet the need of printed literature. When

asked about the standard, the editors used to say 'fill the empty stomach of Siraiki' (*Siraiki da didh khali e ikun bharro*); they allowed quality to be sacrificed to quantity. The message 'serve thy language' (*zaban di khidmat karo*) was preached (cf. 8.4). Prose writing, nearly non-existent before, was brought into existence during this period. Besides the two periodicals of Multan and Bahawalpur devoted to publication of fresh Siraiki literature, there was a chain of Siraiki Sangats 'Siraiki Associations' all over the region, which held 'meetings for critical debate on fresh literary creations' (*tanqidi ijlases*) where in parallel to the poetry recitations, pieces of prose, mostly short stories, were also read by their authors for criticism, though these were disliked and resisted by the old style writers. One of such Sangats, perhaps the first one, was formed by Chakar Khan in 1974 in Multan, and it set a fashion (cf. Shackle 1970: pp.248-9; ibid. 1977 b: p.396; cf. 4.21). The writings of this period are characterized with over-exaggerated claims, for instance, that the Siraiki region expanded over an area from Bannu to Larkana or that its history is linked with the pre-Greek era, reflecting an overall trend of legend-writing far removed from an objective approach. The group of local Siraiki researchers, like their counterparts in Panjab and Sind remained over obsessed with the tendency to put forward the idea of the antiquity of the language irrespective of any facts (*Raport* 1975: pp.16-7). A certain number of the same examples of the local language entered in the old Persian texts of history some of which possibly belong to a language preceding the distribution of modern dialects, are reproduced

by researchers of all the three languages as specimens of their respective ancient languages (cf. ibid.; Haidri 1971: pp.265 ff; Rashidi 1988: pp.55-6; Zami 1970; Abdul Haq 1967; 6.5).

The lack of economic resources led the activists of the movement to look for government sponsorship of their literary organizations. The example of the official support for the four provincial languages enhanced the financial temptations of the Siraiki groups in the big towns as well as the urge for equal status. The organizations which got on the list of official grants were three in Multan, the Bazm-e Saqafat, Siraiki Adbi Board and Siraiki Majlis, and at least one, the Siraiki Adbi Majlis, in Bahawalpur. The Siraiki Academy of Khan Rizwani at least once got some funding from the 'the local council' (baldiya) of Multan to publish its anthology (Rizwani 1971: p.9). The regular grants allocated to these organizations were nominal as compared to the budgets allocated to the provincial languages (Ubaidur Rahman 1990). It is hard to calculate the plus or minus effects of these grants. Where there was a regular activity of printing and publishing in progress through these officially sponsored organizations, this caused jealousy among the activists themselves resulting in a decay of the cadre. The grants also caused a lowering of standard of the output, as there are always unwritten constraints over the choice of topics and content to be observed as a pre-condition for organizations to remain on the list for the next year's grant. This system presses for coverage of certain topics like patriotism, Pakistan and Jinnah and discourages certain other themes like

regionalism. The quarterly <u>Siraiki</u> Bahawalpur had to publish a photograph and a message of the Panjab Chief Minister, Nawaz Sharif, otherwise not a very favourite subject for Siraiki activists (cf. <u>*Siraiki*</u> II.3, 1990: p.18).

As a whole this first phase of the movement was characterized by its concentration on language identity and not on the people's identity, pressing on the people the slogan 'speak Siraiki, write Siraiki, read Siraiki' (*Siraiki bolo Siraiki likkho Siraiki parho*), and demanding from the government a place for the Siraiki language in media and education.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROOTS OF THE CONFLICT

Truths being mixed up with beliefs in all social phenomena, it is difficult in the case of Siraiki to distinguish between the objective reasons and the issues which the new Siraiki activists came to interpret as being reasons behind the national conflict. This may be seen in a long narrative booklet *Jaesa maen ne socha* ('As I thought') by the hardliner Siraiki politician Jatoi (1994; cf. 51).

The main cleavage i.e. the language divide was cleverly taken out from the grammatical discussions, which had become a characteristic of the first phase, and was fertilized with bits and pieces from other disciplines; economics, history, culture and politics in the contemporary literature, and in the conversations called 'political work'. The conditions for the growth of the ethno-nationalist phenomenon were however not all created artificially but were also the consequent on the episode of partition and the subsequent policies of the state of Pakistan thereafter.

3.1   State language policy in Pakistan

Before going into the details of the development of the language policy of Pakistan we can briefly characterise the major factors in its formulation as follows:

(i)   opposition to the Indian theme of a national multiplicity in order to justify the basis of Pakistan;

(ii)   the education policy (and the language policy) that Pakistan inherited from the British;

(iii)   imposition of a language by one language group and
         resistance to it by others, a dimension of 'language
         and power';

(iv)   the inclusion as compulsory subjects in the education
         system of Persian and Arabic as part of traditional
         education, the latter the more for its religious
         significance;

(v)   the paradox of the recognition of certain provincial
         languages such as Bengali (later Sindhi) while sticking
         to the concept of unitary state;

(vi)   a passive continuity of the policy through lack of
         capacity to change to address the language problems or
         to redress the failures of the old policy.

It was perhaps the principle behind the mechanics of the
partition that led the two nations to stand in a binary
relation to one another, thus the *raison d'etre* of the one led
to the negation of that of the other i.e. the legitimacy of
the secular basis of nationhood in the case of India which
directly threatened the religious foundation of nationalism in
Pakistan and vice versa (cf. Buzan 1987: p.89). A clear
contrast therefore also became evident between the two
countries, India and Pakistan, in their dealing with language
issues. Although some of them were planning for the ultimate
hegemony of Hindi, the Indian authorities were very conscious
of the fragile state of their all-embracing Indian nationalism
in relation to a centuries old cultural diversity, and hurried
to grasp the enormous linguistic diversity of India, home to
179 languages and 544 dialects by the experts (Zaman 1984:
pp.1,6,196-7). The Indian constitution recognised 15

languages in the '8th schedule of the constitution' (eventually raised to 18 in 1992) as: (i) official languages of the different States and (ii) media of instruction in imparting primary education (Nambisan 1994: p.2753).

The State Legislatures were given the right through the constitution to adopt by law as official language/s any one or more languages approved in the constitution including Hindi (cf. Zaman 1994: p.124). As an opportunity to keep the door open for the recognition of any new languages or dialects would emerge through political turmoil, a number of bodies and commissions were also formed to investigate and come up with recommendations on language and education. The Dhebar commission of the 1960s, for instance, explored the fact that the tribal children in India picked up lessons easily when taught through tribal dialects and suggested (Nambisan 1994: pp.2748-9):

> the transition, if seen necessary, must be made as
> painless as possible insuring that these communities
> retain their inalienable right to their own culture and
> ways of living.

As a matter of fact however nothing could keep the smaller, largely tribal, dialects of India from declining, as the percentage of speakers of non-scheduled dialects dropped from 12.81 in 1961 to 3.84 in 1981 (ibid.).

Pakistan, being the unilateral custodian of the two nation theory, and having developed fears both of its non co-operative neighbour and of the internal ethnic movements which, as against those in India, were always directed against the centre (Alavi 1989: pp.222), went on cementing through almost all the successive regimes a socio-political structure which was 'differentive' in relation to India but

'integrative' within (Smith 1983: pp.42-3). Many autocratic proclamations which sounded quite out-dated in the contemporary political world were considered appropriate and logical by statesmen in Pakistan. Addressing the problem of 'sectionalism' which was manifest at very outset in East Pakistan Jinnah (1948: p.89) declared:

> --let me make it very clear to you that state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language.

Following the agitations in Bengal to accommodate Bengali as the second state language on a par with Urdu, however, a deviation from this declaration had to be honoured in 1954 and this was constitutionalized in 1956 (Rahman 1997: p.183; cf. Tahir, A 1995; Report 1959: p.289).

This strong line stemmed partly from the innate problem in Pakistan of having little scope for shifting from the British legacy. In the middle of 19th century in Bengal and in Sind, then under the Bombay presidency, Bengali and Sindhi were respectively established with their peculiar scripts as modern languages for use in the schools and the offices. But in most areas in Punjab, Urdu was used as medium of instruction (cf. Shackle 1978 a: pp.217,220; cf. 66). An exception to this was in parts of the present day Siraiki region where Persian was retained for some time. According to Haidari (1971: p.262):

> -- even in the days of British, for a long time the official business of the Municipality of Multan was run in Persian.

Selected in Pakistan for use as something more than a language i.e. as a pivot for national unity, Urdu needed to simultaneously be differentiated from both Hindi and the local

dialects by being made 'more Islamic rather than Indian, and-paradoxically-more Indian rather than Pakistani' (Shackle 1985: p.320).

As part of the political pattern of a polity opposed to India where the educational and political aspects of the issue were addressed simultaneously, in Pakistan the official discussions on languages were restricted to the forum of education, with political implications left to follow. In the formulation of a language policy, it is interesting to see how persistently both a liberal stance and a spirit for generous accommodation of more languages in education were replaced by a belief in the promotion of a single language to serve the cause of nationalism.

Major conferences and commissions launched for the formulation of a policy on the use of languages as media of instruction etc. took place in the 1950s. The main such initiatives were the Pakistan Education Conference of 1947, the Education Conference of 1951, the Education Reforms Commission for East Pakistan of 1957 and finally the Commission on National Education, of January-August 1959, which came to be known as Sharif Commission after the name of its chairman S M Sharif (Report 1959: p.2-3). All these would help to determine the subsequent education/language policies.

The 1947 Conference started with in a spirit favouring plurality as reflected in the indications given by the Minister of Education, Information and Broadcasting in his invitation to the delegates in favour of the adoption of a Soviet model to accommodate all the dialects in education. This ended with the following piece of recommendation inserted

in the unanimously adopted resolution (<u>Proceedings</u> 1947:
pp.11,39):

> the Conference recommend to the Constituent Assembly that
> Urdu should be recognised as *lingua franca* of Pakistan.
> Resolved that Urdu must be taught as compulsory language
> in schools, the stage of its introduction in the primary
> schools being left to the decision of provincial and
> state governments concerned.

A Hindu delegate, Rajkumar Chakarvarti, the Director

Public Instruction from East Bengal, recorded his dissent from

the resolution recommending text books in Urdu, and preferred

English for the public of Bengal, thus resistance to the

policy evolved simultaneously with the evolution of the policy

itself (ibid: p.21-2).

To mirror the zeal for unity prevalent at that time (cf.

Tahir, A 1995) and its expression in numerous developments for

consolidation of the status of Urdu, the Sharif Commission

favoured the fuller upgrading of Urdu from *lingua franca* to

the status of national language, which should be regarded as

high as national anthem (<u>Report</u> 1959: pp.289-90). The

relevant paragraphs i.e. subparagraphs (i) and (ii) of

paragraph 5 in `the Medium of instruction---summary of

recommendations' read as following (ibid: p.298):

> (i) In the West Pakistan, the medium of instruction from
> class I to class V is Urdu except in regions of the
> former NWFP and Sind. Urdu should be made a compulsory
> language in these two regions from class III onwards.

> (ii) Urdu is the medium of instruction from class VI to
> X in all regions except former Sind. In that area it is
> taught from class III onwards as a second language but in
> an elementary manner. It should now be given the proper
> teaching emphasis so that it can be used effectively as a
> medium of instruction from class VI onwards.

For the rest of the languages addressed as regional

languages, the Report commented as that their literature was a

valuable part of the nation's heritage and a source of

enrichment for the national language (a phrase repeated word to word in the statements of politicians and others even today) and endorsed the existing three organisations already working for promotion of regional languages namely the Pashto Academy, Sindhi Adabi Board and Panjabi Academy (ibid.).

It was as if to retain a position more or less the same as left by the British whose 'forty-years scheme for educational development' evolved by the Central Board of Education, Government of India provided with a model for the experts in the new state (cf. Symonds 1950: pp.181-2). Sind was an exception where Urdu, previously nearly non-existent there, was imposed, thus resented and subsequently resisted (cf. Joyo 1990: p.4). An interesting reference was made in the report to the 'assimilative power' of Urdu, with a strong recommendation that useful vocabulary of all the languages of the West Pakistan Province should be incorporated into it (Report 1959: p.298). This instrumentalization of Urdu effected almost every sphere of language communication through such official processes as the constitution, education policy and the census.

3.11   Constitutions

The language issue is rather carefully addressed in different constitutional drafts of Pakistan, again in agreement with the parameters fixed in the 1950s. This was despite the tough time given to the centralist members of treasury, mostly by the Bengali provincialists on the floor of the constituent or national assemblies. The process is reflected in following extract from a question asked by Major

Muhammad Afsaruddin, a Bengali member of the national

assembly, regarding the use of Urdu and the Urdu script in the

texts of professional education in the army and the setback

caused to Bengali nationals in the corps (NAPD III, pp.876-9):

> Will the Parliamentary Secretary to the Defence Division
> be pleased to refer to the answer to part (a) and (b) of
> the starred question No. 202, given on the 16th July
> 1963, regarding the medium of instruction for imparting
> training to the non-commissioned personnel of the
> Pakistan Army, Navy and Air force and state:
>
> (a)   the reason for the omission of Bengali which is one
> of the state languages in writing and reading in the
> Army; and
>
> (b)   the reason for not using the Roman Urdu script as
> before?

This was answered by Muhammad Qasim Malik, Secretary to the

Defence Division as follows:

> (a)   The introduction of a second language is not
> considered feasible.
>
> (b)   Roman Urdu is already there as a supplement to Urdu
> in Arabic script --

Easily overruling all such objections as the above, the

successive constituent and national assemblies were careful to

place the issue of languages on the successive constitutions.

The Constitution of 1956 declared Urdu and Bengali the state

languages of Pakistan in addition to English which was to

remain as official language for twenty years in its article

214(1). Guaranteeing in subarticles (2) and (3) a review of

the matter of the official language after ten years it

registered freedom for provincial governments to replace

English with either of the two state languages at any time.

Only article 19 guaranteed the right of any section of

citizens having a distinct language, script or culture to

preserve the same as part of their fundamental rights.   But

article 26 again warned against parochial, racial, tribal, sectarian and provincial prejudices among the citizens, which were to be discouraged by the state.

The constitution of 1962 declared Urdu and Bengali to be the national languages of Pakistan as announced in 1954. In Article 215 (1) Part XII it granted assurance that there would be no prevention of the use of any other language, with special reference being added to the use of English for official and other purposes until arrangements for its replacement were made. The point of the protection of a distinct language, script or culture was made in article 14. Article 215 (1) above was retained with the same number and reference in the draft constitution of 1968. The present Constitution of 1973 was approved unanimously by all the members of the national assembly including the hard core provincialists of the remaining areas of Pakistan after the secession of Bengal. It marked a slight shift towards regional languages, suggesting the establishment of institutions, and allowing provincial assemblies to legislate on measures for teaching and promotion of these languages under articles 28 and 251 (Constitution 1973). This change too met opposition at the stage of legislation in the provincial assembly of Sind in the form of language riots between Urdu and Sindhi language groups before a compromise was eventually reached.

3.12   Education

The education policies given by different governments and different constitutions of the country followed the principles

laid down in the Sharif Commission Report with occasional
changes reflecting the political and cultural preferences of
the various regions. For instance, the introduction by the
Bhutto government of a National Publication Programme in its
education policy of 1972 included the promotion of the
literature of regional languages, and resulted practically in
the establishment of institutions such as the Pakistan Academy
of Letters to promote the literature of Urdu and the regional
languages, dubbed by some to be 'an official Pakistani version
of literature' (NI-7).

The only major change in language policy took place
during the martial law of General Zia, not as a shift away
from the previous policy of the state but as a bold
restrengthening of the position of Urdu against both the
regional languages and English. This may be seen in the
establishment of the National Language Authority to develop
Urdu for official use (cf. 661), and the imposition of Arabic
- more with fundamentalist or political motives than with
cultural or educational aims - both on electronic media like
the Arabic news bulletin on television and as a prestigious
subject in the schools. These policies were, however,
effected quietly, while Bhutto's pro-Sindhi language policy in
early the 1970s - as said before - met tough resistance from
the Urdu speaking migrants in Karachi (cf. Rahman 1996:
pp.240-1; cf. ibid. 1997; *Akhbar* VII:5 1990; 661).

In a tricky reversal of the pro-Urdu, anti-English
features of Zia's policy, a proposal for the adoption of
'either an approved provincial language, or the national
language or English' as medium of instruction at primary

level, was inserted in the policy of 1991 and apparently
retained in the version of 1992 (<u>Education</u> <u>1972</u>: p.11; 1991,
subchapters: 3.2.1, 3.3.1; 1992: p.21). The vague idea of
'approved provincial languages' did not, however, find any
acceptance, probably because it indicated a setback for Urdu,
and excluded the languages with no 'provincial status',
including those like Siraiki, which were supported by groups
of language enthusiasts.

The marginal but continuing existence of Arabic in the
schools and colleges as a subject popular among the students
as an option promising higher marks for little efforts in the
examinations means it remains one of the least controversial
languages in the country. Being the language of Islam, the
religion of the state and the vast majority of the population,
Arabic had an edge over Persian. The latter, for all its
roots in literature and learning in the region, could hardly
survive after the partition when it was reduced to a nominal
place in the education system as an optional subject from the
sixth class onward.

As the system of formal education goes on overall without
any intervention from government or any clear expression of a
will for change from the public, only a few precedents are
available in the form of the attempted surveys and research on
the question of medium of instruction. After the enforcement
of Urdu in the 450 English medium schools throughout the
country as part of the 1979 education policy of the martial
law government, a limited study was conducted by Institute of
Education and Research, Allama Iqbal University in 1981 on the
public response to the policy. The results were not

encouraging. The study was focused on the adoption of Urdu as the medium of instruction at grade-1 level in 27 English medium schools of Rawalpindi and Islamabad and discovered only 12 schools partly following the instructions. Interestingly, the Federal schools under the Defence ministry were bracketed with the Missionary schools in resisting challenges to the use of English (Report 1981: pp.1,2,20-3).

A similar survey, whose findings may not be quoted, was conducted in 1989 but with a different purpose, that of probing the grounds for the implementation of the ruling Peoples Party's programme of 'instructions in vernacular'. Although the report confirmed the better results shown by the children in schools where education was imparted in the first language of the majority of the children, it was neither published nor recommended for implementation.

3.13   The census

In contrast to the streamlined treatment of languages in the constitutions and official education policies, they make a more irregular appearance in the reports of the Pakistan population censuses. The first three censuses, completed in 1951, 1961 and 1972, dropped separate testing of a number of dialects of West Pakistan, amalgamating them in the column of 'other languages' in the face of the magnitude of Bengali language. Siraiki, for instance, is marked in the report of 1961 census, amongst Lasi and Jattki in the figure showing the dialects of Sindhi and is divided into Derewali, Multani and Lahnda which are classified as dialects of Panjabi (Census 1961 III: pp.iv36-8). The comparative improvement in the

statistics in the 'census report 1981' is reflected in the following (Census 1981: p.18):

> No question on mother tongue was asked in respect of individuals in the 1981 population census. However there was a question on language spoken in the household. Panjabi is the most common language spoken by nearly half of the households, Pashto, Sindhi, Siraiki and Urdu spoken by 13.2, 11.8, 9.8 and 7.6 percent households respectively.

Compare the following number of Siraiki households extracted from the table titled as `households by language spoken' are given in Tab.3/1 following (Census atlas 1981: p.66):

Tab.3/1 Number of Siraiki speaking households

Siraiki in:	number of households (in thousands)
Pakistan	1236
NWFP	64
Punjab	1092
Sind	62
Balochistan	18
FATA (Federally administered tribal areas)	0.004

A Panjabi-Siraiki ratio can be worked out by comparing the figure of 1236 Siraiki households with that of 5812 Panjabi households above. This may not of course be taken as an assessment of the absolute size of the Siraiki speaking population, so much as of the section then mobilised under a Siraiki identity.

It seems that the effects of the underestimation and neglect by the state of the problem of the linguistic multiplicity for long time, coupled with the increased influence of provincialism was to disturb the working of old arrangements on inter-provincial issues. The census for 1990 suddenly came to a halt at the house-count stage. This eased

the concerns of certain language groups including the Siraikis who were protesting against the Sharif government over the deletion of Siraiki from the census questionnaire (Frontierpost 30-4-1991). The actual reason for the discontinuation of the census later emerged, however, as resulting from doubts expressed by some provincial governments regarding the results of the house count in Sind. Either for the genuine reason of heavy immigration from all parts of the country, or perhaps due to manoeuvring at the hands of alert, warring factions of Sindhis and the Muhajirs, the figures indicated an increase of over 50%, from 21% of the total population in 1981 to 34% in 1990. This threatened the permanent majority of Punjab which contrarily showed a decline in population percentage from 56% in 1981 to 44% in 1990. This, in turn, would result in reallocation of national assembly seats which would cause Punjab a loss of 22 seats, bringing down its quota from 114 to 92 in a house of 207 members elected directly.

The issue remained unresolvable despite continuous attempts on the part of the Benazir Bhutto government to complete the controversial census by October 1994 and to guarantee fairness by introducing improved techniques one of which was introduction of a new questionnaire and greater specification in questions. The special questions on various economic and social factors such as a column for languages which accommodated eight languages mentioned by name, including Siraiki, Dari and Gujarati, were placed on a sample form prepared for survey in selected blocks covering 10% of the total area of census. The actual census was however

postponed indefinitely with the pretext of administrative obstacles being advanced by the provinces, particularly Punjab (Khan, I 1994; NI-4; Arch-64).

Thus the language issue was mostly dealt on a temporary basis perhaps because no permanent settlement could be found in a society where conflicting agents of plurality had yet to come to terms with one another. Different languages were therefore given different treatment at different times. To the simple negation of the principle of parity, one of the provincial/regional languages, Sindhi was sufficiently institutionalised enough to allow the establishment by the provincial government of a Sindhi Language Authority in 1990 (cf. Doc-6). This came as an addition to the National Language Authority thus making the emergence of a new competitor of the status of a national language, echoing the pattern of Bengali in the 1950s. Siraiki, though granted a department in a university and a time allocation on television in the late the 1980s (cf. 528), was given little sympathy by the government in the first half of the 1990s.

An unproclaimed, extra-constitutional shift in policy from the Sharif Commission parameters surfaced towards the end of the 1980s with the introduction of the category of `Pakistani languages` to replace the former term `regional languages'. The Department of Urdu in Allama Iqbal Open University, for instance, was renamed the Department of Pakistani Languages, leaving open the question as to whether the term included Urdu (cf. Doc-9).

A recommendation to reduce Urdu to the status of *lingua franca* and reserve the place of 'national languages` for the

rest of the dialects of the country was heard at a government
forum through a resolution adopted by the delegates to the
Writers Conference convened by the Pakistan Academy of Letters
in 1994. No follow up to this proposal was however recorded
except that the writers, as opinion-makers, advanced their
criticism of the Urdu-centred language policy in the press
(Hasan the News 25-12-1994; cf. Tahir, A 1995; cf. Rahman 1995
a).

The language situation on the ground may itself be a
reflective of the language policy of the state of Pakistan.
English, besides being enthusiastically supported by the
elite, has re-emerged as the language of serious business both
commercial and literary. Urdu dominates the media and
education, and the mass languages, although some of them are
also used to support political ends, are reduced to research
and preservation. The trilingual phenomenon i.e. the
simultaneous currency of a foreign language, a lingua franca
and a mother tongue, seems likely to prevail for decades to
come with increased challenges to Urdu from English at the top
and some of regional languages at the bottom, or else as
foreseen by Shackle (1978 a: pp.231-2)

> It might seem strange now if the Urdu of British Punjab
> were one day to be replaced by, say, Siraiki (in Sindhi
> script), Muslim Panjabi (in Urdu script) and Sikh Panjabi
> (in Gurmukhi script) -- but then it is only when they are
> developing or after they have conclusively failed.

3.2   The migrants

The concentration of the migrants (Muahjirs) from India
in the urban centres of Sind has brought them into permanent
conflict with the local Sindhis and the majority governments.

They express this through the activist group, *Muhajir Qaumi Movement* (MQM 'Migrants' National Movement') (cf. 523). The sharp contrast between migrants and locals in the rest of the country, as observed in the recorded account of the smallest number of migrants in the census reports of different districts, is reflective of the fact that they remain unabsorbed even decades after the settlement.

The prepartition scenario of inter-group relationship that reflected a state of uneasy coexistence between Hindus and Muslims and that of a slow process of assimilation between the old linguistic groups in the Indus valley was seriously disturbed by the two way migration between India and Pakistan since 1947. If the aim of the partition was to achieve religious conformity among the people it was achieved at the cost of linguistic harmony (cf. Shackle 1985: p.327) and did not meet the expectations for two reasons: failure of the theme of religious solidarity in undermining the linguistic and cultural conflicts brought by the vast migration of population, and secondly, religion itself having inherent sectarian and factional tendencies, a characteristic of much politicised South Asian Islam. An almost total evacuation of Hindus from West Panjab made space for a marginally larger number of Muslim newcomers who were estimated to have become 20.5% of the total population. The major recipient of this influx within Panjab was again the Siraiki region. This can be tested through indirect evidence which follows.

The <u>Census 1941</u> shows greater number of non-Muslims in the Siraiki districts as compared to the other districts of Panjab, for instance, 28.19% in Multan district (1.9). This

higher ratio of non-Muslims evacuees had to be replaced by a
rather larger number of Muslim immigrants during partition.
Also, after partition, major districts of this region showed
the highest 'in Panjab population increase', above the
national average of 148%, reaching the level of 195%, which
was more than the increase in densely populated districts of
central Panjab (Ahmad, Q 1985: p.190) apparently for no reason
other than immigration.

In contrast to central Panjab, where the migrant Muslims
from East Panjab were easily absorbed through a harmony of
culture and language, in the Siraiki region they caused
disturbance through the lack of such harmony (Ahmad 1988:
p.11; cf. Shackle 1977 b: p.383; cf. 134). Although the heavy
cross-border migration ceased within a few years of partition,
the phenomenal shift of population within the country, mainly
from Panjab to Sind and the Siraiki region continued (cf.
Ahmad, Q 1985: pp.190-3, fig.12.2; Census 1941: pp.62-3).
Ahmad (1988: pp.29-30) has recorded the influx of the
non-Siraiki population into the major towns of the region
which previously had had a homogeneous population by giving
the ratio of Siraiki speaking population in the face of
non-Siraikis in these towns now as shown in Tab.3/2 below.

Siraikis in Dera Ismail Khan who have shown marked
Siraiki consciousness at different stages of the movement were
counted as 64.8% compared to Pakhtuns, 29.7% in the Census
1981. They had to further squeeze under pressure of the
influx of 500,000 new Afghan refugees in the1980s (Census
1981; Khan, M 1985: p.211, tab.13.12; Ahmad 1988: p.29).

Tab.3/2   Ratio of Siraiki in the town centres

town   percentage
---------------   ----------

Bahawalnagar   1.3%
Mianwali (including Bhakkar)   3.0%
Jhang   (less than)   10.0%
Sahiwal   (less than)   10.0%
Sargodha (including Khushab,
          less than)   10.0%
Multan   44.7%
Rahim Yar Khan   65.0%
Bahawalpur   66.7%
DG Khan (including Rajanpur)   73.4%
Muzaffargarh (including Leiah)   80.55%

The above figures may be taken as approximate as they are
based mainly on the 1981 Census report which is thought to
have involved an underestimate of Siraikis given the then
lower level of language consciousness among Siraiki
respondents as compared to those belonging to some other
language groups. Its inclusion of Sahiwal and Sargodha
districts and exclusion of district Dera Ismail Khan also
require reconsideration.

3.3   **Regional disparity**

        Inter-provincial political disagreements started as early
as the 1950s (cf. 1.12), and quickly drew attention of the
marked economic disparity between Panjab and the rest of the
provinces.

        Each of the smaller provinces, besides feeling a general
disapproval of the working of the central government, also
nurtured a dispute particular to its own economy. The
Sindhis, for instance, being around the lower reaches of the
river Indus remained in constant conflict with Panjab and the
centre over distribution of the river's waters, while NWFP and

Balochistan advanced claims for royalties for supplying power
to the nation, either of electricity from Warsak dam or of
natural gas from Sui. A sotto voce expression of resentment
by the leaders of Balochistan and Sind was directed to the
size of the military structure and its domination by Panjab,
which they held responsible for the flow of 90% of the state
budget to one province through secret spending on defence
(Shah, G 1985; Marri 1990: p.181; cf. Aslam 1987; cf. King
c.1992: p.25).

A rising concern among the intellectual elite against
military spending indirectly supported the old bias of the
regionalists. Demands for transparency in the defence budget
and for it to be debated in parliament began during the last
days of Zia. Although they made no difference, the tabus on
all discussion of the issue were however broken by the press.
Writers and analysts started drawing moving sketches of the
inappropriate differences between the high expenditure on the
armed forces and the poor spendings on the civil amenities,
for instance, that in comparison to the average salary of a
skilled worker which is Rupees (Rs) 3,000.00 per month, and to
the much needed Rs 500.00 for full, five years education of a
child, the military spends Rs 13 million an hour which makes
Rs 216,666.66 per minute and Rs 3,611.11 per second (Mian The
News 30-3-1997).

A shift in the economic interests in recent years has
changed in interesting way the ethno-provincial relations.
The Panjabis, whose bureaucracy is believed to have replaced
the former ruling clique of Urdu speakers, produced their own
nationalist leadership in the form of Nawaz Sharif emerged in

1988 with his battle-cry 'Wake up O, Panjabi! wake up' (*jag*

Panjabi jag) and formed a workable political alliance with the

Pashtun nationalists i.e. Wali Khan and his *Awami* National

Party ('Peoples National Party') formerly allies of anti-state

Baloches and Sindhis. This dragged the Urdu speaking migrants

who felt aloof in Sind, to suspect behind the violence in

Karachi a conspiracy for the expansion of a greater Panjab to

Karachi as a satellite State on the pattern of Hong Kong as

was said by MQM leader Altaf Husain (Jang Rawalpindi 2-3-1995;

Siraikistani 1991: p.8).

Just as the provincial boundaries of Pakistan appear to

overlap the socio-cultural zones, so do the politicized

expressions of inter provincial inequalities serve to

overshadow the real state of inter-regional inequalities.

Whether by deliberate intent, a logic of ruling groups as

observed by Deutsch (1966: p.127):

> --why reveal complete data about a delicate situation at
> the risk of furnishing ammunition to political opponents?
> Why not rather select for publication only those "sound"
> data which would support one's own righteous case?--,

or just out of tradition, facts are concealed by withholding

district-wise distributions of figures from the statistics

provided and published by government institutions. This makes

it all the more difficult for critics to have a clear picture

of regional disparities. In Panjab, for instance, the less

developed Siraiki region appears to be used to cover up the

disproportionate share taken by the rich districts of central

Panjab out of a budget allocated for the whole province (cf.

King c.1992: pp.18-9; Wagha 1989: p.11; cf. Aslam 1987).

Inequality of distribution can thus be worked out deductively

from the multitude of indirect evidence on the issue.

This unevenness rapidly intensified during and after the 1960s, the decade of the green revolution of President Ayub Khan. The development of the modern agriculture in selected areas was achieved at the cost of destruction of the traditional agricultural set-up in the remainder. The green revolution involved uneven expansion of modern means of agriculture i.e. technology, fertilizer etc. For instance, 9 out of 19 districts of Panjab consumed 80% of the fertilizer and had 76% of the total tube wells constructed in the province in the 1960s. This was coupled with similar inequalities in the sphere of industrial development so that 12 out of 19 districts accounted for 94% of the industrial production in the province (Hamid 1975: pp.23-4). It hardly needs saying that the said 9 or 12 districts largely comprised the central districts of Panjab excluding major parts of the Siraiki region and Pothohar. This new inter-district inequality caused mainly by the green revolution was also witnessed in Sind and NWFP.

A direct result of this growth in inter-district inequalities was the widening gap between the riches of the developed districts of the developed regions and the poverty of the underdeveloped ones. Panjab which was second highest (to Sind) in per capita income among the four provinces showed the second largest inter-district divergence in per capita income (ibid; cf. Ahmad 1988; Wagha: 1989). Similarly, independent studies, though few in number, regularly show a gap in the development of infrastructure between the Siraiki districts and other Panjab districts. The Rahim Yar Khan at No. 27, the most developed Siraiki district, excluding Multan

which still preserves its historically higher level of development, comes lower than Sahiwal the lowest developed district of Panjab region at No. 21 in the comparative ranking of districts by infrastructure (Husain 1994: pp.33-4). In contrast to the lack of infrastructure and other facilities in the agricultural sector, the Siraiki region claims a greater contribution to the national exchequer through its cash crops, particularly cotton, an export-item which is mainly yielded in Siraiki area. Cotton is placed highest in the indices of 'principle crops' in official statistics 1980-1 (Statistic 1988: pp.101-2).

3.4   Land allotments

To an ordinary Siraiki there was nothing wrong with Panjabis, were they not encroaching on his lands. The real conflict therefore originated in the areas where influential Panjabis, such as military officers etc., were preferred over the local tenants in, for instance, the districts of Rajanpur, Rahim Yar Khan and Leiah, in the allotment of so called state-lands acquired by the government through different means, one being the `land reforms' during the period 1959-70 (cf. Shibli 1994: pp.9,13-7,31-6).

To go further back, it was the British plan of `canal colonies' initiated in 1886-8, that resulted in the spread of Panjabi yeomen throughout the Panjab province alongside the newly built canals as it was part of the arrangement to take portions of land from the original owners against the expenses of irrigation, and to allot these to the new settlers. A project known as the Sind Sagar Doab Act was chalked out in

1912 for the irrigation of the Thal area i.e. the present districts of Mianwali, Bhakkar, Khushab, Leiah and Muzaffargarh, but was cancelled in 1932 for want of funds. This was revived by the Pakistan government as the Thal Development Act and was implemented under a special body, the Thal Development Authority (TDA) during 1949-70 to irrigate part of the area by building the Thal Canal. Redistribution of the lands of Thal being part of the plan, the TDA placed settlement of migrants in the area that was to be irrigated in the charter of its objectives. This resulted in the dislocation of a portion of the local population who were pushed to the areas left barren, to wait for the second phase of irrigation through the proposed `Greater Thal Canal', which is still pending today. The social and economic complications faced by the locals at the hands of the TDA in the absence of a proper legal procedure were mostly dealt with by administrative orders and the `press notes' issued from the centre in Lahore (Mirani 1991: pp.30-41,46,59).

A similar process of colonization, or settlement, started in the former state of Bahawalpur in 1919 (cf. 1.13). It has now reached such a level that in Bahawalnagar and parts of Rahim Yar Khan districts the ratio of the population has changed with the local reduced to a minority (cf. Census report 1981; cf. Tab.3/2). The best known case of disruption of Siraikis remains the Cholistan, where the herdsmen, the old masters of the lands are being uprooted with the extension of canals, since they lack any previous land revenue records to confirm their right to tenure (cf. Aslam 1987).

3.5   Employment

Partly as recognition of the gap in levels of education between different regions, and partly for political reasons, a share for underdeveloped regions in government services was guaranteed in exchange for approval by the smaller provinces of the One Unit plan in the 1950s. Since then there has existed a form of legalized discrimination in government jobs called the quota system (Rahman, I 1995; cf. 1.14). Justified in terms of objective principles, such as 'population provincial rights', 'promotion of the interests of backward/disadvantaged sections' and 'representation of all classes and areas', the quota system prevailed through almost all constitutional arrangements as a 'transitional requirement'. The Constitution of 1962 under its article 240 part XII acknowledged a parity between the provinces relating to the recruitment of personnel into the services through the operation of a quota for a period of ten years. The article was retained in the Constitution of 1968 under same number and part. The relevant paragraphs of articles 21 (i) and 27 (i) in the current Constitution of 1973 read as following:

> No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment in the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of any such appointment on the ground only of race, religion, caste, sex, residence or place of birth:

> provided that, for a period not exceeding 20 years from the commencing day, posts may be reserved for persons belonging to any class or area to secure their adequate representation in the service of Pakistan.

The above constitutional provisions were activated in 1973 through the Pakistan Civil Servants Act which was adopted for implementation in provincial services by the Sind Assembly

in 1974 and was subsequently adopted by rest of the provinces
at different times (Jalil 1995).

The expiration of the 20 year period in September 1993
raised a constitutional problem for the government, which was
unable to secure a two thirds majority in the House for it to
be readopted in the constitution and had to continue the
practice through 'ordinances'. This was also made difficult
through the increased opposition to the quota system by the
better qualified *Muhajirs*, a group themselves having a history
of struggling to achieving such protections against the Hindu
majority during the British rule. Abolition of the quota
rules has been one of the major demands of the MQM in its
negotiations with the government. A further development which
has taken place during the last decade or more is that the
quota game previously played between the provincial entities
has now extended to a conflict within provinces, the Siraikis
in Panjab being one of the contenders for quota protection
(ibid.; Rahman, I 1995).

The regional protection in jobs etc. failed to work
properly for a variety of reasons, one being the loose
observance of residential restrictions. Rather a paradoxical
use of the quota system's provision of 'regional protection'
was its frequent application for ensuring the places not for
the locals but for those from whom it was meant to protect
them. True to the Islamic notion of their favourite national
poet Iqbal, 'every land is our land as it is our God's land'
(*har mulk mulk-e mä-st ke mulk-e khudä-e mä-st*), the Panjabis
are as reluctant to refer to their place of birth as they are
open in accepting settlers in their lands. Official records

therefore fail in the proper classification of government employees on the basis of domicile. Thus the hegemony of Panjab manifests itself in almost every public area particularly in government jobs.

The population of the modern capital, Islamabad, besides including a number of people from the surrounding region of the Pothohar who are mainly engaged in trade, largely consist of employees of the Central government and their families, should represent all provincial and/or language groups proportionately. The report of the Census 1981, however, offers a different picture if the percentage of population of each language group in Islamabad is compared with its percentage in the gross population of the country as shown in Tab.3/3 following (cf. Statistic 1988: p.73, Fig.2.8):

Tab.3/3   Representation of different language groups in the Capital

name of language group	percentage in population of Islamabad	percentage in gross population.
Panjabi	81.72%	48.17%
Pakhtun	4.16%	13.15%
Sindhi	0.18%	11.77%
Baloch	0.16%	3.02%
Urdu-speaking	11.23%	7.60%
Siraiki	0.10%	9.84%
Hindko	0.60%	2.43%

A pamphlet published by a Sindhi resistance organization shows the occupation of nearly 75% of the highest jobs by Panjab i.e. 9 out of 12 grade 22, the highest, and 13 out 15 grade 21 Jobs on the Pakistan level. The gap however narrows in the lower grades with, for instance, Panjab occupying only

43 out of 81 in pay grade 17, the lowest among the gazetted officers' grades (Arch-62).

Under-represented in defence services, the Siraikis together with Sindhis and Baloches, face a further loss in securing power and its benefits (cf. Ahmad 1988: p.22) in a country where some military regiments are named after the names of provinces, like the Panjab regiment, the Frontier Force Regiment, the Sind Regiment and the Balochistan Regiment. This then becomes part of the loss of influence of the old, local, landed elite whose representation in the highest offices of Ministers etc., was reduced from 40 in 1949-58 to 4 in 1977-78 as compared to the rise in that of military elite in these parts from 1 to 33 and of the bureaucracy from 15 to 40 in the same period (Rahman 1997: p.180) although there has been some reversal of this trend from the 1980s.

A loose arrangement of protection, or quota for Siraikis within Panjab has existed since the early the 1960s, not in terms of a formal Siraiki-Panjab divide but as a secretarial arrangement under the subject of 'proportional representation of zones in class I and class II services on population basis'.

Originally a part of the block system introduced by the West Pakistan (the One Unit Government) in 1964, the arrangement was reconsidered consequent upon the restoration of the provinces through the dissolution of the One Unit in 1971. A temporary arrangement called `zonal allocation' was conceived for recruitment to the various services. This was to be made on a population basis by, for instance, dividing

the new Panjab province now extended to Bahawalpur division into two zones. Zone 3, later marked as zone 1 after the fall of Dhaka, comprised the districts of central Panjab with the addition of Multan from the Siraiki region. Zone 4, later marked as Zone 2, included the districts of the Siraiki belt in Panjab with the addition of Attock and the districts of the Salt Range as if in replacement of Multan. It appears that levels of development were probably the main consideration behind the mapping of the zones.

The proportional allocation was seven (reserved) seats out of each ten seats for zone 1, for a population calculated as 69.66% of the total population of the province, and that of three seats for zone 2 for the remaining 33.33%. The temporary arrangement (for 10 years initially, subjected to the subsequent extensions) was practised until a new formula was introduced in 1973. This was incorporation of a withdrawal of 20% seats from the reserved quotas to the all Panjab-based open merit effect of which was reduction in the reserved share of zone 2 from 3/10 to 2/10, and secondly reduction in effectiveness of the reserved quota system by making the reserved seats transferable to the other zone were suitable candidates not available in the respective zone. The following years witnessed frequent deviations from this zonal allocation particularly under the martial law. A remedy was effected in 1991 by restoring the non-transferable status of the reserved seats.

The quota rules were applicable to class I and class II jobs which meant for the officers' posts of pay grade 16 and above. The vacancies of lower grade jobs were either filled

on open merit on all Panjab basis or on more localized basis on the level of district administration.

Over the decades, the above arrangement, though incorporated into the lengthy process of recruitment through the Panjab Public Service Commission, has gradually reduced its value in the face of a practice known as 'ad hoc appointment' against the vacant posts, a formula adopted by the administration without proper consideration either of the zonal allocation, or of the rule of merit.

The advocates of a quota for Siraikis advance the following reasons for Siraiki candidates being deprived of jobs (cf. Aslam 1987; Wagha 1989: p.7):

1. lack of competitiveness due to overall backwardness;
2. favouritism on the part of influential Panjabis;
3. lack of proper information;
4. distance from Lahore;
5. expenses;
6. unfair means adopted by officials e.g. fake
    documents or certificates of residence.

A similar dissatisfaction is expressed by the students belonging to the Siraiki region over the province-wise allocation of reserved seats i.e. the provincial quota regarding admission to specialist universities such as engineering universities, medical colleges etc. where they are faced by competition from the overwhelming number of candidates from Panjab even in the institutions in their native towns for instance the Qaid-e-Azam Medical College Bahawalpur etc. (*Gharb* 25-11-1992; Khan, R 1990: pp.17 ff).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE TANSFORMATION OF THE MOVEMENT

Over certain issues, like the Panjabi language and Panjabi culture, the attitude of the Siraiki people quickly turned with a decade from one of cherishing to one of avoidance and disassociation. Over other issues, like the idea of replacing Urdu by Siraiki, the common people did not appear to be convinced. Many writers too, like the poet Arshad Multani, were not sufficiently optimistic about the future prospects of Siraiki as a language of modern literature so as to invest all their energies in it, but carried on writing in both languages.

In the second phase, from the mid 1970s to the mid : 1980s, many more aspects of the Siraiki-Panjabi conflict were crystallized, touching even the point of Siraiki versus non-Siraiki divide occasionally (cf. Aslam 1987: pp.87-9). Socialist ideology, though based on a materialist philosophy, generated among some the wonderful power of a new faith when introduced into a society like Pakistan. The dogmatic adaptation of this ideology was such that in its heyday it was even borrowed to strengthe n the Islamic movements or vice versa as appeared in notions introduced by politicians like 'Islamic socialism' and the idea that 'Socialism is nearer to Islam' forwarded by some Muslim Ulama (scholars) who, for instance, defended Bhutto's Socialism in the 1960s.

The nationalists, with a few exceptions like G M Syed of Sind, made such an extensive use of socialism that it was at times difficult to find a major faction of communists which was not engaged in the politics of 'nationalities' (CRI-21).

In a political environment of resistance in the region and the world, each issue was discussed in a universal perspective and was projected and defined in international terminology being introduced afresh. The discussions centred on issues, for instance that, what degree of linguistic and cultural distinctiveness was needed for a group to claim a nationality and what were the prerequisites of transformation of a nationality into a nation. Having fixed their ideological parameters also as tool of their understanding of 'socio-economic contradictions', the Leftists active in the second phase of the movement were as responsible for turning the language conflict into a geo-political contradiction based on economic deprivation as they were for a major drawback of the movement, the lack of popular support and the participation of the upper class because of their known opposition of the system.

4.1   The new political environment

The 1970s witnessed political upheavals in the major Muslim countries of the West Asia, which had appeared stable during the preceding decade. Opening with a farewell to the reigns of the generals Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan and their replacement by Z A Bhutto in Pakistan, this extraordinary decade ended with revolutions in Iran and Afghanistan and the return of military dictatorship to Pakistan. The separation of East Bengal in 1971 marked the failure of the unitary concept of statehood in Pakistan and a shift, though unproclaimed, in the centralist policies practised throughout the Ayub Khan reign (cf. Shackle 1978: pp.220-2), whose

intolerance of political difference had marginalized the
Leftist groups who had engaged in linguistic and cultural
politics since the ban on the Communist Party in 1954 (CRI-
28).

The Bhutto style of politics caused the whole country to
become gripped in ta fever of ideological debates, with
Leftists and communists enjoying the status of legitimate
political workers. A student of ethno-national movements in
this region therefore cannot help referring to the Leftist
political experiments of the time.

4.11   The Leftist ideology

The Jama'ate-Islami and the communist who were its
antithesis both exploited ideologies to their maximum; the
former for the goal of building a pure Islamic Pakistan, the
latter for bringing about the revolution. Both, however, had
one thing in common, i.e. a weak position in the society in
which they worked. The Leftists' policy towards nationalism
rested on the Leninist idea of a multinational state as a
voluntary federation of independent states (cf. Janmahmad
1989: pp.49-50). Any opposition to the politics of
nationalism was seen as stemming from ideological faults on
the part of bourgeois scholars who allegedly tended to
undermine nationalism as a merely biological or physiological
factor and termed it irrational and unknowable (Jafri 1986:
pp.23-7).

The new pro-Soviet ideology also rebuffed the
anti-nationalist stance of communists in the western
capitalist block who held that cosmopolitanism, or 'national

nihilism', was in line with the universal interests of the
working classes (ibid: pp.8,17,23). At home, the protagonists
of this ideology were reminded of the fundamental principle of
class struggle by factions mostly belonging to the dominant
language groups, the Panjabis and the Urdu speaking elite who
were generally pro-China in stance and who believed that the
national question was theoretically a post-revolutionary
issue. Leftists from the smaller nationalities categorically
addressed the 'national and class question' (*qaumi te tabqati
saval*) in their literature, defending themselves on the
grounds that their objective conditions meant they had to
first address themselves to the question of national identity
(Harrison 1981: pp.8,136; cf. Wagha 1986; Ahmad 1988).

A common objection that the Siraiki nationalists had to
face from their comrades-in-revolution was the likelihood of
the movement ultimately serving the interests of the Siraiki
feudal lords (Aslam 1987: p.92). But they defended themselves
with various culturist interpretations of the ideology. A
paradox of the ideology however was that backwardness of the
cultural group was considered as a factor for making a forward
change (cf. Jafri 1986: p.9). Against this background, the
Leftist nationalism in the region seemed to have a
justification from the policy centre of Soviet Union as summed
up by Stankiewicz (1964: p.419):

> The Soviet communism used Afro-Asian nationalism as a
> weapon to undermine the colonial powers and produce
> antagonism towards the West. Communism made temporary
> compromises with national bourgeoisie in order to achieve
> its long run-objectives.

This theoretical shift or 'revision' was also enforced through
the Asian security plan by Brezhnev as Secretary General of

the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (cf. Williams 1975: p.12), and was subsequently apparent in the programme and practices of the Leftist parties in Pakistan.

Expressed initially in the ideological debates on 'national democracy' and 'people's democracy' promoted by the pro-Soviet and pro-China factions respectively, the controversy resulted in the departure of many active communists from the 'class struggle'. To the disappointment of their opponents within the Leftist organizations, the advocates of class struggle who remained committed to the classical communist slogan of 'workers of the world unite', the local neo-Leftists claimed that workers all over the world support movements of national liberation wherever they may occur (cf. Jafri 1986: p.9). Thus the Pakistan Socialist Party and Mazdur Kisan Party 'Workers' Peasants' Party' which were both centred in Panjab could not compete Awami National Party 'Peoples National Party' (cf. 3.3) and the Pakistan National Party (CRI-28). The frequent occurrence of N for National in the popular abbreviated English names of almost all contemporary political parties in Balochistan, NWFP and Sind also indicates this trend (cf. Janmahmad 1989: p.177).

4.12   The rise of neo-nationalism

The currency of the new ideology, coupled with the actual political conditions in the country, forced the pro-China parties like the Sindhi Awami Tahrik ('Sindhi People's Movement'), to shift fully from class politics to radical nationalism (CRI-21). The main achievement of this new Soviet strategy was a marriage of convenience between the hard core

143

nationalists and the communists, the latter having ideological reservations about the legitimacy of the formation of the new state which came into being with the partition of India on the basis of religious nationalism. The coordination in the two political forces found its best expression in the National Party founded as a result of alliance between nationalist groups of major nationalities including Khudai Khidmatgars 'God's Servants' of Abdul Ghaffar Khan of NWFP, Ustuman Gal 'National Party' of Ghaus Bakhsh Bizanjo of Balochistan and others in West Pakistanin 1956. The next year Maulana A H Bhashani and other nationalists of the East Bengal joined the party which was renamed as National Awami Party in a convention in Dhaka (Janmahmad 1989: p.316; Williams 1975: p.61). The party was, however, reactivated in the late the 1960s after it had been penetrated by communists.

After its success in Bengal, the valleys of Charsada and Peshawar in NWFP and the vast stretches of Balochistan emerged as the most receptive and fertile zones for neo-nationalist thought in the remaining territory of Pakistan, particularly in Balochistan which was to provide a field for experimentation for armed struggle in pursuit of national independence (cf. Harrison 1981: p.73). From having been tributaries of Afghanistan rather than part of India and having practised diplomatic relations with the neighbouring states as independent people during most of their modern history (cf. Baloch, I 1987: p.181), the Baloch territories remained somewhat alienated from Pakistan (CRI-31).   No later than three years after the fall of Dhaka, the NAP leadership had to repeat the Bengal episode in a secessionist

struggle on the pretext of the dissolution of the Provincial
Assembly of Balochistan by Bhutto in 1973. As a response from
the government the top leadership of the party was arrested
and put in jail, the party was banned and the military was
deployed in Balochistan. This fanned the fire of insurrection
by the Marris who were joined by various tribes, so that it
spread throughout the province. This year or so long armed
resistance of the Baloch, which met its tragic end in the loss
of thousands of lives coupled with a long migration of the
tribes to Afghanistan (Janmahmad 1989: pp.305-7), had far-
reaching impacts on the politics of other provinces. In Sind,
although the majority of middle class nationalists had joined
hands with the Sindhi Prime Minister Bhutto to secure maximum
concessions in bargains against the Urdu speaking Karachiites,
there were however groups like those of the Sind Awami Tahrik
and Jie Sindh 'Longlive Sind' which brought about enough
disturbance to force the government to jail a number of
nationalist leaders like Palijo and G M Syed. Seemingly
supported by India through Afghanistan, the Pakhtunistan issue
intensified to deliver constant pressure on Pakistan in NWFP
(Harrison 1981: p.88; Dhammi 2: p.12; Williams 1975: pp.90
ff).

In Panjab, the region that had been most intolerant to
the Bengalis, the Baloch misery not only attracted the
attention of the intelligentsia who composed poems and sent
groups of middle class Marxist adventurers like Najm Sethi, M
Bhabha, Asad Rahman, Rashid and others to join the Baloch
freedom fighters (cf. Harrison 1981: p.73), but even helped
the common man to know something about Balochistan.

The above developments can be seen as the background to the transformation of the Siraiki movement from advocating a separate cultural identity to undertaking a political struggle though still a marginal one from the second half of the 1970s onward. The Multan conference of 1975 can be marked as turning point in the history of Siraiki movement (cf. 2.17)

4.2 The movement remodelled: from identity to nationalism

To independent observers, the Siraiki movement in the 1970s, even though had acquired enough support to gather, for instance, a representative crowd in the Multan Conference of 1975, was not very different in expression from that of the Panjabi movement. A local identity still remained to be developed (Shackle 1977 b: pp.395,397; ibid: 1978 a: p.231). The task was to be performed by a cadre different from conventional social groups or political parties. This was of a type that becomes readily available when a nationalism is about to emerge, as is alluded to in the following description by Brass (1974: p.30):

> Certain classes and elites have historically been considered the special carriers of national consciousness--the urban bourgeoisie in Europe, the westernized elite in the origins and early stages of nationalism in colonial countries.

In the case of Siraiki, the leading groups in this second phase of the movement, were not, however, the elite as such nor were they westernized in true sense of the term. They might better be described as an intelligentsia, formed by an unusual collaboration between unadjusted 'intellectuals' of the urban centres and extraordinarily enlightened individual thinkers from backward rural areas. A deeply shared concern

146

with the stagnant socio-economic condition of the whole region
thus helped form a Siraiki intellectual fraternity (cf. Smith
1983: pp.84,237).

It was this intelligentsia which took the movement from
the first stage of attaching symbolic value to the objective
characteristics of the people, defining their boundaries and
creating myths of their history and origin, to the second
stage of the articulation and acquisition of political rights
(cf. Brass 1974: pp.44-5). They managed to exploit existing
cleavages like economic unevenness and developmental disparity
between the Siraiki region and Panjab to support expression of
the main cleavage between the two in terms of language and
culture. The diversity among the members of this leading
group was typical of a nationalist movement and was identical,
with a difference of degree of intensity, to the one described
by Kennedy (1968: pp.9-10) in the Irish context:

> --there were men of diplomacy, liberals working within
> constitutional patterns, and out-and-out revolutionaries
> seeking quick results by violent means. Poets, novelists
> and playwrights contributed to cultural resistance,
> linguists sought to restore the Gaelic language while
> others formed an association to revive the national
> games.

The gap between the old and the new cadres of the
movement was for the time being bridged by the young Siraiki
activists who had witnessed the Multan Conference, where some
of them having worked with their seniors, and who were capable
of influencing their age group. They started with the same
task of promoting the Siraiki language through writing and
publishing, but with a shift in the me and content. The
senior group had engaged in establishing the antiquity and
local origin of Siraiki language, and the glorious history of

147

the region's past. The works of the local researchers since the 1960s often fostered mythical claims (cf. 6.4) for instance that the great poet Khawaja Farid belonged to the local Koreja caste and was not of Arab ancestry, that Siraiki was an ancient language of non-Sanskritic, non-Aryan origin, that the Harrappan seals deciphered by Asko Parpola as revealing some traces of Sindhi also included Siraiki words and so on (Laghari 1981: pp.8-9; cf. Doc-5; Mirza, I 1996; cf. Parpola 1984).

The self styled old group, which was confined to the urban centres where their literary organizations were firmly established, for example the Bazm-e Saqafat in Multan and the Siraiki Majlis 'Siraiki Association' in Bahawalpur (cf. 2.14), welcomed the new chapter as neither a replacement of nor a continuation to their efforts but as a parallel force which would evolve on their peripheries. The new phase was therefore a discontinuation of almost everything but the central idea of the previous movement.

There was a spread of Siraiki Sangats 'Siraiki Associations' which were a continuation of the first phase (_Saneha 6_ 1977: p.34; ibid _7_: p.46; cf. Shackle: 1977 b). It was the mushroom growth, in smaller towns, of Siraiki periodicals classified generally as 'book serial' (_kitāb lari_), a device for escaping the legal restrictions of official 'declaration' required of all dailies and periodicals but not applicable to books, which added two factors to the phenomenon in the 1970s: the extension of the movement to the rural areas and its distribution to all the major corners of Siraiki region. A cyclostyled print of an anthology entitled

Saneha ('The message') which was published by the Saneha
Society, Taunsa in 1976 was followed by *Sojhala* ('Light') from
village Bhutta Vahan, district Rahim Yar Khan (c.1977),
Parchol ('Research') from Mianwali (c.1978) and *Sudh sar*
('Awareness') from Karachi (c.1979). In addition to these
titles which were published with fluctuating regularity there
were dozens of such anthologies, which disappeared after a
single publication like *Sachar* ('Candid') from Karachi, etc.
(cf. 2.13; cf. 6.3).

These loosely administered literary publications had in
common a free use of the pen used to arrange all arguments in
the direction of Siraiki identity, thus combining all types of
writings from impressive pieces of modern poetry and
pioneering articles on topics not previously handled in
Siraiki, to substandard material and reproductions from the
Urdu press (cf. 8.1; cf. 8.8). The overall expression was
progressive in tone. More serious anti-colonialist and
Marxist themes appeared in the *Saneha* series of the Dera Ghazi
Khan group (*Saneha 5* 1976: p.18; ibid. *6* 1977: p.5; ibid. *7*
1977: p.12; cf. 10). Again reflecting communist style, the
writers' use of fictitious names, for instance, Sojhal
Barochal (Fida Husain Gadi), Ibn e Qaisar (Sub'h Sadiq
Qaisrani), Raushan Faqir and M Z Wagha (Ahsan Wagha) Ganadhiya
(Mazhar Arif), etc. gave a touch of resistance to Siraiki
literature. The circulation of anonymous pamphlets became a
trend with the printing facility made possible by the
marketing of photostat machines in the 1980s (cf. *Saneha 4-7*;
Ganadhiya c.1985).

Publication of the 'book serials' continued with gaps

throughout the second half of the 1970s and the following
decade until the notorious Press and Publication Ordinance was
withdrawn by the elected government in 1988, thus clearing the
way for legalized publication. Through their hunt for a
clientele, the volunteer publishers of these periodicals had
directly brought about the formation of a new stratum of
Siraiki writers and readers, which made up in coherence what
it lacked in number.

The popular slogan of the Multan Conference 'speak
Siraiki, write Siraiki, read Siraiki' was transformed into the
theorized enforcement of the idea that creative writing must
take place in the mother tongue both to achieve maximum effect
and as a matter of duty (Barochal 1991: p.13). The new
movement aimed at an upgrading of creative activity in Siraiki
from the recitation of poetry in public gatherings
(*musha'iras*) to the level of a modern printed literature. It
convinced a number of Siraiki speaking writers of Urdu to lend
their pen to Siraiki to fill the vacuum temporarily. In its
thrust for modernization, the Dera Ghazi Khan group, for
instance, attracted a few college lecturers in Multan like
Abid Amiq, Asghar Nadim Syyed, Anwar Ahmad and Salahuddin
Haider, besides well known poets writing in Urdu like Rashid
Qaisrani to the fold of modern Siraiki writers and poets (cf.
Saneha5; ibid. 6). At the same time they also established
contacts with the like minded progressive Panjabi activists of
the Majlis Shah Husain in Lahore, known as Najam H Syyed
group. The common ground between the two was their advocacy
of the mother tongue against Urdu and the promotion on an
ideological basis of the mystical classics of their respective

languages. Working simultaneously on the Sikh literature in
Gurmukhi and on Siraiki as if aspiring for a greater Panjab,
the Panjabi group came to terms with their new Siraiki allies,
offering them television programmes and research contracts
from the university department of Panjabi in Lahore through
the influential members of the group, publishing them in
Panjabi anthologies and being published in the Siraiki 'book
serials' in return (cf. _Rutlekha 3_ p.36; _Saneha 8_; _Sänjh 2_:28;
Doc-5; CRI-28).

The alliance between these national opponents, however,
could no longer work after the disagreements on linguistic and
cultural issues was intensified. The sharpening of
differences was reflected in Siraiki publications (cf. Wagha
c.1979: title page), when M Asif Khan, a Panjabi scholar and
member of the Majlis Shah Husain group, in contravention to
the latter's reconciliatory policy, refused as secretary of
the newly established Panjabi Adbi Board to accommodate
diacritical marks in the orthography of the Siraiki books
proposed for publication by Board (cf. CRI-26; cf. 6.82).
Although the Board worked to find a few writers like Nasir
Shah (Shah, N 1987) who agreed to offer their works for
publication without any linguistic or graphic preconditions,
the cleavage had widened to the point that a Siraiki activist
had to think twice when leaving for Lahore for fear of being
labelled an agent of the Panjabis by those he left behind.

The traditional elite of the upper middle class in the
Siraiki region having been absorbed in the power politics
fully generated during the reign of Z A Bhutto, the Siraiki
movement was left to become the business of the intellectuals,

a weaker social group which was capable only of doing spade work for future. Any consequent political formations were dissolved with the dismissal of the Bhutto government after the controversial elections of 1977, which anyway had no benefits for Siraikis, through the martial law proclaimed by General Zia. With the exception of a few meetings, including one on the issue of standardization of diacritical marks held in Multan in 1979 (cf. 6.82), no significant event in the sphere of Siraiki was witnessed during the remaining period through to the early the 1980s.

Since in the South Asian context languages are not the only criteria for nationalist distinctions (cf. Brass 1974: p.26) the stereotypical language controversy which was partly advanced by the Panjabi activists to undermine the Siraiki-Panjabi differentiation and which was eventually accepted as a challenge by the Siraiki vanguard in the 1960s (cf. 2.13), was later developed by the new cadre into the far more wide-ranging question of Siraiki nationality in the 1970s. It is worth at this point mentioning a few of the many new entrants to the Siraiki movement who were to play a historic role in the transformation of the movement during the following decade.

4.21   The ideologues

The extended cadre of the movement in the 1980s covered three zones of Siraiki region the Rohi, the Thal and the Daman plus Multan, the centre of Siraiki region.

Multan was reactivated by Mir Chakar Khan, the brother of Akhtar Baloch (cf. 2.18), Zaman Jafri and Mazhar Arif through

152

the formation of the Siraiki Sangat with a subsequent change in organization and membership. In Bahawalpur division which comprised the Rohi zone, the credit of shifting from a concentration on 'the state of Bahawalpur' (*Riyasat*) to a larger Siraiki identity goes to M H Dahar, Mujahid Kanjun, and Master Ejaz of Rahim Yar Khan district, and to Qamar Malik, Malik A Irfan and Malik F Azam, who was also sworn in as a minister in the Benazir Bhutto cabinet in 1989. The Thal chapter was represented by Akram Mirani, a lecturer and researcher based in Leiah, who was joined by Ashulal Faqir (cf. 9.11) Doctor Rafiq of Karor, Rafiq Baloch of Chaobara, Master Ejaz Khan of Bhakkar, and Salim Ahsan (cf. 9.9), Mansur Afaq and Raushan Malik in district Mianwali. Aslam Rasulpuri (cf. 8.8) motivated the Taunsa trio Irshad Taunsavi, A Wagha and F H Gadi, who were latter joined by Mazhar Nawaz Baloch of Dera Ismail Khan, M Y Qaisrani and Khadim Husain of Dera Ghazi Khan--the last named being an engineer who turned professional researcher after spending seven years in USA and was employed in the Institute of Regional Studies, Islamabad and Ashiq Buzdar of Rajanpur. These men enabled the Siraiki activists of the Daman strip to play a central role in the new phase of the movement.

A pedagogue by nature, variously remembered as 'the master' (*ustad*), 'the hidden communist' and 'the great man', Gadi of village Gadi situated three miles from Taunsa, joined the movement in 1975 at the age of 54, three years before his premature retirement as a high school headmaster and 18 years before his death in 1993. It was he who was able to understand the spirit of the backward Siraiki society. Like

an old time reformist, he mobilized a layer of the static society around him through the primitive and laborious method of individual contact, making little use of modern means of communication, travelling frequently from one corner of the region to the other, throwing new ideas in the intellectuals, talking in his humble tone on the importance of trivial things such as 'wrestling' (mallhin), 'folk dance (of the Baloches)' (dris), 'folk stories' (qissas), 'folk festivals' (melas) and the way of life of the 'nomads of the banks of Indus' (Labanas) to be preserved or revived as a culture.

Finally, keeping with the pre-modern rhetorical tradition and the oral transmission of knowledge, was the traditional role of individuals like Irshad Taunsavi, Mahmud Nizami and Mansur Karim who became known widely as Siraiki intellectuals, but who left little written record of their substantial contribution (cf. Gadi 1994; cf. CRI-19).

4.22   The politics of cultural revival

Activists who tirelessly fought a political war against the tyranny of martial law were stunned by the execution of Z A Bhutto on 4 April 1979 at the hands of General Zia ul Haq. Normal political discourse and civil agitation were exhausted in the face of large scale arrests, flogging and public hangings. Unchecked by the Western world because of its important role in defying the communists in Afghanistan, the military regime turned brave enough to make terrible examples of regionalist activists, as in the death sentence passed on the young Baloch nationalist Hamid Baloch and others by one of the military courts in Mach jail in 1981, in order to show the

reign's total disregard of the provincialist forces (Janmahmad c.1989: pp.145,219). The wrath of the people surfaced in the Movement for Restoration of Democracy in February-June 1983, the climax of which was observed in Sind and parts of the Siraiki region. This too was a sign of growing regionalism in the country (cf. ibid: pp.334-5, 417-9). The ultimate failure of the movement brought a backlash against political workers forcing them to find new modes of approaching the people in accordance with the political culture of martial law, using the religious or cultural expressions which were permissible within the strict law and which were being exploited by the regime itself as the only permitted forms of politics.

4.23   The Siraiki Lok Sanjh

The Siraiki organizations worked accordingly by reducing themselves to non-existence when the situation tightened and surfaced to reform when it relaxed (CRI-29). The shape of the movement in the 1980s may best be characterized by reviewing in some detail the working of a model Siraiki organization, the Siraiki Lok Sanjh (SLS) 'Siraiki Peoples' Association' (*E'lan*:5):

> asän in safar te tur pae haen e tatti ret te sassi da
> safar e. in käfale ich uho ralsi jaekün apne per säran
> da shaoq e.

> 'We here set off on this journey. This journey lies
> through the tropical sand, similar to that of Sassi.
> Only he who is eager to burn the soles of his feet will
> join this caravan.'

This quotation from the manifesto of the SLS reflects of the exploitation of cultural ties in the cause of the political mobilization of the people. The foundation of the SLS as a 'non-political organization' was announced through

the approval on 7 November 1985 about ten years after the

Multan Conference by the 'Constitutional Committee' (aïn-säz

kath) of SLS of a historic document entitled and known as

E'lan-e-Bangla Kurai ('the Bangla Kurai declaration'). In

addition to its articles of the constitution, the document is

also indicative of the future strategy of the SLS and other

Siraiki activist groups through the frequent use of such

specific terms as shown in Tab.4/1 following (E'lan ibid.).

Tab.4/1 Typical terms used by the Siraiki activists in 1980s

term and literal meaning	interpretation
(a) saqafat 'culture'	explained as a force able to change the inner nature of man, a thought probably borrowed from Paulo Friere (1972)
(b) Siraiki tehrïk, 'the Siraiki movement'	--
(c) sänjh 'sharing'	a term with a socialist connotation of appeal to the masses
(d) kath 'gathering'	a loose expression frequently used during these years to cover the nature and aims of any type of meeting whether political or literary, a conference or a seminar
(e) asan 'we'	used in preference to 'I' both to indicate the volunteer and sacrificial nature of the work of the activists, also pointing to the lack of courage in taking individual responsibility among the members of the group.

4.24   Organization and style

The National Cultural Council (Qaomi Saqafati Kaunsal),

consisting about three thousand delegates of the meeting

approved, after detailed discussion a constitution which laid down a well conceived structure for the organization with a low profile policy designed to integrate all other groups of the population, whether ethnic, religious or political (ibid: pp.1,5,7-8,11). The same National Cultural Council elected F H Gadi and Mazhar Arif as President and Secretary General of the SLS, with an executive consisting of 18 members.

The organization of the SLS consisted of a central secretariat at Multan where the first Secretary General lived, with suboffices called 'units', which extended in 1985 to 1989, over eleven districts and towns in the whole Siraiki region from Rahim Yar Khan in Panjab to Dera Ismail Khan in NWFP, besides the two capitals of Islamabad and Lahore. As a matter of policy, however, the organization refrained from expanding into Sind and Balochistan. The annual business meetings called 'national conventions' were held in Multan where the 'sections' (*pukhs*) responsible for research and publications, etc. used to submit their reports (cf. Aslam 1987; Wagha 1989: pp.8 ff).

The four years from 1985 witnessed notable struggle by the Siraiki activists on the platform of the SLS for carving out what they termed as the fifth 'homeland' (*vasaeb*) as a territory for the Siraiki nationality from the existing four provinces of Pakistan. While very conscious of the impact of these territorial claims and the reactions to be feared from the politicians of all the neighbouring regions, the SLS stopped just short of drawing a clear map of the Siraiki region. But the Indus with tales of the rivers which join it in the Siraiki area was casually drawn on its brochures to

show the region's centre (Arch-5), and a slogan marking the total Siraiki territory 'our identity as a people includes the Rohi, Thal and Daman' (*sadi lok suñän, Rohi Thal Damän*) was chanted and exhibited through banners and placards in the meetings.

The lack of a national past in recent history was regretted but covered by the argument that existence of a group and the existence of group-consciousness were two different things, and that whatever their identity in the past, the Siraiki people had never called themselves as Panjabis. The long undisturbed continuity of the Siraiki people in the region was compared to the lack of antiquity which could be claimed by the people of Panjab, and was highlighted in the literature as a point of pride (*E'lan* ibid.; Arch-17).

Besides a few publications bearing the name of the SLS as publisher, which were brought out by individual writers and poets, eight small volumes of various types including the lectures of eminent scholars on Siraiki, and anthologies were published by the body itself. A major breakthrough was appearance in the modern press of reports and stories of the SLS and on the ethnic issue with reference made to Siraiki (cf. Rahman 1991; Aslam 1987). Papers from the archival material of the organization reveal how many things were planned in a modern way, like a socio-economic survey of Siraiki villages, or the compilation of a directory of Siraiki writers (Arch-6; Arch-4). But only a few of them were carried out.

A combination of the Maoist theory of cultural revolution

and the very subcontinental Gandhian method of return to the
basis of the society in the peasantry was adopted for the
purpose of both mass mobilization and cultural revival.
Delegates of the SLS visited villages and attended festivals
(*melas*) often associated with tombs of Sufi saints. They
mixed Siraikism in everything: in poetry recitations, in
songs, in dances and in speeches, turning ordinary rituals
into curious element of Siraiki culture and giving this
culture a political expression. Some successful experiments
were made during the period 1985-88 at the festivals of Pir
Inayat in the Thal, of Pir Annu Shahid at Vasti Buzdar near
Taunsa and of Channar Pir in the Cholistan. Of greater
significance however was the inauguration of a new *mela* for
the annual gathering of the SLS. After change of venue from
Bangla Kurai to Mehrevala, this developed into a huge three-
day festival where an amalgam of various social groups engaged
in a planned fashion in variety of cultural cum political
activities from martial arts competitions of the local types
of wrestling to attendance at serious lecture sessions and the
supporting of demands for, e.g. the incorporation of Siraiki
into the Census, through chanting slogans and adopting
resolutions. Sponsored by Ashiq Buzdar, a medium landowner,
poet and radical Siraiki activist, the Mehrevala festival is
notable for its annual regular and successful performance, and
for its appeal to Sindhi nationalist groups who joined the
mela regularly and brought about some impacts of the Sindhi
nationalism on the Siraiki movement (Wagha 1989: pp.7-8; *Gharb*
25-11-1995; *Nawa-e waqt* 29-11-1995; Arch-2).

4.25 Cross-sectional expansion

For the maximum motivation of society, different social groups were approached to organize themselves independently as 'helping organizations' (*banhbel sänjh*) of the SLS. A success in this regard was penetration of the movement into educational institutions resulting in formation and expansion on the pattern similar to that of the SLS, of Siraiki *Shagird* Sanjh (SSS) 'Siraiki Students Association'. This was led by zealous efforts of some Siraiki students Amjad Malik and Shaka Gadi who were first and second secretaries of the SSS in 1985 at Multan.

The SSS managed to organize the Siraiki students in many colleges in the region in working hand in hand with the SLS, in publishing some seven issues of their own periodical *Sanehra* (1986-9) - not to be confused with the book serial *Saneha.* This was published from Multan, Taunsa and Bahawalpur. It highlighted various demands, e.g. for the establishment of engineering universities in the region, for MA Siraiki classes in the existing universities of the region, and for primary education in the mother tongue (Arch-17; Arch-19; *sanehra* 4; ibid 6; *surt di sui* p.18).

The 'Peoples' theatre' (*Lok Tamasha*) was another society which made an impact on Siraiki youth. It was formed in 1986 by Musaddiq Sanval, Adnan Qadir and other Siraiki graduates of the National College of Arts and the Engineering University of Lahore who, besides being motivated by the SLS, were also influenced by Lahore theatrical groups like 'People's theatre' (*Lok Rahs*) and the Najam H Syyed group. They offered a Siraiki audience their first impressive show at Zahur House in

Multan in 1987, setting a tradition which was to be continued by different Siraiki groups, including one based in Shadan Lund, a town in district Dera Ghazi Khan (Arch-20).

The last such organization was the 'Women's' Association (*Tremit Sanjh*) whose members were mainly the daughters and wives of the activists of the SLS. This was founded in 1990 in Multan with Atiya Lashari as its chief organizer. They published *savan rut* ('The rainy season') in 1990, the first and probably the last expression of the mobilization of a small group of Siraiki women (*Imroz* Multan 29-6-1990).

With its main thrust on the propagation of political, cultural and theoretical matters, the SLS also focused its attention on individuals from various walks of life who had an attachment to one or other aspect of Siraiki civilization. Ilahi Bakhsh Sirai of Leiah, for instance, was persuaded to exhibit his collection of coins and other local antiques. Adnan Qadir an engineer by profession, raised his voice in favour of a museum for preservation of the archaeological remains discovered from the archaic sites of Talamba and Jalalpur near Multan. Karim Nawaz Kurai advanced the idea that the route of Alexander the Great to India was traceable through the central Siraiki region, while others wrote on Siraiki national heroes like Nawwab Muzaffar Khan Shahid and Divan Mul Raj of Multan (cf. Arch-47; Ganadhiya c.1984).

To the frustration of the political members of the SLS, the organization was persistently maintained as a non-political body by the dominant group of intellectuals although their own actions were themselves entirely political. A rough note on the back of a leaf of the membership (Arch-8) reads:

Lok Sanjh is trying to build a nation while other parties
are striving to liberate, or to achieve a territory.

So the group tried to explore every corner of a modern

nationality in their writings aimed at extending to available

readership the basics of Siraiki identity such as the

rediscovery of the geo-historic boundaries of the region

through the famous accounts of Raverty (1892-97: cf.

pp.155-6), the dictionary definition of a culture and the role

of the language as a medium of instruction and its place as a

lingua franca which could replace Urdu in Pakistan (Gadi 1988:

pp.22-39; ibid. 1991: pp.6 ff; Siraiki international). A

dilemma for this leading organization was, however, its steady

reluctance to support a Siraiki province. Its leaders feared

that such a step at that stage would result in a premature

administrative division of the region effected without regard

to linguistic and cultural considerations, but designed to

serve only the interests of the ruling regimes and the feudal

lords (cf. Aslam 1987: p.92), and their fears were not

baseless as appeared from the intentions shown by Zia ul Haq

(cf. 5.7).

Although the writers and poets proved to be dilatory in

organizing themselves in the proposed 'Literary Association

(Adbi Sanjh), the impacts on their writings were visible.

Political intellectuals emerged to stand for the cause of the

fifth nationality (cf. Karim 1990: pp.8-9), besides

researchers to interpret the attachment of the Siraiki region

to Panjab as a continuation of the conquest of the area by

Ranjit Singh in 1818 (Parvez 1990: p.21; Mirani 1991: p.26)

and poets to spread popular awareness of Siraiki problems (cf.

9.13).

As if to prove the hypothesis that the germs of ethnicity prosper in the dark environment of dictatorship, the SLS group lost its zeal as soon as the martial law was lifted after death of General Zia in the C-130 air crash on 17 August 1988. After a long suspension, the Executive Committee of the organization got together in 1989 in Multan to accept the resignation of Gadi as president and Arif as Secretary General, and elected new office bearers, and it was never to meet again (CRI-19).

The individual activists left as the debris of the fallen organization, continued to arrange occasional events on a similar pattern in different forums, mostly outside the Siraiki region. The first such event was the Siraiki Conference arranged by the SLS group in Islamabad on 21 September 1989 in the name of Shah Shams Sabzwari, a mystic saint buried in Multan. A Siraiki Conference was organized at School of Oriental and African Studies by the Siraiki International Forum London on 18 October 1992. Including a lecture by Professor Christopher Shackle, papers (sent by post) by Aftab Kazi and Tariq Rahman, and articles and speeches by Professor Amin Mughal, Shuja ul Haq and others. The occasion was marked as the first semi-academic event about Siraiki to be held abroad (cf. Jang London 18,19-10-1992). A 'Siraiki book launching ceremony' was organized by Siraiki Writers Forum, in Islamabad on 15 December 1994, by the same group which had been responsible for 1988 Shah Shams Siraiki Conference (the News 15-12-1994).

The multifarious articulation of Siraiki movement it seems was historically stuck into a phase which encompassed

most of the attributes of an ethnic movement: linguistic and
cultural conscious among the group, identity and recognition,
etc. and yet needed to be translated into language of power.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICIZATION AND RESPONSES

5.1   Politicization

The standard pattern of 'elites communicating their goals to those groups moving to towns and seeking education and employment in modern sectors of the economy' (Brass 1974: p.32) has appeared more truer of the Sindhi ethno-national movement in Pakistan than of the Siraiki movement. The Siraiki awakening generally fell short of such a transformation except for a few cases like the formation by a 25-member group of officers in Islamabad formed a Siraiki Association (Siraiki *Sanjok*) in c.1981 which was followed by organization of Siraiki Graduate Association in 1989, and some others in Quetta and Karachi, or that grouping of students in the Quaid-e Azam University Islamabad, addressing themselves as Siraikis to raise smaller demands (cf. *Seraeki Sanjok*; Arch-21; CRI-23). With the end of the 1980s, a behavioural change could, however, be witnessed among the Siraiki speaking employees and officers in the central and provincial capitals, who started showing enthusiasm in developing contacts in their offices with their fellow Siraikis and began practising favouritism to newcomers belonging to their language group, in accordance with accepted norms in a set-up working through personal links, a mark of an agrarian society. This, however, remained at rather nominal level as compared to the ethnic favouritism more effectively performed by well organized, stronger language groups (cf. Jatoi 1994; cf. Siraikistani 1991).

In contrast to the urban concentration of the movement in

the 1960s, the second phase had more influence in the rural area as compared to the number of its members from cities, thus counting for its real strength on the smaller peripheral towns. This was a feature that distinguished the Siraiki movement from that of the 'Panjabi identity' centred mainly in Lahore. It was again individuals and smaller groups forming the intellectual cum political sections which launched a large number of events and organizations contemporary to, hence influenced by the SLS. These included the following.

(i)   'Siraiki Conference', October 1986, Mianwali Qureshan, district Rahim Yar Khan,

(ii)   'Siraiki National Front', by Mian Abbas Ahmad, 1986, Bahawalpur,

(iii)   'Siraiki National Unity' (Siraiki *Qaumi Sanjok*), by Mushtaq Dahar, 1989, Bahawalpur,

(iv)   'Dharija Academy', by Zahur Dharija, c.1987, Khanpur,

(v)   'Siraiki Conference', by Mianwali Academy, 1989, Mianwali,

        (an invitation card being the only reference),

(vi)   'Pakistan Literary Cultural Board' (Pakistan *Adbi Saqafati Bord*), by Malik Abdullah Irfan, 1991, Bahawalpur,

(vii)   'Siraiki National Party', by Haider Javaid Syyed, 1989, Lahore.

(Arch-17)

The informal expression of the political aims of the activists through the popular propagation of slogans like 'we are prisoners of the throne of Lahore' (*asan qaedi takht lahore de*), 'do not call me a five-riverine (i.e. Panjabi)'

166

(*maekun äkh na panj dariyai*) and 'wake up, Siraiki, wake up'

(*Jäg Siraiki Jäg*) gradually gave way to more organized

methods of political manoeuvring on the part of the non-

political organizations. A delegation of Siraiki students

from the SSS visited Sind and met their Sindhi counterparts of

Sindhi Students Movement (Sindhi *Shagird tahrik*) in 1986 to

exchange political statements for the press (Dawn 24-4-1986).

An important development of this period was the approach of

Siraiki activists to the nationalist political parties or vice

versa, which resulted in the start of formal political

manoeuvring on behalf of the Siraikis by nationalist

politicians.

Bizanjo, the Baloch leader of the Pakistan National

Party, had started popularizing the theory of 'nation and

nationalities' through press conferences and press statements

after separation of East Pakistan (Mustafa 1984; cf.4.12). He

had advanced his own analysis of the 'interlocking set of

problems confronting the whole region, i.e.

Pakistan-Afghanistan, Iran and India', foreseeing as that

(Harrison 1981: p.54):

> --they (countries) will have to be changed in the way
> that all of these countries are constituted, or there
> will be no peace in the region.

After his years-long indirect involvement in turning the

question of Siraiki identity into a nationality question

through certain sections of Siraiki activists, Bizanjo came

directly to address a public meeting of Siraikis on 4 February

1987 at the residence of Zaman Jafri in Multan. This was

chaired by Gadi of the SLS, indicating a breakthrough in the

culturist movement to the political (Arch-11). The move was

preceded by the recognition by Bizanjo's party of Siraiki as a
fifth nationality and the opening of a provincial branch of
the party in the Siraiki region (Dawn: 11-8-1986). In a
subsequent political move, Jafri, probably with permission of
the SLS to which he belonged contacted G M Syed of Sind to
announce the formation of a Siraiki-Sindhi-Baloch Front (Jang
Lahore 22-6-1987).

The Siraiki issue thus provided regionalists like Bizanjo
and G M Syed with a justification for extending the
controversies from their respective provinces of Balochistan
and Sind into the Panjab province, hence into the whole
region. Later elaborated in Jafri's book SSB: Siraiki Sind
Balochistan (1986), the central theme of Bizanjo's thesis was
formation of a block of Siraiki region, Sind and Balochistan
against a similar union between Panjab and NWFP in a
prospective multinational state of Pakistan which he saw as
natural outcome of the history of these regions. The country,
according to the thesis, comprised three main cultural and
national groups: (i) Pakhtun (ii) Panjabi and (iii) the
national communities of Indus valley including Balochistan the
region which had as a whole been named 'Dilmun' in ancient
times (Jafri 1986: p.49). This thesis of Bizanjo, aimed at
providing the way for a fresh ethnic alliance in the country,
was taken more or less exactly reasserted by G M Syed in a
similar plan for the remapping of the region (cf. Jang Karachi
18-1-1992).

The rise of The MQM in mid 1980s (cf. 3.2; cf. 5.4)
offered a model to the otherwise anti-Muhajir, simplistic type
of Siraiki activists to copy it by launching a Siraiki Qaumi

Movement, (latter corrected as Siraiki Qaumi *Mahaz* 'front') in
Karachi under Shahida Naz, a female Siraiki activist who
claims to having been the first head of the party in 1987.
After a popular, rapid expansion in the main region, the
Siraiki Qaumi Movement was soon split into two factions under
Mujahid Jatoi of Rahim Yar Khan and Hamid Asghar Shaheen (also
known as Siraikistani) of Leiah both hardliner anti-Panjabi
activists, but with little influence as recognized leaders in
Pakistan politics. Shahin was responsible for managing noisy
Siraiki processions and holding press conferences throughout
the late 1980s in Dera Ghazi Khan, Leiah, Multan and Lahore to
highlight the deprivation of Siraiki nationality while Jatoi
made a case for a Siraiki province, or even more, through a
similar activity centred mainly in the ex-state of Bahawalpur.
His publication *Jaesa maen ne socha* (cf. 3), a bold narration
of apparently irreconcilable Siraiki-Panjabi contradictions,
decorated with a map of 'Siraikistan' (Jatoi 1994: p.104)
provides the many layered Siraiki movement with a form of
advanced, radical nationalism equivalent to its precedence in
Sindhi, Baloch and Pakhtun movements (cf. Rahman 1996: p.187;
In Sind 1992; Arch-30; cf. Thahim 1992: p.39).

The Bahawalpur Suba Mahaz ('Bahawalpur Province Front'),
the most powerful organization of Bahawalpur at the time of
the *suba* movement (cf. 2.16) was reformed as Siraiki National
Party under the leadership of Seth Ubaid-ur Rahman, chief
organizer and A Majid Kanju, president (Rahman 1996: p.187).
This indicated transformation from a Bahawalpur state
sectionalism to a larger Siraiki identity.

Among the above, and many other smaller political

organizations not listed here, the Pakistan Siraiki Party of Taj M Langah, although less influential in the masses comparatively, is the only formal political party of Siraikis, aiming to represent them on national level by entering into alliances with other provincial parties like Sindhi-Baloch-Pakhtun Front (Frontierpost 1-6-1993). Langah, previously a leader of the Pakistan People's Party, claims to having been working for the cause since March 1970 when he argued in favour of the formation of Bahawalpur province in the Panjab Committee of the PPP in Lahore. He counts to his credit the establishment of the Siraiki Lawyers Forum in Lahore in 1978 and the Siraiki Provincial Front (Siraiki *Suba Mahäz*) in Multan in 1984, which had been previously initiated by Riaz Hashmi a lawyer from Bahawalpur in 1979 (CRI-17; Av-22).

Langah was however criticized by the SLS and other Siraiki groups for playing into the hands of the military regime, which allegedly planned to encourage other language groups to counter Sindhi nationalism in the light of the recommendations made by Ansari Commission to divide Sind and the rest of the country into more provinces (Aslam 1987: p.90). Under his leadership, the *Suba Mahaz*, was converted into a fully fledged political party as the Pakistan Siraiki Party in March 1989 (CRI-17; Jang London 23.11.1993). The party took up the issues like a Siraiki province, resistance to the relocation of Biharis from Bangladesh in Siraiki areas and opposition to the low prices of cotton, a cash crop of the major Siraiki area (CRI-17; Arch-51). This made the sections in the government realize as follows (Doc-4):

> The Special branch has reported that Pakistan Siraiki
> Party held a meeting on 10-11-91 at the residence of

Mumtaz Hussain General Secretary of Siraiki Party Vihari.
The speakers demanded that the Government may fix cotton
rate at Rs.450.00 per (40) Kgs--. They specifically
mentioned the "exploitation of peasants in East Pakistan
(Bangladesh)" which culminated in agitation of peasants
for separation. The Government was warned by the
speakers to stop exploitation of peasants otherwise the
consequences would not be good.

5.2   Responses from within

Since the movement associating itself with a larger

language group was launched by a cadre much smaller in volume

and strength, the outcome remained meagre in terms of power

and politics.   In contrast to Sindhis and Pakhtuns, for

instance, even after the full expansion of Siraiki movement in

the 1970s-1980s, there were only rare instances of middle

class Siraiki families in the urban centres who made a

conscious effort to pass on a Siraiki culture to their

children.   The language dichotomy that previously prevailed in

the schools and the offices transferred easily to the homes,

partly through the electronic broadcast which were mainly a

monopoly of Urdu.   A housewife conversing in Siraiki with her

husband would switch at once to Urdu turning to her children.

The children were therefore uniquely trained in thoroughly

understanding their mother tongue by never speaking it.   These

taboos were broken only when children started socializing.

Falling victim to what might be called a Nirad Chaudhury

syndrome (cf. Chaudhury 1964: pp.415-23; ibid. 1975: pp.501

ff), a number of Siraiki intellectuals were beguiled by the

xenophobia of the social groups thought to be superior.   They

thus found their own group and its culture as if inferior and

did not endorse the movement and the activists.   Cases in

point include Umar Kamal Khan (CRI-29), for whom Siraiki as a

language was not sufficiently developed to work as a medium of instruction in the schools, and Haidrani (Haidrani 1993) who, much impressed by the Pakhtuns and the Panjabis, and for with an intellectual preference for cosmopolitanism dismissed the Siraiki activists, recording his disappointment as regards the potential and 'knowledgeability of the people living on the banks of Indus.'

The pragmatists among the educated activists, on the other hand, went on working in the conviction that all universal knowledge is either based on or linked with local knowledge (cf. Gadi 1994). Hence they carried on their voluntary writing and publishing in Siraiki in order to develop the tradition sufficiently to having found some volunteer publishers as well as a readership for the two Siraiki dailies from Khanpur and Multan with the turn of the decade of the 1980s. This was in addition to an increased publication of collections of poetry, etc. (cf. 10.7). Though no exact figure was available, the volume of Siraiki publications also increased, partly due to incentives like the annual literary awards for authors made by the Pakistan Academy of Letters and the prestige of having one's works placed on the syllabus of the MA Siraiki degree in the Islamia University of Bahawalpur (cf. 5.8; cf. 10).

The average Siraiki was not, however, mobilized for the power politics, and so paid little attention to the 'calls' for a Siraiki vote. Fig.1 following, derived from the Government's election report, gives a picture of the Siraiki response to the trial candidates fielded by the Pakistan Siraiki Party in the two general elections of 1990 and 1993 in

a few seats in Multan, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan who

contested purely on the Siraiki issue while having little

other political influence (Report 1993: pp.107-27).

Fig.1   Figure of Siraiki votes in Elections 1990 and 1993

[Columns coded in numbers are: 1 for year, 2 - constituency, 3
- number of registered voters, 4 - turnout, 5 - name of the
Siraiki candidate, 6 - his political party, 7 - votes secured:
SQI is Siraiki *Qaumi Ittihad* ('Siraiki National Unity')]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1990	N.A.114 Multan I	2,48,782	48.01	Gaohar Ali Shamsi	S.Q. I.	452
----	N.A.115 Mulatan II	2,65,467	40.58	Zaman Mahdi Jafari	-do-	478
----	N.A.116 Multan III	2,32,829	40.95	--do--	-do-	477
----	N A 132 Dera Ghazi Khan	4,43,123	41.11	Sardar M. Akbar Khan	-do-	616
----	N A 142 BWR II	2,64,296	47.93	Kanwar Intezar	PSP.	200
1993	N A 114 Multan I	2,68,142	46.59	--do--	-do-	452
----	N A 115 Multan II	2,82,511	39.69	M Altaf	-do-	200
----	N A 116 Multan III	2,47,514	40,88	Taj M Langah	-do-	380
----	N A 118 Multan	2,71,415	48.61	--do--	-do-	766

5.3   Crosscutting factors

Race-based ethnic identity among certain provincial

groups, a major hindrance to the progress of monolithic state

nationalism, also appeared to undermine the force of ethno-

linguistic identity where the latter happened to crosscut the first. This was observed in the indifference to the Siraiki language movement of the ethnically Pakhtun, Siraiki speaking elite of NWFP such as the Alezais of Dera Ismail Khan, etc. and in the anti-Siraiki wave among a section of the Baloches in Dera Ghazi Khan in the 1970s. Approximately two hundred fifty miles long and twenty miles wide, this belt has been occupied for centuries by two major social strata, the settled agrarian communities in the eastern strip along the right bank of Indus, and the semi-settled Baloch herdsmen in the western half along the lower reaches of the Sulaiman range. After partition, the Baloch of Dera Ghazi Khan were given the option by the new government of choosing to belong either to the Panjab, or to Balochistan with the guarantees that their tribal system would remain intact. After decisions and counter decisions in their tribal meetings (*jirgas*), the Baloch, finally opted for the first by the end of the 1950s (*Dhammi*-2 p.8 ff).

Although an affinity of the Baloch of Daman for Balochistan never disappeared, it was only two decades after this decision by the tribal chieftains that a group of Baloch, mainly from Buzdar tribe of the foothills of Sulaiman, organized themselves under the label of the Seventh December Movement in an attempt to associate themselves with the Baloch resistance in Balochistan (cf. 4.12). They started deploring the earlier deliberations of their elders as to the fate of their area. They established contacts with some of the nationalist political parties of Balochistan so as to strengthen their demand for the restoration of Dera Ghazi

Khan, or rather the whole tract of Daman to Balochistan and expressed clear disapproval of the Siraiki movement which connected the trans-Indus Daman with the cis-Indus Thal and Cholistan, which are at present parts of Panjab (*Dhammi*-2 pp.7-10,17; *Juhd*-5 1989: p.54; *al-Manzur* 16-10-1993; ibid. 16-1-1995; ibid. 16-2-1995).

Their Qaisranis, however, neighbours and rivals of the rival tribe of Buzdars, joined the Siraikis and produced a number of Siraiki writers, poets and activists like Saif Qaisrani, M Y Qaisrani, Saifal Qaisrani, Rashid Qaisrani and Eidu Khan Qaisrani.

Unlike Sind, Balochistan and NWFP where the religious leaders serve either as traditional religious guides or, if politicized, work in the direction of the mainstream nationalist politics, in the Siraiki region 'the religious Mullahs' with their increased following, pursue the goal of the political empowerment of Islam, under the influence of highly articulated Muhajir Islam of Lahore. The hold of Jama'at-e Islami over the business community, a small but most articulate section of the society connects their followers with the nerve centre of the party in Lahore, 'against all the appeals of ethno-nationalists' as was regretted by Irfan, the leader of the Pakistan Siraiki Party (NI-7).

5.4 The major nationalities: Sindhi, Baloch, Pakhtun conflicts

Apart from the fact that the 'post-annexation' process of assimilation and settlement of the original states and the regions by the British in the Indus valley was still not fully

achieved at the time of partition, a major cause of the non-resolution of the ethnic conflicts in Pakistan was the gap between the standpoint of the state elite concerned with the establishment of the new state and that of the ethnic elites who constituted the nationalist leadership of the provinces. The desire among the Muslim Leaguers for strong central control led to the dominance of military (Amin 1988: pp.77,166) was bound to lead the provinces to fear the centre from beginning. Also, though, as Z A Bhutto put it with reference to Panjabis and Muhajirs (Harrison 1981: p.157):

> -- many Panjabi and *muhajir* leaders 'subconsciously equate 'Pakistan' with their own ethnic group and believe that the only way to preserve Pakistan is to dominate or absorb others.'

As the provincialists, whether Sindhis, Baloches or Pakhtuns, could never be brought to a real agreement they were never trusted by the centre and the influential pro-centre groups who could easily see secessionist designs behind the provincialists' demands for provincial autonomy (cf. Janmahmad c.1989: pp.303-5). It was always believed that the struggle of the ethno-nationalists was for separate states whether Sindhu Desh, Azad Balochistan or Pakhtunistan. It is worth mentioning that, except for the post partition movement of Siraikis, no other ethnic movement of Pakistan can be typified as a language movement (cf. Amin 1988: pp.77,166; cf. Harrison 1981: pp.150-2).

It was even before the execution of the partition plan that G M Syed, the founder of modern Sindhi nationalism, developed his differences from the central idea of a unitary Muslim state and departed from Muslim League to form his own Sind Progressive Party. This Sindhi nationalism was

strengthened by formation of a Sind *Awami Mahaz* in the 1960s (cf. Amin 1988: p.92). Sindhi nationalists expressed their grudge against the dominant Panjab by the charge that the latter wanted control over the seacoasts of Sind and Balochistan (Kazi 1993: p.27). This was followed by the language conflict with Urdu as a manifestation of the wider political conflict with the Urdu speaking Muhajirs first (cf. 3.1). The Sindhi movement exhibits a permanent secessionist tendency which is clearly reflected in the working of some of its pro-G M Syed groups such as World Sindhi Congress whose activists keep seeking attention of the UN and the foreign powers (Arch-62). {'I am leaving for Sind next week, will also be going to Pakistan, may be Lahore' a Sindhi young man innocently told this writer in London in 1993.}

The Muhajirs, the Urdu speaking migrants from India concentrated in Karachi and Hyderabad, the urban centres of Sind, had in the past been the most unionist group, believing in one national language and promoting the idea of an 'integrative' state of Pakistan. In 1985 they turned to pluralism and ethno-nationalism after the fall of Dhaka to form Muhajir Qaumi Movement, or to a new version, *Muttahida* ('United') Qaumi Movement. The advent of mini-nationalisms on the one hand and the rise of Panjab to the virtually sole control of state power on the other which had affected the privileged status previously enjoyed by the Muhajirs by ending their monopoly over the resources and institutions of the state is seen among the main reasons behind the change (The News 30-6-1995).

Since 1972 after their clash on language issue with

Sindhis, they had actually started shifting away from both the Pakistani nationalism and the 'New Sindhi' identity re-conceptualizing themselves as an ethnic group in itself. They had distanced themselves from status of Urdu as national language of Pakistan by demanding its recognition as second provincial language of Sind at par with Sindhi for an equal share in jobs irrespective of their percentage in population in the province which was less then 25% as appeared in Census 1981. Emergence of 'differentiated' language nationalism (cf. Deutsch 1966: pp.123-5) in Sindhis articulated in the active participation of rural Sind in the anti-martial law movement, i.e. the Movement for Restoration of Democracy in 1983 with a recurrence in 1985, particularly caused activation of the Muhajirs as effective counteractive to the Sindhi movement and probably a most articulate ethnic group in the history of Pakistan after the Bengalis.

In 1986 they emerged as a controversial but strong ethnic community articulating their political demands for a separate province and a 'Sind urban assembly' for Muhajirs under a party The MQM , under a unanimous leadership of Altaf Husain. The member of the group became bold enough to address themselves as Muhajir qaum 'nation of migrants' on Pakistan Television (news bulletin, 10-6-1995), a notion inconceivable under the 'One nation' dogma of the state. Their claims however found little sympathy from other ethnic groups, doubtless because of their lack of a local history and roots in the area. Some tactical alliances with them were however made by the G M Syed faction which prefers Urdu speaking 'new Sindhis' over the Panjabis and Pakhtuns (Raman 1996: p.187;

2-2-1995; ibid. 13-4-1995; ibid. 12-8-1995; cf. 3.2).

A people most alienated from Pakistan have been the Baloch (cf. 4.12). The Baloch nationalists took the first ever full and formal annexation of their territory to a modern state like Pakistan as equivalent to subjugation of their people (cf. *Dhammi*-2 pp.12-20). To some of them, the Muslim nationalism which was the very basis of Pakistan existed on the other side of the Sutlej, not in their area or in the rest of present day Pakistan (Bizanjo 1986). Pakistani planners on the other hand viewed the vast and sparsely settled expanses of the province with their rich resources of coal and mineral as a 'safety valve' for the surplus population of the country and as a means of offsetting its economic burdens (Harrison 1981: p.150). In the different episodes of their resistance from the 1950s to the 1970s the Baloch staged bloody clashes with the state forces out of all proportion to the size of their economy and population (Janmahmad c.1989: pp.320,323-5). Other difficulty has been their coexistence with their neighbours in the northwest, the Pakhtuns, who share with them the objective of linguistic demarcation and on this principle join them to start a conflict with the centre, but who in times of rivalry wisely become allies of powerful central governments (cf. Harrison 1981: pp.153,180,141-2).

Historically known as good bargainers the Pakhtuns of NWFP (cf. Haidrani 1992) with their substantial record of national resistance particularly against the Sikhs and the British neither needed nor relied on language identity as source of their national recognition. The lifelong nationalist struggle of Khan A Ghaffar Khan failed to stop

NWFP from becoming part of Pakistan for various reasons
including the call of Islam, a most powerful norm of Pakhtun
culture, opposition from non-Pakhtun ethnic groups within the
province like Hazarids, Hindko speaking and Siraikis as well
as the geographic distance of the province from the areas
which were to become part of India. The Pakhtunistan movement
which rose to the level of secession during the interference
in Pakistan by the Kabul governments and probably by the
Soviet Union which went on until late 1970s (cf. Ahmad, K
1988: p.XXVII) fused with collapse of both the centres in the
1980s. This moved the leadership of *Pakhtunkhwa* 'Pakhtun
people' to quickly join hands with the Panjab (cf. Janmahmad
c.1989: pp.367-8,370-1).

5.5   Siraiki and the major ethnic groups

The 'Bahawalpur province movement' in 1970 (cf. 2.16)
enjoyed the moral support of almost all political parties of
the country (*goli nambar* p.2). This is however explicable as
a result of the fact that all parties were in opposition while
the military ruled the country, and they had to do so as part
of their role of opposing the government. This was also the
temporary heyday of provincialism because of the success of
Bengali ethno-national movement in the East wing. Later,
however, not all the ethno-national groups were as generous
towards a larger Siraiki movement.

The United National Alliance formed in 1989, a more
inclusive version of the Sind Balochistan Pakhtun Front
founded in the 1980s was a united front of the nationalist
political parties of the four provinces. It acknowledged

Pakistan Siraiki Party with its membership on a par with the other four nationalities in 1994. Mumtaz Bhutto, the Sindhi head of United National Alliance, visited Bahawalpur to address public meetings of Siraikis in early 1995. It seemed as if in return for its compromise on the question of re-demarcation of all provincial boundaries for formation of a Siraiki province boundaries, the party had secured support from the members of the Alliance for the formation of a fifth province for Siraikis, mainly to be carved out of Panjab (cf. Rpt.). To their paradoxical stance on the issue, the nationalist politicians of the dominant groups in the four provinces stood for ethno-nationalism and encouraged smaller ethnic groups elsewhere to come out for language identity but resisted the same phenomenon when it happened to fall within their own territory.

Although the Pakhtun nationalists mobilize their nationality on ethnic lines and some such nationalists, like those led by Latif Afridi, come out for the 'reunification' of *Pakhtunkhwa* anywhere by extending their claim for Pakhtunistan to the adjacent Pashto speaking portion of Balochistan, they show little readiness to acknowledge the smaller ethnic groups within NWFP. Such Pakhtun leaders usually avoid the question of recognition of the Hazarids and the Hindko speakers also called Hindkuns, on the pattern of Pakhtuns, in the east and the Siraikis in the south (cf. The News 9,10-7-1995; cf. Janmahmad c.1989: pp.287-8). Through their mobilized groups, the latter however, keep on resisting Pakhtun hegemony. They opposed, for instance, the imposition of Pashto as a medium of instruction in the schools in the Siraiki speaking parts of

the province (Arch-18). Some other Siraiki organizations opposed the proposal to rename the NWFP province *Pakhtunkhwa* (Jang London 3-11-1993), a move by Pakhtuns to consolidate their sole claim to the province.

The Hindko identity in NWFP may be seen as one of the resultants of the Siraiki movement, but emerged with lesser vigour. A few writings appeared asserting the identity of the Hindko group but with no expression of any conflict with the dominant language groups, whether Pashto or Panjabi (cf. Shaukat 1977; Qasimi 1989: p.19). A 'sub-provincial identity has yet to free itself, even in the minimal terms of a distinct linguistic identity, from an increasingly, comprehensively formulated provincial identity', observed Shackle in 1985 comparing Hindko with Siraiki (Shackle 1985: p.324), and the same was true till a decade after.

The Sindhi response to the Siraiki movement has been the most complex. Because of their ideological differences with the basis of Pakistan, and their goal of autonomy or independence for Sind, their anchormen, G M Syed, Joyo and others, referred again and again to the Lahore Resolution 1940. To them this had approved a confederation and not the 'totalitarian' federation of present-day Pakistan (Kazi 1993: p.25). Hence they kept overplaying the regional conflicts, particularly the Siraiki movement as long as it was focused against Panjab and the centre (ibid.). Their politicians and the activists of the Sindhi national movement encouraged their Siraiki counterparts and offered them their expertise in nationalist politics (Jang London 18-1-1995; ibid. 17-10-1993; ibid. 23-10-1993; Joyo 1990; cf. Amin 1988: p.92; CRI-21).

Their intellectuals approached the Siraiki issue with
reservations, perhaps fearing the spread of the movement into
the Siraiki speaking population of Sind, whose separation
would marginalize the Sindhis, turning them into a minority
within the province in the face of the militant Urdu speaking
Muhajirs. Clever enough to prevent this idea, some Sindhi
intellectuals theorize Sindhi nationalism as being rooted in
the area's history and not based on a common language
(Arch-54; Kazi 1993: pp.25,29).

In Balochistan, moral support for the Siraikis prevailed
and their language was recognized as one of the dialects or
mother tongues of the Baloch vis a vis occasional articulation
of the Baloch territorial claim over the area of Dera Ghazi
Khan (Janmahmad c.1989: p.287; cf. 5.3). They, however,
encouraged occasional Siraiki events such as functions in the
name of Khwaja Farid in Quetta (CRI-31; cf. *Jashn*).

As in the Writers Guild in the 1960s (cf. 2.14), it was
again a group of Urdu speaking intellectuals who boosted
Siraiki by placing it on a list of the seven major languages
of the country, which was recognized in the Progressive
Literary (Golden Jubilee) Conference held in Karachi in 1986
by ignoring the resentment shown by certain Panjabi delegates
who resisted the participation of a separate delegate for
Siraiki. (*Nawa-e vaqt* Multan, magazine 20-3-1986). This
tactical openness of the Urdu speakers for all other
nationalities became more explicit when, having chosen for
themselves the status of an ethno-national group in the MQM ,
they invited some Siraiki groups, namely Langah and his
comrades in the Pakistan Siraiki Party to visit the MQM

leader Altaf Husain in Karachi to seek bilateral recognition
of their respective groups (NI-5). The subsequent radical
stand of the MQM however did not prove to be supportive for
Siraikis, as the government's fight against the armed struggle
of the MQM in Karachi after 1992 seemed to have reduced its
tolerance to ethnic movements as a whole.

In contrast to the politicians and the political
intellectuals of each ethnic group, the non-political writers
and linguistic researchers appeared to be more open to the
newly developing language by recognizing it in their works and
showing themselves in favour equal promotion of its
literature, for instance Meman A M Sindhi (1992: pp.391 ff)
and Abdullah Jamaldini of Balochistan (lectures, etc.).
'Along with Pashto, a second language for which I developed an
ear in my childhood was Siraiki' admitted the known Pashto
writer Prishan Khatak of Karak, district Kohat (CRI-30).

5.6   The Panjab

The typical linguistic and cultural consciousness in the
Panjabis (cf. 6.2) apart, their self image as Pakistani
patriots who always worked hard and offered countless
sacrifices for their country was always seen by the other
groups as being some what naive. All that which was resented
of them by other ethnic groups, for instance their support for
the One Unit and the deployment of the military who were
dubbed as 'Panjabi *fauj*' in Bengal, Balochistan and Sind were
seen by them as sacrifices for Pakistan (cf. the News 12-8-
1994).

This however turned into a defensive type of self

perception because of the continuous opposition against the Panjabi domination expressed first by the leaders and intellectuals of the smaller provinces later by neutral intelligentsia and the press (cf. Ahmad 1988). 'And does what Panjab get in return for all sacrifices, Abuse from all' is a well known cry of the common Panjabi (cf. *goli nambar* p.89). After the imposition of martial law in 1977, the Panjabi nationalists became sensitive enough to defend the much blamed Panjabi domination through such popular publications as *Panjab ka muqaddama* (Rame 1985) and *Panjabi ka muqaddima* (Kammi 1988).

The efforts by the early Panjabi language enthusiasts of the 1950s like Salik, Abid Ali Abid and others to convince the politicians to upgrade Panjabi could not gain more than token support of the idea and a few speeches made in the mother tongue in Panjab Assembly by Mian Iftekharuddin, Mumtaz Daultana and few others in the 1950s (Arch-28). The element of idealism in the movement is reflected in the Panjabi intellectuals' reliance for the myth of freedom fighting Panjabis on the legends of resistance by Dulla Bhatti against Mughals, Ahmad Khan Kharal and Murad Fatiana against the British and on the Sikh activists of the Ghadar Party 'Revolt Party'. The first however are claimed as heroes by the people of the Bars, the barren lands of South Western Panjab (cf. *Jhang*) whom the modern Panjabi call Janglis, and the record of the Ghadar Party contains the name of hardly more tan one Muslim on its list of freedom-fighters (Malik, F 1989; *Rutlekha*-2:50-1; cf. Singh 1977).

As far as the Panjab's response to the Siraiki movement

is concerned, it is difficult to determine whether the Siraikis, in their quest as part of their ethnic mobilization for an opponent group to act against (cf. Brass 1974: p.29), started targeting Panjabis first, or whether it was the Panjabis who took the lead in taking notice of Siraiki language consciousness (cf. *goli nambar* p.2).

One of the dissimilarities between the Siraikis and the Panjabis lies in the fact that no section of Panjabis did ever agree with the Siraiki identity, let alone the movement. Nor could talk of mitigation of the Siraikis' deprivation constitute a serious trend in Panjab. Panjabi writers tended to be economical in their appreciation of modern works on Siraiki linguistics hence the dismissive tone was noticeable in such reference as 'God forbid this lie' (*es jhut tun allah bacha'e*) made by Sardar M Khan (1990: p.46) in regard to the investigation of Siraiki and Hindko by Shackle. Some of their serious modern researchers, however, have deliberately or otherwise departed from the tradition set by their predecessors in the 1960s and the 1970s of arbitrarily including Siraiki material, titles and names in their works on Panjabi (cf. Malik 1989; Paul 1994).

The beginning of the 1990s marked the rise of Nawaz Sharif of Lahore with his slogan 'wake up, Panjabi wake up' (*jag panjabi jag*), which was unusual expression of regional nationalism from the Panjab (the News 12-8-1994). He was sworn in as Prime Minister of the country. As a political leader Sharif was as warmly regarded as one of their own by a sizeable portion of the population in Panjab as he was coldly disowned by majority of the Siraikis. The following years

witnessed a significant clash of interests between Siraikis and Panjabis, which surfaced in the elections of 1993. These returned Benazir Bhutto to power, with the Siraiki vote defeating Nawaz Sharif who had swept to victory in Panjab districts. A subsequent change in the composition of the so called power troika of the President, the Prime Minister and the Chief of Army Staff brought into the high offices in 1993 Lighari, Bhutto and Gen A Wahid Kakar respectively, all of whom belonged to the same region of the right bank of the Indus. This was seen to herald a shift in the flow of resources and development projects to Siraiki region (and Sind), causing a corresponding antagonism to be felt in Panjab. 'Beware of the Siraiki conspiracy against the Federation and the armed forces' warned a Panjabi monthly magazine in its leading article which satirically asked the 'Siraiki President of Pakistan' to check the 'free (*Azad*) Siraikistan Movement' (Genius Urdu portion pp.1-2).

The magazine reproduced phrases from pamphlets and other material distributed by Siraiki activist groups like the Research Cell of the SQM, Khanpur, e.g. *pakistan ki gardan par panjab ka paon*' Pakistan's neck under foothold of Panjab', *panjab se jis qadar jald mumkin ho jän chhura li jae* 'get rid of Panjab as soon as possible', *apni nagri ap vasa tun, pat panjabi thane* 'establish your own state, do away with the Panjabi police stations', an adaptation from a verse by Khwaja Farid (Farid 1944: 240/2) which originally ended in *angrezi thane* 'the British police stations'. The writer of the magazine warned Panjabis against the prominent Siraiki folk singer Ataullah Isakhelvi who, to him was a Siraiki chauvinist

allegedly spending a portion of his huge income on running 250 units of his Siraiki organization Dark Beloved (*Sänval Sangat*) and asked them to boycott his cassettes. Interestingly, the Panjabi nationalists' response to the whole variety of resistant groups mostly ended on a common note, i.e. 'anti-Pakistan, anti-military traitors must not be spared' (<u>Genius</u> Urdu portion pp.1-40)

5.7   The question of the Siraiki province

Slig S Harrison (1981: p.149) commenting on the conflict of provincialism in Pakistan resolved:

> The idea of demarcating provincial units in accordance with historic ethnic homelands is anathema to the ideologues of Pakistan -- nationalism.

The issue of a Siraiki province was mixed with parallel schemes, such as the idea of creating more provinces, which was advanced through media debate by various sections as if to avoid formation of a province on language basis.

An article by Amir Abdullah Rokari, a politician from Mianwali, appeared in the press in 1987 suggesting the administrative division of the country into 13 provinces called after cities and regions. In this scheme, the Siraiki region was divided into five provinces (cf. Rokari 1987). Similar proposals were advanced in the last days of the martial law era and were repeated from time to time by political power brokers like Mir Balakh Sher Mazari of Dera Ghazi Khan and Pir Pagaro of Sind who suggested the division of the Panjab into three provinces (<u>Dhammi</u> 2 p.17; <u>al-Manzur</u> 1-5-1995; <u>Jang London</u> 17-10-1993). General Zia had already made it clear that the concept of a multinational state which

was promoted by the provincial nationalists was being
inconceivable to him, and that he would prefer to do away with
the existing four provinces by breaking up them into fifty-
three provinces, thus getting rid of the concept of ethnic
identity once for all. He also deplored the dissolution of
One Unit by Yahya Khan (cf. 1.14) and aspired to a
constitutional legitimization of the empowerment of the
military on the Turkish model (Harrison 1981: pp.150-1). His
opposition to the ethnically formed provinces was also
confirmed by his constitution of a twenty member
Constitutional Commission' known as Ansari Commission to come
up with a proposal for his plan. The Commission recommended
that there should be an equal number of Divisions in all the
four provinces and that these divisions should be delegated
the powers of provincial governments (Janmahmad c.1989:
p.298).

Against this background, the 'Siraiki suba', which was
originally probably not more than a catch phrase, appeared to
cause the instigation of several 'suba' schemes and
territorial arguments in areas adjacent to the Siraiki region.
A voice was heard from the Chenab region for a Province of
Jhang (Jhangochi suba), i.e. the northern part of the buffer
belt between the Siraiki region and Panjab. Its proponent,
Mumtaz Baloch, made the case for the 'land of the freedom
fighters against the British' and proposed the division of
Panjab into four provinces (cf. Jhang).

An interesting episode has been the demand for a Nili Bar
Province (Suba Nili Bar) in the southern part of the Bar
region by a group of Panjabi settlers in Bahawalpur apparently

to counter the 'Siraiki Suba' movement. Faruq Nadim, a
proponent of Nili Bar province contested in a paper as follows
(Nadim 1992):

> The argument, until now, is contained between the two
> parties, i.e. the advocates of "Bahawalpur suba" and
> those of a "Siraiki suba", but there exists a third
> party, the Panjabi settlers; should they be forced out of
> the promised suba,---. If Panjab has to be cut into
> pieces like a birthday cake at all, there would have to
> be a "suba Nili Bar", he resolved in a paper.

The theme of a Siraiki province seems to becoming
increasingly popular because of continuous criticism of the
size and hegemony of Panjab. It does not seem feasible in the
near future, however, given the lack of the required level of
mobilization among the Siraikis or of a government with a non-
Panjabi composition which could be empowered to bring about
drastic changes.

5.8   Strategic value

Concepts of strategic importance are linked more with
areas of Balochistan and NWFP provinces (Harrison 1981: p.150)
than with Sind or the Siraiki region. What made this a
sensitive issue for the state of Pakistan was the show of
interest in Siraiki by the Indian media and some Siraiki Hindu
migrants settled in India. Then in the late 1980s the Indian
Ambassador in Pakistan visited Multan to have meetings with
those known for their role in Siraiki movement. Since 1989,
headlines of the tiny Siraiki daily _Jhok_ highlighting Siraiki
disagreements with the government have been repeated in the
news bulletins of 'Akashvani', the Indian state radio (NI-7).

J C Batra, a Siraiki Hindu migrant to India, who is
established as a lawyer in New Delhi, convened a Siraiki

190

International Conference in New Delhi in 1992, involving with
him a few members of parliament from rival political parties
like Congress I and the Bharatiya Janata Party and succeeding
in receiving 16 Siraiki delegates from Pakistan (*Lard* 1992:
pp.20-3). The next year he visited the Siraiki region in
Pakistan as a messenger of the Siraikis in India, 'anxious to
break the walls and meet their Siraiki brethren in Pakistan'
as he stated. On the Pakistani side, however, the Urdu press
responded with clear disapproval of the move, connecting it to
the Indian intelligence agencies. The second Delhi Conference
scheduled in December 1993 did not however materialize, one of
the reasons being the blockage of the delegates from Pakistan
by the new Bhutto government (Jang London 15,19,20-11-1993).
Batra emerged with a concern for (Hindustan Times 25-8-1993),

> --10 million Siraikis in India whose language failed to
> get a place in the country where languages of much
> smaller groups were protected in the eighth schedule of
> the Constitution.

To strengthen his plea he reminded the Indian government of
'the strategic importance of Siraiki' for India (ibid.).

The Pakistani state responded to the Siraiki movement in
an indirect way most of the time. The Bahawalpur Suba
movement in 1970 had earned governorship of Panjab in the
government of Z A Bhutto for the late M Abbas Abbasi, the
prince of Bahawalpur. An official ban imposed by the Panjab
government in 1985 on *Qaedi takht lahor de* 'the prisoners of
the throne of Lahore', a collection of Siraiki patriotic poems
by the Siraiki nationalist poet Ashiq Buzdar, remains the only
disciplinary notice taken of Siraiki affairs since the
operation against the Bahawalpur Suba movement (cf. Aslam
1987: pp.87,90). The literary, cultural and educational

institutions of the state were most of the time left free to register Siraiki under the columns of Panjabi at one time and a separate language at another. The Pakistan Academy of Letters established in 1976 recognized Siraiki for a separate annual literary award. *Akhbar-e urdu*, the organ of the National Language Authority, a body set by the government for adoption of Urdu as office language, spared pages for Siraiki in a special issue (cf. *Akhbar-e urdu* VII.5 1990: pp.19-21).

Permitting the start of a Siraiki department in the Islamia University of Bahawalpur, and the introduction of a 20-minute weekly Siraiki programme called 'The colourful season' (*Rut rangïlari*) on Lahore Television in 1989 were interpreted as gestures of appeasement of Siraikis by the first Benazir government. In her second term of office after November 1993, no indication of any political or cultural recognition of the Siraikis could however be observed. A plan for development of the 'Siraiki belt' approved in the first cabinet meeting in December 1993 (Doc-8) saw neither implementation nor follow up. Interestingly, the notion of a 'Siraiki belt' was also mysteriously replaced on the media by the purely geographic term 'South Panjab'. This new official expression thus avoided using the word Siraiki in connection with a political or administrative territory, an indication of the continuation of the view of the Unitary state of Pakistan in the centres of power, in spite of Benazir Bhutto's statement that 'Pakistan is ethnically a multiracial, heterogeneous country' (The News 17-7-1994).

Although neglected in serious socio-political studies in Pakistan (cf. Amin 1988), the Siraiki movement seems to have

attracted attention in the universities both there and abroad. Each academic year of the period between the late 1980s-early 1990s ended with some addition to the number of chapters or at least references to the subject in MA dissertations or M Phil and Ph D theses (cf. Khan, R 1990; King c.1992). Some international organizations, for instance Amnesty International, included Siraiki in the languages selected for use as vehicles for their literature (_Khabren;_ Lahore, 23-6-1995).

CHAPTER SIX

LANGUAGE IDENTIFICATION

6.1   Language development and language planning

(general/theory)

Language planning is an organized and practical approach
to language which results from a formulated language policy.
'Language policies are formulated, codified elaborated and
implemented' and this should be called language planning
(Eastman 1983: p.7).

For any language group there are generally ten options to
consider a status for its language; this is called 'language
choice'. Most of these options match with the present status
of different languages in Pakistan as given in Tab.6/1
following.

It is said that the attachment of a people to a state or
a nation can be of one of two types, 'sentimental' or
'instrumental', and language can be one of the factors in
determining which type of attachment a people have towards
their nation or state. If the system of a state is
representative of the people, their attachment is sentimental;
if the system serves as a vehicle towards achieving their (the
people's) 'own ends and the ends of members of other
systems', the attachment is instrumental (ibid: p.34).
Applying this scheme, different language groups in Pakistan
may be seen to exhibit both the two attachments, one or the
otheror, or neither towards the state or towards their
respective language group. For instance, Sindhis appear to
show both of the attachments to their language group as
growing. Panjabis, to whom Urdu is gradually becoming more

than a lingua franca or market language, is likely to have a

mostly instrumental and partly sentimental attachment to the

state of Pakistan, and a fairly sentimental

Tab.6/1   The concept of 'Language options' as applied to the
          languages of Pakistan

Option		Name of language/s falling under
(i)	Indigenous language (chosen for modern use)	Sindhi (Rahman 1996:104)
(ii)	Lingua franca	Urdu (with few more emerging regional lingua franca, e.g. P., Si. and Sr.)
(iii)	Mother tongue	Sindhi (Sr., unrecognized)
(iv)	National language	Urdu
(v)	Official language	English (with claims for Urdu)
(vi)	Pidgin (formed by mixing, i.e. preferred so by the group)	Panjabi
(vii)	Regional language	Sindhi, Balochi, Pashto, etc.
(viii)	Second language	Urdu (E., in the case of elite)
(ix)	Vernacular language in (i.e. first language of a group dominated by a group with different language)	Hindko (under Pashto NWFP (Ibid:214)
(x)	World language	English

(Eastman 1983: pp.5-6; cf. Rahman 1996: pp.57-8,150-4; 31)

attachment to their language group. Baloch and Siraikis, to

different degrees, seem to have both attachments to their

respective language groups and a marginalized instrumental

attachment to the state.

Language planning being the task of language development (through a language policy), some socio-linguists see government as a suitable authority to perform such a heavy task, since without its sanction any language policy has little chance of success. In the openion of others, however, since languages have a political aspect such as that they 'can be manipulated to serve the ends of the government or body politic', language planning can also be carried out by, for instance, an ethnic group (ibid: pp.33,43). When the political aims of a group are focused on language, the level of language development is raized and propagated enough to make it a candidate for further language planning by the government. In this case both the policy and the goal of group's activity group remain political in terms of national self determination (cf. Haugen 1972: pp.288,292). In purely social terms this politically motivated group can - or indeed must - be a speech community which is defined as follows (Eastman 1983: p.1):

> A speech community is a set of individuals who share the knowledge of what is the appropriate conduct and interpretation of a speech. These individuals also share the understanding of at least one language so that they may communicate with each other.

6.2   Development and planning of Pakistani languages

Planning of most of the major languages of the region under discussion was started mostly by the British during the Raj, as summarized by Rahman (1996: p.250):

> In the beginning, the British developed the classical languages of India (Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit) in order to conciliate the traditional elites and consolidate their rule. They also developed the vernacular languages, in order to rule Indians more

effectively. Among these vernaculars were Bengali, Urdu, Hindi and Sindhi. These were standardized and printed, and the standard varieties were given official patronage.

Work on Urdu (Hindustani) was started at the end of 19th century with the establishment of the Fort William College and was advanced later with its promotion as the official language (and medium of instruction) in Bihar, the United Provinces, and the Panjab in the late 19th to early 20th century (cf. Shackle 1990: pp.8-9).

Language planning of Sindhi was begun after the conquest of Sind in 1843, initially by sponsorship of the German grammarian Ernest Trumpp's field trips to India in 1854, which resulted in his publications Sindhi reading book in the Sanskrit and Arabic character (1858) and the valuable Grammar of Sindhi the language (1872). The official alphabets of the language, both Persian and and the special Sindhi Hindu script, were finalized by British civil servants by the end of the 1950s (Schimmel 1981: pp.87,95,114-5).

In Panjabi, the activity remained limited to the preservation of literature, mostly religious texts such as biographies of the Nanak (Janam sākhi) and the sacred Sikh text of Panjabi (Ādi granth) by sikhs, and also folk literature collected by many researchers including some Western orientalists, for example Temple the compiler of Legends of Panjab. There came a stage when again Trumpp was asked by the British to translate Ādi granth, which he duly did during a miserable stay in Lahore in 1871 and finalized and published in 1877 (ibid: pp.131,134). The credit for the earliest effort of language planning of Panjabi, however, goes to the famous Serampore missionaries, who published a grammar

of Panjabi written by the missionary Carey in 1812, which was followed by a Panjabi version of the <u>New testament</u> in 1815 (cf. LSI 1916: p.618).

As to Pashto, the first detailed article appeared by H Ewald, a German pioneer, in 1839 and a grammar by a Russian, Dr B von Dorn, in 1847. British orientalists were attentive to Pashto in the 1850s, Raverty's <u>Grammar</u>, published in 1855, being one of the major works, followed by some articles (in German) in 1867 and 1869, and a grammar in 1873 again by Trumpp (Schimmel 1981: pp.140-2). 'Grammar of the Balochi language', an article by R Leech in JASB in 1838 is one of the early Western studies of this language. But the pioneers were again the Serampore missionaries, who published three editions of the Gospel in Balochi between 1815 and 1890. The <u>Balochi name</u> ('B booklet in Balochi'), a text book by Hattu Ram published in Lahore in 1861, also attracted the attention of contemporary British orientalists (LSI 1921: pp.334-5; Schimmel 1981: pp.155-9).

All this work done by the British cannot, however, be taken as part of 'language planning' in the literal sense of the term. In the case of Pashto, for instance, the British were convinced of the desirability of promoting Urdu as a school language (Rahman 1996: pp.141-3).

In addition to all the above, however, there were numerous traditional booklets and primers reflective of the local forms of language planning existent in each major language of the region, for example the glossaries of Persian and the local languages such as the 'Persian-Indo-Aryan primers' <u>Āmadnāmas</u> which started with a common Persian verb 'came' (āmad) past

part.   (Schimmel 1981: pp.140,155; cf. Haidari 1971: p.276).

By comparing the language planning conducted by the British with the type that has taken place since partition we see that where the first was need-oriented - for instance, the Indian languages were studied as requirement of statesmanship (cf. Shackle 1979: p.193) - the second has been motivated by nationalism, that is state-nationalism on the part of the governments and ethno-nationalism on the part of the different language groups.   Where the first was the introduction into the subcontinent of the modern concept of dealing with languages as a means of power, the second has been a phenomenon of competition between the state and the resistant language groups, and between different language groups to acquire this power (cf. 5.4; cf. 5.5).

As has been the language policy of the state of Pakistan (cf. 3.1), the language planning carried out by different governments of Pakistan since partition did not directly clash with non governmental language planning (or even with the operations in some cases performed by the provincial governments).   Instead it countered them through its successful language planning of Urdu.

The well-known declaration made by the founder of nation in Bengal about the status of Urdu as national language and the Report of the commission on national education, 1959 (cf. ibid.) respectively provided the code and the implementation plan for the language planning of Urdu by the government.   In the past, this is linked with the enthusiasm for Urdu against the rise of Hindi reflected in the foundation of language organizations such as Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu 'The

Association for the Promotion of Urdu' established in 1903 in Delhi (Rabbani 1939: p.6).

After partition, the Departments of Education, both central and provincial and their Text Book Boards, joined by the national press (official and independent) and the official electronic media, all took part in the rapid consolidation of Urdu in the country. A major step in the true true sense of language planning, however, was taken by the Martial Law Administrator Ziaul Haq in the form of the establishment of Muqtadira Qaumi Zaban 'The National Language Authority' in 1979. To be acclaimed as a patron of Urdu by the lobbies concerned, Zia also ordered the compulsory replacement of English by Urdu in government offices throughout the country, and succeeded temporarily in having this implimented (Rahman 1996: pp.239-40). As an autonomous body under the Federal Ministry of Education, fully funded by the government, the National Language Authority published glossaries of terminology for the use of Urdu as an official language. However, it had little success in replacing the deep rooted official language English with unfamiliar Arabic-Persian inventories of the first like *amr-e-māni'-e-taqrīr-e-mukhālif* 'AP estoppel' and *miqiyās ul harārat* 'A thermometer'. One may question the usefulness of this and numerous similar institutions funded by the government, but the fact remains that these serve the political purpose of the state and the establishment well through catering for interest groups who protect the cause of Urdu. It was the National Language Authority which successfully fought the 1989 education policy of the Bhutto government, which recommended replacement of

Urdu as medium of instruction at elementary level by mother
tongues. A special issue of its organ _Akhbār-e-Urdu_ (cf.
Akhbar VII.4 1990) carried some twenty articles, all
unanimously opposing the plan.

With the above strategy of the government, different
language groups approached the task of language planning
differently but with one strategy in common: exploiting the
moderate posture of the state policy towards the regional
languages (cf. 3.1).

As regretted by one of the Panjabi activists, the
partition brought a setback to the development of Panjabi. It
is claimed that a consensus was reached between some members
of the pre-partition Panjab Assembly and the speaker to
introduce Panjabi into schools in all three scripts: Devnagari
for Hindu children, Gurmuhki for Sikhs and Persian for Muslims
(CRI-28). This complaint seems true in the sense that Hindus
and Sikhs evacuated and since both the majority and the elite
of the rest of the population co-opted by the new state of
Pakistan and the domination of Urdu, Panjabi did not develop
as it might have otherwise.

By the efforts of committed Panjabis through
organizations such as Panjabi Adbi Sangat 'Panjabi Literary
Society' and Majlis Shah Husain 'Shah Husain Society', named
after a saint poet buried in Lahore (cf. Shackle 1970:
pp.248-52), the language, however, retained popularity as an
elective subject in colleges and was further promoted as a
university subject through the establishment of a Department
of Panjabi for postgraduate (MA) studies at the University of
Panjab in 1971 (Shackle 1977 b: p.384). This was followed by

the establishment of a governmental organization for the publication of Panjabi literature, the Panjabi Adbi Board in 1975 (cf. 4.2), again a point of disagreement for Siraikis, since the Board claimed to represent all the regional languages of the province including Siraiki and accordingly got publication grants from the government; Siraiki opposed this, instead demanding upgrading of the existing Siraiki Adbi Board on a par with other such provincial bodies (Arch-63; cf. Charter p.41).

Sindhi is probably the most cultivated language in the region in terms of language planning. Thanks to the British policy, Sindhi had achieved both a sound literary tradition and acceptance as medium of education long before partition. It has emerged as the most developed regional language in the region with materials such as newspapers, grammars, dictionaries (cf. Advani 1993; Allana 1969) and other texts written and published locally. The Sindhi groups responsible for language planning always kept themselves apparently aloof from the activist political groups and carried on lobbying for official patronage for numerous organizations formed previously such as the Sindhi Adbi Board and establish new institutions such as the Department of Sindhology and above all the Sindhi Language Authority (cf. 5.4).

The post-partition scenario of Pashto too is linked with the earlier developments. King Amanullah of Afghanistan started the language planning of Pashto by establishing the Pashto Tolane 'Pashto Society' in 1920, which was followed by similar steps in the princely state of Swat in 1926. Pashto was declared the national language of Afghanistan in 1936.

The veteran Pakhtun nationalist Khan A Ghaffar Khan's efforts in this direction made a particular impact in NWFP and the issue of teh status of Pashto was raized in the legislature of that province more than once (Rahman 1996: pp.142-3,150-1). It was, however, only long after partition that steps were taken in the sense of language planning, for instance, through promotion of the language in 1984 from being a school subject to a medium of instruction at primary level in the Pashto speaking areas of the province. The Urdu texts previously taught were translated into Pashto to provide primers and it was decided not to alter the Urdu terminology which the students would come across in their higher education in Urdu (Abd ul 1990: p.26).

In Balochistan province two main languages, Balochi and Brahui, contended as candidates for planning and promotion. Organizations such as the Brahui Literary Society, the Brahui Orthographic Committee and the Balochi Academy were run privately by language activists in Quetta as well as in Karachi at the time of partition. Some of these were selected for funding by the government in the light of the recommendations of the Sharif Commission, which endorsed the existing three organizations already working for the promotion of regional languages namely the Pashto Academy, the Sindhi Adabi Board and the Panjabi Academy (Report 1959: p.298). In the Bolan University of Balochistan, Diploma classes in Balochi, Pashto and Brahui, started in the 1970s were promoted to MA in 1987. Attempts to establish primary education in the mother tongue, a subject of the provincial governments, were made first in 1972, when the Roman script was considered

for the languages of the province including Balochi, and later in 1990 by passage of a bill in the provincial assembly for primary education in the mother tongue.

However, these attempts failed mainly for two reasons: first the fear of the majority that if educated in the mother tongue their children would grow incapable of competing in the fields occupied by Urdu and English, and secondly the non-availability of teachers well versed in the mother tongues of the children because most teachers come from outside Balochistan, mainly the district of Dera Ghazi Khan (cf. Hayat 1990: pp.30-1). (The issue of the bad effects on schooling, when teachers are ignorant of the language of their pupils is ignored as part of the tradition).

6.3   Development and planning of Siraiki

In general, Siraiki language planning can be seen in two different divisions: 'serious' in contrast to 'political', and the 'mythical type' preceding the 'modern type'. The phenomenon originated in Bahawalpur, as if resulting from a felt need to give prestige to the language of the Princes and the people of Bahawalpur state. The start was promotion of a the modern idea of learning in the mother tongue, advanced by the followers of the radical Muslim scholar Ubaidullah Sindhi. It was followed by activities at academic level in the centre of Bahawalpur, with addressing at the issue of script, compilation and publication of _Dīvān-e-Farīd_ and some articles on the local tradition of knowledge, such as the widely regarded 'Foreword' to the _Divān_ by Allama Talut in 1944. Most of the task of the development of Siraiki was performed

at a later stage, however, in the 1960s and from the 1980s
onwards, but one only could wish to see in these works a
balanced approach not blended with the political aims which,
having become sacred even to the scholars of this period,
appear to command the pen of almost every writer concerned
with Siraiki, from Mahr Abdul Haq (the 1960s-70s) to Fida
Husain Khan Gadi (the 1980s).

Date-wise, the development work shows a tendency to 'myth
creation' in the first phase of the movement and scientific
justification by revision of the myth in the later two phases
(the 1970s onwards). The first included promotion of, for
instance, vague claims of grammatical superiority and
antiquity of the language by Bashir A Zami (1970), Siraiki's
linguistic relation with Pali by Mir Hassan ul Haidri (1971:
pp.258-61), which may actually appear the other way round as
Siraiki, as compared to Panjabi, shows less closeness to Pali
or Prakrit (cf. 7.13; cf. 7.111), and the antiquity of Siraiki
script (cf. 4.2; cf. 6.82; cf. Shackle 1979: p.198).

Some of the modern works of the language development seem
to bear analogy with the 'polemical ' type of works of Islamic
nationalist scholars. Many of the modern, local language
researchers of Siraiki made good use of the works of the
western orientalists and the British pioneers in their
argument to establish the antiquity and distinctiveness of the
language as a scientifically proved fact. Where the early
writers of Bahawalpur advanced the claim that Siraiki is 'the
root of the tree of the languages of India and the Indus'
(hind sindh de   ʒa ɓānēṇ de van di pār), as was printed on the
title page of the quarterly Siraiki in the 1970s, researchers

like Mahr Abdul Haq (1972) and Wagha (1990) referred to the 'circle theory' of Grierson in proving separation of Siraiki from Panjabi as that, in LSI, the first is shown in the 'Outer circle' while the second is listed with Hindi in the 'Central group' of languages.

The postulate that 'every idiom is potentially appropriate to be the literary, scientific and hence official language' (Fodor 1984: pp.441-2) - a favourite argument for the activists of emerging languages - is neglected by the experts of the dominant languages aiming at discouraging the first. Exponents of the superiority of Urdu frequently highlight some intrinsic ability of this language to embrace regional languages and absorb the words of all languages (cf. Report 1959: p.298; Akhbar VII.4 1990).

Language planning being in its initial stages, this issue does not seem to have been considered by Siraiki activists or even by the experts, except that the enrichment of literature and vocabulary has been emphasized by all (cf. 8.4). The group responsible for answering such questions and addressing other issues of language planning in the case of Siraiki has been a 'non-governmental organization', 'a small group' and 'an ethno-nationalist group' by definition (cf. Haugen 1972: p.161; Eastman 1983: pp.3-4; cf. 4.21). The efforts of such groups too can bring results and change the normal course of development of languages against any common logic, as has been proved in the case of the Irish organization known as the Consultative Council for the Irish Language, which successfully codified and implemented a complex policy to achieve both proficiency in English and restoration of the

Irish language and the Irish identity (Eastman 1983: p.10).

The main areas covered under language planning are (ibid: p.28):

(i)   language purification ('purism' in Fodor),

(ii)   language·revival,

(iii)   language reform,

(iv)   language standardization and

(v)   lexical modernization.

Since these forms of active language development overlap, it can be said that language planning in Siraiki has at least touched all of these (cf. 7.13).

The tendency for language purism is seen as a response to the unavoidable penetration into a language of foreign words as part of industrialization, etc. creating problems for the less educated, monolingual strata of a population, and it may be accompanied by an aversion to a dominant foreign country and its language (Fodor 1984: p.446). This is only a linguistic interpretation, which can be one among a number of factors calling for a language purism aimed at influencing a phenomenon of spontaneous language reform already in effect. An example would be the recent efforts in Siraiki literature to replace words like 'birthday' *sālgirah*, popular for decades, with the new coinage *sālgandh* (JK 2-12-1994: 3/8). In terms of the areas of language planning mentioned above, the process in Siraiki can be seen as follows:

Area (iii) of the language planning above, 'language reform', is a general category which includes almost all activities in the direction of language development. Areas (iv) and (v), language standardization and lexical modernization, can only be observed as attempted in an

unorganized way by individual writers (cf. Word formation infra). It is the areas (i) and (ii), language purism and language revival (*ihya*), that are reflected more clearly in modern Siraiki writings. This we will see in two effects of the language planning: a loan shift and a change in theme and content resulting in turn in a change in vocabulary or vice versa, as described below.

As happens in language reform, the new connotations come with their names which are preserved with a little change in shape. Then, in the phase of effort for inherent language reform, vernacular names emerge to replace the borrowed ones. This we see in the three phases of development of the Siraiki lexicon:

(i)   the old stage (1919 to 1947):
        specimens in the LSI show a greate number of primitive
        Arabic-Persian loans, but fewer in ratio compared to
        the next stage,

(ii)   the middle stage (1947 to early 1970s):
        as in Abdul Haq (cf. 8.4) and others, Arabic-Persian
        and Urdu Indo-Aryan loans are frequent, and

(iii)   the modern stage (mid 1970s onward):
        inherent word formation replaces loan words

(cf. 8.1; 8.2; Rpt; Jk 18-12-1994; cf. Fodor 1984: pp.445-6).

To assess the use ratio of loan words in each of the three stages, four texts are taken and examined. These are: the version of translation in Multani of the 'Parable of the Prodigal son' (LSI 1919: pp.312-4) and a statement, probably, a police report in 'Lahnda or Western Panjabi of Dera Ghazi Khan' (ibid: pp.412-29) as semples of the early stage; a piece

of writing by Abdul Haq (8.4) as a specimen of the middle
stage; and a similar piece from the writing of Irfan (8.2) as
an example of the modern stage. The number of loan words
grouped under relevant source language is given against the
total number of words calculated in each text in Tab.6/2.
This shows a gradual decrease in the influence of Persian as a
source language as compared to Arabic. The increase in Arabic
loans in Siraiki can partly be linked with Urdu which depends
for its word formation, particularly 'loan translation' of
terminology, more on Arabic than on Persian, because the
synthetic nature of the first is much more helpful in
developing vocabulary by using inflectional/suffixational
patterns. Hence, for instance, Persian loans such as *rssa-
kashi* 'tug of war' appear at a lower ratio than Arabic loans
such as *istihkām* 'stability', *istidlāl* 'argumentation',
istiswāb(-e-rāe) 'consultation, referendum' and so on.

Tab.6/2 Ratio of loan words according to source language

Text		Number of Arabic loans	Number of Persian loans	Number of Urdu loans	Total words
(i)	Multani translation	13	12	00	372
(ii)	Statement in Lahnda of D G Khan	13	8	00	265
(iii)	Text of Abdul Haq, middle stage	22	7	8	186
(iv)	Text from modern literature	2	1	0	148

The overall increase in the ratio of loan words in

Siraiki in the middle stage language and the decrease in the
modern texts verifies Fodor's (445-6) suggestion of a
progression from borrowing to inherent word formation and
vernacular naming. The important aspect of the non-
governmental language planning in the case of Siraiki is that
the language reform is linked with a change in the content of
the literature. Traditional ideas about history and culture
are reversed, resulting in creation of a new lexicon and a
reinterpretation of the old words.

Defiance of the dominant norm is one of the
characteristics of Siraiki language planning. The language
planning of Urdu together with the literature directed towards
nation building has been occupied by a large influx of words
of Arabic-Persian register into the vocabulary, plus
Islamization, or rather 'Middle-easternization', in content.
Dozens, even hundreds of titles like _Tārīkh-e-Pakistan_
('History of Pakistan') or _Tārīkh-e-pako-hind_ ('History of
Pakistan and India') have appeared. These mechanically repeat
the story of the dark days of the pre-Islamic Indus valley
followed by the Arab conquest and the Arab rule of the region
in the 8th century, portrayed as the start of a golden age,
with Muhammad-bin-Qasim as the saviour of the subcontinent's
wretched population. This became a sacred syllabus at all
levels of education (cf. Parvez 1990: pp.12-3,30-1).

With the language planning in Siraiki, individuals with
some taste for history and scholarship were motivated by the
activists to write and publish in line with Siraiki
nationalist themes. One such text, Mirani (1994: p.2),
established the heroic role played by two sisters of Raja

Dahir, characters in a semi-historical story according to which both the women were taken as war booty to Baghdad where they poisoned the mind of the Caliph against Bin-Qasim to take revenge for their brother. Mirani attributes to the death of a Hindu Raja of the Rae dynasty of the Indus valley such words as 'he too became beloved of God, i.e. died' (o vi allah kūṇ piyāra thi giya), a phrase used of the death of pious Muslims.

The need for a supposed glorious past leads to development of a theme of the continuity and antiquity of the people which in turn results in myth creation. A fine example is Saeedi (8.7) proposing that the Siraiki people of Cholistan, who are heirs of the civilization of the legendary river Hakra, may possibly be 'the owners of the well' (ashāb-al-rass) of the Holy Qur'ān, one of the ancient peoples mentioned in the heavenly book. With this, notions like khūh vāli qaom 'the keepers of the well' and nishābur 'mentioned clearly' are introduced (8.7(i)/9,12).

The element of folk heritage, previously prevalent in the lowest strata of the society, is recorded and part of it given reference to time and place in order to be shown as part of an assessable, recorded classical literature (cf. Haugen 1972: p.289). Examples are the numerous collections of a folk form of verse called dohara, some of which are arbitrarily attributed to Khwaja Farid by the people and now published as popular texts (cf. Malghani 1994).

A language group in struggle develops undeclared trends of tolerance towards some languages and intolerance towards others (Fodor 1984: p.446). The majority of conscious Siraiki writers are intolerant, for instance, of Urdu and Panjabi

words while tolerant of non-Urdu Indo-Aryan, i.e. Hindi
vocabulary and even Arabic-Persian words. An example is a
comment by a Siraiki writer (Jk 27-11-1994: 2/6):

> pakistan jekũn isläm da qil'a äkhiya vaenda he hun ĩn
> qil'e vich·d̲alĩkãn pae g̲iayan hin

> 'Pakistan which is called a fort of Islam, now cracks
> have appeared in this fort.'

As may be seen, the writer ignored a more common, original

word for 'fort', kõt which could better replace the

Arabic-Persian qil'a, but could not tolerate the Urdu

(Indo-Aryan) word darãrẽn 'cracks in a wall', is part of the

expression qil'e mẽn darãrẽn parna from which the present

Siraiki phrase seems to have been borrowed, and replaced it

with d̲alĩkãn. This friendliness towards Hindi is more

prominently exhibited in the choosing of secular Indo-Aryan

names for children in contrast to the customary, old or modern

Arabic-Persian names, a fashion in middle class Siraiki

families: names like Sajãval, Rãval, Ranjhu and Sõbha for boys

and Pũnam, Rõhi and Chanan for girls are becoming popular.

The 'language tolerance' of Siraikis, their being

intolerant of Panjabi and tolerant of Hindi, is in interesting

contrast with Panjabi writers, most of whom rely on Siraiki

vocabulary to achieve an effect of linguistic antiquity in

their writings, using elements like the Siraiki future

inflection -sĩ and postposition heth 'beneath' against Panjabi

-gã and thalle respectively. These elements are sometime used

inappropriately. An example is Mushtaq Sufi, who uses -sãn

in two consecutive lines of a poem, in the first as a

Panjabi past participle inflection and in the second as a

Siraiki future inflection (Sufi 1997: p.111):

kadi maen sochadā hōndā sān
maen apne manje de vichhaone marna pasand karsān

'at times, I used to think that
I would like to die on the bed sheet of my bedstead'

As in poetry (9.13), so in prose too some identity-conscious writers use their linguistic skill in introducing effective notions of politics and resistance, such as in a political pamphlet of the Pakistan Siraiki Party 'the tribal unity has adopted a national face and form' (*qabāeli jurat qaomi rup shakal kaddhi he*) (Rpt. p.1).

Finally, what the Siraiki language planning badly lacks is the basic elements of language reform such as the collection of glossaries and the preparation of dictionaries and grammars (cf. Haugen 1972: p.219). Although it has started, this process is at quite a primitive stage. As far as the formation of technical terminology is concerned, the absence of it is understandable for two reasons: there is no such pressing need there, and Siraiki is linguistically at ease with taking foreign words in their original form.

As mentioned in the theoretical discussion (cf. 6.1), the planning and development of a language is best achieved when done by a government. This we see in the rapid development of Siraiki language as a result of the establishment by the government of radio stations in Siraiki region at Multan, Bahawalpu and Dera Ismail Khan in the 1970s and of the Department of Siraiki at the University of Bhawalpur in 1989 (cf. 5.8). Many aspects of language planning are pending for the official declaration of Siraiki as School language which is continuously demanded and awaited as an ultimate goal (Gadi 1992).

6.4 Geohistorical features of Siraiki and 'creation of Siraiki myth'

The Indus valley, or what was 'India' to Herodotus, formed one of the two satrapies of the Persian empire in the region, the other being Gandhara which extanded from Peshawar to the west of Rawalpindi. The 'Indians', i.e. the inhabitants of the Indus valley, were the more numerous and thus a rich source of both revenue and soldiery for the empire. In their cotton dress, they joined the war against Greeks led by Darius's successor, Xerxes (480 BC). The Mahabharata, the epic masterpiece of ancient Indian literature, again identifies the region as being divided into the two kingdoms of Gandhara and Kekaya, both of which are situated outside the Aryan region proper. Kekaya, the country lower down the Indus, was famous for learning, while in the upper part of Indus valley, i.e. the region of Gandhara, a university had been established at Taxila after the rise of Buddhism (from the 6th century BC onward). The invasion of India by Alexander (327-325 BC) was also confined to the same region (LSI 1927: pp.134-5).

As far as the origin of the Siraiki people is concerned some authorities observe that the ancient population of the Indus valley was of several racial types including Aryans (Lambrick 1975: p.206). Others postulate that the proto-Dravidians and proto-Mundas constituted the earliest ethnic strata underlying the Indo-Aryan community. This community included south-west Iranian as well as some Austroasiatic groups (Gangovsky 1977: pp.32,39) and that it was not wiped out by the later Aryan influx, but instead that the Aryans

themselves had to move eastward due to an 'armed rebuff' by
the ancient inhabitants (ibid: pp.45-6). This view is shared
by Masica (Masica 1991: p.40):

> Sind and Gujrat seem to have been areas initially avoided
> by Aryans, who may have kept closer to the cooler
> foothills in the first phases of their penetration,
> although violent confrontation in the Panjab is a
> possibility in the light of the vivid description of
> attacks on fortified cities in Rig Veda.

The present day Siraiki-speaking people, a mix of many
tribal and clannish entities are known as 'Siraikis', a people
who belong to a region where the language is spoken, that is
the connotation 'Siraiki', previously confined to a language,
now encodes both a language and a people. The word 'Siraiki',
which was initially used for the Sindhi variety of the present
day Siraiki and was adopted as a conscious effort for a
unified name of all of its dialects such as Multani, Riasti,
Bahawalpuri, Dere-vali, Jatki, Thali, etc. is described as
derived from Sindhi word *siro* 'north, upriver' (cf. Wagha
1990: pp.4-7). This new name, however, does not yet convince
some language scholars (cf. Masica 1991: p.18) because of the
confusion of it being applied also to a dialect of Sindhi in
the records (cf. 2.15; cf. 4.2).

About the area of modern Siraiki, factors such as the
level of language consciousness in the common people, the
territorial claims by the Siraiki activists and the
assessments of linguist researchers crosscut enough to make
any boundary line of the language unwarranted. One informant,
a shopkeeper in the middle of Talagang, a town on the northern
edge of Siraiki area, responded to a question from the present
writer and used a reasonably clear Siraiki form of speech to
say that his language and that of all the inhabitants of the

town was 'the purest form of Panjabi'. A poet from District
Khushab insisted that his language, an intermediate variety of
Panjabi, was Siraiki. Umar Kamal Khan, a Siraikist (Khan
1983: p.iii), easily included the predominantly Panjabi
speaking districts of Panjab, Sargodha and Sahiwal, and the
Siraiki-Sindhi bilingual district of Sind, Jacobabad in his
definition of the Siraiki area. Shackle (1977 b: p.388) on
the other hand refrained from including any such bilingual
area, or a region of mixed speech in his description of
Siraiki language area.

As described above, until very recently there was no call
for the recognition of Siraiki as a uniform entity. The
British did not claim that their administrative divisions of
the areas under their control were intended to match any
linguistic or cultural boundaries. The question of the medium
of instruction in modern schools was the only one calling for
consideration of languages in the areas. However by the time
this question was addressed, the new larger administrative
zones and their identification with certain central areas and
languages had become consolidated enough to undermine the
independent status of many languages and language groups. The
language areas marked by the philologists in the case of
Siraiki, Burton, O'Brien, Jukes and Wilson, etc. indicated the
areas covered in their respective works. Thus the question of
Siraiki language area arose partly in response to the claims
and counterclaims on it by the neighbouring linguistically
conscious language groups, the Panjabis and Sindhis (cf. ibid:
pp.386,398).

Among the orientalists, after O'Brien (1881: p.i),

216

Shackle (1976: p.1) appears to come closest to the objective situation on the ground at present. To a brief survey by the present writer of selected towns in the northern and eastern confines of the language area in 1985, and through interviews with writers, intellectuals and politicians of different parts of the language region like Nazir Ashk of Dera Ismail Khan, Arif of Multan, Agro of Sind, Khattak of NWFP, Mir A Jabbar Khan of Sibi and Langah, the leader of Pakistan Siraiki Party, etc. in 1993 (CRI-8; CRI-19; CRI-32; CRI-30; CRI-31; CRI-17), the Siraiki area can be described as follows:

Looking at the map, the line of longitude 30°N and the line at latitude 70°E which intersect at Rakni, a town west of Dera Ghazi Khan, mark the western limits of the Siraiki language area. Starting from no fixed point in the bilingual areas of Sind around Khairpur at 27°N, the area stretches as far north as the small town of Jand, south-west of Talagang at 32.5°N - the narrowest point at this end. The belt widens southward along the Indus, gradually emerging from the dialect mixed with Panjabi in the east of Khushab at 72.3°E, to Tank at 70.5°E, a town west of Dera Ismail Khan. The maximum width of the area lies in the desert extending from west of Bikaner at 73°E, across the border to Jacobabad at 69°E, in Sind (cf. 1.1; cf. Map-2).

These being the facts, their perception by the Siraiki natives is ethnocentric. Where appreciation of the geo-historic realities by different Siraiki writers shows uniformity in the projection of the central point of their region and its history encoded in the notion of 'Indus valley', their writings show contrasting biases towards the

map-2 Siraiki language area

REFERENCES:-

Siraiki Proper:—
Bilingual with Pashto:—
Bilingual with Balochi:-
Bilingual with Sindhi:—
Mixed dialect with Punjabi:-
International Boundary:- —
Provincial Boundary:- —
Indus:-
Distt. H.Qs:—
Towns:—
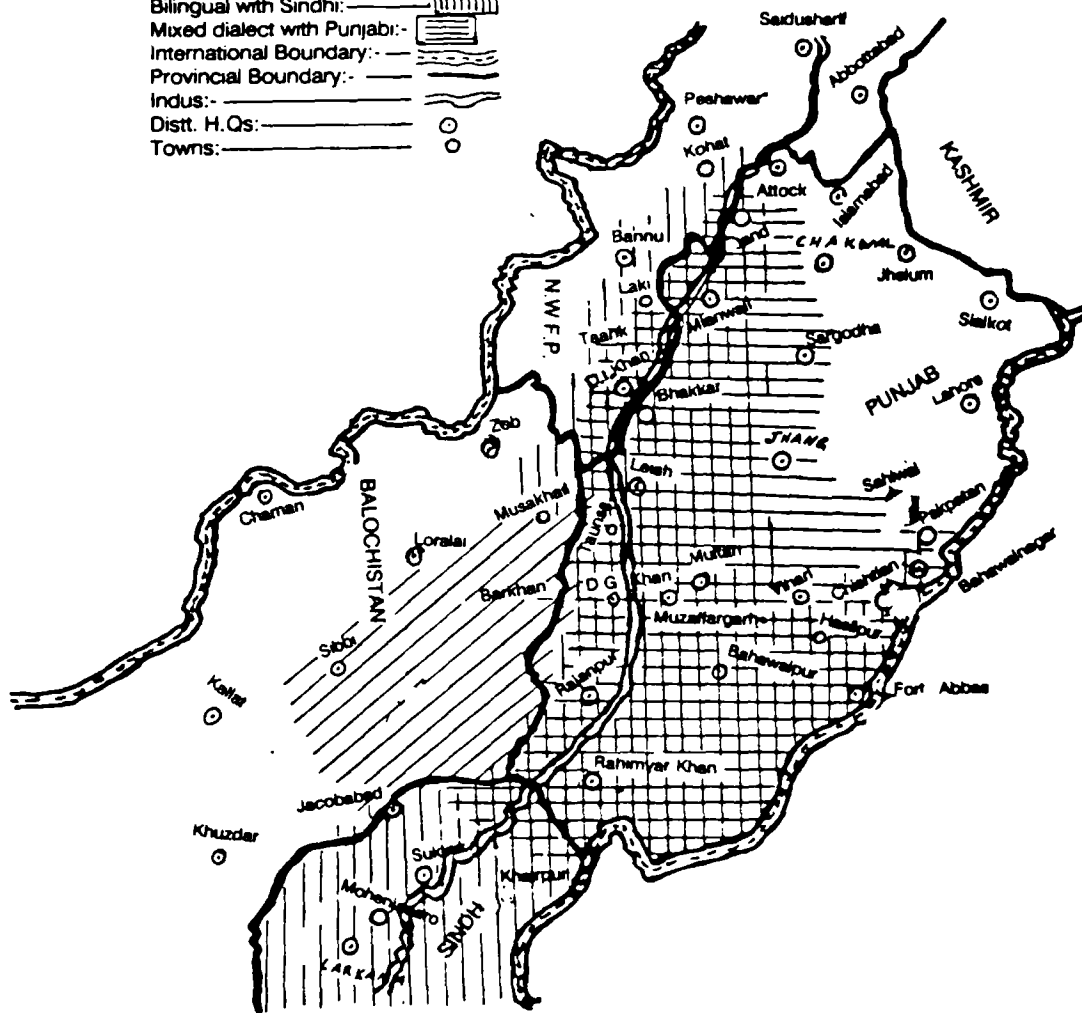
(Wagha 1990: p.29)

'west', i.e. the Middle East and the 'East', i.e. India. The writers of the later phase, the modernists, emphasize the influence of Buddhism and the 'caste-free' Hinduism (the mystical merger of Bhagti and *tasawwuf* as a feature mark of Siraiki, Indus civilization, a clear preference for Indian origin over 'pan-Islamism' (cf. 1.4; cf. 10.4).

The writers with a traditional view, some of whom are quite good scholars of their time, show conviction in promoting a Muslim-Siraiki centralism clearly opposed to the Hinduism of the east. They see the two civilizations of Indus valley the Ganges region as two different historical evolutions by by giving importance to such major historical movements and military invasions of the Indus region which did not accede to the east, such as Alexander's expedition. An interesting premise rendered by Zamin Husainy of Bahawalpur (Husaini 1972: p.12) is quoted in (a) and (b) following:

(a)   *lāhor se mashriq kī taraf ka 'ilāqa -- yeh qadīm zamāne mēn āriāi vatan thā. jo siraiki vatan ke logūn se bar sar-e paikār rehta thā. rig ved inhī larāiūn ki dāstān hai.*

U 'The region to the east of Lahore -- it was the Aryan homeland in the ancient times which was always in war with the people of the Siraiki homeland. The <u>Rig Veda</u> is particularly the story of these wars.'

(b)   *is mēn bhī khudā ki hikmat thī goyā sikandar-e a'zam nē golara ke qarīb texla se jalālpur sadāt par jehlam ko pār karke qusūr tak jā kar siraiki vatan ki mashriqi hudūd qaim kar dī thīn.*

U 'In this also was the Wisdom of God, we can say, that Alexander the Great, by crossing Jhelum from (between) the point of Taxila near Golra (and) Jalalpur Sadat, going up to Kasur established the eastern boundaries of the Siraiki homeland.'

6.5   Indo-Aryan versus Dravidian

Siraiki is the central language of the linguistic region

defined as the valley of Indus and its tributaries in Pakistan, north of Sind up to the Pir Panjal range on the frontier of Kashmir, as discussed above. Within that region it is surrounded by the Hindko dialect of Lahnda - replaced by the dialects of Pothohari in the east - in the north, Panjabi - bridged over by Jhangi or so-called 'Jangli' dialects (we ignore the term Shahpuri, no longer a linguistic entity) - in the north east, Marwari in the east and Sindhi in the south. To its west and north west, apart from the pockets of Indo-Aryan dialects such as Khetrani, lie the Iranian languages, Balochi in south west and Pashto in the north west whith which both Siraiki has bilingual borders (cf. Masica 1991: pp.17-9; ibid. map 1 pp.9-10); it has a greater linguistic correspondence with the first through having had a large influence on its phonology and vocabulary.

Siraiki stands within the Indo-Aryan language family. The spread of New Indo-Aryan entails two more phenomena: the adoption of Indo-Aryan speech by non-Aryan speakers, and, as a result of this, the fact that speakers of Indo-Aryan speech are always in the majority over speakers of co-existing non-Aryan languages (ibid: pp.5,8). In Pakistan, this situation has resulted in a tendency to look for the possibility of retrieving a lost, non-Aryan origin of languages and people. There has been a general movement among native researchers such as Fikri (1982: p.56), Kazi (1993: p.25) and Faridkoti (1972: p.35) to reject the concept of a Sanskritic, Old Indo-Aryan origin of the languages of the Indus valley and to establish the origin of both the people and the language as Dravidian, in turn linked with the ancient centres of

civilization of Mesopotamia and Iraq, an approach in contrast to the efforts of Indian scholars, who attempt to prove the native subcontinental origin of Aryan (cf. Masica 1991: pp.37-8). These attempts, however, present a material quite insufficient to establish such alternative theories of origin. The linguistic elements in the major, non-Arabo-Persian portion of Siraiki which do not correspond with Sanskrit either, invite a fresh survey and analysis to examine the possibility of links with Dravidian or proto-Dravidian.

Reference must not be omitted to the very confused classification of the Siraiki language in LSI (1919: p.233), which divided it into a Siraiki dialect of Sind very close to the Jatki of Dera Ghazi Khan, and a major part of Lahnda, also named Western Panjabi, themselves both controversial terms. One of the disadvantages of Grierson's bracketing Siraiki with the dialects of Hindko and Pothohari through the term Lahnda is that it undermined most of those typicalities of Siraiki which serve as markers of its linguistic contrast with Panjabi, etymological as well as grammatical (cf. 6.6; cf. 7.14), because most of the dialects placed under Lahnda share witjh instead join Panjabi against these markers. The single fact that partly rescues Grierson is the continuous change in the linguistic demography on the eastern edge of Siraiki area which has pushed its boundary westward from Sahiwal to Khanewal. The change has become consolidated to the extent that the Siraiki movement hardly articulates any claims on these areas. For example no resentment was shown by Siraikis on the recent administrative partition of the districts of Sahiwal and Pakpatan from Multan division and their annexation

to Lahore division (cf. <u>Jang</u> London 20-11-1993). This change
makes it plausible to consider Grierson's assessments as
perhaps having been true in the past.

The term Lahnda is still popular among academics for
convenience. Masica has divided Lahnda into two halves,
making the Salt range a natural boundary between the plans of
'western Panjab' in the north and the region of 'linguistic
self-consciousness of the southern (= Central Pakistan) plans'
in the south, i.e. the Siraiki area (Masica 1991: p.18).

In their obsessive zeal with discovering classifying the
British categorized everything from trees and ponies to men
and their languages and marked them with attributes they
thought were universal. This, however, had a wide background
of orientalism in Britain. The British orientalists during
the late 18th century brought about the establishment in
Bengal of two important institutions, the Royal Asiatic
Society of Bengal (RASB, minus the 'Royal' in the later texts
of its publications, hence ASB) in 1784 and the Fort William
College in 1800 (Rahman 1996: pp.27-8; cf. ibid. 1997;
Shackle 1990: p.7). The first of these bodies, the ASB,
started publishing a journal of the same name, JASB, which
encouraged research on the languages of the subcontinent.

It was in this journal that Lieut Burton published his
notes entitled 'A grammar of Jataki, or Belochki dialect', the
first grammar of Siraiki in English and the second text
publication of the language, the first being the translation
of the Bible in the *Wooch* language one of the old names of
Siraiki, which was published in a variant of the Nagri
alphabet, in 1819 (Shackle 1983: p.5). Although it did not

appear in the title, 'Siraiki' was registered as one of the names of the language in the text of Burton's article. He commented on many grammatical aspects of the language afresh. For his own convenience, or else according to the chronological order of the British expeditions, he took Panjabi as the standard and Multani as its corrupted form, and then Jataki or Belochki, the varieties he found in Sind, as a corruption of the corruption. Frequent literal errors apart, e.g. 'Thang' and 'Tulaikha' for 'Jhang' and 'Zulaikha' respectively, his account of the works of Siraiki poetry available then includes some interesting titles such as the 'translation of _Divan-e Hafiz_', a famous Persian classic (Burton 1849: pp.84, 86,88 ff).

Burton's successors, privileged with access to more material and better standards and traditions of linguistic research to improve their work, enriched Siraiki studies with the most useful aspect of their research, the recording and preservation of folk songs, riddles, folk stories, especially their vocabulary. Among these successors were O'Brien (1881), Wilson (1899), Jukes (1900), Skemp (1917) and, above all Grierson, who before completion of his volumes of LSI pubilshed numerous articles in JASB on different aspects of the Indian dialects some of which were relevant to Siraiki, e.g. 'On pronominal suffixes in Kashmiri language' (Grierson 1896). Some of his conclusions, however, were not supported by later studies in the field; for instance, his idea of Dardic and Paeshacha as somewhat independent factors in the formation of the languages of the Indus valley (LSI 1927: p.168) seems to have lost appeal against the general theory

according to which Indo-Aryan is believed to have been altered in this region only by the dialects of the Iranian language family and some Dravidian remnants in its north-western confines (cf. Masica 1991: pp.34-5; cf. SSNP I).

The native researchers among speakers of the language, with the marked partiality of a group striving for identity, lay much emphasis on antiquity. They construct their identification of the language more on the basis of premodern Muslim records than on modern western works. Much weight is given to the references in the records of the Muslim historians and the biographies of saints and mystics from the 12th century onwards, the same material being subjected to competitive claims by the writers of different languages, Siraiki, Sindhi and Panjabi (cf. Haidari 1971: pp.285-6,268-9; Rashidi 1988: pp.53-4; Ilahi, M 1967: 'Forward'). In addition, the Persian-Siraiki texts used for formal religious education in the period of the later Mughals, which employ the term Hindi for Siraiki as for local language such as in *khaliq bari*, etc. (Haidari 1971: p.276; Wagha 1990: p.7), are also frequently referred to in order to establish Siraiki as language of instruction in the past.

Among the modern works on linguistics of the language, Smirnove (1975) and Shackle (1976) are as known among the natives as Bahl's French work is forgotten.

To Shackle (Shackle 1979: p.193):

-- an earlier composite literary language, based
on several of the dialects of present-day
Pakistan Panjab, was gradually replaced - during
the collapse of centralized imperial authority in
18th century - by at least two fairly distinct
literary vehicles with narrower dialectal bases,
a central language based on the Lahore area, and
a south-western based on the Multan area, also

224

cultivated to the south in Sind under the name
Siraiki, in parallel with Sindhi.

This collapse of centralized authority may also be considered
as a reason behind the loss of socio-political identity of the
Siraiki language and the region. An interesting piece of
linguistic evidence of this may be seen in Skemp (1917) where
some story tellers begin their tale with a phrase 'once, when
the country was attached to Delhi' (*hik vari mulkh dilli nal
ha*), implying that it was normal that the country was
independent or without a central authority at one time, and
was attached to the Sultanate of Delhi at another.

6.6 Relations actual and perceived to neighbouring languages

There has been much debate as to whether or not Siraiki
itself is a dialect of the much recognized Panjabi which,
after its recognition in India, was projected as the language
of the whole of an undivided Panjab by Panjabi writers and,
equally rebuffed by the Siraikis (Shackle 1979: pp.197-8; cf.
2.14). The 'language-dialect' debate having become more
complex in modern socio-linguistics (cf. Gumperz 1971: pp.3-
5), the following quotation captures the difficulty of
establishing absolute definitionss (Haugen 1972: p.239):

> In descriptive, synchronic sense "language" can
> refer either to a single linguistic norm, or to a
> group of related norms. In historical,
> diachronic sense "language" can either be a
> common language on its way to dissolution, or a
> common language resulting from unification. A
> dialect is then any one of the related norms
> comprized under the general name "language"
> historically the result of either divergence or
> convergence.

In the first, synchronic sense, both Panjabi and Siraiki can

be seen as languages which refer to their respective groups of related norms, and additionally, each claims to have the other in its related norms, Siraiki with reference to the past and Panjabi in the present. In the second, diachronic sense, one can speculate that Panjabi is a language that has resulted from the dissolution of the old 'Hindi' or 'Lahnda' (cf. LSI 1927: p.168), while Siraiki is emerging as a common language as a result of unification (of the norms such as Multani, Riasti, Thali, etc.).

Another option is to consider the issue in the light of the following scheme (Masica 1991: p.23):

> The meaning of the term 'language' are linked to that of the term 'dialect' in two common senses: 'In sense A, a dialect is a subvariety of a larger unit which is typically a language --. In sense B, a dialect is unwritten, while a language possesses a written "standard" and literature.'

The situation in the Indus region, and particularly that between Siraiki and Panjabi, can thus be concluded by saying that they are languages in sense B, i.e. they have come to fulfil the condition of possessing written standard varieties and literatures which conflict with relevant languages in sense A, the larger units, the latter being Panjabi in this case.

As far as the views of the intellectuals of other neighbouring languages are concerned, after the claims from Panjabi (6.2), it is Sindhis who extend the 'right of relationship' of their language towards Siraiki and this to indicate a political harmony between the two languages. Being careful on the Sindhi-Siraiki language debate, they only mention geo-historic relations between the two regions and their people (cf. 5.5). Probably seeing no linguistic

warranty from their languages, the Baloches and Pakhtuns do not show any fondness for such claims over Siraiki. Both, however, have been addressing it as a political issue which has the potential to extend into their territories, the Baloches the more (cf. ibid.).

In their comparative studies, Siraiki researchers decorate their registers with lists of loans from all languages having a possible relation with Siraiki, from the Manda and Dardic groups to Balochi, Pashto, Persian and Arabic, to show the richness of their language (cf. Rasulpuri 1980; Abdul Haq 1972). It is interesting to note that since the start of language consciousness, hardly any work by a native scholar, has endorsed any linguistic relationship of Siraiki with the language closest to it, Panjabi. Rather, argument is exhausted on establishing features that differentiate between the two languages (cf. ibid.; Wagha 1990: pp.55-69).

6.7   Internal divisions and standardization

In LSI (1919: pp.239-40), Lahnda is divided into three dialects: Southern, or standard, North-eastern and North-western. Because of his reliance on Wilson, Grierson declared the dialect spoken in the Doab of the then district of Shahpur as standard and listed the following as its subdialects:

(i)   'Standard proper' of Shahpur,

(ii)   the 'Multani', including the dialects spoken in Muzaffargarh, Dera Ghazi Khan, the northern part of Bahawalpur and by numerous migrants in Sind and

(iii)   'Thali' of Mianwali, etc.

227

Only the last two of the three subdialects of Grierson's
Lahnda, the Multani with all its subdialects and the Thali of
Mianwali, including the speech of Dera Ismail Khan, form the
whole of the language under discussion, the Siraiki of today.

Identical to the above is the division of the language
named as Lahndi by Smirnov (1975: p.22) into:

> -- two groups of dialects: 1) an extensive southern group
> (that of the plains), and 2) a relatively less important
> northern group (that of mountains) --.

Each then has further subdivisions. This allows us to exclude
his group '2)' of dialects, and consider group '1)', which is
further divided into 'a) Multani', 'b) Jatki)' and 'c) Thali'.
Again some reservations have to be expressed about his '1 b)
Jatki', which includes the dialects spoken in Gujranwala,
Gujrat and Sahiwal, etc. not considered to be part of the
Siraiki of today (cf. 6.5). Thus it is his group '1)' of the
dialects of Lahndi which we can identify as Siraiki, subject
to further division into dialects.

Individual complexities apart, the main relationship of
Siraiki with the region's neighbouring languages and dialects
is one of the two types. Either it co-exists in a bilingual
atmosphere, as it does with Sindhi, Balochi and Pashto on its
southern, western and north-western boundaries respectively,
or it merges into the neighbouring language through a mixed
dialect, as it does with Panjabi in the east and the Hindko
and Pothohari dialects in the north. This dichotomy roughly
reflects genetic connections. In the first case, the
correspondence and mutual influence is restricted to borrowing
in vocabulary, particularly with Balochi and Pashto, the
languages of Iranian family, more complex relationship being

its exchange with Sindhi. In the second case, the correspondence involves exchange in both vocabulary and grammar (cf. Wagha 1990: p.24).

A second thought that may be suggested to Shackle's (1976: pp.7-8) exhaustive distribution of 'Siraiki of Central Pakistan' into six varieties, Central), Southern, Sindhi, Northern, Jhangi and Shahpuri, is that the last two varieties may be merged and extended to all the intermediate dialects spoken in the *Bars* from District Sargodha across Pakpatan, which constitute a resistant buffer between Siraiki and Panjabi.

The identification of Siraiki is dependent on the recognition of its area of linguistic 'markedness', the special features in contrast to the 'universal' features that relate to its neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages but which it does not share). Its division into dialects should thus be mainly based on the alternations in the marked features in the speech of different parts of its area, rather than on the selection of the diversities of the universal ones. With this scheme, the distribution of dialects of Siraiki will be as follows:

(i)   Central (SrC.)

Spoken in the Districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh, Leiah, Multan and Bahawalpur, this variety preserves a maximum of the marked features: the implosives, the pronominal suffixes, the typical verbs, e.g. *jullan* 'to go', and the plural oblique inflection -*en*, which appears as -*an* and -*en*/-*an* in other dialects (cf. 6.8).

(ii)   Southern (SrS.)

This dialect is marginalized between the Central and the Sindhi dialects in the Districts of Rajanpur and Rahimyar Khan, with Sadiqabad as its centre. It is characterized by substitution of the vowel *e* for the sequence *ae* in Central, e.g. *ge* 'went' against *gae*, a regular pronunciation of short e and o, e.g. *gor* 'solid brown sugar', *ghen* 'take' against Central *gur* and *ghin* respectively, the syllabic reduction of the typical glide *y* to zero quantity, e.g. *gyā* (*g,ya*) 'gone' against Central *giya* (*gi,yā*), and the borrowing from Sindhi in vocabulary, etc.

(iii)   Sindhi Siraiki (SSr.)

This variety is spoken bilingually with Sindhi all over Sind except in the extreme south. Besides the prominence of vowels, i.e. scarcity of geminates, and the 'vowel ending', e.g. Sr *latt* 'leg' > S *lata* 'foot' < *latta* (7.1/40), a marked feature of Sindhi, and a tendency towards retroflex *t* and *d*, e.g. Sr tre 'three' > S *tre* < *tráyah* (7.1/35) and Sr *drākh* 'raisin' > S *drākha* < *drákṣä-* (.71/22), there is a casual alternation of the grammatical forms in the speech of every day use mixing with Sindhi.

(iv)   Northern variety (SrN.)

This dialect is spoken in the Districts of Dera Ismail Khan and northern parts of the region Thal with Mianwali known for prominence of the type. Besides its preservation of the sequence *ah* elsewhere generally raized to *aeh*, e.g. *bah*, 'sit', *rah* 'stay', *lah* 'descend' against *baeh, raeh, laeh* respectively, and the 'post tonal rounding' of vowels in singular nouns, this dialect casually surrenders some Siraiki typicalities for Panjabi, e.g. Sr pronoun *ūnh* 'he/that, to

him' for P *us/use*, etc. (cf. Shackle 1992).

(v)   Eastern (SrE.)

    This dialect, spoken in the narrow border zone between

Siṛaiki and Panjaḅi in the eastern parts of the 'Bars'

roughly, cannot be counted purely Siraiki, but is rather a

linguistic buffer between the two languages. It shares with

Siraiki some major features such as the vowel pattern, the

implosives (all the voiced stops including the contrast

between retroflex and dental are pronounced in the implosive

form in Jhangi, for instance) (cf. 6.8) and the typical

Siraiki verbs, opts, like some other dialects of Siraiki such

as Thali, for the Panjabi pluralizing suffix *-an* and the

postposition *nūṇ* 'to' against general Sr *-ēṇ* and *kūṇ*

respectively, and makes scant use of pronominal suffixes (cf.

Shackle 1976: pp.7-8; Smirnov 1975: pp.49-52,122).

6.8   Standardization and script: implosives as a badge of

**   identity**

    The importance of the implosive consonants to Siraiki

linguistic consciousness is indicated by the following

dialogue which often takes place between ordinary Siraikis and

their Panjabi friends.

"Say *ḏu*"

"*ḏu*"

"No, you are not a Siraiki."

    The implosives, i.e. those stops whose airstream

mechanism involves a momentary intake of breath before final

release (Shackle 1976: p.22), were noticed in some of the

Indo-Aryan dialects even before the class of sounds was fully

recognized and defined by the philologists working on this
region. Jukes (1900: p.v) had noticed the contrast in his
'Jatki or Western Panjabi' in the orthography of his
dictionary and had allotted four of these with additional
letters marked diacritically but without any phonetic
explanation of these. Simplistic was Grierson's estimation of
these as '--in fact sounded as double letters are pronounced
in other parts of India --' (LSI 1919: p.22; borrowed in
Smirnov 1975: p.32 as 'long double consonants'). Then a brief
note on the subject appeared in BSOS by Bailey in connection
with implosives in Sindhi as follows (Bailey 1921-23: p.835):

> The Sindhi implosives are four in number, all unaspirated
> sonants, a bilabial, a guttural, a retroflex tongue-tip
> palatal and a palatalized blade-front-dento-alveolar.
> Three of them correspond to the North Indian sounds
> usually written *b*, *g* and *d*. The fourth is supposed to
> correspond *j*, but is actually a palatalized *d*. The
> ordinary *d* is not found.

Besides his selection of a more durable term,
'implosive', this note of Bailey looks like a epitome to the
detailed analysis of 'Sindhi recursives' provided by Turner
(cf. Turner 1923-25). According to Turner, Stack (1852) was
first to notice the existence of peculiar sounds in Sindhi,
while writing his dictionary of that language; he was followed
by Trumpp (1872) (cf. 6.2). By Turner's time the basic
mechanism of articulation of these sounds, i.e. the momentary
backward thrust of the airstream at the start of voicing of
the stops, had been recognized. Turner emphasized the
recursive behaviour of the sounds as 'glottal closure' and
attempted an historical analysis of his four 'Sindhi
recursives' *g̲, j̲, d̲, b̲* as that these corresponded to, or were
derived from, initial *g-*, *j-* (*dy-*), *d-*, *b-* (*dv-*) in Sanskrit

as the sole replacement of the latter. According to him, with the exception of *d* as part of Sanskrit *nd*, Sindhi should not have any plosive corresponding to the implosives in its original sounds. He explained the appearance of many plosives in Sindhi as deriving either from loan words mostly from Arabic-Persian, or as the result of process of dissimilation, for instance, to avoid reappearance of implosive in a closed sequence (Turner 1923-25: pp.305-6, 313).

Examining Siraiki, this interpretation seems to be true with some further adjustment of the rule. Siraiki implosives show some patterns such as that these pair with -, i.e. precede or follow - frontal (labial, dental, alveolar or retroflex) consonants but avoid, or are plosivized when in the vicinity of, velar or uvular consonants, thus *bal* 'strength, ability' < *bála-* (7.1/41) versus *bukkh* 'hunger' < *bubhuksā-* (7.1/198). But Siraiki does not strictly avoid occurrence of implosives in a closed sequence, such as original *dabba* 'spotted' < *dabba-2* (7.1/199) versus *dabba* 'box', a loan word from P., original *dabla* 'jewel box' < *dabba-1* (7.1/200). Turner's (1923-25: p.308) investigation of *j*, an important phonological variable in Siraiki such as in *pujjan ~ puggan* to be completed, to reach' < *pūryáte* (7.1/201), showed that this sound of Sanskrit rendered dual derivation in Sindhi as Skt. *j* and *y* > S *j* and *j* respectively. This helps in understanding many *j/j* irregularities in Siraiki, some justifiable as being loan words, such as *jin* 'AP. demon', others tested according to the rule such as *jandra* 'lock' < *yantrá-* (7.1/160) versus *jana* 'person' < *jána-* (7.1/37).

Masica (1991: p.209) then finds the roots of the Sindhi

implosives in Middle Indo-Aryan as that MIA *g-, -gg-, j-, jj-, d-, -dd-, d-,   -dd-, b-, -bb-* became the implosives $\underset{\sim}{g}$, $\underset{\sim}{j}$, $\underset{\sim}{d}$, $\underset{\sim}{b}$ in Sindhi and neighbouring languages while new normal stops arose from other sources including loan words.

A study with a clear focus on the implosives in Siraiki is Bahl (1936), a thesis in French. In justification of his term 'injectif' against Bailey's 'implosive' and Turner's 'recursive'(ibid.), Bahl (ibid. pp.4-14) projects further the point of momentary intake of breath in the articulation of the implosives. Besides investigation of the mechanism of implosive through contemporary techniques of speech analysis such as the use of palatograms (cf. Crystal), the derivation of each of the implosives from various sounds of Sanskrit is shown in detail. An important point of this study is the introduction of the fifth implosive, the dental $\bar{d}$ in Multani raising the number of implosives from four to five (thus requiring separate marking of $\bar{d}$ versus $\underset{\sim}{d}$) by making reference to the Jhangi dialect, as follows (Bahl 1936: pp.27,29):

1   bilabial injective $\underset{\sim}{b}$,
2   dental alveolar injective $\underset{\sim}{j}$,
3   dental injective $\bar{d}$,
4   pre palatal, pre retroflex injective $\underset{\sim}{d}$,
5   velar injective $\underset{\sim}{g}$.

As far as the implosives in Jhangi are concerned, this dialect alone possesses implosivization of all voiced stops (cf. Shackle 1976: p.23), a rule not applicable to the whole of the Multani (Siraiki) language.

One can also mention the occurrence of some implosives in Sulaemani Balochi, a dialect spoken on the borders of Siraiki, for instance $\underset{\sim}{d}$ in *gu$\underset{\sim}{d}$a* 'adv. then'.

Implosives have phonemic value (lexical properties) in

main Siraiki and Sindhi but not in Jhangi, that is some of the plosive-implosive contrasts in the first two languages stand for phonemic (semantic) contrasts as shown in Tab.6/3, but Jhangi has no contrasts.

Tab.6/3   Plosive-implosive phonemic contrasts

contrast	word with plosive	word with implosive
b vs ɓ	bārā 'heavy'	ɓārā 'hole'
j -- ʄ	jālā 'shelf'	ʄālā 'web'
d -- ɗ	ḍabba 'box'	ɗabba 'speckled'
g -- ɠ	gol 'round'	ɠol 'search'

In confirmation of Turner, a general investigation in Siraiki reveals that vocabulary items with the plosives corresponding to the four implosives, although frequent, are restricted to comparatively modern vocabulary, mostly Arabic-Persian loans such as *jahhel* 'ignorant' < Ar. *jāhil*. In original Indo-Aryan vocabulary they are comparatively less frequent.

The frequent occurrence of glide *y*, which is different from 'the semi vowel *y*', represents the weaker *e/I* occurring only as the first member of a rising diphthong and although weak, is retained for having semantic value (Shackle 1976: pp.14-15), such as in *vēndēṇ* 'prpt. you go' versus *vēndyēṇ* 'adverbial, while going' (cf. ibid: p.84) < *vañaṇ* 'to go' < VRAÑJATI (7.1/58).

6.81   Vowel and nasalization

Vowel contrasts, e.g. prominence of peripheral as against shorter articulation of the centralized, correspondence between accented and unaccented and opposition between front

rounded and back unrounded vowels, add to the typicality of
Siraiki phonology (cf. Shackle 1976: pp.12-3). Vowels are
also frequently nasalized as a result of nasal harmony both
progressive and regressive (ibid: pp.17-8), and the occurrence
of nasal consonants, e.g. ṅ, ñ, ñj (ibid: p.21), provides
Siraiki with space for phonemic alternations.

Vowel involve various complexities, the more so when they
perform as agents of syntactic variations. Syntactic
contrasts are formed through contrasts in vowel quantity, i.e.
long versus short, and quality, i.e. back versus front, such
as in mūl 'root' < mūla- (7.1/202) versus mul 'price' < mūlya-
(7.1/159), and marēndāṅ '1p. sg. prpt. I beat' versus marīndāṅ
'ibid. passive I am to be beaten'.

The synthetic syntax of Siraiki generates economical
although in certain cases ambiguous sentences, as occurs with
less standardized colloquial speech. One of the prominent
examples is the passive stem of transitive verbs. As against
passive sentences constructed by adding two auxiliary forms of
dena/lena and jana to the main verb in Urdu (and Panjabi),
e.g. mār dia gia (P. mār ditta gia) 'murdered', Siraiki
replaces the first auxiliary in the past, and both in the
present and future tenses, with inflections -īj (sg. past
part.), -īnde (sg. prpt.) and -īsi (sg. future), thus marīj
giya, marīnde and marīsi < māraṇ 'to kill' < māryátīl (7.1/5).

A transformation seems to be taking place from more
synthetic constructions in the classical poetry, the rural
colloquial and general spoken speech to more analytic
construction in modern poetry, urban speech and the written
form of the language. The change towards simplification is

particularly reflected in the use of analytic forms of pronouns replacing the pronominal suffixes ambiguous in voice and in subject-object specifications, and recovery of elisions, for instance that of *h* in the forms of the auxiliary *hona*, as shown in Tab.6/4. An exception is the more conscious group of writers in rural areas or with a rural background in urban areas, a group responsible for the language revival (cf.8.1; cf. 8.2; cf. 6.3).

Tab.6/4 Analytic constructions compared with synthetic parallel forms

(a)   Pronominal suffixes replaced with pronouns

Old synthetic forms	Modern analytic forms
dil kītim lāchār (for --*kīta he maekūṇ*) 'heart has compelled me' Farid (1944: 54/9)	*asāṇ āpkūṇ chīṇa chīṇa chā kīte* 'We have shattered ourselves into pieces' (9.8(i)/9)

(b)   Recovery of *h* elision in auxiliary *hona*

| -- *kūṛe qissin* (for --*qisse hin* 'are false stories' (9.6(i)/4) | *Iṇ qil'e vich ḍalīkāṇ pae gae hiṇ*) (against synthetic, -- *gen*) 'cracks have appeared in this fort' (cf. 6.3) |

6.82   Script

The script adopted for writing Siraiki has many drawbacks and much has to be done to bring it to standard. The mere Urdu alphabet which the speakers learn at schools does not fulfil the requirements. The Siraiki modifications, though sufficiently publicized by the activists as many of the publications appear with a table of additional Siraiki letters given in the beginning, are cared little even by many good writers. Inconsistency of spelling becomes additionally

problematic when Urdu words are tried to be written according to Siraiki pronunciation which invites criticism of both the Siraiki language purists and the guards of Urdu and Arabic-Persian tradition. In this the case of Siraiki resembles closely with that of standardization of Nepali where Hindi version of Devanagari alphabet is promoted at the cast of some linguistic features of the language. Siraiki, however, is in contrast to Nepali in that standardization of the latter has support of the articulate majority and the state (cf. Hutt 1988: pp.50-3). Besides, the orthographic and linguistic standardization of Siraiki seems more connected with the politics of identity and antiquity.

The claims of Siraiki writers about the antiquity of the Siraiki language have mainly focused on the language and the writing system and script. In regard to the language, any reference to the area in history books was made use of in developing the history of the language, for instance, the existence and development of the language as Siraiki since 729, the year of the political split (of the Arab colony) of the Indus valley (Abdul Haq 1977 a: p.5-6). As a point of difference of Siraiki from Panjabi, it was the Persian-Arabic influence on the origin of Siraiki that was emphasized through references showing that the Persian language was the speech of the cities of Multan and Mansura (an ancient Arab town in Sind, non-existent now) at the time of Ghaznvid's invasion of the region at the turn of the 10th century and was official language of Multan even during British rule (Haidari 1971: p.262).

As far as script is concerned, all sources that referred

to any archival aspect of any part of the Indus valley,
Gandhara, Mohenjodaro or Harappa, or even to the Indo-Aryan
entity as a whole, were interpreted as direct references to
Siraiki. There are some popular references utilized in
establishing the antiquity of the Siraiki language and script,
such as a small piece of writing titled 'Talk about Sind'
(*Al-kalam-u 'ala-al-sind*) by the Arab historian Ibn al Nadim'
(d 990) which gives a sketch in words and forms of the writing
system which he observed during his journey of Sind (Nadim
1978: pp.27-8). Similarly some modern claims about the
deciphering of the seals of Harappa such as by Parpola (1984),
and the discoveries of much wider prospects such as the links
found between the excavations of Mitanni (Syria, 1500-1300 BC)
and the Indo-Aryan overall (Masica 1991: pp.35-6), are taken
as if specifically about Siraiki or the script in order to
establish their antiquity (cf. Rasulpuri 1980: pp.61 ff;
Lighari 1981: pp.5-6). A typical example of how the view of
'local antiquity' of the script is strengthened by selective
use of available material is a special chapter on 'Script' in
Wagha (1990: pp.11-22) which establishes subordination of the
Persian script to the 'script' of the seals of Harappa. By
others, it was claimed and happily believed that a well-formed
modern Siraiki primer (*qa'ida*) which marked the four
implosives and two nasal consonants of Siraiki was written and
published by one Qazi Razi as early as in 1893 (Rasulpuri
1976: pp.9-11).

Historically, both the major script of South Asia,
Brahmi, and Persian were applied to Siraiki, the first by the
Hindus in its local form called *Landa* and, more commonly,

239

Karikki, use of which has ceased since the partition, and the second by the Muslims in recording mainly poetic texts (cf. Masica 1991: pp.143-4; Shackle 1983: p.5; Rasulpuri 1980: pp.66 ff). (Here we prefer the term Persian script over 'Arabic', as appears in many texts, it being a less indirect root of the versions applied to the writing of Indo-Aryan languages including Siraiki)

Reference to a distinct Siraiki alphabet in the Persian script cannot be traced back before the appearance of Jukes's dictionary of the language in 1900. With the help of a local calligrapher, Jukes formulated a writing convention to mark almost all the additional sounds of the language, entailing the development of a set of diacritics for transliteration into the Roman script which was done as a basic priority in Jukes and then oversimplified in LSI. Nearest to the form rendered by Jukes appear the subsequent inventories such as that produced by a script committee of the courtiers of the former state of Bahawalpur, responsible for the convention used in the standard publication of the *Divān-e-Farid* (1944) and the standardized current alphabet as shown in Tab.6/5 (cf. 6.3).

Tab.6/5   A comparative set of additional letters of the Siraiki alphabet

(a) Persian/Arabic			(b) Roman	
Sindhi	Jukes	Modern	Jukes	LSI
------	------	------	-----	---
			b	bb
			j	jj
			d	dd
			g	gg
			nj	$ñ$
			nr	n

(cf. LSI 1919: p.335)

A second script committee was constituted during the
Multan Conference 1975 but failed to reach a consensus. A
third, which included Mahr Abdul Haq, A Rasulpuri, M H Dahar,
Shafi Muhammadi and the present writer, and was convened by
Khwaja Farid Academy met in Multan at the residence of Umar
Ali Khan Baloch in 1979 to agree finally on a diacritically
marked set of five letters which has gradually become standard
(Viewpoint IV:49 1979: p.24). The major versions of both the
diacritically marked Persian letters and the corresponding
Roman forms are shown in Tab.A (Notes on Methodology).

The canvassing by the Sindhi writers for the adoption of
Sindhi, the over-modified form of the Arabic script, was
resisted for technical reasons, i.e. its clash with Urdu
script, the school script in the Siraiki region of Panjab, in
marking retroflex nasal ṇ as ݨ which is confused with
retroflex ṭ as ٹ in the Urdu character, etc. (Raport 1975;
Wagha 1979). Shackle (1977 b: pp.391-2) includes in his text
and footnotes all major references to the history of language
planning in the development of the Siraiki script up until
1975.

The actual problem pertaining to standardization of the
script is the failure of the language being to attract
language planning by the government. The Report of the
National Education Commission included a proposal for
preparation and adoption by the government of a uniform script
- Roman, Persian or Bengali, or more than one of these - in
order to accommodate all the languages of the country (Report
1959: p.302; cf. Ishqi 1990; cf. 3.1), but it was never
considered for implementation.

The problems of the Persian script reported in the modern languages that borrow from this alphabet are related to two main deficiencies in its basic Arabic version: its letters representing Arabic sounds, and the limited number of symbols (three) available for vowels (Eastman 1983: p.20). This poor marking of vowels becomes more problematic in Siraiki than in Urdu or Panjabi because Siraiki is more demanding of vowel symbols to mark the many types of vowel sequences and consonant-vowel combinations typical of this language. Some of these problems can be summarized as follows:

(i)   Nasalized vowels

The frequent nasalization of vowels in Siraiki (cf. 6.81) suffers from lack of regular marking because of its absence in the writing convention of Urdu. For instance, apnān 'one's own' is scribed in Urdu as equal to apna and in Siraiki apnā/apnān, hence Siraiki nān 'no, not' in Jilani (8.1(i)/12), is nā in Ahmadani (83(i)/18). Similarly, it is common that in certain Indo-Aryan languages nj and ng > ñ and n respectively (Masica 1991: p.97). In Siraiki such contrasts are lexical except in the case of ran 'colour' < ranga-1 (7.1/213) which is also spoken as rang. But, as against Sindhi, the modified Siraiki alphabet has no letters for ñ and n, thus written as nj and ng.

(ii)   The glide y

The only provision for marking diphthongal y (cf. 6.81) is the medial form of letter yae, i.e. ⨪, already ambiguous in being used for both types of element i, front or back. Letter clusters are not permitted in the script (Persian marks geminates, etc. with a diacritical mark called tashdīd, and

that too casually), i.e. ـبـ ـبـ is not allowed, glide *y* is
marked casually with a *hamza* .ﻉ. such as وَیِنْدْ *vaendyen*.

(iii)   Short vowels

    The lack of letters for short vowels, although
compensated by the seldom used diacritical marks (cf. Shackle
1990: p.47), causes ambiguity in the written forms of certain
Siraiki words which is resolvable only through context, and if
that too is unspecified the ambiguity becomes unresolvable.
Some typical cases of this category are *hn* .ﮨﻦ and *bhṛa* ﺑﮭﮍ
ambiguous for possible interpretations as *hin* 'are' and *han*
'were', and *bhiṛa* 'make (him) fight' and *bhaṛa* 'give a hand'
respectively.

(iv)   Pronunciation of assimilated Arabic-Persian loan words
is often very different from their pronunciation in the
original languages which the written forms represent,
particularly in the case of words of Arabic such as *'ilm*
'knowledge', is form for a word pronounced *ilm*. This brings
the contrast of the written versus the spoken much more
strongly in Siraiki than in Urdu, as shown in Tab.6/6
following:

Tab.6/6   Written forms versus pronunciation

AP word in writing	Siraiki morphemic form
qasm 'oath, swearing'	*qassam*
i'tebār 'trust'	*itbār*
maut 'death'	*maot*

    As far as the convention of transliteration of Siraiki
into Roman is concerned, it follows, partly, the traditional
transcription pattern for South Asian languages.
Historically, a convention was set down by the Council of the

JASB in 1897 and all contributors were asked to abide by the convention (JASB LXVI pp.1-2). The table for transliteration of texts from the Persian script included 10 vowels and 47 consonants with few symbols including 'ain 'the pharyngeal a/i', ghuna 'nasalized vowel' and hamza 'diacritic for diphthong'. No symbols were created for implosives. The tradition seems to be followed regularly with partial deviations, i.e. with modified conventions set in each major work, for instance, central a is marked as Λ and implosives are marked in double letters in LSI (Tab.633(1), and in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) in Masica (1991: p.xv). An interesting paradox in the transliteration convention is that where Persian and Nagari scripts transcribe all the dental, alveolar voiced stops of Roman (English), i.e. t and d, by interpreting them as retroflex, as ت ट and د ड respectively, the transliteration convention reserves these Roman letters for the non-retroflex stops of South Asian languages.

With these observations in the background, a table of the modern Siraiki alphabet and the set of Roman letters used for transliteration are shown in Tab.A (Notes on Methodology).

CHAPTER SEVEN

LANGUAGE PATTERNS IN VOCABULARY

Some notes about this Chapter

, In the section of origin of Siraiki vocabulary connection of a word to modern Siraiki is established by reference to its appearance in one of the following sources:

(a)   Extract in Chapter 8 and 9,

(b)   _Divan-e-Farid_ 1944, henceforth Farid

(c)   A Siraiki text or a known piece of Siraiki folk literature,

(d)   dictionary of Jukes (1900), the glossaries of O'Brien (1903), henceforth O'Brien, and Wilson (1899),

(e)   thesis of Bahl, P (1936), henceforth Bahl, and if none of the above sources is referred it would mean that,

(f)   that word is locate under Lahnda, under relevant head word in CIDIAL.

Where CDIAL fails to show a required Siraiki version of a word under Lahnda, a nearest version under any other language is considered with reference to that language given. Sometimes the required root of a Siraiki word is not a headword in CDIAL. This, however, will be easily located in the detail of the head word whose number is given. In the case of headwords taken from CDIAL or Bahl, original orthography of the texts including such diacritical marks which serve distinctions rlevaht to the argument in this work is retained. In some cases, it is different from the convention of Romanization adopted in this thesis hence _machch_ may appear as _macc_ and _machhchh_ as _machch_ in CDIAL versions.

The CDIAL headwords with asterisk (meant for unattested

Sanskrit origin) are reproduced so without comment. In the
rest of the entries headed with asterisk it is meant that the
Siraiki origin of the word is not confirmed in glossaries, or
that the form is ungrammatical.

7.1   Original words

The reliable works on etymology do not address Siraiki of
today and same is the case with CDIAL, one of our main sources
for testing Siraiki vocabulary in this chapter. The relevant
abbreviations of CDIAL, i.e. mult. for Multani and Srk. for
Siraiki appear scarcely while the latter, i.e. Siraiki is
reduced to vocabulary it contains as a dialect of Sindhi. The
language is however covered mainly under Lahnda, and Sindhi and
partly under Panjabi, and Siraiki etymons can be classified by
an exercise of deduction, for instance, from Sindhi, by
replacement of *tr, dr* and *r* with *tr, dr* and *l* respectively,
e.g. S *tre* 'three', Sr. *tre* < *tráyah* (7.1/35), S *drãkh*
'raisin', Sr. *d(a)rãkh* < *drákṣā* (7.1/22) and S *vãri* 'sand', Sr.
vãli (9.1(i)/4) < *vãlukã-* (7.1/214), by reduction of vowel
ending and addition of stress (gemination) where relevant, e.g.
S *kapu* 'cut, breach', Sr. *kapp* < *kálpa* 'capable' (7.1/97).

For the classification of vocabulary below, all the words
belonging to Indo-Aryan group are titled as 'Original' as
against those from Arabic and Persian, etc. classified as
'Loans', two main heads under which the vocabulary of modern
Siraiki is to be examined here. For this, the procedure
adopted for testing of original words includes:

(a)   selecting, from different texts, reliably Siraiki words
        to be tested or used as examples,

(b)   finding the root and seeing as whether the modern word
        is exclusively Siraiki, or shared with Panjabi with the
        help of standard source of Indo-Aryan languages, in
        this case, CDIAL (and Bahl),

(c)   assessing through simple observation of match with
        original in form and meaning as whether the Siraiki
        version is *tatsama* type, i.e. nearest to the Sanskrit,
        or Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) form or *tadabhava* type, i.e. has
        changed considerably but connection with Old Indo-Aryan
        root is recognizable, in many cases derived from Middle
        Indo-Aryan, i.e. Prakrit or Pali,

(d)   formulating some rules of derivation, if there is
        recurrence of a pattern (in the case of direct
        derivation from Sanskrit mainly), and

(e)   seeing whether these rules, or any grammatical,
        inflectional/suffixational elements of Old Indo-Aryan
        are, or can be generative in the modern word formation
        of the language.

7.11   Problems

Some of the problems to be faced in the investigation of
original Siraiki vocabulary are more or less common to those
encountered for other modern Indo-Aryan languages, others stem
from the fact mentioned elsewhere, i.e. the previous neglect of
the language. Those pertinent to the source language, i.e.
Sanskrit are that the 'head-words', i.e. the root words,
involve inconsistency. 'In some cases an older form has been
replaced by an analogical creation' (CDIAL Introduction), in
some others, many of the head-words are retained, 'for the

convenience of presentation, in an earlier phonetic dress'
(ibid.) hence their orthographic form becomes a hindrance in
finding link. For the amalgamation of Old Indo-Aryan with
Dravidian and other languages some modern words 'may be
collected under more than one head-word' (ibid.). For
instance;

Sr. *kāti* 'knife' can be traced as < *kārti-, *kartiyā, karta-2,
kartá-3 (7.1/220), and *kattaṇ* 'to spin' as from < *kartati-2,
kartana-2 (7.1/221) and so on.

'Lahnda' is a mix of dialects which have many phonetic and
grammatical contrasts, so a word taken from one dialect may not
exactly match in form or meaning with a similar etymon from
another dialect. For example, many Siraiki words instead of
being marked with implosives appear with plosives and most of
the infinitives are shown as terminating in -uṇ, (SrN.) as
against -aṇ (Sr. general). A still more serious problem is
that a number of the Siraiki entries in CDIAL are only found
under Panjabi or Sindhi such as;

Sr. *ruchaṇ* 'to taste pleasant for eating' (Ju) shown as P *rucṇā*
'to be liked, be pleasing' < *rucayatē* 'is pleasant' (7.1/222),
and Sr. *mañjh* 'buffalo' (9.5(i)/6) shown as S *mañjha* < *mahyā*
(7.1/223).

In common etymons, in many cases, CDIAL prefers reference
to versions of the dialects other than those matching with the
dialect under discussion. The versions marked under mult. are
taken from O'Brien who did not mark implosives for instance.
All this results in a deficiency of marking of the Siraiki
pronunciation. For a Siraiki entry to be comparatively
accurate in consonants, and if it includes one of the implosive

stop sounds, it is as optimistic to search for it in the
section of index thence for Sindhi (and Gujrati, etc.) in CDIAL
as in any Sindhi dictionary, for instance;

Sr. bann, bandh 'small dam' found as S bandhu 'embankment',
bano m 'small bank to keep back water' < bandhá- (7.1/224).

7.12   Derivation patterns

Although it is difficult to assess correctly the relation
between the modern Siraiki and the root words in Old Indo-Aryan
and drawing rules of derivation still hypothetical; it is
perhaps for a comparative antiquity in this language that an
element of coherence of etymological patterns between certain
categories of words and their roots can be seen. This we may
call as 'Derivation patterns' of various forms of original
Siraiki vocabulary derived from Old, or Middle Indo-Aryan.

The root words of Sanskrit in CDIAL appear in two
grammatical forms generally: nouns, in stem-form usually
terminating in -a and verbs, present tense 3rd singular
participle mostly, inflected with -ate, -ati, -yati or -ayati.
It can further be said that Sanskrit transitive verbs mostly
end in -ayati (-yati), and provide roots for the same category
of Siraiki verbs particularly the causative formed with
inflection -āv- and -a-aṇ, while other Sanskrit inflections,
i.e. -ati and -ate, quite instable in the contrasts of 'voice'
and transitive off/on, too show some pattern for Siraiki
derivations, for instance;

Sr. balan intr. 'to burn' (Ju), prpt. balde 'burns' < dvalati
(7.1/225) as against bālan tr. 'to burn' (Ju), prpt. balēnde
'kindles' < *dvālayati (7.1/226).

This is further confirmed in *sambhaln* 'to restrain oneself' and *sambhālaṇ* 'to support, uphold, restrain' < *sámbharati* 'brings together, prepares, rolls up' -- 2. *sambhārayati* 'causes to bring together' (7.1/215) {respectively}. In some cases the derivations show remotest relation with root such as *ḏe, ḏo* in e'*ḏe* 'this way', o'*ḏe* 'that way' (*des* > *ḏeh* > *ḏe*) {<} *dís-* (7.1/216) but in other a continuous match can be seen not only between a single derivation and the root but also in many progressive forms for instance *addh* 'half' < *ardha-*, *adhvār* 'half' < **ardhapāta-* and *addhāi* 'two and a half' < *ardhatrtīya* (7.1/217,218,219) and so on.

The overall regularity between Sanskrit roots and the morphemic change in Siraiki can be seen as following;

(a) Skt. *-ayati* > Sr. *-av-* caus. or morphemic;

(1) *charāvaṇ* (Ju), prpt. *charēnḏe*, L *chāraṇ* 'to herd cattle', < *chārāyati* 'causes to move, shakes' (4760).

(2) *basāvāṇ* (Ju) 'to overcome', L *bhasavan* , < *bhráśyati-* 'falls' (9654).

(3) *chabban, chabāvaṇ* 'to chew' < *charvāti, charvayāti* (Bahl p.58).

(4) *khāvaṇ* 'to eat', *khavāvaṇ* caus. 'to cause to eat' (JuU) < *khádati* 'chews' -- caus. *khādayati* (3865).

(b) Skt. *-yati* tr. > Sr. tr. infinitive *-aṇ, -a-aṇ*, prpt. *-ēnḏe* (past part. *-ēnḏa*, etc.). Except for intrusion of the nasal, a latter development, followed by the rule that Sanskrit unvoiced stops become voiced in Siraiki, Sindhi and Panjabi when preceded by nasal (Masica 1991: p.203), thus *t* > *d,* the Siraiki forms are nearer to the

original in consonant, vowel sequence as compared to H -
ta and P *-da, -de,* etc.

(5) *māraṇ* 'to beat, kill', pares. part. *marēnde* > *māryáti* 1
     'kills' (10066), cf. *māraṇ* 'to die', prpt. *marde*
     'dies' < *maratē* 'will die' (9871).

(6) *dassaṇ*, 'to tell', prpt. *dasēnde* < Pa. *dassēti* <
     darśáyati 'shows' (6210)

(7) *visāraṇ* 'to forget' (intr. *visran*), prpt. *visrēnde*
     < *vismārayati* 'causes to forget' (12023).

(8) *baddhaṇ* 'to tie', prpt. *badhēnde,* < *badhyáte,*
     badhnáte (Bahl p.57)

By adding, to the above rules, the known precept that in
many forms Skt. *s* > IA *h,* we get rule (c);

(c) Skt. *-sayati, -sati* > Sr. *-áhaṇ, -ahaṇ,* respectively;

(9) {*trahāvaṇ* 'to frighten animal'}, S *trāhṇu* 'to frighten,
     startle' < *trāsayati* 'makes tremble, frightens' (6014),
     cf. *trahaṇ* 'to be timid' < *trásati* 'trembles, is afraid'
     (6006).

(10) {*lahāvan*} *lāhaṇ* 'to take down' < *lāsáyati* 'makes
     slippery, makes slip' (11042), cf. *lahaṇ* 'to descend' <
     lasati2 'is sticky, slips, slips down, descends'
     (10994).

(11) *bahan* 'to sit' < *vásati* 'stays, dwells' (11435), cf.
     {*vasṇek, vāsi* 'inhabitant', *-vās* in compounds
     'inhabitant of -'}, Pa. *-vāsin-*, Pk. *vāsi-* in compounds
     'staying in' < *vāsin-* 'inhabiting' (11605).

Typical are the alternations of Skt. *b* with Sr. (and S) *b*
and *b.* As against Hindi and to some extent P, Sr. retains Skt.
v mostly and *b* scarcely or always when aspirated, e.g. *vasti*

'village' (7.1/110), *bukkh* 'hunger' < *bubhukṣā-* (7.1/198) and
bhēṇ 'sister' < *bhaginī-* (7.1/60) respectively, but *b* is mostly
altered with *ḇ* as in *ḇudh* 'sense' < *buddhī-* (7.1/152), etc.
(cf. Masica 1991: p.203).

(d)   Skt. *dv-* 'two, second, etc.' > Sr. *ḇ-*

(12)   *ḇiya* 'other, second, else, further' (Ju), L *ḇiā* <
        dvitíya- 'second' (6680).

(13)   *ḇiyár, bëvar* 'suit of two garments' < **divivaraka-* ibid.
        (6686)

(14)   *ḇihāṇ* m 'colt' < *dvihāyana-* 'two years old' (6689).

(e)   Skt. *-sāti, -sata, -sta* > Sr. past. participle *-uttha*.

(15)   *kuṭṭha* 'killed, slaughtered' < *kuṣāti* '*strikes, *kills'
        (3369).

(16)   *vuṭṭha* 'rained' < *vṛṣṭá-* 'ibid.' (12087).

(17)   *muṭṭha* 'robbed' < Pk. *muṭṭha,* 'ibid' < *muṣṭa-* 'stolen'
        (10220).

(18)   *ruṭṭha* 'angry, annoyed' (Ju) < Pk. *ruṭṭha* 'ibid' <
        ruṣṭa-2 'ibid' (10791)

(f)   Skt. *-rk-, -rg-, -rd-* > Sr. *-kk-, -gg-, -dd-*
        respectively {i.e. Skt. approximant + non-labial stop >
        Sr. geminate} such as *akk* 'a plant' < *arká-2* (7.1/227),
        aggh 'market price' < *arghá-* (7.1/228) and *addh, addha*
        'half' < *ardhá-* (7.1/229)

7.13   Some etymological contrasts with Panjabi and Sindhi

        It seems as if the linguistic difference within different
Indo-Aryan dialects also lies partly in their choice of
derivation from various Old Indo-Aryan/Middle Indo-Arya roots
in two ways:

(i)   Some languages tend to revive Old Indo-Aryan versions
        such as H *prārthana* 'wish, prayer' as against Pk.
        patthana (Masica 1991: p.67) (or to retain the same such
        as. Sr.). Others show a tendency for Prakrit derivations
        such as Panjabi as we see in the Panjabi-Siraiki
        contrasts, e.g. in Panjabi *dākh* 'raisin' < Pk. *dakkhā-*,
        appears as Sr. *drākh* < Skt. *drákṣā* (7.1/22).

(ii)   Languages draw their modern words on contrasting
        versions of the roots in OIA, for example, Sr. *bhūenamb*
        m 'earthquake' < *bhumikampa-*, as against U, *bhūnchāl*, P
        bhuchāl < *bhūmicala-* (7.1/239).

Hence modern works on Indo-Aryan do not confirm the
traditional theme of *tatsama* words to be the sign of antiquity
of a language. It is found that with the exception of the
languages of the Islamic cultural zones, the 'ever increasing
influx of Sanskrit with *tatsama* forms is one of the most
salient characteristics' of New Indo-Aryan languages as against
the Middle Indo-Aryan (Pk., Pa.) phonological modification of
the Sanskrit loans (Masica 1991: p.67). But as this revival of
Sanskrit as a modern phenomenon is linked with the increased
utilization of language for 'serious' purposes such as Hindi
(ibid: p.68), it is still true to see retention of the
Sanskritic features by the languages with lesser utilization
for 'serious purposes' (Siraiki) or by the languages of Islamic
cultural background where Arabic-Persian roots should be tried
for modern word formation (Sindhi, Siraiki, etc.), as element
of antiquity.

Situated between Panjabi and Sindhi, Siraiki depends for
its identity as a language in its own right on some exclusive

linguistic features not shared with either of the two major
neighbouring languages. For this, as we will see, Siraiki uses
the features exclusively common with one as tools of
differentiation from the other.

Siraiki shows some clear contrasts with both the
languages. With Panjabi, the contrasts are more phonological
than grammatical; with Sindhi, phonology and etymology being
historically common, the differences are grammatical. In the
following, we will see this in two sections: patterns of
simplification in Panjabi derivations as compared to Siraiki
tendency for retaining original, and Sindhi phonological forms
in the common vocabulary of Siraiki and Sindhi. In the
contrasts with Panjabi, in some cases, CDIAL shows Panjabi
having both the versions, but again mostly the Siraiki version
will be found placed under one of the dialects of Panjabi, e.g.
Dogri (dog.) only. Besides, some of such entries found under P
in CDIAL are not registered in modern Panjabi dictionaries
which indicates to the etymological shift of Panjabi from the
Siraiki-Panjabi common stock of words for instance *cha* 'take',
chāvaṇ 'to take' < *cāyayati* (7.1/47) and *mulēr* 'mother's
brother's son/daughter' < *mātulēya-* (7.1/74) (cf. PanjDic.).

As is mentioned, in many of its simplifications Panjabi
nears to the Pali, or Prakrit versions. As exceptions are
always there, in certain cases the precept of simplification
goes opposite. Siraiki opts for simpler version than Panjabi
but again in most of such cases the Siraiki simplification
comes from the root which for its Dravidean origin, or other
reasons appears to be more simple, or shorter than its Prakrit
version, for instance, in Panjabi *dewar, deur, deor* 'husband's

254

younger brother', Pk. *dēvara*, *dēara*, Siraiki *ḍēr* 'husband's
brother' < *dēvṛ-* m 'husband's younger brother' (7.1/230).

7.14   Siraiki forms simplified in Panjabi

(a)   Sr. *tr-* > P *t-*, *-tar*, i.e. the latter avoids consonant
       cluster.

(19)   *trakkaṛi* 'pair of scale', Pk. *takka* 'doubt' > P *takkaṛi*
       < *tarka* m 'inquiry' (5714).

(20)   *trakklā̃*, *traklä* m 'iron pin, spindle', Pk. *takku*, > P
       tarakkulā̃, *tarakalä* -- *taklā̃* < *tarkú* m f 'spindle'
       (5717).

(21)   *tremit*, pl. *tremitī̃ṇ* f 'woman, wife' > P *tarīmat* f dog.
       trīmat < *strīmātrī-* (13735a)

(b)   Sr. *dr-* > P *d-* (*dar-*)

(22)   *d(a)rākh* f 'vine, grape {raisin}', Pk. *dakkhā̃*, > P *dākh* <
       drákṣā̃ 'vine, grape'(6628), cf. *drabh* (Ju) *drab* 'the
       grass Eragrostis synosuroides', Pa. *dabbhā̃* m bunch of
       kusa grass', > P *dabbh* m 'a kind of grass used in
       ceremonies, water flag' < *darbhā̃-* m 'tuft of grass'
       (6203)

(23)   *drukkan* 'to run', Pk. *davaï* 'goes away' > P *daurnā̃*
       < *drávati* 'runs' (6624).

(c)   Sr. *-tr-* > P *-t-*

(24)   *bhatrījā̃* m.'brother's son', Pk. *bhattijja-* > P *bhatrīyā̃*,
       bhatijā̃ < *bhrātríya-* m 'ibid' (7.1/65)

(25)   {*mutraṇ*}, *mūtran* 'to urinate', S *mutraṇu*, Pk. *muttaī̃*, >
       P *mūtarnā̃*, *mūtnā̃* < *mūtráyati* 'urinates' (10238).

(d)   Sr. *-tr* > P *-t*, *-tt*

(26)   *putr* (810:9) 'son', Pa., Pk. *putta-* m > P *putt* < *putrā̃-1*

m 'ibid.' (8265).

(27)   *sutr* m 'thread, carpenter's line' Pk. *sutta-* 'ibid.,
       string' > P *sūtar, sūt* m 'yarn' < *sūtra-* n 'thread,
    , cord' (13561; cf. PanjDic.).

In Pakistan Panjab, the Panjabi language movement has
failed in addressing the issues related to language planning
such as script, etc. (Rahman 1996: pp.196,205; Kammi 1988:
p.139). Probably so as to keep its apparent harmony with Urdu,
no modifications in the Persian script were made except the
marking by some organizations of the nasal retroflex *n* This
results in disguise, in the written texts, of quite a few
phonological features of Panjabi and also that of the
Siraiki-Panjabi phonological contrasts. For instance, Siraiki
distinguishes *i, u* and retains *h* in pretonic syllables where
Panjabi shows reduction of the same to *a* with post tonic shift
of the much reduced *h,* the latter at the cost of voicing in the
case of pretonic voiced aspirated stops. Hence Siraiki
pretonic *i, u* and *h* > P pretonic *a* and Siraiki pretonic *bh, dh,
dh, gh* and *jh* > P pretonic *p, t, t, k* and *ch* respectively (cf.
Bahl: pp.12-3). For a similar reason Siraiki combination
-ndh-, -ndh > P *-nh-, -nh.* Of this only little can be tested
through dictionaries including CDIAL probably for the reason of
the influence of the relevant norms of Hindi and Urdu alphabet
on their source material. Few of such contrasts are:'

(e)   Siraiki pretonic *-h, i* > P pretonic *-a.*

(28)   *bhirā* m 'brother' > P *bharā {parā }* < *bhrátr-* (7.1/63).

(f)   Siraiki pretonic *u* > P pretonic *a*

(29)   *kutūrā* m 'puppy' > P *katūrā* < **kuttūra-* (3278).

(g)   Sr. *-ndh-* > P *-nh-.*

(30) *andhā* 'blind' > P *annhā, andhā < andhá-* 'ibid'. (385)

(h)   Sr. *-ndh* > P *-nh*.

(31) *sandh* 'hole made by burglars' (Ju) > P *sandh, -- sanh <*

      samdhi- 'joint' (12913).

7.15   Siraiki-Sindhi contrasts

Parallel to many phonological agreements such as preservation of some archaic Sanskritic characteristics like consonant clusters, *tr, dr* and *dr* (Sindhi with initial retroflex cf. 7.1) both the languages show some important linguistic contrasts. The main Sindhi-Siraiki contrasts, subject to further grammatical explanation not aimed at here, are that Siraiki masculine singular inflection *-a* and plural *-o* (the latter in selective forms, e.g. imperative) appear other way round in Sindhi, i.e. singular *-o,* plural *-a,* one of the main restrains in mutual intelligibility of both the languages, the weak realization of geminates in Siraiki (Shackle 1976: p.27) becoming weaker towards south ends in absence of geminates in Sindhi plus a regular vowel ending in the latter. In Turner's words (CDIAL, Ph. Explanatory note):

> since through the loss or modification of many
> intervocalic consonants vowels were brought into contact
> in Middle, or early New Indo-Aryan with varying further
> development in the modern languages, the majority of the
> sound units listed consist of vowel-consonant-vowel.

This applies to Sindhi in this case. This all can be summarized as;

Sr. *-1-, tr, dr, -a* m sg., *-cc-, -cc* and *-c* > S *-r-, tr, dr, -o* m sg., *-c-, -cv* and *-v* respectively.

These Siraiki-Sindhi contrasts are tested as following;

(a)   Sr. *-1-* > S *-r-.*

(32) *hal* m 'plough' > S *haru* < *hála-1* 'ibid' (14000).

(33) *b̲āl* m 'baby' > S *b̲āru* < *bālá-* 'young' (9216).

(b)   Sr. *tr, dr* > S *ṭr, ḍr*

(34) *puṭr* m 'son' (Ju) > S *puṭro* < *putrá-* (8265) (cf. 71/26).

(35) *ṭre {trae}* 'three' > S *ṭre* < *tráyah* 'ibid' (5994) and

     drākh 'raisin' > S *ḍrākha* < *drákṣā-* (7.1/22).

(c)   Sr. *-a* m sg. > S *-o*.

(36) *jā̃ṛā* m sg. 'twin' > S *jā̃ṛo* < **jaḍati* 'joins, sets'

     (5091).

(37) *{jaṇa}, jaṇā̃* m sg. 'person, man' > S *jaṇo* < *jána-* 'race,

     person' (5098).

(d)   Sr. *-cc-* > S *-c-*

(38) *laddha*, 'was taken' (past. part. of *labhaṇ*) > S *ladho* <

     labdha- 'taken, seized' (10946).

(39) *ghinnaṇ* 'to take' (also cf. Ju) > S *ginhaṇu* 'to buy' <

     gṛbhāyáti 'takes, seizes' (4236).

(e)   Sr. *-cc, -c* > S *-cv, -v*.

(40) *latt* 'leg' > S *lata* 'foot' < **latta* 'foot, kick' (10931).

(41) *b̲al* m 'strength, ability' (Ju) > S *b̲alu* < *bála-* 'power,

     strength' (9161).

Some of the many Indo-Aryan words of Siraiki not listed
under Lahnda, can be traced under Sindhi such as;

(42) *{chapp* 'big lip'}, S *chapu* 'lip' < **carpa-* 'flat' (4696).

(43) *vahīra* 'roost', cf. *vahire* in Khwaja Farid, (not

     agreeing with the compiler (173:13), S *vāhero* 'roost for

     birds, nest' < **vāsakara-* 'making a stay' (11594).

7.16   Antique forms including some of *Tatsama* forms

In the traditional analysis Indo-Aryan words are of three

types, *tatsama, tadbhava* and *desaja*, a forth type has been
added as *videsi*. By definition, a *tatsama* 'the same as that'
is a word same as in Sanskrit, a *tadbhava* 'originating from
that' is a word with a different form but constructed from a
Sanskrit prototype and a *videṣi* 'foreigner' can be a foreign,
non Indo-Aryan loan such as Arabic-Persian word (cf. Masica
1991: p.65).

Among numerous *tatsama* type found in Siraiki, some are
quite interesting such as *nir* 'tears' < *nīrá-* (7.1/108) and *mūl*
'root' < *mūla* (7.1/202) and some from Turner's asterisked
Sanskrit roots such as *sutthaṇ* 'trousers' < **sutthana*
(7.1/172). Rest of the derivations all fall under the class of
tadbhava in a range of various degrees of similarity with the
root from distant analogies such as *ho* 'be, become' < *bhávati*
(7.1/209) to the nearest types, e.g. *silh* 'brick' < *silä*
(7.1/211). There are forms which show closer morphemic
similarity with the root but with a remote semantic relation
such as *phaṭṭ* 'wound' < **phat-1* 'sudden movement' (7.1/163).
tadbhava types thus invite further classification in Siraiki.

Except that Siraiki, like some modern Indo-Aryan
languages, has lost Sanskrit ṣ and is contaminated with sounds
like ṛ, ṛh and the implosives, part of its vocabulary appears
rather nearer to the Old Indo-Aryan (original Sanskritic)
etymons in form. The entries found as derived from Prakrit
versions or from the Dravidian or proto-Dravidian roots
Sanskritized (not to be mixed with Dravidean proto-Dravidean
vocabulary found in modern Siraiki exclusively) are fewer.
Some of such antique forms both *tatsama* and *tadbhava* are as
following;

(44) *bubbā* 'woman's breast' < **bubba* 'ibid.' (9283

(45) {*bhaña* m 'share' cf. a proverb; *ruṭṭhe da bhañā gur kanūn mitthā* Lit. 'the share of the one who has boycotted is sweeter than solid, brown sugar'}, S --, *bhāño* < *bhangá*-1 'breaking' --, 'piece' (9353).

(46) {*bhang* f 'bahng, the plant used for making an intoxicating drink of the same name}, S *bhanga*, P *bhang* < *bhangá*-2 m 'hemp' (9354).

(47) *chāvaṇ* 'to lift' {past part. *chayā*} *cāyayati* 'causes to be heaped up' (4753).

(48) {*dhaṇaṇ* 'of cows, to get fertile by bull} L *dhaṇāvaṇ* 'to put to bull' < *dhaṇáyati* 'sets in motion' (6719).

(49) *dal* f 'crake, split', *dalīk* 'crack in the soil' < **dalī*- 'ibid., cave' (6221).

(50) *dallaṇ* intr. 'to split' < **dalyaté* 'is split' (6222).

(51) *dālaṇ* {tr.} 'to split, break, crush' < *dālyati* 'causes to burst' (6310).

(52) *khōṭ* 'alloy, impurity', *khōṭā* 'forged' < *khōṭi*- 'blemish' (3931).

(53) {*khōra* 'defected'} < *khōra*-1 'lame' (3941).

(54) *mātar* {*mātr*} f 'ridge round a handmill which prevents flour being scattered' < -- 2 - *mātra*- 'having the measure of only' (given under) *mātrā*- f 'measure' (10023).

(55) *machchaṇ* 'to burn brightly', *machch* 'bonfire' (cf. 93:7,8) < **macyaté* 'is produced, grows, is kindled' (9710).

(56) *nichant,* 'free from worries' (Taunsavi, I c.1988) {also *nachint*} < *niscinta*- 'thoughtless' (4747).

260

(57) {nir(h)ān 'breakfast', niranne han 'not yet having eaten
in the morning} narinnāha 'fasting' < niranna-
'starving' (7266).

(58) vênḍā m prpt. (cf. vaeṇḍā (912:23), vañjaṇ 'to go'
< *VRAÑJATI, (given under) vyêti 'goes away' (12223).

(59) {viphlaṇ} 'to become confused from fear' < *visphalati
'moves quickly, quivers, jerks oneself' (12015).

7.17   Agglutinative stock of words

The synthetic characteristic of Sanskrit is reflected in
the comparatively older portion of modern Siraiki. That is the
language of the market and urban centres, and that of the
literate tend to include analytical constructions, as against
the dialect of village and the literary diction of the writers
conscious about language planning (cf. 72; cf.63; cf. 6.8). In
addition to portmanteau words generated, for instance, through
the well known pronominal suffixes there are complex
constructions inflected with more than one suffixes to result
in words such as likhvāyonins (8.1(i)/5) for ūn unnhen kün
likhvaya 'caused them be written'. To see this feature in any
one section of words (with few irregular forms) and also to
indicate to the fact that the language is quite affluent in its
old vocabulary (O'Brien 1881: p.viii) the set of words for
relations is reproduced in a table below. These are comparable
to the compounds like chachcha zād behn and chāche di dhi
'uncle's daughter' in Urdu and Panjabi respectively as shown in
Tab.7/1 following:

Tab.7/1 Siraiki Indo-Aryan words for relations

word in Sr.	<	Skt., OIA root	CDIAL
(60) *bhēṇ* m 'sister'		*bhaginī̃-* f 'ibid.'	(9349)
(61) *bhaṇviā* m 'her husband'		*bhaginīpati-* m 'ibid.	(9350)
(62) *bhaṇejā* m 'her son'		*bhāginḗya-* m 'ibid.'	(9433)
(63) *bhirā* m 'brother'		*bhrátṛ* m 'ibid'	(9661)
(64) *bharjāī* f 'his wife'		*bhrāturjāyā-* 'ibid.'	(9660)
(65) *bhatrījā* m 'his son'		*bhrātrīya-* m 'ibid.'	(9672)
(66) *phupphī* f 'father's sister'		**phupphu-* 'father's or mother's sister'	(9089)
(67) *phupphaṛ* {*phupphar*} m 'ibid. her husband'		(cf. 7.1/66)	
(68) *phupphēr* m 'her son' daughter'			(ibid.)
(69) *chācha* m 'father's brother'		**cācca-* 'uncle'	(4734)
(70) *chāchi* f 'his wife'		(cf. 7.1/69)	
(71) *sotr* 'his son,	{<}	*sṓdara-* 'next of kin'	(13605)
(72) *māma* m 'mother's brother'	<	*māma-* 'uncle'	(10055)
(73) *māmi* f 'his wife'		(cf. 7.1/72, CDIAL under P)	
(74) *mulēr* 'his son, daughter'		*mātulēya-* 'ibid'	(10014)

7.18   The *y* element

The frequent occurrence of *y* in inflections of Sanskrit
has provided Siraiki with a marked feature of its etymology.
Other wise an unnoticed sound segment in the local convention
of writing, it appears intervocalically or becomes *j* to
guaranty distinction between some syntactic variables.
Turner's dating of Sindhi -*ija* as that it must have been a
process through -*ījja-* -*īyya-*, through further simplification
in Prakrit and Pali (Turner 1923-25: p.310; cf. 6.8) also
gives a clue to origin of the similar Siraiki -*īj* (-*īch*, -
īja), the morphemic basis of peculiar passive stem (cf.
Shackle 1976: pp.75-6), e.g. Skt. --*yate* > Sr. -*īch*- in;

(75) *dichaṇ* {also *divījaṇ*} 'to be given' < *diyátē*-1 'is
given' (6364).

Some of the derivations in Bahl show alternation of *y*

with *j* as following;

(a)   Skt. *y* > Mult. S *j*;

(76)   *jao* f "orge" 'pitch, sealing wax' < Skt. *yava-*

(77)   *jātrā* "péḷerinage", i.e. 'pilgrimage', {*jātr*} < *yātrā*

(b)   Skt. *-ry-* > Mult. S *-j-*

(78)   *kāj* "cérémonie du mariage", i.e. 'marriage ceremony' <
        kārya- (Bahl:60-1)

7.19   Inflections and suffixes

As against sufficiently available roots for the basic
forms of original IA vocabulary, scarcely traceable are the
secondary derivations, i.e. the progressive forms and the
range of suffixes and inflections used in the diverse patterns
of word formation in modern Siraiki. The casually available
examples of the secondary forms (the subderivations) however
confirm that most of suffixational/inflectional patterns of
modern Siraiki also originate from Old Indo-Aryan. Some of
the traced examples are: adj. suf. *-an* in *naheraṇ* 'nail
cutter' < **nakhkarana-* (7.1/79), deverbative n infl. *-at*, *-ait*
{*-aet*} and *-āt* in *uchāpat* {*chāpat*} 'taking goods on credit' <
*uccāpayati (7.1/80), {*tisraet* 'third round'}, P *tisrāit* <
*trihsara- (7.1/81) and {*dāt* 'grant'}, H *dāt* 'liberality' < 2.
dāta- (under) *dattá-* (7.1/82) respectively.

(79)   *nahēraṇ* 'nail cutter' < **nakhkarana-* 'ibid.' (6916).
Also cf. suffix *-āṇdra* < (i) in *muhāṇdra* 'face, etc.' <
mukhacandra- (7.1/164) and (ii) in *vaṭāṇdra* 'exchange' <
*vartāntara- (7.1/232).

(80)   *uchāpat* {*chāpat*} 'taking goods on credit' < **uccāpayati*
        'causes to be collected' (1643), drawn upon it cf. (i)

labhat 'search, gain' (8.1(iii), Pa. *labhati* 'is permitted' < *labhyáte* 'is taken' (10950) (ii) *likkhat* 'writing' (8.1(i)/11) {original, *likhit*} < *likhitá-* 'scraped, -- written' (11050).

(81) {*tisraet* 'third round'}, P *tisrāit* 'third person, umpire' < *triḥsara-* 'triple' (6018), cf. *panchäet* 'group of leading members of community' < *pañcakula-* (7.1/139).

(82) *passa* 'side, direction' < *pārśva-* n 'region' (8118), cf. *pasel* 'side beam of roof' < *pārsvakīla-* 'side post' (8119), drawn upon it cf. *likhel* 'written' {<} *likhitá-* (7.1/80).

(83) {*dāt* 'grant'}, H *dāt* 'liberality' < 2. *dāta-* (under) *dattá-* 'given' (6140).

7.110 Traces of some old fashioned names and connotations

A number of typical Siraiki words and old fashioned proper names have there traces in Sanskrit record of words;

(84) *avera* 'awkward' (pl. *avere* 9.1(i)/10), Pk. *avaherī* < *apahēlā* 'disrespectful' (475)

(85) *vassā* m {*vasāya* m., *vasso* f.} 'proper name, capable, worthy, fit', {*vass* 'power'}, P *vass* 'ibid.' < *vásya-* 'to be subjected, obedient' (11433).

(86) *bhāg* 'fortune' {> *bhāgen-bhari* f proper name 'fortunate'} < *bhāgya-1* 'fortune, lot' (9434)., cf. *kubhāga-*, headword, 'ill luck' (3302)

(87) {*sōbha* m proper name 'pleasant' <} *sōbha-* 'bright' (12635).

7.111   Words of Prakrit and proto-Dravidian languages

As against a general opinion about Siraiki and Sindhi having their origin in *Vrachada* or *Apabhramsa* Prakrits, only few Siraiki words of such origin are available on the list some of which already indicated above. However, this (list in CDIAL) includes only those bits thought to be Indo-Aryanized. There is a room for examining unregistered lot of Siraiki vocabulary with this view. Few entries from Prakrits and Dravidean, proto-Dravidean are given below as specimen;

(a)   Words in Prakrit;

(88)   {*tat* 'crux of the matter, gist, truth', *atat* 'strange act, new but bad idea'} < Pa., Pk. *tatta-* n 'reality, truth' < *tattva-* 'real state' (5642).

(89)   {*tatt* 'too much, making fed up', *tatt te ratt kītes* 'became torturous, unbearable'} < Pk. *tattiya-* < **tattaka-* 'so much' (5641).

(90)   *pachādh* 'west' (*Sojhla-4* p.44) < Pk. *pacchādhõ, pacchõ* 'from behind' < **pasca-* 'hinder part' (7990) .

(91)   *ghiu* 'cleared butter oil' < Pk. *ghia-, ghaya-* < *ghrta* 'fluid grease' (4501) .

(b)   Words in Apabhramsa

(92)   *pīla* 'yellow', AP *piāra-*, dar. *pēla* < *pītala* 'ibid.' (8233) .

(93)   *sakka* 'born of the same parents, m kinsman, relation' by marriage', AP ibid. < *svakya-* 'of one's own' (13896a).

(94)   *unhāla* 'summer', AP ibid. < *usnakālā* m hot season' (2391).

(c)   Words in Munda (Nahali).

(95)   *makhāṇ* 'but listen', Nahāli *makhāṇ, Mayan* 'but, if,

when'

(96) {Sr. southern *jakhan* 'when'}, Nahāli, ibid.

(Kuiper 1992: p.88).

(d) Words in Brahui

(97) *kapp* 'cut, breach' (cf. 9.9(i)/4), *kappan* 'to cut', G

kãp, Brahui *kap* 'half' < *kálpa* 'capable' (2941).

7.112   Scope for testing fresh Siraiki vocabulary

Most of the words registered above have been sorted out
on the basis of their classification under one of the dialects
known for incorporation of Siraiki vocabulary, i.e. Lahnda.
Using the same pattern many more words can be collected by
probe into the word-lists of any Indo-Aryan dialect. These
can be one of the two types, (i) the words with established
status in both being part of Siraiki vocabulary and placed
under the relevant headword with more or less unchanged
morphemic form as shown in (7.113) following. And (ii) the
words derivation of which is confirmed with a number of
indicators such as an indirect link, i.e. the word is not
shown under L and mult. but under some other dialect, or is
not itself found under the headword but shows a clear link
with the one found, as will be seen with the derivation sign
{<} in the lists under (7.112) and (7.113) following.

7.113   Words with established links with the roots

(98) vēr 'water wave' (83:1), *vélha* 'time' L *vela*, S *vera* <

vēlã- f 'limit, boundary, time', -- 'flood tide'

(12115).

(99) *vasēb* 'homeland' (8.5(i)/4), Or. *basãibã* 'to establish a

village' < *vāsate-* 'stays, dwells' (11435), also cf.

vassaṇ 'to dwell', *vās*, Pa. *vāsa-* m staying, habitation'

< *vāsá-2* m 'abode' (11591).

(100) *mūṇjh* 'sadness', *mūṇjha* 'sad' < *mōhyā-* 'to be confused'

(10364); cf. *muñjhījaṇ* 'to be perplexed, be sad' <

múhyati 'goes astray, is bewildered' (10230).

(101) *nīngar* m 'young', S *niguro* < *nirguru-2* 'without

teacher' (7311).

(102) *khāda* 'water inlet' (91:7), Or. *khadi* < *khāḍda-* hole',

pit' (3790).

(103) *khīr* 'milk' (92:5), Pk. *khīra* < *ksīrā-* n 'milk' (3696).

(104) *ghaṇḍiyāṇ* 'small bells on buffalo's neck' (93:2) S

ghaṇḍu m 'bell', *ghandī* f 'small bell' < *ghaṇṭa-* f

'bell' (4421).

(105) *nīr* 'tears' (9.7(i)/6) < *nīrá-* n 'water' (7552).

(106) *thīvaṇ* 'to become' < *sthīyátē* with instrumental subject

'stands' (13773) cf. *thia* 'became' < *sthitá-* 'standing,

settled' (13768).

(107) *vasti* 'village' (9.9(i)/1) < *vástu-* n 'site of a house,

house' (11606).

(108) *jhaṛ* 'cloud' < *jhaḍī-* 'rainstorm' (5329)

(109) *kitti* 'how many' < *kiyatta-* 'how great' (3167)

(110) {*lassak*}, *lask* 'lightening' < *lásati1* 'flashes, shines'

(10993)

(111) *pae* 'husband' (Ju) < *páti-* m 'master, husband' (7727)

(112) *drigha* 'long' < *dīrghá-* 'long, tall, deep' (6368)

(113) *anāvaṇ* 'to turn over *chapāti* on pan' < *ánamati*

'propitiates' (1173)

(114) *visāh* 'trust' < *visvāsa-* m 'trust, confidence' (11966)

(115) *paṭṭhaṇ* 'to send' < 4. Pa. *patthapeti* 'sends' <

prátisthati 'stands up' (8607)

(116) *vitth, vitthi* 'a short distance' < *vītasti-* f 'measure

of length consisting span between extended thumb and

little finger or between wrist and tip of fingers'

(11721)

(117) *kēri* 'ash' (Ju), P *keri* < **kērita-* 'scattered' (3468)

(118) *chikkar* (O'Brien *chikkur*) 'mud' < *chikka2* 'gummy

matters

(4780)

(119) *sinna* 'wet' < *sníh-* 'of wetness' (13798), also cf. *sin*

'river' in Kohistani, Shina and other languages of

Northern Pakistan (entry 47, 'Language data' in SSLNP

vol:1-3)

(120) *tassa* 'thirsty' < *tarsa-* m 'thirst' (5729)

(121) (*sabhaiṇ* 'tomorrow), *subah, subha, subhavélha* 'morning'

< *subhavēlá 'auspicious time' (12535)

(122) *plīta* 'love' (Farid 21/6) {<} *prītá* 'pleased' --

'beloved' (8981)

(123) {*tauṇs* 'thirst', *Tauṇsa* 'name of a town'}, S *taunsa*

'heat of fever', P *tauns* 'great heat, great heat' <

tapsyā- 'austerity', -- 'produced by heat' (5676)

(124) *nihattha* 'armless' < *nírhasta-* 'handless' (7405)

7.114   Words with *sh* and other (non-Indo-Aryan) fricatives

The Indo-Iranian fricatives *f*, (*gh, kh*), *z*, and *sh* being

non Inodo-Aryan sounds basically, their pronunciation by a

class of speakers as *ph*, (*g, kh*), *j* and *s* is interpreted as

substandard (cf. Masica 1991:p.92) although in many cases

these have been established in standard Hindi, Urdu and
Panjabi, etc. and also appear frequently as part of the loan
words from Arabic-Persian and English (ibid: p.99). In
Siraiki, the influence of Arabic Persian fricative seems to
cause a dissimilation in some original Iindo-Aryan words such
as in *rā̆khas* 'demon' (Farid 74/7) < *rā̆kṣasá* (7.1/181). The
Sanskrit *s* in CDIAL offers only two entries with *s/sh* initial
located with various versions under the Index of Lahnda, and
rare with *s/sh* medial or final. However it can no way be
established that rest of the words with fricatives in Siraiki
are all loan words. Numerous original Indo-Aryan
words can be found where occurrence of fricatives can only be
interpreted as having resulted from dissimilation under the
influence of Arabic-Persian loans. Few such entries are
listed as following;

(125) *zāt* 'cast' (9.4(i)/9 *zātā̆n*, different from *zāt* 'eternal
       Being of Him' cf. Farid:218:2) < *jātya-* 'of the same
       family' (5190)

(126) *zērā* 'liver' < Pk. *jero* < *yakṛt* 'liver' (10394)

(127) *faniar* {*phaniyar*} 'cobra' < *phaṇakara-* 'ibid.' (9043)

(128) *fiṭṭan* {*phiṭṭan*} 'to be spoilt, to go bad', {'O'Brien,
       phiṭṭak 'curse'} < *sphiṭati* 'gets loose' (13838)

(129) *khachchar* 'mule', *khachchir* f (O'Brien) < *khaccara-*
       'ibid.' (3765)

(130) *khuchchar* 'hock of quadruped' (O'Brien) < *khuccā*
       'bend' (3891)

(131) *shirīnh*, sarïnh 'tree Acacia speciosa' < *śírīṣa-* m 'the
       tree Acacia sirissa' (12453)

(132) *shī̆nh* 'lion' (Farid 22/4) < *siṁhá-* 'ibid.' (13384)

(133) {*nishādur* 'a plan used as a purgative'}, G *nisōtar* <

nisōtrā 'ipomoea turpethum' (7438).

(134) *shabbar* 'badly cooked' (O'Brien) {<} *sabára-* (often

savara-) m 'a wild mountain tribe' (12296)

(135) *shaklo* 'manna of the Leia tree' (O'Brien) {<} *sarkarā-*,

--2 'candied sugar' (12338)

(136) *shist* 'back-sight of gun' (O'Brien) {<} *sisti-2* f

'direction' (12481)

(137) *shoda* 'poor, wretched' (O'Brien) {<} *sodhya-* 'to be

cleaned' (12632)

(138) *shūk* 'to hiss, to snort', *shukār* 'blow, breaths',

shuskār 'a dog sent on' (O'Brien) {<} *susati2* 'hisses,

pants' (12545)

7.115 Word list for linguistic and grammatical reference

(139) {*sarpanch* 'head of a community', *pañchāet* 'group of

leading members of community'<} *pañcakula-* 'consisting

of a five families' (7657)

(140) {*dhāran* 'to keep a pet'} < *dhāráyati* 'holds, carries'

(6791)

(141) {*thān* 'place'} < *āsthána* 'place, assembly' (1514)

(142) *alā* 'speak, voice' {<} (i) *ālapyati* 'speaks' (1361)

(ii) *alāla-* 'cheerful noise' (706)

(143) *turt* 'quickly' (Farid 80/9) {<} *turáti* 'hurries,

presses forward' (5878)

(144) *pīr* 'pain' (Farid 8/1) < *pīdā-* 'ibid.' (8227)

(145) *gahna* 'ornament' < *gráhana-*, -- 2 'ibid.' (4364)

(146) {*sītlān* 'smallpox'} < *sītala* 'ibid.' -- 'godess of

smallpox' (12490)

(147) *panna* 'page' < *parná-* n sg. or pl. 'plumage, foliage' (7918)

(148) *mīnh, {mïngh, mēngh}* 'cloud' < *mēghá-* m 'cloud, rain' (10302)

(149) *dhīraj* 'courage, wisdom' (Jk. 6-12-1994: 2/1) < *dhīra-* 'wise, steady, resolute' (6817)

(150) *dharti* 'soil, homeland' (9.13(i)/1) < *dhárittrī-* f 'female career' --'the earth' (6750)

(151) *jammaṇ, jamṇa,* (Rpt. *janam*) 'birth, date of birth', *jammaṇ* 'to be born, grow' < *jánman-* n 'birth, creature' (5113)

(152) *budh* 'sense' (8.2(i)/8) < *buddhī-* f 'intelligence, discernment' (9277)

(153) *sāgar* 'ocean' (8.3(i)/13) < *sāgara-* m 'ibid.' (13325)

(154) *lōk* 'people' (8.5(i)/1) < *lōká-1* m 'free space, world' (11119)

(155) *rīt* 'custom, convention' (Farid 92/1) < *rītí-1* 'stream' (10751)

(156) *vadhāra* 'progress, increase' (Rpt.) < *vadhaṇ* 'to increase, grow, advance; euphemistic, of a child to die, to be finished' < *várdhayatē* 'grows, increases'(11376), cf. *vadhīk* 'more, excessive' < *vardhita-* 'increased, strengthened, gladdened' (11384).

(157) *vāñj* 'discrimination, deprivation' (ibid.) <*vāñchā-* f 'wish',-- 'partiality, curse' (11479)

(158) *bheivāl* 'partner' (*bhaivāl* sister-(organization' ibid.) < **bhāgapāla-* 'holding a share' (9431)

(159) *mul* 'price' (9.13(i)/13) < *mūlya-* n 'original value, price' (10257)

(160) *jandra* 'large wooden rake, padlock' < *yantrá-* n
'controlling authority' (10412)

(161) {*gandh* 'joint'} < *ganda-2* m 'joint of a plant' (3998)

(162) *daṅṅar* n sg., pl. 'cattle' < *dangara-1* 'ibid.' (5526)

(163) {*phaṭṭ* 'wound'}, S *phaṭaṇu* 'to wound' < **phaṭ-1* 'sudden
movement' (9038)

(164) *mūṇh* {*mukh*} 'mouth, face' < *mūkha-* 'ibid' (10158), cf.
muhāṇdra 'face, features, likeness' < *mukhacandra-* m
'moonlike circle of face' (10161)

(165) *gālh* 'talk, abuse' (8.3(i)/2) < *gāli-* f pl. 'abusive
speech' (4145), *muhāṛ* 'upright of the door frame'
{'opening a tlak'} as in (*gālh-*) *muhāṛ* < **mukhakāstha-*
(10159)

(166) *agvāṇ* 'leader' (Jk. 27-11-1994) < *agravāha-* 'leading in
front' (82)

(167) *hokaṇ* 'to proclaim', *hoka* 'proclamation' (ibid.) <
*hōkka- 'noise, cry' (14173)

(168) *haṭkaṇ* 'to hinder, forbid' *haṭṭakk* 'stop' (13945)

(169) *ālas* 'inactiveness' < *alasá-* 'inactive' (708)

(170) *ahar, āhar* 'arrangement, start' {<} (i) *āhāra-* m
'fetching' (1544 (ii) *ásarati* 'hastens towards' (1487)

(171) *sūkhari* 'present' (Jk. 27-11-1994 1/4) < S *sūkhirī* <
sūksma- 'minute, fine' (13546)

(172) *sutthaṇ* 'trousers' < **sutthana-* 'ibid.' (13468)

(173) *sugghaṛ* 'capable woman', G *sughar* < *sughata-* 'easily
contrived' (13460)

(174) *pakkhi* m 'bird' < *paksín-* 'winged', m 'ibid.' (7636)

(175) *ran* 'woman, wife' < Pk. *ramdā̆-* f < **ratta-* 'defective'
(10593)

(176) _jamāndru_ 'congenital, congenital' < _janmāntara_- 'former
      life' (5114)

(177) {_jhinkan_ 'to rebuff, to snub}, S _jhinkanu_ 'to fly out
      against, threaten' < *_jhanatka_- 'tinkling' (5331)

(178) {_jānan_ 'to know' H _jānkāri_ 'information' <} JÑĀ 'know',
      jñaptá- 'instructed' (5273)

(179) _dekhan_ 'to see' < *_drksati_ 'see' (6507), cf. _dittha_
      'seen' < _drstá_- (6518)

(180) {_nith_ vb. stem 'sit down' <} _nísīdati_ 'sits down'
      (7467)

(181) _rākhas_ 'demon' (Farid 74/7), P _rākhas_ < _rāksasá_-
      'demonical' (10672)

(182) {-_vand_ 'superior, master of --', Osi. _vandmi_ 'I salute
      you', -- 'honour' < _vándate_ 'praises' (11270)

(183) {_rākha_ 'guardian' <} _ráksaka_- 'ibid' (10671)

(184) _hath_ 'hand' < _hásta_- m 'ibid.' (14024)

(185) _hattha_ 'handle' < _hastaka_- m 'hand' (14025)

(186) _pāni_ 'water' < _pānīya_- 'ibid.' (8082)

(187) _pānihāra_ 'water carrier' < *_pānīyahāra_- 'ibid' (8088)

(188) _dūr_ 'distant', _dhur_ 'be off' < _dūrá_- 'ibid' (6495)

(189) _passa_ {_pasa_} 'side, flank, side of hill' < _pārsvá_- n
      region of ribs, side' (8118)

(190) (_kan_, _nak_) _vinnhan_ to pierce a girl's ear or nose for
      ring wearing' <} *_vēdhati_ 'pierces' (12109)

(191) {_vehaki_ 'of cows and buffalos to cease giving milk' <}
      *_vēhát_- 'barren cow or cow that miscarries' (12136)

(192) _aetha_, _āthia_ 'land round a well, part cultivated, part
      left fallow' < _ákrsta_- n 'unploughed land' (14)

(193) _akkh_ 'eye' < _áksi_- n 'ibid.' (43), cf. _aksa_-3 n 'eye'

273

(23)

(194) {aṇ'akha 'blind' < anakṣá- 'ibid.' (284)

(195) {-de, -dde, -do, -ddo (and the relevant forms) 'side,
       direction' <} dís- f 'direction' (6339)

(196) {ken, kar 'having done'} < karaṇ 'to do' < karóti
       'does' (2814)

(197) mā 'mother' < mātr- -- 'ibid' (10016)

(198) bukkh 'hunger' < bubhukṣā- f 'desire to eat, hunger'
       (9286)

(199) {dabb 'spot', dabba 'spotted'}, S dabo < *dabba-2
       'spot' (5529)

(200) dabla 'jewel box' < *dabba-1 'box' (5528)

(201) pujaṇ 'arrive, to be finished', past part. punna, pugaṇ
       'to be completed, to reach' < pūryaté 'is filled'
       (8342)

(202) mūl 'root' < mūla- -- 'ibid.' (10250)

(203) ghar 'house' < ghara- -- 'ibid.' (4428)

(204) pher, phera, pheri 'turn, time', phéraṇ 'to return, to
       be moved', < *phirati 'moves, wanders, turns' (9078)

(205) bhāvaṇ 'to be agreeable', prpt. bhānda < bhāti
       'shines' (9445)

(206) bhāṇ, bhāṇa 'cattle shed' < bhājana-1 'eating,
       enjoying' (9436)

(207) dūṇ {dū} 'two' < dva- 'ibid' (6648)

(208) pīvaṇ 'to drink' < píbati 'drinks' (8209)

(209) ho- 'to become, be' < bhávati 'becomes, is' (9416)

(210) sufna 'dream' (Farid 115/12) < *supna- 'ibid.' (13481)

(211) silh 'brick, hone' < silā- f 'rock, crag' (12459)

(212) tachhaṇ 'to scrap, to rough hew' < tákṣati 'forms by

cutting' (5620), cf. *taksa-* in compounds 'cutting'
(5620) + *silā-* (7.1/211) > *taksasila*, i.e. Taxla 'name
of a town'

(213) *raṅg/raṅ* 'colour' < *raṅga-1* m 'ibid.' (10560)

(214) *vāli* 'sand' (9.1(i)/4), S *vāri* < *vālukā-* f 'sand,
gravel' (11580)

(215) *sambhlaṇ* 'to restrain oneself', *sambhālaṇ* 'to support,
uphold, restrain' < *sámbharati* 'brings together,
prepares, rolls up' -- 2. *sambhārayati* 'causes to bring
together' (12961)

(216) {*e'de*, 'this way', *o'de* 'that way', *e'dūn* 'from this
side' *o'dūn* 'from that side', etc. <} *dís-* f
'direction' (6339)

(217) *addha* 'half' < *ardhá-2* 'ibid.' (644)

(218) *adhvāṛ* 'half of a sheep's skin {half of a brick}' <
ardhapāta- 'a half expanse' (660)

(219) *aḍḍhāi* 'two and a half' < *ardhatrtīya-* 'ibid.' (651)

(220) *kāti* f 'knife' (8.3(i)/15) < *kārti-* 'ibid', cf. <
**kartiyā* 'knife' (2866) *katt* 'deduction' < *karta-2* m
'cutting' (2852), G *kātūn* --, *-tī* f 'knife' <
'*kartá-3* 'ibid.' (2853)

(221) *kttaṇ* 'to spin' < **kartati2* 'spins' (2855), cf.
kartana-2 'act of spinning' (2857)

(222) *ruchaṇ* 'to be liked, be pleasant, taste pleasant' (Ju),
P *ruchṇa* < *rucayaté* 'is pleasant' (10765)

(223) *mañjh* 'buffalo' (9.5(i)/6), S *mañjha* < **mahyā* (9980).
(224) {*baṅdh*, *ban* 'small dam'}, S *bandhá-* 'embankment'
< *bandhá-* 'bond' (9136)

(225) *balaṇ* {*balaṇ*} 'intr. to burn' {prpt. *balde*} < *dvalati*

275

intr. 'burns' (6654)

(226) b̲ā̃laṇ 'tr. to burn' {prpt. balende} < *dvā̃layati
       'kindles' (6671)

(227) akk 'the plant Calotropis procea' < arká-2 m 'the plant
       Calotropis gegentea' (625).

(228) aggh 'market price' < arghá- m 'respectful reception of
       guest' (630),

(229) addh, addha 'half' < ardhá- 'ibid' (644)

(230) d̲er 'husband's brother', P dewar, deur, deor 'husband's
       younger brother', Pk. dëvara, dëara, < dēvṛ- m
       'husband's younger brother' (6546).

(231) chiṭṭhi 'letter' < *cista- 'message' (4832)

(232) {vṭā̃vaṇ 'to cause to change'}, P batā̃unā̃ < vartáyati
       'causes to turn, whirls' (11356), cf. {vatā̃ndra
       'exchange'}, P vaṭā̃ndra 'exchange of work among women'
       < *vartántra- 'change of livelihood' (11358), for
       inflectional similarity cf. {bhulā̃ndra 'alikeness of
       face' <} bhullaṇ 'to lose the way, err' < *bhull- 'err,
       forget' (9538)

(233) {barā̃nḍa 'veranda, porch'}, P barā̃nda 'portico' <
       varanda m 'mass, heap of grass' (11317)

(234) chhuhur 'boy', chhuhir f {also chhokara 'boy', chhokari
       f}, S chhokaru, chhokari < *chokara- 'boy' (5070)

(235) mukkaṇ 'to come to an end' {mukā̃n 'condolence'} <
       *mukna- (10157)

(236) sajja 'fresh, new, righthand' < sajya- 'strung (of
       bow)' (13095)

(237) kamm 'work' < kárman-1 'act, work' (2892)

(238) {rū̃p 'form, beauty'} < rūpá- 'ibid' (10803), cf. ruppa

276

'silver' < *rūpya-* 'beautiful, bearing a stamp' (10805)

(239) *bhũenamb* 'earthquake' < *bhũmikampa-* m 'ibid.' (9558),

{H, P *bhũnchãl, bhuchãl*} < *bhũmicala-* m 'ibid.' (9560)

277

7.2   Loans

[All Arabic-Persian (AP) words in subchapter 7.2 can be found
in O'Brien (1903) in the Dictionary section which is arranged
in Roman alphabetical order except those referred to as (Ju)
which can be checked in Jukes which runs in Persian
alphabetical order.]

7.21   Loans from within Indo-Aryan

These are words of Indo-Aryan origin but different from
Indo-Aryan vocabulary of Siraiki itself and thus in some cases
may be of Middle Indo-Aryan stock. These are borrowed from
Urdu, from its Hindi vocabulary such as *tāla, chābi* 'lock and
key', non Indo-Aryan loan words against original *jandra,
kuñji*, i.e. *jandra* 'lock' < *yantrá-* and *kuñji* 'key' < *kuñcikā-*
1 (7.1/160). Another feature of such loans is that these
result mostly from mere dominance of Urdu, i.e. the existing
Indo-Aryan words of Siraiki are replaced by different
Indo-Aryan words, or the different forms of .the same IA> words
of Urdu, different from the Urdu loans of Arabo-Persian stock
most of which are borrowed by Siraiki for its reliance on the
first for modern literary vocabulary and expression of
abstract thoughts. Some of such loan words are used
alternately with the original, other seem to cause extinction
of the original as shown in Tabs.7/2 and 7/3 following
respectively:

Tab.7/2   Indo-Aryan loans used alternately with Indo-Aryan

original words

Original	Loan as adopted from Urdu
jhár, jhur 'cloud' < *jhadī- (7.1/108)	baddal < (U badal)
lassak 'lightening' (O'Brien lask) < lásatil (7.1/110)	bijli
pae 'husband' (Ju) < páti- (7.1/111)	ghar'āla < (U gharvāla)
hatkan 'to forbid' < *hattakk-(7.1/168)	rokan < (U rokana)

Tab.7/3   Obsolescent Siraiki words

old words	modern replacement from Urdu
anāvan 'to turn over bread when baking' < ánamati (7.1/113)	badlan < U badalna
visāh 'trust' < visvāsa- (7.1/114)	itbār < U i'tibār
patthan 'to send' < prátisthathati (7.1/115)	bhejan < U bhejana
vitth, vitthi 'a short distance' < vīlasti- (7.1/116)	fāsala

The frequent natural amalgamation of the modern
Indo-Aryan languages of Pakistan mutually and the successive
influx of certain foreign languages in the region might have
served as a source of language richness overall. Siraiki
vocabulary too offers a wide range of choice to its speakers
and writers with synonyms of different origin all naturalized
words, for instance, takni 'look' < tarkáyati (7.1/179) has
equally common synonyms such as: IA dikh < *drksati (ibid.),
Arabic nazar, Persian dïd, nigāh, and now English aī'saīd 'eye
sight'.

The linguistic resistance of Siraiki however lies in its reserve of words which neither agree nor alternate with Urdu or Panjabi substitutes. The use of loans in place of such original words is not expected from a speaker or writer of Siraiki. Specimens is given in Tab.7/4 below:

Tab.7/4 Stable Inodo-Aryan vocabulary of Siraiki

Siraiki IA	Urdu IA synonym
keri 'ash' (Ju) < *kërita-* (7.1/117)	*rãkh*
chikkar, 'mud' (O'Brien, *chikkur*) < *chikka2* (7.1/118)	*kĩchar*
sinna 'wet' < *sníh-* (7.1/119)	*gĩla*
tassa 'thirsty' < *tarsa-* (7.1/120)	*piãsa*

7.22   Arabic-Persian loans

The term 'Arabic-Persian' is meant to denote the complex history of this group of loan words and to indicate to the principal role of Arabic as the highest source of loans for modern Siraiki (and Urdu, the middle language of modern Arabic-Persian loans) as compared to the ratio of Persian loans. In each of the 25 extracts of Siraiki prose and poetry (8 and 9), words of Arabic appear more than the Persian words in the count of separate Arabic, Persian loans. Conversely, the Persian loans (for the shared origin of Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan) appear to be more assimilated thus Persian stem *farma* 'give your command' > Sr. verbal noun *farmävan*, as against Ar. *zikrun*, 'to remember' Sr. (compound verb) *zikr karan* 'to mention' but not *zikran*.

280

7.23   Some observations about Arabic-Persian loans

There are few points unsettled in the general record and dictionaries about the origin of words some of which are as following:

(i)   Some words stand equally linked with Arabic-Persian as well as with Indo-Aryan as shown in Tab.7/5 following:

Tab.7/5   Siraiki words with confused origin

word ,	{<}	(i) AP root	<	(ii) OIA root
nith vb. stem 'sit'		P nashistan		nísīdati (7.1/180)
dūr 'distant'		P ibid.		dūrá- (7.1/188)
subha, subha, subhavelha 'morning'		Ar. subhun		*subhavëlá (7.1/121)

(ii)   Study of Hindi (and Sanskrit) forsaken by the Muslims, there has developed a fashion of linking origin of local Indo-Aryan words with Arabic and Persian roots such as shown in Tab.7/6 following:

Tab.7/6   Arabic-Persian interpretation of Indo-Aryan words

Words	AP root assumed	plausible IA source
ajāya 'in vain', deprived'	Arabic, < zāi' 'waist' (Abdul Haq 1977:pp.76-7)	as < jayá-, headword, 'victory' (71/151)
zāt 'caste'	as < Ar. zāt(un)	cf. (i) zāt 'eternal Being of His (Farid 218/2) different from (ii) zätän 'casts' (9.4(i)/9) < játya- (7.1/125)
palīta in 'param plīta' (Farid 21/6)	interpreted by the compiler as < Per. falīta'a wick used to ignite a cannon'	< OIA prītá (7.1/122)

(iv) Most of the words of Arabic made way into New
Indo-Aryan languages through Persian as early as the
consolidation of Moughal empire in 16th century when Akbar's
famous minister Todar Mall introduced Persian as official
language of the empire (cf. Masica 1991: pp.7.2), a beginning
of bilingual official environment where a coexistence between
Arabic-Persian and Indo-Aryan brought about a mix of
terminology, e.g. AP *mālia*, {IA *lagān* 'land revenue'} in the
department of revenue and AP *murāsala*, IA *chiṭṭhi* 'letter' <
*cista- (7.1/231) in postal services. In the Indus valley,
however history of Arabic-Persian goes further back to
conquest of the region by Arabs in 8th century followed by the
influence of Qaramits followed by Ghaznvids in the 9th and
10th centuries onwards (cf. 1.4; cf. 10.4). Hence with the
passage of time many loans have gone through multiple changes,
e.g. Sr. *hisse-dār* 'share holder', Per. *hissa-dār* < A.
hissa(tun) 'portion'. Many more can not be referred back to
the source language for lexical (both phonological and
semantic) change having been consolidated, for instance,
ziādti (with assimilation of *d* to *t* > *ziāt'ti*) < Ar. stem
zaid(un).

In comparison between influence of the two languages on
Inodo-Aryan languages, where Arabic appears to having provided
them with more substantial part of vocabulary using Persian as
a carrier, the second offers some grammatical rules
comparatively acceptable to the Indo-Aryan. An example is
Persian *yā-e izāfat* 'genitive -i', e.g. in *farzand-e pakistān*
'son of Pakistan' (also called *ya-e sift* 'adjectival -i' when
occurring in adjectival compounds, e.g. in *watn-i azīz* 'dear

homeland'). This genitive -*i* excessively used as connective is, however, strictly restricted to compounds with both the members to be words of Arabic-Persian origin or Indo-Aryan words with previous Arabic-Persian orientation, thus *farzand-i dharti* 'son of soil' not acceptable (cf. Shackle 1990: pp.61-3). With this confusingly mixed are the AP. *yā-i-nisbat*, i.e. the 'secondary infl.' -*i* and fem. -*i* of IA. origin.

In Siraiki, however, most of such AP. loans mean nothing but being part of modern Urdu loans restricted to written or formal speech. One of the Persian grammatical particles assimilated enough to be applied on original vocabulary (Tab.7/8 is negative preposition *be-* as in *be-mulla* 'priceless' < *mul* 'price' < *mūlya-* (71/159). But less known is the corresponding positive prepn. *ba-*, is instead confused with the first, i.e. *be-* thus Siraiki does not as such distinguish between U. loan *be-hiya* 'shameless' and its antonym *ba-hiya*, instead uses the latter as colloquial version of the first. Another popular Persian prefix *kam-* 'less' is often mixed with IA. negative prefix *ku-* cf. *kubhāga-*, headword, 'ill luck' (71/86) as in *kubakht, kunbakht* Per. *kambakht* 'ill fated' (cf. Shackle 1990: pp.61-3).

There is some evidence of a direct grammatical and phonological influence of both the languages on Siraiki. This we see in the form of affixes and inflections both in loan words of the respective languages (in addition to the modern Urdu loans of the same category) as well as in some original words and in emergence in Siraiki of some Arabic-Persian fricatives (cf. 7.114) as follows.

(a)   The language shows a marked tendency for the
non-Indo-Aryan fricatives; *f, gh, kh, z,* and *sh* against
corresponding stops *ph, g, kh, j* and alveolar fricative *s*
(7.114) and a constancy in retaining 'phonetically redundant
Arabic characters' in written form (cf. 6.82). This implies
that all such words which opt for the four fricatives against
the corresponding Indo-Aryan stops, or include the post
alveolar fricative *sh* or consist one or more of the 'redundant
characters of Arabic' suggest an origin, or at least some
grammatical relation with Arabic-Persian. Most of the entries
with each of the above fricative initial in O'Brien are of the
Arabic-Persian origin. The few exceptions, i.e. the non AP
words found with AP fricative initials in O'Brien are shown in
Tab.7/7 following. (O'Biren's apparent preference for
colloquial versions causes loss of analogy between certain
words and their roots, for example, Sr. *fazir* {for standard
fajir, fajjir < A. *fajr(un)*} 'morning', and also brings about
misplacement of some entries such as **faniar* 'cobra' and *fēṭ,*
fiṭṭak 'curse' {colloquial versions of standard *phaṇiar* and
phēṭ, phiṭṭak respectively} both should have been placed not
under *F* but *Ph.*):

Tab.7/7   The Indo-Aryan words with Arabic-Persian fricatives

(i)   F

faniar 'cobra' < *phanakara-* (71/129)
fēt, fittak 'curse' < *sphitati* (71/130)

(ii)   Kh

khachachar 'mule', f. *khachchir*, also with *-r* < *khaccara-*
      (71/131)

khuchchar 'hock of quadruped' < *khuccā* (71/132)

(iii)   Sh

shabbar 'badly cooked' {<} *sabára-* (71/133)

shaklo 'the manna of the Leia (tamarix lioica') {<} *sarkarā-*,
      --2   (71/134)

shīnh 'tiger', *shīnh makkhi* 'an insect that kills flies' <
      simhá-   (71/99)

shist 'back-sight of gun, sight' {<} *sisti-2* (71/135)

shoda 'a poor, wretched' {<} *sodhya-* (71/136)

shūk 'to hiss, to snort', *shukār* 'blow, breaths', *shuskār* 'a
      dog sent on' {<} *susati2* (71/137)

(iv)   Z

zera 'liver' (< *yakrt* 'liver', Pk. -- *jero* < *yakrt* (71/138)

(b)   Arabic-Persian prefixes and suffixes

The grammatical influence of Arabic-Persian on Siraiki in
the form of assimilation in Siraiki of AP. prefixes and
suffixes, in addition to that pertinent to the loans from
Urdu, is shown in Tabs.7/8, 7/9, 7/10 and 7/11 following:

Tab.7/8   Arabic-Persian Prefixes in Siraiki

Persian prefixes	Siraiki formation
be- Per. 'without'	*be-dard* painless, unsympathetic' *be-rītaa* 'anti customary' < *rītí*-1 (71/155)
dar- Per. 'in'	*dar-haq* 'about, with regard to' *dar-parda* 'secretly'
kār- 'Per. use'	*kār-āmad* 'useful' *kār-o-bār* 'business'
sar- 'Per. head'	*sar-panch* 'head of the community' < *pañcakula-* (71/139) *sar-karda* 'leader'

Tab.7/9   Arabic-Persian suffixes adopted in Siraiki

suffix	adoption in Siraiki
-kãr 'ibid., work' 	mukhtiyar-kãr 'in charge of the affairs' (can also be seen as compound noun) bad-kãr 'sinner'
-dãr (i) 'Per. 'keeper', (ii) IA {<} dhãran 'to keep a pet' < dhãráyati 'holds, carries' (71/140)	tumun-dãr 'chief of a clan' pati-dãr 'shareholder in land, landlord'
-bardãr (Per. keeper)	farmanbardãr 'obedient'
-mand (Per. owner, different from IA -vand, in bhãg-vand 'wealthy' < vándate (71/182)	aqal-mand 'wise'
-stãn (i) Per. 'place' (ii) < -ãsthána- m (71/141)	qhustãn (Per. goristãn) 'graveyard'
-iyat Ar. infl. for making adj. types, is is different from	jehliyat 'ignorance' admiyat 'humanly 'behaviour, being cultured
-at different from -at of OIA origin thus its use is restricted to the words of AP origin)	

Tab.7/10   Arabic-Persian yã-i-nisbat 'secondary infl.' -i

adopted in Siraiki

word	inflected form
Multan 'name of a town'	Multani 'belonging to Multan'
vasaeb 'area, locale'	vasaebi 'belonging to the local area'

Tab.7/11   feminine suffix -*i* in Siraiki

word	suffixed form
----	-------------
Jaṭ m. 'peasant'	_Jaṭi_ f. 'peasant woman'
chhokrā m. 'boy'	_chhokri_ f. 'girl', both < *chōkara- (71/234)

7.24   Arabic Persian loans in categories

Against the background of the above part, Arabic-Persian
loans in Siraiki may be divided into three categories. The
grammatical point about the types placed under (b) and (c) is
that there is generally little or no change in their morphemic
and semantic forms, although phonetic exceptions like *masīt* <
Ar. *masjid* 'mosque' can be bound:

(a)   Assimilated AP Loans

These are loans which are assimilated fully or partly to
accept some grammatical forms of Siraiki. As it is words are
borrowed in noun forms generally and the changes inflicted on
them are according to the grammar of borrowing language.
Assimilation of loans in Siraiki begins with pluralization,
i.e. attaching the plural inflection -*ā̠n*, -*e̠n*, for instance,
Per. *zabān* 'tongue' pl. *zabānhā* > Sr, *zabān* pl. *zabānā̠n*
(8.1(i)/9), and progresses through application of oblique case
inflection -*e*, for example, Per. *khāna* 'house' > Sr. obl.
khane in *mādari zabān de khāne vich* (8.6(i)/8), to verb
inflections such as Per. *bakhsh* 'grant, share' > Sr. tr. pres.
sg. *bakhshe̠nde* 'grants'. Loan assimilation in Siraiki seems
to be a slower process, hence examples of denomination of AP.
loans, such as *qatāra̠n* 'to put in a line' (cf. Farid 229/1) <
AP. *qatār* 'line' are fewer; otherwise as compared to, for
instance, Panjabi, *qubūla̠n* 'to accept' < A. *qubūl*(*un*)

'preceded, accepted' such loans in Siraiki remain dependent on

auxiliary thus *qabūl karan.*, in Siraiki. Loans at different

stages of assimilation are shown in Tab.7/12 following:

Tab.7/12 Fully or partly assimilated Arabic-Persian loans

unassimilated form	assimilation in Siraiki
`arz-dāsht (AP. compound) 'entreaty, written petition'	ardās (Jk. 27.11.1994:3:1)
gumnām 'Per. unknown'	gumnāvān pl. (8.7(i)/8)
nāmurād 'Per. m. unlucky'	nāmurād + f. adj. suf. -*In* > nämuräden f. (9.2(i)/3)
tasbīh 'to praise God'	tasbiyän pl. + elision (9.4(i)/16)
zakhīra 'preserved, stored'	zakhīra + pl. -e + pl. obl. -an > zakhīreyān (8.4(i)/6)

(b)   Loans with no alternate words

Siraiki is fully dependent on these with original

Indo-Aryan words either non existent, for instance, in the

case of words for religious vocabulary of Islam, or having

almost disappeared, shown in Tab.7/13 following:

Tab.7/13 Arabic-Persian loans with no substitutes in original

imān (8.1(i)/10) 'faith'

qurān, qur'ān 'Qur'ān' (Farid 132/3)

du`ā (8.10(i)/3) 'prayer'

khushi (8.10(i)/10) 'Per. happiness'

qaum (8.7(i)/2) 'nation, tribe, clan'

dil (9.1(i)/10) 'Per. heart'

kitāb 'book' (*kitābi* 'bookish' 83:14)

khwāb (9.13(i)/8) 'dream, Per. sleep'

(c)   Loans with IA. alternate original words

These old Arabic-Persian loans are used alternately with

substitute original words in both speech and writings as a

matter of·choice. as shown in Tab 7/14 following:

Tab.7/14   Arabic-Persian loans used alternately

loans as adopted	original substitute words
avāz (8.10(i)/4) 'Per. voice,	*alā* (ibid./9) < (i) *ālapyati* (ii) *alala- (71/142)
dard 'Per. pain'	*pīṛ* < *pīḍā-* (71/144)
zevar 'Per. jewellery'	*gahṇā* pl. *gahnēn* < *gráhana-* (71/145)
susti 'Per. laziness'	*älas* < *alasá-* (71/168)

(cf. *Nisab-e zururi*)

7.25   The contemporary Siraiki vocabulary: loans and original

Apart from social factors like the political forces

responsible for development of Siraiki language as a whole,

there are three main factors which determine the linguistic

shape of its lexicon: the dominant languages of the region,

the media and the pace of socio economic development. The

complexity of these factors combined with the somewhat

confused response of the speakers, i.e. the process of

spontaneous word borrowing being interrupted by the efforts of

language reform through inherent word formation and

'vernacular naming', etc.tc. (cf. Fodor 1984: pp.445) result

in formation of a modern Siraiki reflected in the

following caption from a daily newspaper (Jk. 8-12-1994:4/3);

numāyinda Jhok dā kazan faot; idāre dä armān 'cousin of correspondent of <u>Jhok</u> dies; condolence from the institution, i.e. the staff of Jhok'. Loan items are combined here as: *numāyinda* (Per.). *Jhok da* (Sr.), *kazan* (E), *faot, idāre* (Ar.), *da armān* (Sr.). The last word, i.e. *armān* shows both the urge to replace the Urdu word *ta`ziyat* and obsolescence of the more relevant Siraiki term *mukān* < *mukan-* (71/235).

7.26   Dependence on Urdu

In spite of reservations at the part of the Siraiki language planners towards Urdu (cf. 6.3), the dependence of Siraiki on loans from the latter is obvious. This appears both in word formation as well as in word borrowing as shown in Tab.7/15 following:

Tab.7/15 Urdu loans in modern Siraiki

word	U. form if different
jāeza ghinnaṇ 'to assess' (ibid.)	*jāiza lena*
chīchak 'small pox {against original Sr. *sītlāṇ*} < *sītala* (71/146)	
intekhābāt 'elections' (Rpt:2)	
panāhgīr 'asylum seeker' (Jk. 27-11-1994:3/1, a word for Indian migrants which has now been replaced with a prestigious Islamic connotation *muhājir* 'migrant' for a reference to *hijra(t)* 'the holy prophet's migration for the cause of Islam' but some of anti-*muhājir* elements still use the old word.)	

7.27   Loans from English

The manifold expansion in connotations in a language does

not necessarily lead to replacement of the original words, but
mostly it adjusts with the expanded language data into human
memory. Such seems to be the nature of English loans in
Siraiki. In their phonological adaptation in Urdu language
the *n, v, o,* and initial *s-* of initial clusters become *l, b,*
a, and *is-* (the latter resulting in split of the syllable) as
can be seen in: number, pocket, school and veranda which
become *lambar, pākiṭ, iskūl* and *berānda* respectively (cf.
Zaidi in Fodor 1984: p.418), the latter more correctly being
IA.(P) *barānda* 'portico' < *varanda* 'mass, heap of grass'
(71/233) and given an AP. form as *barāmada* in U arthography
(cf.7.23). However many more things can be added to this
simple observation such as that some of these points can be
true only of the illiterate, rural speakers, little influenced
by the electronic media, while the interesting phonological
contrast appear in pronunciation of some back rounded vowels,
semi-aspirated voiced stops, mild *r* and labial approximant *w*
which in proper Indo-Aryan speech become central unrounded
vowels, unaspirated voiced stops, trilled *r* and labio-dental *v*
respectively, and most important, in Siraiki speech the
initial cluster is split by insertion of *a,* i.e. 'school' >
sakūl (also cf. 'train' > *ṭaraen*).
The English loans in Siraiki can be divided into four types:
(a) old, (b) new, (c) E words replacing old U. loans and (d)
unavoidable E loans, part of the universal phenomenon of
socio-economic development as shown in Tab.7/16 following:

Tab.7/16   English loans

(a)   Old (spoken versions always changed to standard forms in
written, most of the words of this category do not appear in
records) ·   ˙. ˙

word	E form (where relevant)
{*raelan* vb. 'to make something, or someone run'}	rail
sateshan 'station' (8.9(i)/6)	station
mãstar 'school teacher' (CRI-23)	master
{*ishtãm* 'stamp paper'}	stamp

(b)   new

kazan 'cousin' (Jk. 8-12-1994:4/3)

garup 'group' (ibid:3/2)

pares kãnfaraens 'press conference'
   (ibid.)
bajjat 'budget' (Jk. 6-12-1994:2/7)

(c)   E words replacing U. loans

word	U loan replaced
sakũl 'school' (Jk. 2-12-1994:4/5)	*mundarsa* U. *madrisa*
sataf 'staff' (ibid.)	ˋ*amla*
diktetar 'dictator' (ibid:4/5)	*ãmir*
susãeti 'society' (Jk. 6-12-1994:1/6)	*muˋãshira*
{*taeligiram* 'telegram'}	*tãr, tär barqi*
mïting 'meeting' (ibid.)	*ijlãs*

(d)   E loans pertinent to development

kãluni 'colony' (Jk. 2-12-1994:4/6)

dish antina 'dish antenna' (ibid:4/5)

trãle (sg. *trela*) 'trailer' (Jk. 21-4-1991:1/4)

trefik 'traffic' (Jk. 4-12-1994:1/3)

7.28   Penetration of Indian words of Indo-Aryan origin

It is more of lack of knowledge than the nationalistic
hesitation among the contemporary writers of Siraiki (cf.
8.3(iii)) which causes a reduction of Hindi element in modern
Siraiki literature.   Recent trends however show a very
slightest change in vocabulary towards Hindi.   The available
data exhibits both Hindi words appearing as a result of the
writers' search for inherent vocabulary and as the result of
conscious borrowing, as shown in Tab.7/17 following:

Tab.7/17   IIndo-Aryan words of Indian dialects (Hindi, etc.)
word

(a)   inherent

sufna 'dream' (Farid 115/12) < *supna* 'ibid.' (71/210)

panna 'leaf, page' (Jk. 4-11-1994:2/7) < *parná-* (71/147)

mēṇgh (*mēṇgh malhār*) 'rain' (ibid:2/4) < *mēghá-* (71/148)

dhīraj 'courage, endurance' (Jk. 6-12-1994:2/1) {Sr. *dhirta*

        'contentedness'} < *dhīra-* (71/149)

(b)   borrowing

dharti 'soil, homeland' (Jk. 4-12-1994:2/5) < *dhárittrī-*
     (71/150)
janam 'birth' (Rpt:1) < *jánman-* (71/151)
sāgar 'ocean' (8.3(i)/13) < *sāgara-* (71/153)

7.29   Words bearing Siraiki political connotations

There is class of new words, or old words with new
connotations appearing in a contemporary Siraiki whose
origination can only be interpreted against the background of
the language politics.   These appear mainly in writing or in
the rhetoric of the activists.   Some of such words are

directly linked with political abstractions, others express
notions of Siraiki myth, Siraiki antiquity and Siraiki
cultural revivalism with some achievement in standardization
of ·lexicon, which·still others show the efforts for linguistic
'purism' even through arbitrary preference for colloquial
forms such as in *qavza* 'possession' (Jk. 8-12-1994:2/3) for
standard *qabza*.

As against the linguistic revivalism, 'purism' leads to a
forced neologism to replace even such loan words for which
suitable substitutes are not available in the original
vocabulary.

In an overall inconsistency in neologisms pertinent to
the decentralized efforts of language reform, a number of
words however can be seen reappearing in the texts in a
standardized form. This can be seen in Tabs.7/18, 7/19, 7/20
and 7/21 following. Where relevant, Urdu synonyms are
included in the tables to indicate the true connotation of the
unfamiliar Siraiki entries:

Tab.7/18 Words of political connotation

lok rīt 'tradition of the masses' (Rpt:1) < *lōká-* (71/154) and
    rītí- (cf. 71/154; cf. Tab.7/8 respectively

vadhāra 'progress, increase' (ibid.) < *vardháyatí2* (71/156)
    'makes grow or increase'

Siraikistān 'Homeland of the Siraikis, name for the province'

shanākht suñāṇ 'identity'

vānja 'discriminated, deprived' (Rpt.1, *vāñje* pl.) <*vāñchā-*
    (71/157)

bhaivāl 'partners, sister organization' (ibid) < *bhāgapāla-*
    (71/158)

Tab.7/19   Words revived for casual replacement of Urdu words

word	U. word replaced
tremet 'woman' (Jk. 27-11-1994:1/7) < *strīmātrī. (71/123)	`aurat
mul 'price' (ibid:1/1) < mūlya- (71/159)	qīmat
hoka 'announcement' (ibid:4/3,5) < *hōkka- (71/167)	i`lān
ahar 'arrangement, haste' (Jk. 8-12-1994: 1/5) {<} (i) āhāra- (ii) ásarati (71/170)	band-u-bast, jaldi
jandra 'lock' (Jk. 21-4-1994:1/3 jandre pl. (cf. 7121)	tāle

Tab.7/20   Words coined to achieve linguistic purism

word	Urdu synonym
sālgandh 'birth day' (Jk. 2-12-1994:3/8), compound, consisting of (i) AP. sāl 'year', (ii) gandh 'joint, knot' < ganda- (71/161)	sālgirah
ādam shumāri 'population census' (ibid:3/7)	mardum shuāri
dangrāṇ da haspatāl 'animal hospital' (Jk. 6-12-1994:4/5), contains two nouns (i) < *dangara- (71/162) and (ii) < E Hospital respectively	maweshi haspatāl
mukh numāi '(book) launching' (Jk. 8-12-1994:2/2), is a compound, component (i) < mūkha- (71/164) (ii) AP.	runumāi

Tab.7/21   Words and terms standardized

word   U. synonym
----   ----------

gãl muhãr 'conversation, negotiation'   *muzãkrãt, bãt chĩt*
       . (Jk. 27-11-1994:1/4, 3/1), compound,
       component (i) < *gãli-* (71/165) and
       (ii) < *mukhakãstha-* (ibid.)

agvãṇ 'leader' (ibid:1/4) < *agravãha-*   *rãhnuma*
       (71/166)

phateṛu 'having wounds' < *phaṭ* 'wound'   *zakhmi*
       < *phaṭ-1 (71/163)

vasaeb 'homeland' (Jk. 27-11-1994:1/7),   *vatan*
       is anold but isolated form < *vãsate-*
       (71/102)

7.3   Scope of word formation

Word formation is a part of language reform, a phenomenon

pertinent to social change. New words are needed in every day

life and the need is fulfilled in two ways: the development of

vocabulary in every day life by borrowing from other languages

which is called 'spontaneous' and that through 'inherent' word

formation, which may be described as part of the conscious

efforts for language reform by individual writers and experts.

Both the methods proceed as a mixed phenomenon thus making it

difficult to separate one from the other. A balance in both

these ways of increasing the lexicon is considered to be

important, or there arise problems which a language overcomes

only with the passage of time. What matters more is capacity

for word formation within a language as viewed by Fodor (Fodor

1984: pp.445; cf. ibid: pp.46-7; cf. 6.1):

> This problem surpasses the narrow bounds of the
> development of lexicon. It is connected with the origin
> of the language and moreover, the question of the origin
> of folklore and that of artistic literature as a most
> distinct analogy can also be associated with it.

7.31   Multiple patterns of internal derivation

More than one philologists of early modern period of
linguistic investigation of the region applied terms
'irregular' and .'irregularity' on the data of this language
(Burton 1949: p.121; O'Brien 1888: p.vi; Grierson 1896 a:
pp.2-5). This being so even today, invites some
interpretation in addition to that it is merely a sign of lack
of linguistic and literary standardization in language.
Nature of the inconsistency is that many words, although
recognizable through their IA. roots and certain grammatical
categories applicable to them for their respective semantic
properties, do not exhibit patterns in taking inflections and
suffixes such as in the case of adjective (Tab.7/22). However
for two reasons it can be inferred that these are not isolated
words but forms indicator of multiple patterns of derivation
in the language. First, in addition to the link of many Sr.
basic words with OIA. root words (the headwords in CDIAL)
which establishes origin of the vocabulary, certain
inflected/suffixed Sr. forms match with independent headwords
to indicate roots of the inflections and suffixes in OIA. For
instance, basic word *mūṇh* 'mouth, face' < *mūkha-* (cf.
Tab.7/20) has a registered secondary form which is suffixed
with *-āndara* > *muhāṇdra* 'face, features, likeness' <
mukhacandra- (cf. ibid.). Secondly, most of such inflections
and suffixes are, or can be generative for formation of more
words in the relevant category such as {*bhulāṇdra* 'facial
resemblance' <} *bhull* (71/232; cf. 7.19).

Some of such inflections and suffixes active in modern
word formation can be classified as shown in (a), (b), (c),

(d) and (e) following:

(a)   Adjectives;   Out of numerous suffixes of adjective few
are shown in Tab7/22 following:

Tab.7/22   Suffixes of Siraiki adjective

suffix	form
-ar	trahar 'hesitant' < trāhṇu (71/9)
-ak	charak, chark 'of animal to be good in grazing < cārāyati (71/1)
-ā	added to verbal nouns khāvaṇ > kāvaṇā < khádati (71/4) in compound adjectives, e.g. harām khāvana 'one who is in habit of eating but not working'

These are in addition to the standard formation of adjective,

e.g. nihattha 'armless' < nírhasta (71/127).

Shackle's (1976: p.49) observation of this group of words

as:

> -- most adjectives may also be used as nouns, in which
> case they will follow the appropriate nominal declension

indicates the occurrence of many adjective type nouns in

addition to the typical adjectives as shown in (b) following:

(b)   Adjectival

The narrow definition of adjective which applies to a

small group of nouns, such as 'fine' and 'old' in English,

leaves many a nouns of this category in many languages

unattended.   The alternate terms are 'adjective like' or

'adjectival' which in their broadest application can include

everything between the determiner and the noun (Crystal 1990:

Adjective).   In this category, Siraiki has various patterns of

formation which at the best can be enlisted.   One of such

forms is the adjectival derived from adjectives such as;

pilvattiṇ 'paleness' < pīla 'pale' < pitala (71/92) and sināj

'wetness' < *sinna* 'wet' < *sníh-* (71/122).

(c)   Deverbative nouns

    In addition to infinitive and gerundive (cf. Shackle
1976: pp.81-2) there is a great number of deverbative nouns
formed in various inflectional patterns (cf. 7.34), for
instance:

uchāpat {*chāpat*} 'taking goods on credit' < **uccāpayati*
(71/80), *dāt* 'grant' < *dattá* (71/82)

drok 'a run, act of running' < *drukkaṇ* 'to run < *drávati*
'runs'   (71/23)

likhel 'written' < *likhaṇ* 'to write' < *likitá* (71/81).

(d)   Semi auxiliaries

    These are verb phrases in which main verb, a stem takes a
'helping verb', not a typical auxiliary (cf. Shackle 1976:
pp.94-6), but independent verb stems, as auxiliaries. There
is a range of semi auxiliary stems attachable to certain verbs
but not to others without any apparent grammatical reasons
such as *kha* 'eat' < (cf. Tab.7/23) + *cha* 'take' < *chāyayati*
(71/47) > *kha cha* 'have it eaten' and *baeh* 'sit' < *vásati*
(71/11) + *thi* 'be' < *sthitá-* (71/109) > *baeh thi* 'sit down',
but not **kha thi* or **baeh cha*. Few more compounds with
various semi auxiliaries can be seen in Tab 7/23 following:

Tab.7/23   Irregular helping verbs in 'Catenative compound'

helping verb	compound
ghin 'take, receive'	*nap ghin* 'keep a grip'
ḍe 'give'	*ākh de* 'say it'
ghat 'put'	*mãr ghat* 'get (him) killed'
ḍaekh 'see'	*khã ḍaekh* 'taste it'

(cf. Shackle 1976: pp.122-3)

These and many more irregular forms taken as richness of language provide the modern writers with a wide range of roots for coinage and result in transferring inherent irregularity and lack of standardization into the modern vocabulary.

7.32   Linguistic potential

Two main processes of word formation are known as `compositional' and `derivational' (cf. Crystal 1990: Word formation; Fodor).

A review of means of development of lexicon used in Siraiki can be summarized as following:

(i)   The compositional

Analytical type of languages, i.e. languages like Chinese, with a lesser provision of inflectional and affixational structures, develop their lexicon through compositional method. This is combining words of different connotation to encode new meaning. On the other hand, synthetical languages benefit from both the provisions mentioned above. As against certain languages, for instance Arabic, Siraiki has no morphological barriers to hinder the penetration of loan words. Hence compositional word formation

appear both ways by combining original words and by forming compounds of loan and original words as following:

(a)   Compounds of original words

pakkhi 'bird' < *paksín-* (71/174), *vãs* 'inhabitant' < *vassan* 'to dwell' < (cf. 7.16 (d)) > *pakkhi-vãs* 'a nomad'

(b)   Loan word combined with original

yar, AP., *mãr* 'kill' < *mãryátí* 1 (71/5) > *yãr-mãr* 'lit. friend-killer'

(ii)   Old Indo-Aryan affixational, inflectional

Siraiki is one of the root-inflectional languages (Fodor 1984). Although with the passage of time its inflectional structure has become distant from the original Old Indo-Aryan type yet Siraiki also shows clear analogies of inflections and suffixes in selective cases, and indirect matching, in many forms (depending on the depth of analysis of the forms). Some of the Old Indo-Aryan inflections and affixes can be seen in the following:

(a)   Negative prefixes

a-, *an-* and *ni-* (general IA affixes)

a-;   *aetha*, *ãthia* 'land round a well, part cultivated, part left fallow' < *ákrsta-* 'unploughed land' (71/192)

an-; *andittha* 'unseen' < **drksati* (71/179), cf. OIA *aksa-3* 'eye' (71/193) > *anaksã* 'blind' (71/194)

ni-; *hath* 'hand' < *hásta-* (71/184) > *nihattha* 'armless' < *nírhasta-* (71/127)

(b)   Suffixes

-do, -de, -dūn, -dahīn, etc. 'side, direction' as in *Indo* 'to

  this', *idde* 'to this direction' *u'dde* 'that direction',

, *e'dūn* 'from this side', *o'dūn* 'from that

  side', etc. (dialectal variables ignored) < *dís-*

  (71/195)

-vand 'superior, master of --' < *-vand* (cf. Tab.7/9 also cf.

, {Skt. *-vanta*}.

(iii)   General suffixational

     Siraiki shows extended use of suffixes and inflections in

both denominative as well as deverbative derivations of nouns.

the denominative derivation of verbs is however casual in

borrowing such as *dafnāvan-kafnāvan* 'to bury' < AP. n.

dafn-kafn 'ibid.' and scarce in inherent word formation such

as *munjhānvan* 'to feel sadness' (Farid 16/1 *munjhāya* ppt.) <

mūnjh 'sadness' < *mōhyä-* (71/103). Frequent use of suffixes

and inflections is found in denominative nouns derived by the

use of various adjectival suffixes such as *-ar* in *lahndar*

'descendent' < *lahan* 'to descend' < *lāsáyati* (71/10). Certain

inflections are more popular than others among modern writers

and are arbitrarily applied to various stems by way of 'back

formation', i.e. a change inflicted on root as part of

inherent word formation such as application of *-ael* and *-at* as

in *likhēl* 'written' and *likhat* writing < *likhan* 'to write' <

(cf. Fodor: 1984).

(iv)   Parataxis

     Parataxis is a form of language where constructions are

linked solely through juxtaposition and intonation and not

through the use of conjunctions. Although this results from

expertise of a language user however synthetic characteristic of a language helps much in such constructions as readily available inflected forms help in avoiding conjunctions.

⁄ A fullest exploitation of this quality in Siraiki is found in the paratactic poetry of Khwaja Farid (9.1), to a reduced degree also in modern poets like Shahid (9.13). For instance in *hathren paeraren kurval* 'muscle pain in hands and feet' (Farid 69/19) the nouns *hath* 'hand' and *paer* 'foot' are added with three inflections each: (i) diminutive *-ra*, (ii) pl. infl. *-e* and (iii) accusative case infl. *-e*, the last having become innate as a process of dissimilation with the (ii). Similarly, Khwaja's extract (9.1) includes 93 words out which the total number of particles of all types is 12.

(v)   Construction of larger, logical sentences

Languages develop a capacity for construction of larger, compound sentences needed for logical operations and necessary linkage in intellectual thought in written forms and speech of literate as compared to smaller and simpler sentences used in primitive spoken form (cf. Fodor 1984). In this, Siraiki generally follows the pattern of Urdu construction (cf. 8.4). Some modern writers however show successful attempts of innovations in writing compound sentences keeping their construction within the syntax of Siraiki, for instance, Anis Dinpuri in *di si undi darkhwast te likh bhejya, miharbani kar te hun kahin bae kun mulk di khidmat karan ate savab-edaraen khattan da maoqa˙ deyo* 'D. C. sent back his application written on it, be kind enough to give someone else a chance to serve the country and earn the blessing of the two-worlds' (Jk. 4-12-1994:2/8; cf. 8.1).

(vi)   Nominal and verbal compounds

     With one of his examples, *ma* 'mother' {< *mātr-* (71/197)}
+ *jaya* 'born' {> *jamman* 'to be born, to grow' < (cf. 71/151) >
mājāya 'full brother', Shackle (1976: p.117) has classified
this construction as 'the most productive class of true
compounds'. This combination, 'noun + past participle', is
used for endless formation of adjectival types as is a reverse
of it, i.e. 'past participle + noun' connected with catenative
participle (ibid: p.82), economized with elision of the
catenative to frequent formation of nominative compounds,
mainly in poetry, examples are (a) and (b) following:

(a)

ujir giyān ate nikhir giyān da

thinda qismat nāl milāpe

'Of the dislocated ones and of the parted ones

By luck (scarce) is rejoining'

{line of a folk song}

(b)

vb. stem *thi* 'become' < *thivan* 'to become' < (cf. 7.32) +
catenative ptc. *kar* 'having done' < *karan* 'to do' < *karōti*
(71/196) + *mūnjhā* 'sad' < (cf.7.32(iii) > *thi kar mūnjha*
'having become sad', and after elision of catenative ptc. *kar*
> *thi mūnjha*, frequently found in Khwaja Farid, for instance;
kha sāg pusi di phunri   nibh vaēnde vaqt sukhēre
(Farid 173/8)

'by having eaten `sag`, i.e. a dish made of green leaves of
mustard, and that of dried flower of `pusi`, a wild
plant, times are passed comfortable'

7.34   Word formation

More than one definition can be applied at a time at various types of word formation in Siraiki to see its socio-political aspects together with the linguistic phenomenon. For instance, many new words can be interpreted as neologisms and can also be seen as having resulted from the processes like loan creation, loan translation, or loan extension. Word formation in Siraiki can be roughly classified as follows (for definition of 'terminology' peculiar to linguistics used in this subchapter see (i) Crystal 1990 in the dictionary order, (ii) Fodor 1984 and (ii) Zvelebil as referred to);

(a)   Neologism

Neologism is a new word or expression, or a new meaning for an older word. It is the second phrase of this definition which applies to the major portion of neologism in Siraiki. Examples shown in Tab.7/24 also include the loan words intended to be replaced:

Tab.7/24 Neologism; with the corresponding loan words

word with old meaning	new meaning	loan word replaced
utāra 'remedy, tracing'	'copy'	U naql
pukh 'share'	'section'	U shuˇba
nitāra 'floating on surface, conclusion'	'conclusion'	U khulāsa

(Arch-48; _Sojala-3,4_, p.26; _2_: pp.26,32; _Sunan-4_: pp.3,13)

(b) Poetical neologism

This type of word formation although perfectly charged
with meaning can standardized for use in non poetical texts.
A fine example is,a derivation *aṇ-diṭharū̃n* 'lit. from the word
unseen, heaven' formed as, negative suf. *aṇ-* 'not' (cf. 7.32)
+ vb. ppt. *diṭṭha* 'seen' < *dṛṣṭá-* 71/179), inflected in the
popular diminutive suf. *-ra* > *diṭharā̄* 'person or place seen' +
postposition *-uṇ* 'from', composed in a poem by Shahid
(unpublished) never in use before. A few more examples of
poetical neologism are shown in Tab.7/25 following:

Tab.7/25 poetical neologism

word with old meaning	new meaning	loan word replaced
dā̄dh old, *ḍaḍhap* 'use of force'	'collective	U. *bā̄lā̄dasti*
dharti vā̄s 'sitting on the earth' (cf. 7.28)	'son of soil'	U. *maqā̄mi*
panj daryai 'from five rivers'	'a Panjabi'	U. Panjabi

(9.7(i)/1; 9.13(i)(a)/1,(b)/3)

(c) Coinage

Pure coinage are rare in Siraiki. It is rather new
derivations from the old material in line with the standing
rule, i.e. mixing any inflection or suffix with a stem, or
with a loan word casually, produces a new word, a
characteristic of the language. For instance, *-el* in *likhel*
(cf. 7.32), a standard adjective but one can easily identify a
man with long nose as *nakel* < *nak* + *-el*. Similarly *faz'l* 'AP.
scholarship' > Sr. *fazal* + adj. suf. *-aet* > *fazalaet* in
fazlaet di pag 'turban of scholarship'(cf.7.19), few more

examples shown in Tab.7/26 following:

Tab.7/26   Word formation by means of coinage

old version if any	new word	loan word replaced
munh 'face'	muhāg 'intro. to a book'	U. tā`aruf
soch 'thinking'	suchaet 'intellectual'	U. danishwar
kholan 'to open' 'wort opening'	kholvāṇ 'clear'	U. wāzih
sedha karan 'to go straight'	sedh kāri 'to direct a play'	U. hidāyat kāri

(Gadi 1990: intro; Sojhla-3,4: pp.5,26,31)

(d)   Calque

It is word formation through word to word translation of a standard term from any language such as vadhāra 'progress' < (cf. Tab.7/18) borrowed from Urdu irteqä, more examples shown in Tab.7/27 following:

Tab.7/27   Terms coined as calque

Calque	the term it is translated from
mohari akkhar 'foreword'	U. pesh lafz, E. foreword
chhāp ghar 'printing house'	U. chhāpa khāna
kitāb lari 'book series'	U. kitābi silsila

(ibid; Malghani 1994: pp.3,48; Sunan-4, Op.cit:3)

(e)   Semantic change

In this class of word formation original words used with simple meaning in everyday life are encoded with modern connotations and literary concepts such as with morphemic change if necessary such as sajja 'fresh' < sajya- (71/236) >

sajal 'newly published, appeared'. Example are given in Tab.7/28 following:

Tab.7/28 .Word formation by semantic change in original vocabulary

word with new meaning different	original/meaning if
salār 'organization'	'to chain cattle together'
akhar + -aet > akhraet 'vocabulary'	< *akkhar* 'letter'
vasaeb 'homeland'	'a locale, a region'

(<u>Sunan-4</u> p.48; <u>Sojhla-3,4</u> p.22)

(f)   Code switching

     This is a common and effective way of lexical extension. It is using a loan word followed by a synonym of the original, or vice versa to make the original word known for the same meaning (cf. 8.4). This results from dual constraints on a writer's subconscious about writing original words on the one hand and making a writing intelligible to the reader on the other such as Siraiki, *kam* 'work' < *kārman-1* (71/237) + Persian, *kōshish* 'effort' combined by Siraiki conjunctive *ate* 'and' > *kam te koshish* 'work and effort' (8.8). Besides this, there is still another form of use of loans, i.e. combining an original word with a loan to coin new terms (sometimes surely these use familiar AP. terms to define a Siraiki neologism, e.g. Sr. *rūp* 'form, lit. facial appearance' < *rūpá-* (71/238) followed by AP. *shakl > rūp shakal* (Rpt:1) as shown in Tab.7/29 (i) and (ii) following:

Tab.7/29 Worfomation by means of code switching and loan

combination

(i) Code switching

compounds	analysis of words: original	loan word
chizān ate mas'aliyān 'things and problems'	chīzān	AP mas'aliyän
chanaiyān te khūbiyān 'qualities'	chanaiyān	AP khūbiyān
chhāṇ phaṭak te tahqīq 'research'	chhāṇ phaṭak/ (8.4)	AP tahqīq

(ii) Loan combination

ahr kammeṭi 'executive committee'	ahr 'haste' E committee
kar vand 'distribution of duties'	vand 'distribution' + AP kār 'work'

Some writers made excessive use of their personal

terminology in an effort to explain new subjects like Buddhism

in a purer language (cf. Ashulal 1995: p.13), others to

replace standard Urdu terminology.

In short, in the absence of binding rules of language

use, the writers, burdened with the task of expansion and

enrichment of Siraiki language, keep on experimenting with

neologisms.

(Fodor 1984: pp.441-52; Zvelebil 1983: pp.433-36)

CHAPTER EIGHT

EXTRACTS FROM SIRAIKI PROSE:

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENT

Introductory note to Extracts (chapters 8 and 9)

Following two chapters consist extracts from modern
Siraiki prose (Chapter 8) and poetry (Chapter 9) each extract
followed by its translation and a brief comment on writer, his
style and language. In these, an elementary grammatical
analysis is used only as a tool to describe the type of
vocabulary/lexicon found in different extracts with an
emphasis on identification of loans words from Urdu. Overall
linguistic review of Siraiki is given in separate chapters 6
and 7.

In selection of the extracts, geographical
representation, i.e. taking samples from all major dialects,
variety of the subject and, to some extant, that of the style
and format has been taken into account. Hence, for instance:
in prose, extract 8.11 represents the Northern Siraiki region
as 9.6 and 9.9 do in poetry. Extracts 8.5, 8.8 and 8.9 in
prose and 9.2, 9.3, 9.5 and 9.8 in poetry are taken from the
central (Western) area, i.e. the major part of Daman belt of
the region, and its dialect. Extracts 8.2, 8.4, 8.10 and
8.12, prose, and, 9.4, 9.11, and 9.12, poetry, belong to
Central (Eastern) area and its dialect). The Southern area of
the region and its dialect are represented in 8.1 and 8.3, and
in 9.7 and 9.10 in prose and poetry respectively. This
localization, however, does not apply to 9.1, i.e. Khwaja
Farid who both for his period and the universality of the

theme and content of his poetry stands above such
distributions (cf. 10.1). The time gap between the oldest
sample of poetry (9.1) and that of prose (8.4) reflects the
late start of prose writing in Siraiki.

As far as the content is concerned, most of the extracts
both prose and poetry speak of sentiments pertinent to Siraiki
movement; some directly, as prose 8.4, 8.5 and 8.6, and poetry
9.7, and 9.13, and others deal with the subject as between the
line such as 8.2 and 8.7, prose, and 9.6, 9.10 and 9.11
poetry. In the rest, extracts 8.9 to 8.12 in prose, the bits
from the short stories, the first and most popular format in
the beginning, reveal the typical problems of love in the
rural area and still reflect a sufficient mutual difference of
theme and treatment. The themes prevalent in poetry, in
addition to the most common theme of love and *birha* 'pains of
parting' reflected in 9.2, 9.3 and 9.8, are the conventional
ideas of social reformism as in 9.4 and 9.5. Extract 8.8,
prose, and 9.6 and 9.10, poetry show the influence of
contemporary socialist ideas through Urdu literature on
Siraiki writings.

The extracts should also exhibit a diversity of style and
diction overall. Prose being vehicle of the more practical
affairs of day to day life as compared to the relatively
abstract ideas encoded in poetry, there seems to be
unavoidable impact of the language of news and politics of
Urdu media on the first, for instance in 8.5 and 8.6. However
a tendency to record original words by using a purer form of
language can be appreciated in 8.1 and 8.2, prose, and 9.5,
poetry.

Apart from fiction, essay appears to be the most common
format of modern Siraiki prose such as 8.3, 8.7 and 8.8 and
yet there are good instances of other formats, for instance,
sketch writing in ,8.1. In poetry, the conventional format of
var 'epic, long poem', 9.4 and 9.5 used for historic as well
as social themes has been replaced by *ghazal* 'verse', 9.2 and
9.9, a format popular for its economical accommodation of all
types of themes, which in turn had to make place for *nazm*
'poem', i.e. 9.6, 9.8, 9.10, 9.11, 9.12 and bits in 9.13, a
type flexible in the rules of stylistics to cover modern
thought exhaustively. Extract 9.1, 9.3 and 9.7 are the
exceptional instances of the mystical, romantic format *kafi*
(cf. Shackle: 1983a), the folk format of *dohra* and a new type
seraeko respectively.

In the endorsement of relevant information in these
chapters, some flaws of date such as those of date of birth
are part the overall problem of this work explained in
introduction. The entries in the text of non-English titles
are followed by translation in single quotes except in case of
such titles which are to be fully entertained in the main
bibliography again. The words and phrases of extracts
discussed in the comments are referred to by indicating, in
parenthesis, their line number in the transcript. The
transcription follows the standard convention of transcription
of South Asian texts in Roman and a preference for Siraiki
pronunciation of the words common with Urdu. A deviation to
this has been allowed in transcription of proper names and the
names of much known entities where non-academic, popular
spelling of Pakistani English are adopted.

8.1   Anis Shah Jilani

(i) Transcript

_gālh Niāz Fatehpuri de bhajjaṇ te Maolānā Maodūdi de bhajāvaṇ
di thīndi pi hai. hā Niāz kūṇ phutāṇ māraṇ dā shaūnq tāṇ ejha
nāṇ hā par akhēṇda hā Maodūdi meḍa khutābi ae jadāṇ akho saḍ
ghinnūṇ, par Maolānā jaḍāṇvi apṇe hayāti de hāl havāl kithaīṇ
likhvāyōnins daslyōnins Niaz da nāṇ ghinnaṇ harām has toṇēṇ jo
ajjaṇ nīngarra aslūṇ chhokarra hā te Bhopāl shahr ich Niāz
saeb dī lamb te āṇ charhya hā. gaḍ rahaṇ bahaṇ dā sāṇga baṇ
giyā hā. Niāz de sohbati kujh tāṇ Niāz kanūṇ sikkhya hose.
Niāz tāṇ bala khūda dī hā. ūnda likkhaṇ ūnda alāvaṇ āpatgiri
vich buḍḍal hā. o tāṇ har velhe ishq ich pur rāhṇda hā. meḍa
imāne jo Maolānā Maodūdi dī likkhat vich jerhi chas ae iyho
sāra sachcha faez Niāz da is bhānvēṇ manne nāṇ manne. Niāz
nāl rahhaṇ te nāṇ rangijaṇ thi nīṇ sagda. o tāṇ chakmak ha.
rat dīnh jitthāṇ vaññin gaḍ. khāvaṇ pīvaṇ gaḍ da. Maolānā de
murīdīṇ kaḍāhīṇ iyha gālh nīṇ chōli. In vich kērhi ghaṭki hai
eyho koi unhaeṇ kanūṇ puchchhe._

(Jilani 1990: p.21)

(ii) Translation

A discussion was taking place about Niaz Fatehpuri's
flight and about Maulana Maududi's making him run away.
Actually, Niaz was not that fond of boasting, but he used to
say, 'Maududi is my friend. Whenever you say, we can call
him'. But for the Maulana, whenever he recorded or talked
about the circumstances of his life, it was forbidden to
mention the name of Niaz. Although he was still young, really
a boy, when he stepped in the target area of Niaz `sahib' in

the city of Bhopal. A relationship of close companionship

developed. Niaz's close friend must have had learnt something

from him. Niaz was an overwhelming presence. His writing and

talking was immersed in the emotions of mutuality. He was

always overwhelmed with love. It is my belief, no matter,

Maulana Maududi admits it or not, that the taste that his

writing (style) has got is all out of true grace (influence)

of Niaz on him. Living with Niaz without being influenced was

impossible. He was magnet-like (charismatic). Day and night,

wherever they went, it was together. Their eating and

drinking was together. This is something the Maulana's

disciples have never raised. `What was wrong about it ?' --

this is what one might ask them.

(iii) Comments

     A S Jilani (b c.1935), is a hereditary landlord of

Muhammadabad, district Rahim Yar Khan in the Ex-state of

Bahawalpur. As he has regretfully stated in the foreword of

his book, he has long been associated with Urdu, and has only

recently started writing in Siraiki, and becoming a Siraiki

activist. The passage is taken from a book of essays

describing some well known political and literary figures met

by the author. It deals with the one-time friendship in

Bhopal (later changed into scholarly differences) between the

formidable Urdu literary personality of Niaz Fatehpuri and the

then young Maulana Maududi (d 1979) who subsequently founded

and led the Jama 'at-e-Islami, the best known right-wing

Islamic party in Pakistan.

     There are a few orthographic peculiarities, e.g. the

redundant nasalization of the final suffix in *likhvāyōnins* and *daslyōnins* ((i)/5). The language is largely based on the Southern dialect, in the fashion of most Bahawalpuri writers, and makes few concessions to Central norms, extending even to *buddal* 'drowned' ((i)/9) standard *budda hōya*, a Sindhi type perfective participle (Shackle 1976: p.180). Southern lexical items are frequent, e.g. *khutābi* 'friend' ((i)/3) *lamb* 'target' ((i)/7). In syntax, there is an artful use of simple short sentences, including colloquial ellipses, e.g. *rāt dīnh jitthān vaññin gad* 'day and night, wherever they go', together ((i)/13). Together with the unabashed use of dialectal items and the cultivated colloquial tone, as further reflected in such lexical items as *chakmak* 'magnet', i.e. charismatic ((i)/13) and the use of substandard forms of the causative, marked with *l*, e.g. *daslyōnins* lit. `he caused it to be told' ((i)/5) < *daslan* 'to tell', standard *dasayonis* < *dasāvan* there are occasional neologisms, e.g. *āpatgīri* 'mutuality' ((i)/9) < *āpat* (each other) + Persian *-gīri* 'taking'. In spite of such strongly Siraiki features, the overall effect is reminiscent of the artfully simple Urdu style cultivated in 1920s by Mirza Farhatllah Beg (Shackle 1990: p.133).

316

8.2   Abdullah Irfan

(i) Transcript

vadde galh karendin jo sikkhān de vele____du sikh sardārān,
rissan singh te missan singh nē hik musalli ya jāngli kūn bas
hīn sānge phāsi lā ditta hā jo ō har rāt vasti de nīngar
chhūhar chhatīkar vatle kar, goth lā ke baeh vanñe hā te
unnhān kūn vag dandan da qissa sunāve hā____te chhēkar ich e
ākhe ha____jo "sain! aj Īsa mūsa tān joban te hin par inhānda
matrēya dandan ajjan torīn unhān de vag vadda
chhirēnde____sudh nain jo kaddān budh āsis te inhān di khutti
thapesi_____" hun kai āhdin jo sūli ūnkun īn sāngūn
chārheya hāne jo ō hik chheru kūn srdārān da bhirā ākh te
unhān di namōshi karēnda hā____te bae āhdin jo e vi hōsi par
vichli galh e hai jo hūn lok mundhūn hūn jangli kūn dandan
ākhan lag pae han____jerha unhān kūn dandan da qissa sunēnda
ha____

(Irfan 1992: pp.6-7)

(ii) Translation

The elders say that in the Sikh period, two Sikh Sardars, Rissan Singh and Missan Singh hanged a *musalli* (name of the lowest Panjabi Muslim caste equalent to the untouchables among Hindus), or a wild man only for the reason that every night he used to gather the youngsters and boys of the village around him, forming a sitting, and tell them the tale of *Vag dandan da* [`The Dandan's flock of camels']. In the end, he used to say; 'Lord!, Today Isa and Musa are still in their prime, but their step-brother Dandan is still herding their flocks. Who knows when he will show sense and punish them.'

Now, some people say that he was hanged because he was insulting the sardars (chiefs) by speaking of a herdsman as their brother---and others believe, this too may be true but the actual story was that the people had started giving the name of Dandan to the person who told them the story of Dandan----.

(iii) Comments

Malik Abdullah Irfan of Bahawalpur (d 1997), was born and brought up in Kahrorpakka in the basin of the river Satluj. A Siraiki political activist (senior vice-president of the Pakistan Siraiki party) and editor of casually published *Mu 'ashara* (monthly), Irfan availed himself of the chance to collect folk-stories by listening to them from the natives of the Cholistan.

The passage is taken from his foreword to one of the folk stories *Vag Dandan da*. Dandan is the main character of the story who was deprived of his share by his two big brothers, but later carried the day. The story reflects the struggle between the haves and the have-nots, and the writer, as hinted here, has symbolically aligned this with the economic contradiction between the Siraikis and the Panjabis.

The style is inconsistant and the author seems attempting to record premitive type, spoken speech of the past. Many colloquial elements of native speech can be observed in various forms. *Vadde galh karendin* 'the elders say' ((i)/1) is a typical storyteller's opening phrase. The agentive postposition *ne* ((i)/2) is only used in limited parts of cities of Multan and Bahawalpur. The use of the conditional

beh va͂n͂e _ha_ 'he should have sat' ((i)/4), _sun̪āve ha_ 'he
should have told' ((i)/5) and _ākhe ha_ 'he should have said'
((i)/6) is more characteristic of the spoken language than the
equalant past continuous _beh vaen̪da ha_ 'used to sit', _sun̪ēn̪da_
_ha_ (used to tell) and _āhda ha_ 'used to say', which would be
more in keeping with the formal standard language. _nĩngar_
'boy' ((i)/4) and chher̪u 'herdsman' ((i)/11) are however
usefull examples of recording of the Siraiki stock of words.

The last three lines show an interesting twist in the
story. It is that to some people actual reason for the
assassination of the storyteller was that people were taking
him as the hero Dandan once again among them, a fine clue to
the nature of the masses to believe in the eternity of their
heros and martyrs and wait for them, a phenomenon which is
best embodied in _masih-e mau ˋūd_ 'a Messiah whose revisit is
promised'.

Apart from two instances of substandard phonological
choices, i.e. marking of the plosives as implosives _s͟ānge_
'connection' and _j͟o_ 'that' ((i)/3) originally, _sange_ and _jo_,
and omission of aspiration in _sud_ 'sense' ((i)/8) originally,
sudh, the passage is clearly spelt.

8.3   M Ismail Ahmadani

(i) Transcript

mazi qarīb vich jerhi adbi rivayat di navvīn ver charrhi
e ūndi samōli qalh karēndūn.

in ver kūṇ hindu mithālōji da ghalat nāṇ ditta gae kyūn jo
mithālōji nāl jerha fikri nizām munsalik hōṇde ate aqīdatī
shiddat da ūṇde gird sakht pahra hōṇde ūṇ di tāṇ ith bo, hava
vi koeni albatta qadīm bharat-varsh de nīm tārīkhi, rumānvi
kujh nāṇ husn-e ibārat sange ate tarz-e nao ijād karaṇ de
shaoq ich kam āṇde gaen ate muravvaj urdu siraeki lafzēṇ de
mutarādif saokhi hindi ate purāne siraeki lafz likkhye gaen -
allā allah khaer sallā.

assāṇ e tāṇ nisse ākh sagde ke unnhāṇ likhāriyāṇ kūṇ
hindu mithālōji de ūṇ fikri nizām kanūṇ vāqfiyat vi koeni jaeṇ
di mith (MYTH) de aere te mutlaq aqdār (sach husn khaer) di
mari usari gai e ate jērhi vedānt de sāgar ich vaṅ chhōr
karēndi e. thī sagde ke unnhāṇ in da kitabi mutāleya kita
hove lēkin maojūda siraeki likhtāṇ ich tāṇ e nāṇ ate alfāz
sirf andāz-e bayāṇ de husn ate anōkhe-pan kūṇ nishābur
karēndin

     tūn sattī sāvitrī....

     maēṇ raja nā rāth....

     nā mohan nā rām.....

     apni prēm katha - hik adhūri shām
īṇ kovita vich sivae chand nāṇvēṇ, tashbīhēṇ ate isti'aryēṇ de
bi kōi hindu fikr o falsafa ya mazhab di shānd naīṇ mildi.
hik albela-pan jōgi berāgi andāz ate la-ubāli-pan kanūṇ siva
bya kujh koenī.

(Ahmadani 1990: pp.1-12)

(ii) Translation

Let us briefly talk in an overall way about the new movement of literary traditions which has arisen in the recent past.

This movement has been wrongly given the name of `Hindu Mythology', because it does not include the slightest whiff of the system of thought and the strictness of belief which is attached to the "Hindu Mythology", although a few semi-historical, romantic names from Ancient India *are used* for the stylistic effect and in the desire to invent a new style, and current Urdu and Siraiki vocabulary is replaced with synonyms from simple Hindi and ancient Siraiki, and that is all.

We cannot say that these writers are ignorant of the system of thought of Hindu Mythology, on the foundation of whose myth was constructed the edifice of absolute values (truth, beauty and goodness) and which make waves in the oceans of Vedanta. It may be that they have studied it through books, but the existence of such names and words in the present-day Siraiki writings only exhibits elegance of expression and exoticism:

You are Sati, Savitri (f names in Indian mythology)

I am neither a king nor a knight)

Neither Mohan nor Ram (m names in Indian mythology)

That is our `love tale', an incomlete evening

In this piece of poetry, except for a few names similes and metaphors, no sign of Hindu thought, philosophy, or religion can be found. There is nothing in it but an exposition of the style of a hermit and recklessness.

321

(iii) Comments

Ahmadani (b 1930s) belongs to the `Ahmadāni' subtribe of the
famous Baloch tribe Lāghari in Dera Ghazi Khan. It may be
worth mentioning that Rasulpur, the small town of the
subtribe, is known as having a 100% literacy rate, a unique
example in the region, and with that a handful of individuals
with academic and literary tastes. I Ahmadani, himself a
practising lawyer settled in Sanghar (Sindh) and one of the
few survivors of the first batch of Siraiki prose writers has
produced three books: _Pīt de pandh_, (`Journeys of love'),
Chholyān and _Amar kahāni_ which he himself classifies as `a
travelogue', `a novel' and a `a literary saga' respectively.
He has won Pakistan Academy of Letters awards for his first
and second publications.

Ahmadani has been also contributing as a critic of modern
Siraiki literature, where his subject has been the deviations
from tradition rapidly introduced by the post-1970s
progressive group of writers and poets. His criticism also
reflects the generation gap between those who observed the
pre-partition division between the Muslims and the non-Muslims
and the generation gaining its consciousness afterwards. The
new breed of Siraiki intellectuals, like those among the
Panjabis and Sindhis, find no immediate reason for supporting
the anti-Hindu ideology of the state (cf. Shackle 1970 p.244).
They purposefully try to avoid Perso-Urdu vocabulary, and are
fascinated by its replacement by Hindi vocabulary. The title
`Ajjar ganga pār da' [`A flock from beyond the Ganges'] is
originally a line of a poem to which the critic returns as a
taunt. The article is targeted on the diction of the popular

modern Siraiki poet Ashu Lal Faqir (cf. 9.11). The passage
contains some scholarly points exposing the trend of casual
use of Hindi diction and the obsolete Siraiki words. That the
new writers perhaps do not properly know the system of thought
of the Hindu mythology based on the universal values
((i)/9-11), is the centre of his argument. In the end,
however, this scholarly criticism turns into verbose argument,
e.g. *hik albēla-pan, jōgi berāgi andāz te la-ubāli-pan kanūn
savā bya kujh koeni* 'it is nothing but a frivolous, hermit and
ascetic like style and a recklessness' ((i)/20-1).

Though the passage exhibits a free use of Urdu literary
terminology such as *husn-e 'ibārat* 'stylistics'), *tarz-e nao*
'new style' ((i)/6) and *muravvaj* 'current' ((i)/7), yet there
are few instances of artfull use of Hindi words highly suited
to the context, e.g. *sāgar* 'ocean' ((i)/11) and *kavīta*
'poetry' ((i)/19). Besides some colloquial pieces of
vocabulary, e.g. *ver* 'movement' ((i)/2,3) a feature of Sindhi
Siraiki is reflected in *chhōr* 'water-wave' ((i)/12), for
standard *chhol* in the southern, central and northern dialects,
(Sindhi *r* for Siraiki *l*), and a characteristic of the southern
dialect is evident in the first person plural present *karendūn*
'we do' ((i)/2) as against central *karēnde haen*.

8.4   Mahr Abdul Haq

(i) Transcript

hun seraeki zabān di miṭhās te loch lachak de gun gāvan da

vaqt nahin. indiyān chanāiyān te khūbiyān gināvan da vaqt vi

guzir gae. sari dunya īnde miṭhās di divāni e te indiyān

khūbiyān di qāil e. hun vaqt īn zabān di sahīh te be laos

khidmat karan da ā gae te īndi taraqqiyān diyān rahān sochan

dā ā gae.siraeki di taraqqi vaste jitthān īndi hamsaiyān

boliyān de zakhiriyān kūn khanālan di loṛh he utthānlafzān de

ālāva muhavreyān, akhānān te zarb almisalān kūn vi partālan di

loṛh e, tānjo unhān vichchūn chaniyān chaniyān chīzān ghin te

siraeki de andir samo ghidda vanne te īnde dāman kūn jerha

paehle vi vasiʿe, bya zyāda vasiʿ kita van sagge, jitthān taen

īn qism di chhān phaṭṭak te tahqīq de kam da taʿalluq e, sākūn

afsōs nāl manrān pōsi, jo hun tain seraeki zabān te jitlā vi

kam kītā gae, angrezi ya dujheyān ghaer mulki lokān kite te

apniyān zarūrtān sāmne rakh te kite. sadeyān apneyān lokān

hun taīn koi khas tavajjoh naīn ditti. _____ du chār

___ adib ginye munye eyho jihen hin jinhān zabān di thos

khidmat karan di kōshish kiti e.

(Abdul Haq 1971: pp.18-9)

(ii) Translation

Now, it is not time to sing the praises of sweetness and delicacy of the Siraiki language. The time for recounting its qualities and beauties has also gone. The whole world is mad about its sweetness and is convinced of its beauties. Now the time has come to serve it truely and sincerely and to consider the ways for it to progress. While there is a need to explore

resources of its neighbouring languages, so too is there a need to examine, besides its words, its idioms, and proverbs and sayings , so that good things can be selected from these and be incorporated within Siraiki, that its embrace which is already large can be made still larger.

As far as the job of such investigation and research is concerned we shall regretfully have to admit that whatever work on Siraiki language has been done until now has been done by the British or other foreigners, and they did it in accordance with their own needs. Our own people have not so far paid any particular attention to it. ____ such are only few -- writers who tried to render solid service for the language.

(iii) Comments

Mahr Abdul Haq (1915-1995) a native of the Thal (Leiah) now settled in Multan, died recently was a well known researcher, and one of the vanguard of the present Siraiki literary movement. An educationist by profession who retired as Inspector of Schools, he developed a taste for local culture, language and folk lore during his professional engagements in the remote Siraiki countryside. His first known publication on the subject, i.e. _Seraeki lōk qit_ appeared in 1964. His Ph.D. thesis _Multāni zabān aur us kā Urdu se ta`alluq_ (1967) is the first work by a contemporary native-speaker on the language. It was followed by his other works such as _Nur-e Jamāl_ (1974), a compilation of poetry of an 18th century Siraiki poet of Multan and _Seraeki zabān aur uski hamsāya `ilāqai zabānēn_ (1977), etc. He was a prolific

scholar of the old type who used more than one language as his
medium (Siraiki, Urdu and English) and attempted Quranic
subjects as well as history and linguistics. To the surprise
of his readers, he published a collection of his verses
Lālaryāṇ [`Pearls'] in 1990 using Lalli Lal as pen-name to
announce himself as a poet at the age 76.

The passage is taken from one of his articles which is a
call to invite people to work for the promotion of research on
Siraiki language. In this piece of writing the author spoke
as a preacher whose status was recognized. As if recording a
message for the people, he drew their attention to the job
which was important but forgotten.

The effects of the tradition of Urdu prose are reflected
in many ways. In syntax, we see embedded sentences which are
rarely to be found in original Siraiki speech, e.g. *huṇ vaqt*
īn zabān di sahīh te bēlaos khidmat karan da ā gae te īndi
taraqqiyāṇ diyāṇ rahāṇ sōchaṇ da ā gae ((i)/2-3). The passive
construction of subjunctive, e.g. *giddha vaññe* 'be taken',
kīta vañ sagge 'can be made' ((i)/6), the Siraiki forms of
which would have been *ghinīje* and *kar sagīje*, the use of Urdu
synonyms together with the Siraiki words, e.g. *chahāiyāṇ*
'qualities' followed by *khūbiyāṇ* ((i)/1) and *chhāṇ phaṭak*
'research' followed by *tahqīq* ((i)/7) (which is an important
way of slipping new words into the language), and the frequent
occurrence of Urdu vocabulary are some major instances of the
impacts of Urdu prose. On the morphological level the plural
inflection *-en* a prominent feature of SrC. is replaced by *-an*
a characteristic of Siraiki N., e.g. *taraqqyāṇ* 'promotions',
rāhaṇ (ways) ((i)/3) and *lafzāṇ* 'words' ((i)/4), etc. The

orthography is characteristic of the earlier method denotating
the Siraiki implosives, i.e. placing the dot for *g* over the
letter instead of underneath as developed later, e.g. in
chanāyān ((i)/1).,

8.5 *E'lān-e bangla kurāi* ('The Bangla Kurai declaration')

(i) Transcrip

siraeki lōk qaomi shu'ūr de husūl de ūn marhale ich hin, jehṛa hāli kach.pak da marhalah e. siraeki qaomi tahrīk de bāre bahuñ sāri chīzān te masleyān te miyānwāli kanūn sadiqabād taīn te sahivāl kanūn rujhān taīn sāre siraeki vaseb ich hāli hikkā rae naīn banrīn. apnēn āp kūn, siraeki lōkān kūn bahūn sāri galhīn dassan te samjhāvan di lōṛh e. jadān taīn khud kūn siraeki ākhan te akhāvan da tasavvur sāre lōkān di lūn lūn ich rach vas naīn vaēnda sāda siraeki hōvan dā davā kur e je kūr nain tān kamzōr zarūr e. In kīte har khūh, har vasti te har shahr ich har bande nāl siraeki di galh tōran di lōṛh e te apna āp suñanan ich ūndi madad karan di lōṛh e.

(*E'lan* pp.3-4).

(ii) Translation

The Siraiki people are yet at that stage in the gaining of national consciousness which is marked by uncertainty. There are a many matters and issues relating to the Siraiki national movement on which a unanimous opinion in the whole Siraiki homeland, from Mianwali to Sadiqabad and from Sahiwal to Rujhan, has not yet been formed. There are many things which need to be told and explained to ourselves and to the Siraiki people. As long as the idea of addressing ourselves and being addressed as Siraiki is not deeply absorbed in everyone's being, our claim of being false. If not false, it is weak. For this reason, there is a need to promote talk of Siraiki with every individual in every dwelling, every village and every city, and to help him in recognizing himself.

(iii) Comments

Perhaps for the reason that the *Sereki Lok Sanjh* was formed during the suppressive martial law government, in 1985, with some of its active members being government employees, and perhaps also because of the organization's wish to be seen as a voluntary and disinterested body, part of its literature appears anonymously (cf. 4.23) . However, the individuals responsible for such writings were a group known locally.

The sixteen-page pamphlet is a manifesto of the organization marking the background to and the event of its emergence. It pinpoints the political basis of the Siraiki issue and lays out plans for future work. The passage is taken from the first of the two parts of the manifesto, i.e. `the declaration at Banglakurai'. This second of the small subchapters of part 1 briefly reviews the level reached by the movement while suggesting the word *qaomi* 'national' ((i)/2-3) for the Siraiki-speaking population of Pakistan which later found acceptance in the political literature (cf. 8.6). It mainly emphasizes the need for preaching a Siraiki identity (cf. 9-7; cf.9.13). The passage also indicates to the expansion of the region ((i)/3-4), leaving out areas in Sind and Balochistan perhaps as part of a political strategy. As far the language is concerned, as in most such political documents, the syntax closely follows Urdu norms (not surprising, since Urdu is the main language of Pakistan politics especilly in Panjab), e.g. *siraeki lok qaomi shuʿūr de husūl de ūn marhale ich hin jerhā..* ((i)/1), not far from its Urdu version *seraeki lōg qaumi shuʿur ke husūl ke us marhale mēn haen jo..* Thus no effort is made to replace familier Urdu

words like *shuʿur* 'consciousness', *husūl* 'achievement' ((i)/1), and *marhala* 'stage' ((i)/2). *Vasēb* 'homeland' ((i)/4) and *suñanan* 'to identify' ((i)/11) are part of the politically significant neo-Siraiki vocabulary which has been frequently used since.

8.6   Muhammad Ubaid ur rahman

(i) Transcript

hakūmat pakistān mardum-shumāri 1991 kar vēṇdi pi he.

khana-shumāri da paehla marhalā pūra thī gae.   huṇ har ghar de

vāsiyāṇ de nāṇ te be kavāif (For original `kōif', scribal

error) darj karaṇ kīte fāram chhap te shumār-kunindagān taiṇ

pujde pin hik khana lōkaṇ di mādri zabān likkhaṇ kite vi fāram

vich he jo mardum shumāri de baʿd mulk di kul abādi nāl har

zabān bolaṇ valeyāṇ di sahih taʿdad da vi patta lagge.

tuhākuṇ e maʿlūm kar te haerāni te afsōs thīsi jo madrīzabān de

khane vich -1- urdu -2- panjābi -3- sindhi -4- pashto -5-

balochi darj hin te pākistan di sab tūṇ purānrīṇ te sab tuṇ

zyada lokān di mādri zabān siraeki da nāṇ ghaib he.   faqat

`dīgar' chhappya hoya he.   saf zāhir he jo siraeki qaomiyat

nāl ziyādati te zulm kita gya he yaqīnan mutaʿalliqa vazārat

vich koi ejha ʿunsur maojūd he jerhā maojūda hakūmat kūṇ

siraiki lōkāṇ vich ghaer maqbūl banrāvaṇ chāhṇde nāl siraeki

dushmani vi pūri karaṇ chāhṇde.

zabān da masla hamēsha te har mulk vich aham te nāzuk rahṇde.

ʿavām zabān de muʿamle vich bahuṇ hassās hondin.   haerat he jo

vazīr-e ʿazam te vazīr-e dakhla orīṇ nēṇ ihsās kyūṇ nahīṇ kīta.

(Arch-66)

(ii) Translation

The government of Pakistan is conducting the 1991 census.
The first stage of the household census has been completed.
The forms for entring the names and other particulars of the
household residents have now been printed and are being
received by the census workers.   The form also includes a

column for writing the mother tongue of the people, so that

after the census the correct number of speakers of each

language can be found together with the number of the total

population of the ,country. It will be a matter of

astonishment and regret to you to learn that the languages

entered in the mothe-tongue column are: 1. Urdu, 2. Panjabi,

3. Sindhi, 4. Pashto, 5. Balochi, while the name of

Siraiki, which is the most ancient language of Pakistan and

the mother tongue of the most people is missing. Only "other"

is printed. It is quite obvious that the Siraiki nationality

has been treated with oppression and injustice. Without

doubt, there is some such element in the ministry concerned

which wants to make the present government unpopular among the

Siraiki people, also to carry out its Siraiki-phobia.

The language issue is always an important and delicate

one in every country. People are very sensitive on the

question of language. It is surprising that the prime

minister and the minister of the interior did not take notice

of this.

(iii) Comments

Rahman (b c.1930s), known as *Seth* (a rich businessman) is

one of the fomerly most active local politicians of

Bahawalpur. He worked as elected chairman of the municipality

of his city and is also known as a voice against the Panjabi

expansion in the Cholistan, a Siraiki activist, and an heir to

the academic tradition of his father Maolavi Aziz-ur Rahman

with his own published work *Seraeki kitābiyāt* (c.1979).

The passage is taken from a letter dispatched to all

those involved in the Siraiki resistance as a means of political propaganda against omission of the Siraiki language from the columns of the survey form of the 1990 census.

⟋ In the passage, a phrase, *sab tūṇ purāṇi te sab tūṇ ziāda lōkaṇ di mādri zabān Siraiki* 'Siraiki, the most ancient of all languages and the mother tongue of the most people of all' ((i)/6-7) recalls the primary slogan of the Siraiki movement in the 1960s, now transformed into economic questions like the cotton of Siraiki lands earning foreign exchange (cf. 5.1).

Examples of use of inevitable Urdu terminology are: *mardum shumāri* 'census' and *shumār kunindagān* 'surveyors' while the terms like *khāna shumāri* 'census of household' ((i)/1) and *ghair maqbūl* 'unpopular' ((i)/9) are usually replaced by their suitable Siraiki synonyms, e.g. *jhugga shumāri* for `census of household' and *aṇ-bhāṇda* for `unpopular'.

An upside dot on implosive *g* of auxiliary *lage* 'be done' ((i)/4) and fraction of nasal retroflex ṇ into a compound of nasal and retroflex *nr* in *purāṇēṇ* 'old ones' ((i)/6) and *baṇāvaṇ* 'to make' ((i)/9) recall older patterns of Siraiki orthography.

The passage is a fine sample of the *salis* 'easy' Siraiki developing in cities now.

8.7   Allama Muhammad Azam Saeedi

(i) Transcript

allāh sain har qism de doh kanūn pāk e ūn ne vāzih lafzān ich farmā ditte jo *wa li-kulli qaumin hādin* jo maen har hik qaom kanēn hidayat devan vāla paeghambar bhēje, kōi qaom tabāh thai e tān ō apne zulm te nā-farmāni de pārūn tabāh thai e.

allāh rabb al-ʿālamīn ne apne kalām qurān majīd ich beshumār qaomēn da zikr farmae, magar e zikr nain farmāya jo e fulāni qaom fulāni jāh te vasdi hai, ate fulāni qaom kanēn fulāna nabi bheje ejhi gum-nāvān qaomān ichūn hik qaom ashāb al-rass vi he, yaʿni rasse ya khabbar vāli qaom, ya khūh vāli qaom, e khabbar ya khūh vāli qaom kērhi qaom he, kitthān rāhndi hai, qurān te hadīs īnda atta patta nain dende albatta āsār te tārikh di kitābān ich baʿz zanni maqāmāt kūn nishābur kita gae.

(Seedi 1984: p.31)

(ii) Translation

God is free from any blame. He has announced in clear words, *wa likulli qaumin hadin* `I have sent every nation a prophet to give guidence'. If a nation was ruined, it was ruined through its own oppression and disobedience.

God, the benifector of all times, has mentioned countless nations in His Word, the Glorious Quran, but has not metioned that such and such a nation lived at such and such a place, and that such and such a prophet was sent to such and such a nation. Among such obanonymous nations is *Ashab-ul-Ras*, which means `the nation of the rope' or `the keeper of the well'. As to wich nation this nation of the rope or the well is,

where it lived the Quran and Hadith give no clue at all,
although some speculative points have been mentioned perhaps
in records of the Prophet and historical works.

(iii) Comment

Allama M A Saeedi (b. 1940s) is a _Khatīb_ 'priest' by
profession. He comes from the Bahawalpur region and is
settled in Karachi. His title _Allama_ `great scholar' denotes
the traditional title of the degree holders of Islamaia
University of the ex-state of Bahawalpur. A rare combination
of priest and researcher, Saeedi has been constantly writing
and publishing for more than a decade under the name of his
one-man organization the `Siraiki Urdu Writer's Guild'. He
has produced more than two dozen booklets and articles
including a few anthologies.

The passage is selected from one of his articles
`Ashab-al Ras' in _Rohīli fitrat_ [`Desert like nature']. The
article which throws light on an obscure nation mentioned in
Quranic stories recorded as _Ashāb-al ras_ 'the owners of the
Rass, i.e. a well/rope', suggests its interpretation as an
ancient people of the legendary river Hakra in Cholistan.

Notwithstanding with semantic and pragmatic over lookings
like occurrence of _jo_ 'that' before and after the Arabic
phrase ((i)/2), and the use of the clause _hidāyat ḏevaṇ vāla_
'one who guides' as a determiner of _paeghambar_ 'a prophet'
((i)/2) which having the same meaning becomes redundant, there
are few interesting things in the passage to notice:

The vocabulary is a mix of Islamic rhetoric and Siraiki
neologisms, e.g. phrases like _farmā ditte_ 'commanded' ((i)/1),

zulm te--nā-farmāni 'oppression and disobedience' ((i)/3) and

rabb-ul ᶜalamīn 'Lord of the universe' ((i)/4) are of the first

type while *dōh* 'blame' ((i)/1), *khabbar* 'a rope' and *nishābur*

'evident' ((i)/&) are aimed at replacing the Urdu words:

ilzām, rassa and. *vāzih.* Moreover while the passive

construction *kīta gae* 'were done' ((i)/9) is a typical Urdu

form, some interesting examples of introducing new morpholo-

gical patterns can also be observed such as *gumnānvān*

'anonymous' ((i)/6) which has replaced a Persian compound word

gum-nām through changing only the second member of the

compound *nām* 'name' with the Siraiki one *nānvān* a name-entered

in papers, in turn, derived from Sanskrit *nāman.*

8.8   Muhammad Aslam Rasulpuri

(i) Transcript

talstai vaḍḍi quvvat tēn khulūs nāl hukmrān tabqyēn di
muzammat karēnḍe rahen. unhēn bahūn vazāhat nāl unhēn saryēn
idaryēn di riyākāri da parda chāk kite, jaenḍe uttēn navvān
samāj qaem e. kalīsa, ʿadālat, faoj parastī, qanūni shadi tēn
būrzhva saens lekin unhēn de nazriyāt navvēn samāji nizām kūn
pūran vāle mazdūr tabqe di zindagi, kam te kōshish de bilkul
ulaṭ sabit thaen. val ṭalsṭāi diyān taʿlimāt kaenḍe nuqta-e
nazar kūn pēsh karendin? ṭalsṭāi di zabān de zariʿe rūs de
unhēn karorān lōkēn ne apne dil di bharās kaḍḍhi jeṛhe maojūda
zindagi de malikēn kanūn nafrat tān karan lagge. lekin ajjan
taīn unhēn de khilāf ba-shuʿūr, sabit qadam tēn faesla-kun
koshish taīn nain pujje.
(Rasulpuri 1977 a: p.7)

(ii) Translation

Tolstoy kept condemning the ruling class with great force
and sincerity. In great detail he exposed the hypocrisy of
all the institutions on which the new society stands, the
church, the courts, militarism, legal marriage and bourgeois
science. But his views proved to be quite opposite to the
life, work and struggle of the working class which was to bury
the new social system. So whose point of view do the
teachings of Tolstoy represent? Through the language of
Tolstoy, those millions of Russian people vented their rage,
who although they had started hating the masters of their
present life, had not yet reached the stage of struggling
against them consciously, resolutely and decisively.

(iii) Comments

Until 1975, the leftists in the Siraiki region were committed to literary expression in Urdu. An ideological revision then took place and they shifted towards Siraiki (cf. 4.11). Aslam Rasulpuri (b c.1946) was one of the first to move in that direction. A studious villager, he is known as a man of letters, an exemplary deprived Siraiki individual who having the highest academic qualifications (M A, Ll B) yet had only a very humble job, seeking retirement as a primary school teacher.

Rasulpuri inherited a taste for Siraiki literature partly from his uncle Ismail Ahmadani, himself a well known Siraiki writer (cf. 8.3). In the beginning he attempted fiction but soon chose research on language and literature as his field. Apart from a number of articles published in various magazines and journals, *Muntakhab Seraeki kalām Sachal Sarmast* (1977) and *Seraeki zabān ūnda rasm-ul khat te avazān* (1980) are his main works.

While working as a member of the team which published the `book serial' *Sanēha* from Taunsa in the 1970s, he used to contribute also with his own writings. As it has little use, to translate from Urdu to Siraiki is not common, but some writers favoured this, arguing that `the empty stomach of Siraiki literature must be filled by publishing whatever stuff is available'. The article from which the extract is taken, a class-based marxist criticism of Tolstoy, carries the name of V.I.Lenin, and is thus a translation. Though the source has not been mentioned, it can be inferred from general literary practices in the region that it might have been translated

from a secondary source and the type of vocabulary used in the translation indicates that it was translated from Urdu. The construction of phrases like ..*mazdūr tabqe di zindagi, kam te koshish de bilkul, ulat sābit thaen* ((i)/3) and ..*unhēn de khilāf bāshuʿur, sābit qadam tēn faesalā kun kōshishēn taīn nain pujje* ((i)/5-6) not only contain Perso/Urdu words but show the peculiar stamp of a certain ideological literature in Urdu, while words like *pēsh karēndin* 'present' ((i)/4), *bharas* 'grudge' and *lēkin*, 'but' ((i)/5) represent casual borrowings from Urdu unfamiliar in Siraiki prose. A passage so clear syntactically and so systematic orthographically is unusual in Siraiki prose. This shows the professional competence of the author as a writer.

8.9   Ahsan Wagha

(i) Transcript

_dūjhe _dīnh ō_dūhēn bhaenān hikki khaṭ te _beṭhyān haen,
kalḷhyān. Fīzo`nit vāngūn bhaen kanūn uvhe juān chhuīrīn
vālyān kai jazbāti galhīn suṇaṇ lō maozū⁴ chheraṇ di val val
kōshish karēndi _beṭhi hai. ūkūn tajarbā́ hā jadaṇ ūndi bhaeṇ
dyān akkhīn ghimmyān hōvin hā ūndi ē kōshish kāmyāb thī vaendi
haī. "..han .. e_dasā́ Fīzo, ūṇ..maekūn hik manzar bahūn
bhānde, -- kadāhīn kahīn rēlve sṭēshan gai en? -- Thal da koi
virān sṭēshan, abādi kanūn haṭvān, uthān chup chupāt -- chiṛi
nain chilkadi - uthān suñ de dere.. aṭhvēn pahar ā ke hik
pasanjar ṭrēn rukdi e ..īnvēn zara jhaīn dēr mēla lag
vaende..van pavannēn chehre, van pavnnyān avāzān!..tēn vat
gaddi kūkṛi mār tēn ṭur vaendi e..sāryān raonqān nāl
chai..apṇe mēle āp mēl-nīndi e, tēn du..akkhīn di dīd āli kār
kāliyān chimakaṇyān laenān dūr tain ūnde pichho vaendiyn
piyān.. tēn sṭeshan tēn uvhā́ suñ, uvhā virāni, uvhā chup,
uvhā́ mūnjhi mūnjhi dhup chhāṇ.. e sabh akhije sarrān de
_buṭyān vichcho nikkil kēn sṭeshan te val qabza _jamā́
ghindin..."_

(Wagha 1979: p.14)

(ii) Translation

Thesecond day, both the sisters were sitting on the same
bedstead, alone. Fizo, as usual, was trying again and again
to introduce a topic so as to hear those things full of
feeling typical of young girls from her sister. She had
experienced the fact that whenever her sister's eyes were wet,
this attempt from her met with success. '.. Well, ..Fizo,

tell me this, um.. there is one scene I like very much. Have
you ever visited a railway station? __ a desolate station in
the Thal, distant from the village, there's dead silence
there, not a bird,sings. Filled with emptiness encamped.
Every twenty four hours a slow train comes and stops. It is
as if for a short while fair gathers, all sorts of faces, all
sorts of sounds. And then the train whistles and leaves,
taking all the hustle and bustle, it sweaps its own fair away
with it. And the tracks, shining as black as the pupils of
the eyes, follow it along behind it. And on the station there
is the same emptiness, the same desolation, the same silence,
the same sad sun and shade --- you could say that all these
emerge from clumps of reeds and get possession of the station
again..'

(iii) Comment

Ahsan Wagha (AH 1367) is one the several Siraiki prose
writers of the Daman, i.e. the region along the tract between
the Sulaiman range and the right bank of Indus. A school
teacher (later, a radio broadcaster) by profession, he has
been one of the Siraiki activists of the 1970s-80s. Though
his name confusingly appears in more than one branch of
literature, he is mainly known as a short story-writer. Among
his other works are: _The Seraeki language, its growth and
development_ (1990), _Seraeki lokēn da chārtar of dimānds_ (1989)
and some half dozen edited anthologies and `book serials'.

The passage is taken from `_Suā da saek_' [`Heat of the
ash'], the first story in the author's only published
collection of short stories, _Thal karin daryā_. While some of

his stories have been severely criticized for obscenity, he is recognized for his use of language, imagery and characterization. The influence of some established Urdu fiction writers like Qurat-ul Ain Hyder is evident in his style.

In this concluding paragraph of the story, an exceptionally educated village woman illustrates her feelings of loneliness to her sister after having successfully hidden and suppressed her love for a young man who temporarily stayed with them, before she let him go. She feels like a deserted, lonely railway station of the Thal.

Besides inevitable English loan words like: *rēlve*, `railway' ((i)/6), *steshan* `station' ((i)/6,7,13,15) and *laenān* `lines' ((i)/13), Urdu loan words which dominate contemporary Siraiki prose are also prominent here, e.g. *jazbati* `emotional' ((i)/2), *maozūʿ* `topic', *kōshish* `effort' ((i0/3). Colloquialism is however, a mark of his style. The names of the characters, e.g. *Fizo < Hafiz > Hafīzo > Fīzo*, and more pure Siraiki words like *ghimmyān* `wet' ((i)/4) and *suñ* `desertedness' ((i)/8,14) are carefully interspersed side by side with the loan words, e.g. *pasanjar ṭrēn* `passenger train' ((i)/9). Syntactically incomplete sentences and the deviationn from general word order exhibit author's attempt to record the original, informal speech, *uthān chup chupāt* `there dead silence' ((i)/7-8). Apart from orthographic mistakes, e.g. *veṇdin piyān* `they (f) go on' ((i)/13), originally, *vendiyn piyān*, the unsystematic use of punctuations indicates the primitiveness of prose writing in Siraiki.

8.10   Musarrat Kalanchvi

(i) Transcript

ḇahir ḇālāṇ di chīkar ḇākar hai:

allāh sāiṇ mīnh vasā

nikke ḇālāṇ di duʿa

  par ūkūṇ nāl vāle kamre tūṇ jaeṇ avāz da intizār hā o
ūṇde kannāṇ na pai hai --- ūṇ kamre vichūṇ ḏu zālīṇ jalti
jalti ṭurdiyāṇ dar tūṇ ḇahīr nikil giyāṇ --- o unhāṇ tūṇ kujh
puchhaṇ kite ḏu qadam aggūṇ te giya te val vāpas val āya ---
ūṇ khaṭ te ḇaeh te sir nivā ghidda ---

  putr thae teḏa --- ammāṇ de alā te umar hayāt sir
chāta -- khushi di lāṭ undiyāṇ akkhīṇ tūṇ niklī par ammāṇ de
chehre te ghup andhārā ḏekh te misim giyaṇ ---

  ammāṇ de chehre de vadhr haolē haolē kambde pae han te
ūkūṇ hik ḇai maot di kahāni pae suṇrēnde han ---- o bhaj te
nāl vale kamre giya --- pīli pīli sarham de nāl kapah da phul
pya ha.

(Kalanchvi 1985: p.32)

(ii) Translation

Outside, children were making a noise:

Please God, make it rain today,

So the little children pray.

  But the sound of the voice, he was waiting for from the nearby room was not reaching him. Two women walked hurriedly out of the room and went out through the door. He advanced two paces to ask them something, and then came back again. He sat down on the bed and covered his head.

'You've had a son'. On his mother's words Umar Hayat raised his head. A blaze of joy shone from his eyes, but they were dimmed by seeing pitch darkness on the face of his mother. The gently trembling wrinkles on his mother's face were telling him the story of another death. He rushed into the nearby room. Beside the bright yellow mustard lay a cotton flower.

(iii) Comments

Musarrat Kalanchavi (b 1950s) is a college lecturer by profession who moved from Bahawalpur to Lahore after her marriage. She is one of the few young middle-class women of Bahawalpur who, like Shahida Rahman and Batul Rahmani was inspired by the Bahawalpur *Sūba* movement, then by the Siraiki literary movement of Multan in the 1970s. Encouraged by the literary magazines like *Seraeki adab* and *Seraeki* they stepped forward to fill absence of female voice in Siraiki, mostly as short-story writers. M.Kalanchavi was also privileged to enjoy the patronage of her father D.Kalanchavi, himself a frequently published writer and once head of the only Siraiki publishing organization supported with a small grant from the government in Bahawalpur, the Siraiki Adbi Majlis. Her collection of short stories *Uchchī dharti jhikka asmān* (1977) is known as the first collection of short stories in Siraiki literature. This was followed by her second collection *Dukhin kanān diyan vāliyān* (1986). Her themes are again of the domestic (*gharelu*) and reformist (*islāhī*) type (cf. 8.12) with a touch of a `Siraiki middle-class woman's observation of her surroundings. One of Kalanchavi's plus points is her

preference for writing about the largely overlooked minor
problems of life to the big social issues addressed by male
writers.

The passage is taken from `Khūh te samandar' [`A well and
an ocean'] a story of a young villager who experiences human
helplessness at the mighty hands of death with the
simultaneous birth of his son and death of his wife. An
interesting contrast is a contradictory significance of yellow
colour in Siraiki; following Persian influence it becomes a
symbol of sickness and death, e.g. *pīla zard* lit. 'pale,
pale', i.e. sad but following Hindi significance of the colour
of *basant* 'spring' it is sign of life and pleasure, e.g. *pīla
bahār* 'yellow like spring'. As no literary standards have yet
been fixed as to where to accept Urdu norms and where to use
pure Siraiki expressions and how, there is a diversity in this
regard. Urdu words like *kamre* 'room' ((i)/2,12), *intizār*
'waiting' ((i)/2) and *chehre* 'faces' ((i)/9,10) are freely
used, while a more colloquial pronunciation is preferred in
jalti jalti 'hurriedly' ((i)/3-4) for Urdu *jaldi jaldi*, and
misim 'to extinguish' ((i)/9) standard *visim*. Other
deviations from the standard include the casual use of *jaen̠*
'which' ((i)/2) for standard *jerhi* and the omission of *vich*
'in' in *kanān̠ na pai* 'did not reach the ears' ((i)/3) for
standard *kanēn̠/kanān̠ vich na pai*.

8.11   Muhammad Feroz Shah

(i) Transcript

..kōi kōi iyha jeha vi honda he jehṛa hayāti tūn vī pyārā laggaṇ lag vaēnda he. vat kadahīn kadāhīn ō maqām vi ānda he jo banda apni jindri vi us de nāṇ lā dēnda he ō mil vaññe bhāvēn hayati laggi vaññe. eh manzil ishq di manzil he jitthe banda āp kujh naīṇ rahnda us da mahbūb sab kujh ban vaēnda he. maenūṇ kujh kujh yād andā piya he iyha jai koi gāī maēṇ vi band akkhīṇ de vich khilde oe manzarāṇ'ch ḍiṭṭhi hai --- hūṇ tāṇ ō khwāb jehā lagda e te khwāb vi iyha jeha jehṛa huṇ sāri dunyā di akh vich chimakda te sachche lokāndiyāṇ zabānāṇ vich bolda piya he --- maen us visre hoe veleyāṇ āli sangat labbhaṇ nikaldā hāṇ tāṇ sargi vele āla nūr maenūṇ sajṇāṇ diyāṇ bahvāṇ ār apṇe ghere'ch ghin ghinda he chārāṇ pāse khilarde hoe chānaṇ'ch hik chimakde hoe mukhṛe āli yād medekol a bahndi he ___ maen us daīṇ dehda hāṇ tāṇ nikke vēleyāṇ diyāṇ sangtāṇ ār hik man chhikvāṇ manzar khil vaendā he.

(Shah, M 1985: p.26)

(ii) Translation

Sometimes there is an individual who comes to seem dearer than one's own life. Then sometimes such the stage is reached when one dedicates one's life to him; be it at the cost of life to get him. This stage is the stage of love where nothing of one's self remains and one's beloved becomes everything. I am somewhat recalling that once I too saw something similar in the scenes opening out in my closed eyes. Now, it seems like a dream, a dream which is now shining in the eyes of the whole world and which is speaking through the

tongues of people of sincerity. When I walk out to find that
friendship of forgotten times, the light of dawn encompasses
me in its embrace like the arms of the beloved. In the light
spreading all around, the memory of a shining face comes and
sits besides me. As I look at it, a charming spectacle opens
out like that of the companionships of the days of youth
blooms.

(iii) Comments

Feroz Shah (b 1940) is one of the casual but mature
contemporary Siraiki short story writers in Mianwali
(Quest-2). He is second to the well known fiction writer of
the same rgion namely S.Nasir Shah whose collection *Kikkar de
phul* (1987) was published by the Panjabi *Adbi* Board who have
been active in including Siraiki writers in their list of
Panjabi writers (cf. 4.2).

`Labbhat chan charāgh di' is one of the author's early
stories. Apart from the symbolism, e.g. *chan charagh* 'a moon
like candle', an 'illumination', an 'insight' (in the title),
a tecnique called *gurez* 'escape' in the Urdu stylistics is
vived in his treatment, thus an event of the meeting of the
writer with his beloved is mixed unseparably with the abstract
ideas, e.g. --- *hun tān o khwāb jeha lagda e te khwāb vi iyha
jeha hun sāri dunyā di akh vich chimakda te sachche lokān
diyān zabānān vich bolda piyā he* --- ((i)/5-6). The small
event is stated and denied at the same time as if it was a
dream (which is also the conclusion of the story). Popular
mystical thought is also allowed in through expression of such
views as if it was such a dream which is now speaking through

the tongues of the sincere ((i)/6). It can also be
interpreted as an effect of the traditional religious
atmosphere of the author's region, i.e. Mianwali, where human
love is not something talked of by the respectable.

The passage exhibits some fine peculiarities of the
dialect of Mianwali. One deviation from the central and
southern dialects is the retention of different forms of the
auxiliary without elision, e.g. *honda he* 'becomes' ((i)/1) and
nikalda hān 'I go out' ((i)/7), as against *hōnde* and *nikaldān*
in the central and southern dialects. One of the major
morphological marks of the Northern dialect, i.e. plural
ending -*ān*, versus -*ēn* in other dialects (to Shackle 1976,
Central versus Southern) appears regularly in almost all the
plural nouns in the passage occurring in the subject position
(of a transitive verb) or in an object position, e.g. *lokān*
'people' ((i)/6), *charān* 'four'. This like *us* 'him' ((i)/2),
maenūn 'to me' and *jithe* 'where', which are *un*, *maekūn* and
jithān respectively in the major dialects, connects the
Mianwali dialect with the Pothohari and neighbouring Panjabi
dialects. Further features include the use of *iyyhā* 'this
one' ((i)/2) for both genders against the major dialects'
iyyho m., *iyyha* f., according to gender, besides some unique
words like prep. *dein* 'towards' (i)/7), which varies from
dialect to dialect, e.g. Jhang: *dhir*, Multan: *val* and Derajat
and the southern region: *do/dūn*. Also to be noticed is the
use of the intransitive present-participle-inflection of
certain transitive verbs (again a Panjabi feature) as against
the transitive-inflection -*enda* of the major dialects, e.g.
bolda 'speaking' ((i)/6) as against *bulēnda*. Some semantic

variations can also be noticed, e.g. *labbhat*, in the title,
and *labbhaṇ* ((i)/7) ambiguous with two meanings, i.e. `to
find' and 'to search for' with other dialects having sepaprte
verb *gol* for the ṣecond. Despite all such deviations the
language remains unmistably Siraiki in such typical words as
vañ̃ñe 'he should go' and *jindri* 'life, soul'.

8.12   Zafar Lashari

(i) Transcript

kitne bhōle hōndin eh maᶜsūm dil sɐdiyā̠n di guzrān da faeₛla, lamheyā̠n ich kar ghindin. malhār thai ḏekh te tatte ta, sālā̠n di masāfat te perū̠n nange bhaj pō̠ndin. ō samajhdin uns de baddal, ḏukkhā̠n de sāṛu sijh aggū̠n ōla kar te, unhā̠n te hamēsha sukh diyā̠n malhārā̠n kīti rakhēsin. ṭhāḏhlī̠n bakhshē̠nde rahsin. par eh patta ninhē̠n hōnda jo malhārā̠n ᶜarzī hō̠ndin. badlā̠n da vajūd mangvā̠n hō̠nde. malhārā̠n da sāya sir te na hōve tā̠n hik chhōr ḏah sijjhā̠n di tāpish thī vaēndi e te chhānvā̠n di sangat ich raeh te tā̠n sijh di hik lāt vi bande da hā̠n huḇsā ḏē̠ndi e.

(Lashari 1982: p.25)

(ii) Translation

How simple are these innocent hearts! What is decided by the passage of centuries they resolve in moments. They see the sky overcast and race headlong with bear feet through what takes years to cover. They think clouds of affection will carry on spreading shades of comforts protecting them from the burning sun of miseries for ever, they will keep on granting them coolness. But they do not know that overcast skies are temporary. Clouds exist as if borrowed. If the head is not shaded by overcast sky the heat of not just one but ten suns strong is felt. And after he has been living in the company of shadows a single beam of the sun suffocates a man's heart.

(iii) Comments

Zafar Lashari (b 1940s) is known as the first Siraiki

novelist. In his novels, _Nāzo_ (`a proper name f') (c.1970) ·
and _Pahāj_ (`A co-wifw') (c.1980), as well as in his short
stories Lashari reminds a reader of the premitive type of
fiction of the early Urdu literature. Most of his stories are
of the type for which the term _gharelu_ 'domestic' and _islahi_
'reforming' was used in the Urdu literature of the later
nineteenth century.

The passage is selected from one of his short stories
Parkhara thivan de ba`d. It is a story of a young couple in
love who were separated through no fault of their own but due
to a misunderstanding purposefully created by some selfish
members of the family. The narrator plays the role of sincere
go between and the tragedy comes to an end.

Though traditional in theme, the story involves some
interesting details which give a picture of the social
conditions of the ordinary people in Siraiki region. The
lovers are helpless even to mention their problem before
anybody. A good deal of verbosity is spent on the explanation
of sentiments.

It seems as some simplifications are permanently taking
place in the literary language. For example, nobody writes
thōd, a commonly spoken word for `lip' in the contemporary
literature. Perhaps because of its sounding odd, it is
replaced by Urdu derivation _hōth._ One such process is the use
of the plural ending -_ān_ replacing -_ēn_, more common in spoken
language, e.g. _sadiyān_ 'centuries' ((i)/1) for _sadiyēn_ in SrC.
(cf. 6.7).

Lashari's command of Siraiki vocabulary reflects in the
passage. _tatte tā_ 'hurriedly' ((i)/3), _thadhalīn_ 'coolnesses'

351

((i)/6), *tāpish* 'heat' ((i)/9) < Per. *tāpish* and *huḏsā*
'suffocation' ((i)/10) < Ar. *habs* are some fine examples of
both loans and *desi* words of Siraiki vocabulary.

EXTRACTS FROM SIRAIKI POETRY:

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION AND COMMENT

9.1   Khwaja Ghulam Farid

(i)   Transcript

uth	dardmandān	de	dēre				
jith	kirr	kanḍa	bui	dhere			
eh	uchṛe	ṭibṛe	ʿali	eh	sōhṇi	kakṛi	vāli
hin	mushtāqāṇ	de	vāli	biyā	kaon qadam	ith phēre	
khip	khārāṇ	te lai	lāne	saṇh	phōg bahūṇ	man bhaṇe	5
thal	ṭibbe	dhir	tikāṇe	har	bhiṭ	bhiṭ nāl basere	
mad	jhōkāṇ	te	tir tāḍe	ras	chhuṛe	khelāṇ khāḍe	
vah	takyagāh		asāḍe	huṇ	hōve kaon	nakhēṛe	

----

suñ	vāh asāḍiyāṇ	jhōkāṇ		suṇ	kamle kardiyāṇ	ṭokāṇ	
kujh	khabar nahīṇ	inhāṇ lōkāṇ		dil	puthṛe sakht	avēṛe	10
bath	shahr	bazār	ʿimārat	be	vāhi birhūṇ	bishārat	
par	bē shak	ʿishq	ishārat	chhaḍ	jhagṛe kūṛe	jhēṛe	

meter: - - / - - / - - - (standard line, 7)

(Farid 1944: 173)

(ii)   Translation

The dwellings of the compassionate ones are there

Where there weeds, thorns and alkali plants are in abundance

These high, great dunes,

This beautiful brown sand

Are patrons of the longing ones

Who else sets foot here?

(Wild reeds like) *khip, khār, lai, lāṇa*

Sanh, phog are very pleasant to the heart

The desert, dunes, piles of sand are our dwellings,

Our roostings beside eachsand-hill,

Abodes, hamlets and dwellings!

The free lying valleys, ponds!

What a refuges of ours!

Now who dares to separate us?

The barren stream-beds are our abodes

Listen to the simple ones mocking on us

These people do not know at all

How hearts are awkward and very difficult

To hell with the town, the bazaar and the building

(Although) the revelation of love reached us without an angel

in between

But without doubt love is `hidden indications'

Quit quarrels and false arguments

{third line may also be read as *dhir tikane* to be translated

as `deserted dweelings'}

(iii)   Comments

Khwaja Farid (1849-1901) is the last classical mystic

poets of Indus valley i. e. the Siraiki region, Sindh and

Panjab. He was a *gaddi nashīn* (successor of an ancestral

gaddi i.e. a spiritual asylum for all), a scholar of the

mystic philosophy of *hamā ūst* and a brilliant poet-narrator of

the language and landscape of the Siraiki region. Till his

time there still existed a class to patronize knowledge and

literature in the region. Besides many local Navvabs in the

Siraiki region including the Navvab of Bahawalpur, he had
members of the court of Delhi among his followers. Prince
Ahmad Akhtar a great-grandson of the last Mughal king Zafar,
who also wrote a history of Khwaja's dynasty entitled
Manāqib-e Farīdi (Per. 'Prayers of Farid') was his disciple.
It was perhaps due to the destruction of this class without to
being replaced by a new middle class in the region that
Siraiki poetry can not provide contemporary names like Shaikh
Ayaz in Sindhi or Amrita Pritam and Najm A. Syyed in Panjabi.)
His poetry provides one of the main grounds for the Siraiki
claim to a separate cultural entity (cf. Tahir 1988:
pp.33,41,50 ff). In the poetic history of Siraiki language,
Khwaja stands like a lonely tree in a desert. Preceded by few
names like Sachal, Ali Haidar and Lutf Ali, he is followed by
none of his stature (cf. Shackle 1977 b: p.390).

The present extract is taken from one of his mystical
verses (*kafi*)-173 in his collection compiled under title of
Dīvān-e Farid (1944). As is his style, an ordinary idea of
his long attachment with the *Rohi*, the desert, is expanded
throughout the long verse by giving a verbal painting to its
different aspects. In second half of couplet 3, `who else can
step in here!' and first half of couplet 7, `excellent abode
of ours!' a pleasant surprise is expressed on choice of place
by `the pain stricken'.

Besides the use of the diminutive nominal suffix
ra/re/ri, a classic feature of South Asian lyric poetry: *tibṛe*
'small sand dunes' and *kakṛi* 'brownish' ((i)/3), his
multilingual vocabulary is another interesting observance e.g.
Persian: *takya gāh* 'abode' ((i)/8), Arabic: *ali* `mighty'

((i)/3), *mushtāqān*, pluralized in Persian fashion, `fond'
((i)/4), Hindi: *basere* 'roostings', and Sindhi: *bhiṭ* 'hill'
((i)/6).

Khwaja Farid enjoyed highest level of ecstasy on the
strength of which he was able to spend some twenty years of
his life in the barren region of Cholistan. He was also aware
of the fact, as ((i)/9) and ((i)/10) show, that this was
nothing but madness to the public, who could not understand
the problems of passions. The last two lines are a good
example of the self justifying reasoning, typical of the
mystics, of his individual life style. The argument is based
on the code of *sufism* which says that the revelation of
passion does not need any *vahy* `Gabriel' in between but the
great passion is granted through *bisharat* 'signal from God',
thus false debates are fruitless. Here *vāhi*, Siraiki form of
Arabic *vahyun*, and *bisharat* 'revelation' and *ishārat* 'signal'
are systematically used technical terms from the Islamic
tasavvuf 'mysticism'.

9.2   Iqbal Sokari

(i)   Transcript

zindagi dī   bhīk mangrīn̠ pae g̠ai

e ̠dari dōzak̠h ̠ di langhrīn̠ pae g̠ai

apn̠e g̠al ich n̠āmurāden̠ zindagi

sao valangn̠yēn̠ di valangrīn̠ pae g̠ai

hik chit̠e kāg̠haz di sūrat khīr jhaīn̠   5

vat qalam de n̠āl ḏangn̠īn̠ pae g̠ai

phurk kēn̠ ḇāhar naīn̠ āyān̠ kyūn̠ akhīn̠

kyūn̠ taeḏī raftār pangn̠īn̠ pae g̠aī

vat koī munker he rab dī zāt da

vat ghazal ka'be tēn̠ t̠angn̠īn̠ pae g̠ai   10

meter: - v- -/ - v- - / - v- (standard line, 6)

(Quest-1)

(ii)   Translation

We had to beg for life

We had to go through this narrow door of hell

Round its own neck, wretched life,

Had a (complex) knot of a hundred knots

A face of paper white as milk

Had again to be stung with the pen

Why did the eyes not burst with throbbing

Why did your gait became weak (liquefied, declined)

There is someone denying God's being again

An ode must be hung in the Ka`ba again

(iii)   Comments

    Iqbal Sokari (b c.1945) is a retired primary school

teacher presently running a general store in Taunsa. He comes
from Sokar, an old town with all the rigidity of the
Baloch-Siraiki culture typical of the tract between Suleman
range and Indus. As a poet, Iqbal is the only survivor from
the 1960s group consisting of himself, Sarwar Karbalai, Mahjur
Bukhari, Janbaz Jatoi and others who started out directly as
Siraiki poets, having composed hardly anything in Urdu.
Remaining true to the level of development and progress in the
region, as against the much politicised, modern writers, Iqbal
occupies and represents his locale as well as his time.
This is reflected in the thematic evolution of his poetry in
his collections: *Hanjūn de hār* (`The garlands of tears')
(c.1970), *Varqā varqā zakhmi* (`Every leaf hurt') (c.1977) and
Kāle rōh chitti barf ('Black mountains under white snow')
(c.1988). Although he tried every format e.g. *dorha*, *kafi* and
nazm `verse' Iqbal is famous for his *ghazal* i.e. ode.
The extract consists of five couplets selected from one of his
ghazals. As is the case with *ghazal*, each couplet presents a
new theme independent of rest of the couplets. His freshness
of invention is particularly interesting in the penultimate
couplet ((i)/7-8); i.e. `if a lover does not welcome his
beloved with eyes bursting out in her way there is some flaw
in her gait'. The *ghazal* being much exercised format of Urdu
poetry and having developed its own cliches drags both theme
and diction towards Urdu when composed in Siraiki, as in the
last couplet ((i)/9-10). This can be read as an Urdu couplet
with only minor changes and some metrical adjustment for
tankni in the second line as follows;
phir koi munkir hae rab ki zat ka

phir ghazal ka'be pe tãnkani par gai

Yet the couplet does contain a rare *talmĩh* (a passing reference to a historical event). It refers to a quote of Islamic history according to which prophet Muhammad hung a written piece of the Quran in the *Kaᶜba*, the house of God, as a challenge to the infidels to produce a speech equivalent in quality to the *muᶜallaqat* (the fine pieces of poetry traditionally hung in the *Kaᶜba*). The poet, by referring to this as a *ghazal* has also implied as if it was the miracle of poetry which forced the infidels to believe in God. Selection of *qãfia* (i.e. the initial rhyming word in each second line, each time to be different lexically but similar phonetically) is important in *ghazal* writing (cf. Shackle 1976 a: pp.7-10). Sokari's selection of the rhyme ending in *-angni* entails an artful use of words like *pangni* 'weakened', obsolete in literature. The first word of the compound used as *radĩf*, 'the last rhyming phrase repeated in the end of each couplet without changing', i.e. *pae* auxiliary vb. 'had to, has to' in ((i)/10) is ambiguous and is used in its initial meaning `fallen, became' in ((i)/8), while in the rest it appears as an auxiliary vb.

9.3 Ahmad Khan Tariq

(i) Transcript

(a)

rāñjhaṇ sayyāṇ jhōk laḍai be-saeṇka mā̃l matā͡ᶜ thī gae

ghandyāṇ kuṇk kanēṇ vich kurken bēla ujar fana thi gae

dekh tāṇ sahi ā beṭ apṇēṇ kūṇ kyā rang hā hūṇ kyā thī gae

tāriq jāhīṇ khāvaṇ āvin bhāṇrāṇ badal balā thi   gae 4

(b)

kal shām taīṇ sukh dī shāh hāmi

ghar vich khushiyāṇ sahi sach ham

                muṇh haq sach ham

gal mala te hath meṇhdi hāmi

bātaṇ vich ghach mach ham

                bahūṇ bhar mach ham

saengiyāṇ ghund cha mūñh dehdiyāṇ han

chaotarfūṇ khach khach   ham

                disdi khach ham

maeṇ kojhi var tāriq sūñhrāṇ

kith pachda e pach ham

                pach te pach ham

meter: (a) - - /- - /- -/- - //- -/- -/- -/#

(b) - -/- -/- -/- -//- -/- -/- -/

+ - - /- -/ (standard lines; 11, and 12)

(Tariq 1990: p.34)

(ii) Translation

(a)

O Ranjhan master, you shifted your abode, the herd of cows
became without a master

Jingling of the bells (having become) dumb, whisper their

complaint in my ear that the ham is deserted and destroyed

Come and see your riverland at least, what was its condition

before and what is now

Tariq, places haunt me, the stockade is changed to a ghost

(b)

Until last evening,I was the queen of pleasure, there was a

true atmosphere of happiness in my house;

I had right and truth in my mouth

There was a necklace round my neck and henna on my hands, my

whole body was covered in cosmetics;

I was in splendid form

My bridesmaids lifted my veil and looked at my face there was

fun all around;

I was afraid of something wrong

I was so ugly, and my bridegroom so beautiful, how could I

make this my destiny?;

I was myself regretful over this achievement

(iii)   Comments

     Ahmad K Tariq (b c.1930s) is a small land owner,

cultivator of Bet Shah Sadardin, near Dera Ghazi Khan. *Bet* (U

doaba) is tract of land lying between two branches of a river.

There is a number of *bet* along Indus from Dera Ismail Khan

down into Sind, usually named after the names of former old

landlords e.g. Bet Mirhazar. Lying at the centre of

communications, thus centres of cultural exchange in the old

days of transportation through waters, *bet* are now isolated

pockets preserving the old language and culture. With such a

background, Tariq is appreciated by his contemporaries for his true depiction of the limited world of the *bet*. He may be unique in composing in the folk format of *dorha* and in maintaining the classical poetic tradition of feminine speech, in modern times. The poet here thus uses as his mouthpiece a Baet-woman looking after buffaloes and waiting for her dear ones who, if they cross the river, are lost in the world beyond.

These two *dorhas* have been selected from Tariq's collection of *dorha* and *ghazal* entitled <u>Gharūn dar tānrīn</u> ('From the house to the gate'). The title of the book itself speaks of the confinement of the the people in their individual houses when surrounded by water during the annual season of flood in the Indus. In its four lines the first *dorha* portrays the condition of the *bet* after the departure of the poet's beloved i.e. the cattle wander unattended, their jingles are dumb, houses frightening and the fence haunting. Linguistic points include *ladi* > *ladai*, carrying the poetic stress as *ladai*). *māl mataʿ* `cattle, belongings' ((i)/1), Arabic *mālun-va-matāʿun* is a good example of digestion of loan words in Siraiki, while in *tānrīn* `to' (a word in the title) and *bhānrān* `stockade' ((i)/4) ŋ is spelt as *nr* (cf. 6.82).

In *dorha* (b) Tariq has painted the thoughts of a painstricken bride feeling humiliated after having been deserted by her beloved bridegroom. Each main line is followed by a quarter line, a style called <u>dedh</u> like the Urdu *mustazād* `addendum'. Ambiguous words: *mach* `perfuming' in ((i)/7) and (flaming, shining) in ((i)/8), *khach* `fun, joke' in ((i)/9) and `something wrong' in ((i)/10) and *pach*

`digestion/sparing' i.e. an achievement in ((i)/11,12) and

`regret' in ((i)/12, last) are artistically used for poetic

ambiguity.

9.4   Hasan Raza Gardezi

(i)   Transcript

aj tūn lakkhān sadiyān pehle

uvvhe dīnh chaññe han taede

janglān de vich dīnh kūn dere

qhārān de vich raen basēre

mūnh di sūrat khādi mutto   5

vāl tede bhirbhatyān utto

nang namūz de jhagre kae nān

jutti kae nān kapre kae nān

qaomān naslān zātān kae nān

kaghaz qalam davātān kae nān   10

rōz de jhagre jhōre kae nān

sakkē kae nān saōre kae nān

nā mandarān vich sankh vajīnde

nā girjeyān vich tal kharkīnde

ucheyān tibbeyān bāngān kae nān   15

gaz gaz lambiyān tasbiyān kae nān

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

bukkha hāvēn nangā hāvēn

apnī jins dā dushman nāvēn

meter: $- -/- -/- -/- -/$ (standard line, 5)

(Gardezi 1979 p.9)

(ii)   Translation

Hundreds of thousands of centuries ago

Those were better days for you

Dwellings in jungles during the days

Roostings at nights in the caves

The shape of your face without a chin

Your hair coming down to your eyebrows

No issues of nakedness and shame

No shoes, no clothes

No nations, no races, no castes

No papers, no pens, no inkpots

No everyday quarrels, no sorrows

No kin, no in-laws

No conches were played in the temples

No bells were rung in the churches

No calls to prayer on the high hills

No yard-long rosaries

_____(and so on till the last couplet)

Was hungary, were naked,

But you were not enemy of your own kind

(iii) Comments

Hasan R. Gardezi (b c.1920) belongs to an old and
respected family of Multan the Shiite Gardezi descendents of
the saint Yusuf Gardez who emigrated from Afghanistan in the
beginning of the 11th century. They have sinc occupied a
traditional part of the city, `Mahalla Shah Gardez', famous
for the tomb of the saint as well as for its *majalis-e
Muharram*, (the annual Shiite celebrations in the first month
of the Hijra calendar).

As a child of a landlord and *pir* 'spiritual guide', Hasan
Raza was brought up in a village on his father's lands, the
haunting nostalgia for which is reflected in his poetry,
particularly in his famous poem *Suñyān sālhīn* (`Desolate

dwellings'). He is a regular writer for and contributor to
Radio Pakistan Multan and has published a collection of his
poetry _Dhābe dhōre_ (`Stumbles of the illsighted') (c.1982).

The extract is taken from a long poem of 40 lines
entitled *Lakkhān sadiyān pehle' (`Hundreds of centuries
ago'), which focusses on the theme of *violent civilized man'.
Addressing the modern man, the poet pessimistically satirizes
him by telling him that his uncivilized past was better than
his `civilized' present. He also refers to the theory of
evolution i.e. man had such and such shape before ((i)/5-6).
It is just like a mother scolding her young son, saying, `you
were so nice when you were a child'.

His language is a best example of easy and simple dialect
of a city. Besides a few words whose origin is not generally
known e.g. _mutto_ 'without' ((i)/5), the vocabulary mainly
consists of the words of every day use. A phenomenon of
phonological simplification appearing in the Siraiki of
centres i.e. Multan and Bahawalpur, can be observed in
de-aspiration of certain words aspirated in other dialects
e.g. _kae nān_ `not' ((i)/7-12) and _saore_ `in-laws' ((i)/12) as
against _saohre_ and _kae nhān_, originally, na, _ha, an_ > na, _han_
> _nhān_ etc. respectively.

As a poet Gardezi's secular temperament is evident in
lines 13 to 15 where he is equally critical of all religions
including Hinduism, Christianity and Islam which are
represented by reference to such practices as blowing counchs
in temples, ringing bells in churches and saying prayer calls
in mosques. He has clearly placed the development of
religions in the historical evolution of man.

9.5   Noor M Hamdam

(i)   Transcript

dhup he pachhāvān zāt da

mēla   nafī   isbāt   dā

taddi he   ghar   bānāt da

khatthi di banhi shāl he

        lajan vadā lajpāl he   5

rassa he manjh da sain de gal

juttiyēn lahai mōchi di   khal

luchchēn dita halvai kūn tal

tāngi   de   vas   kutvāl   he

        lājan vadā lajpāl he   10

he ājri khamash tēn khap

narhēn gidha bhedēn kūn nap

bakre di mā kīta sinap

kāti   badhi   gal nāl   he

        lajan vada lajpal he   15

meter; _ _ v_/ _ _ v_/(standard line, 2)

(*Jashn* p.82)

(ii)   Translation

Sunshine is a shadow of night

A meeting between negation and affirmation

A straw mattress is a broad-cloth house

A shawl is a rug's maid

    The Honourable is the Great saver of honour

The buffalo's rope round the master's neck

Shoes skinned the shoe-maker

Confectionery fried the confectioner

The house servant is under the power of his water butts

    The Honourable is the Great saver of honour

The shepherd is too old and too weak

Wolves have caught hold of the sheep

The got's mother practised wisdom

And kept the knife tied to her throat

    The Honourable is the Great saver of honour

(iii)   Ccomments

Noor M Hamdam (b c.1930) comes from Mangrotha, a small town near Taunsa (the birth place of famous Indian writer Fikr Taunsavi. A lecturer in Urdu, Hamdam is one of the large number of people from the Taunsa region who sought jobs in Balochistan and settled there. He is one of the notably few writers from Taunsa who, during the spread of Urdu in the years after partition, earned a name locally in Urdu poetry (Quest-5). His local contemporaries include Ustad Faiz, Allah Nawaz Durrani of Vahova and Nawaz Shirani.

The present poem is one of his occasional Siraiki poems which are much appreciated. His style seems borrowed from the folk `riddle stories' e.g. *Qissa sat upattha* (`The story of the seven reverses') and the content, nearer to folk wisdom. In each line, the poet invites the reader to also observe the reverse of an apparent phenomenon. For example the refrain (tap) starting with a colloquial adjective *lājan*, meaning of which is not fixed, suggests that God who created in men a difficult thing like *lāj* `shame/dishonour' is Himself the saviour of one's honour; the subjects of a shoe maker, i.e.the shoes he makes, actually cost him his own skin ((i)/7), and so

on. His philosophical answer to all these riddles is suggested in the first stanza i.e. it is all `a meeting between negation and affirmation'.

Hamdam's use of language mainly represents his local Dera Ghazi Khan dialect untouched by the diction of modern Siraiki literature. This appears in the adjectival suffix -an in lãjan, `one who brings disgrace' ((i)/5), lexical items like khatthi `rag type of shãwl' (4) and ka)ti `small dagger' ((i)/1)4), a loan from Sanskrit kartri. An expression kãti gal nãl badhan means to bow to the hard luck and accept the unacceptable. The features of the Western dialect are re-tained e.g. plural suffix -en as against -an in Northern and Eastern dialects, thus narhẽn `wolves' and bheden `sheep' ((i)/12). Orthography represents standard norms in some of the words e.g. sinrap `wisdom' ((i)/13) as against casually entered colloquial sinhap and shows substandard markings in others such as the realization of nasal retroflex ṇ as nṛ (cf. Shackle 1976: p.26). In spite of his pure use of local dialect and colloquialisms e.g. khammash `very old man' and khap `very weak' ((i)/11), Hamdam too is immunized with Urdu literary effects reflected through lexical items like bãnãt 'broad-cloth' ((i)/3) and with the Panjabi language influence e.g. line 8, clearly a borrowing from the Panjabi metaphor luch tallan `to do an unexpected, damaging deed'.

9.6   Nasir Sarmad

(i)   Transcript

'*Jago*'

bālaṇ kūn har roz sunāvo

haq divāvaṇ vāle qisse

mat vāle, matvāle qisse

apṇi shae bae kūn bakhshan de kūṛe qissin

akbar te jahangīr de qisse mohmal qissin   5

nurjahāṇ de husn de qisse behūda lā-hasil qissin

nani budhṛi vāla qissā

sohṇa qissa a'la qissā

haq divāvaṇ vāla gissā.

balan kūn in qisse da anjām dasāvo   10

vat apṇe bālāṇ kan puchcho

he koi machchar?

jerha moṭe hāthi de kannāṇ vich pūke

lakkhaṇ kāle kāṇ

nāni budhṛi de phulle chuñj vich pā ke   15

chiṭṭe dīṇh kūn zulm kamā ke

ṭālhi di ṭaeṇhī te baethen

meter; - -/- -/ (with varying number of feet in different
lines e.g. eight feet in ((i)/6), two and a half in ((i)/14)
and two in ((i)/12), standard line, 8)

(*Sanjh-3* p.11)

(ii)   Translation

('Wake up')

Tell children every day

370

Stories of recovery of right

Intoxicating stories with morals

The stories of granting one's own thing to another are false

The stories of Akbar and Jahangir are nonsense

The stories of the beauty of Nurjahan are absurd and fruitless

That story of old granny

The lovely story, the supreme story!

The story yielding recovery of right

Tell children the moral of this story

Then ask your childern

Is there any mosquito?

Who should buzz in the ears of the bulky elephant

Hundreds of thousands of black crows

Holding grains of the old granny in their beaks

Having exercised oppression in broad daylight

Are sitting on the (high) branch of the *shisham* tree

(iii)   Comments

Nasir Sarmad (b c.1950) is a primary school teacher of
district Dera Ismail Khan, NWFP. As described in the
introduction of his book, Sarmad started composing in Urdu
before later shifting to Siraiki. Besides being a poet, he is
also known as a local stage actor and a writer and talker on
the local radio. Sarmad has more regard for traditional
values than most of his contemporaries. One of his poems
`Afsānā' `Fiction' (Sarmad 1978: p.91) simply suggests that
the young girls should not meet young boys in privacy. His
style and treatment are, however, directly in line with modern

poetic norms. Language wise, Sarmad is a poet of the Northern
dialect (more specifically, the dialect of northern Daman (cf.
5.3).

The present poem `Jāgo' `Wake up' connotes the motivation
for the Siraiki`movement in its title. The theme is an
emphasis on revival of Siraiki folk stories for children and
the poet's preference for these over the Urdu textbook stories
describing the history of the Mughal kings. Noteworthy is the
way in which the poet has put together bits of a folk story
'Nāni budhŗi vāla qissā' ('The story of the old granny') and
also his theme of the poem. Although the story is not
reproduced in full yet a reader can have the idea of what the
story could be. By his presentation a reader may interpret
the story with a view different from its old theme as a folk
story. It teaches a child how one should stand up for one's
rights even if they are worth only a single grain, rather one
should persuade all beings around, i.e. society. Eeven indi-
viduals as humble as a a mosquito can be helpful by buzzing in
the ear of an elephant to force him to support the right.

The retention of *v* preceding a vowel in verbal
inflections e.g. in *sunavo*, `speak at' ((i)/1), *dasavo* `tell'
((i)/10) and in adjectival suffixes e.g. in *divavanvale*
Causitive adjective 'one who causes to give' ((i)/2) as
against *sunao*, *dasao* and *divavanale* in modern use, is
remarkable phonologically. In morphology, the use of
homophonetic words, *mat vāle*, *matvāle* ((i)/3) as two different
lexical items meaning `having moral' and `intoxicated'
respectively, and cutting short the plural nominal suffix +
helping verb *-e hin* to *-in* in *qissin* `are stories' ((i)/4,5,6)

372

are few indications of the poet's stylistic charm.

The new interpretation of the story is guaranteed by such phrases as *mote hāthi* `bulki elephant' ((i)/13), *kāle kān* `black crows' ((i)/14) and *nāni budhri* `old granny' ((i)/15) which can also be taken as metaphors for 'imperialism', the `haves versus have-nots', and the `homeland' respectively.

9.7   Mumtaz Haidar Dahar

(i)   Transcript

`Siraekū'

(a)   'Sadh'

sonā rupā āp ugārin vandin kach karūr

sāra porhyā chun pun nīvin sākūn deven sādh

hun na sahsūn dadh.   3

(b)   'Milk'

taede daryāvēn da⁻pāni sāde kān furāt

treh dā tarka milk asādī sik sādi jāgīr

ke taīn pīsūn nīr.   6

(c)   'Rōhi'

dhup diyān barchhiyān tan ich puddiyān talliyān sāre rēt

tāpish treh kūn nīnghān deve māre hān ich sandh

māru thal da⁻pandh   9

meter: 2x - -/- -/- -/- -/ - -/- -/ -   ·
       + - -/- -/-

(Dahar c1988`Seraeko' _Sunan-3_: 32)

(i)   Translation

       (`Siraiko')

       (`name of a format of poetry for small poem')

(a)   ('A surplus half')

Gold and silver they collect themselves, distributing cheap
glass

They choose and take all product of hard labour, giving us the

374

surplus half

Now we will not bear oppression

(b)   ('Estate')

Water of your rivers is for us the Euphrates (i.e. prohibited)

Inherited thirst our estate, longing our property

How long will we suppress our tears?

(c)

('The Cholistan desert')

The sun pricks the body like spears, the sand burns the soles
of the feet

The heat adds in the thirst, it breaks into the breast

It is the journey of Maru Thal (the Maru desert)

(iii)   Comments

     M H Dahar (d 1992), a medium landlord of Rahimyar Khan
district, was one of the rather few well-to-do Siraiki
writers who could successfully afford literature as a full
time hobby and could publish thir own work. He was involved
in Siraiki as a poet and writer in early 1970s and as youngest
favourite son was encouraged in this by his father. In 1977,
he started with publishing a *kitab lari* `series' _Sōjhala_,
latter established as a monthly journal bearing an official
declaration. He published his first collection of *ghazals*
entitled _Kashkōl vich samandar_ (`An ocean in a begging bowl')
(c.1979) followed by a much improved collection of poems
Andhāre di rāt (`A night of darkness') (1987), an indirect
translation of Telugu poetry _Maedi dharti maede lōk_ (`My land,

375

my people') (c.1988) and an account of journey _Pakkhi vās_ (`A
nomad') (1988), and a number of translations from Sindhi
prose and poetry.

     One of D̲ahar's contributions to modern Siraiki literature
is his attempts to bridge over the dialectal differences of
Siraiki Si. from the C. throw his writings by means of
introducing new terms as part of word formation. The
replacement of Urdu words with Siraiki ones e.g. Siraiki
thorāyet `grateful' for Urdu _mamnūn_ and the introduction of
Sindhi morphological patterns like adjective affix -ael e.g.
in _chhapael_ `printed' are among his successful experiments.

     The title of the present poem i.e. _Seraeko_ is actually
the name of a new format in Siraiki poetry, borrowed from
Japanese format Haiku (pronounced as `Haeko' in Siraiki)
through Urdu. It is a short poem of two and a half lines in a
fixed meter, the last one and a half line agreeing in rhyme
with second line. The subtitles as well as the content bear
political significance. The subtitle, and the ending word of
the second line of the first poem _sadh_ (lit. a half over whole
number/measure of a substance), is used in the sense of
`surplus'. _d̲ād̲h_ 'oppression' ((i)/4) is a creative poetic
deviation from the commonly used _dad̲hap_. Dahar also exhibits
extended use of vocabulary originating from the classics e.g.
kach karur 'fragile stuff' ((i)/2) i.e. bangles made of glass
compared with those made of gold etc., to items from the
Northern dialect e.g. _kān̲_ 'regarding', ((i)6) > Skt. _karna-_
'cause' (CDIAL/3057). _furat_ `Euphrates', name of the river in
Iraq is a strong metaphor popular in Shiite rhetorics. It is
believed that Imam Husain and his allies were deprived of the

waters Euphrates by the cruil army of Yezid during the war of Karbala (Iraq).

His force of expression is reflected in phrases like *mare hān ich sandh* i.e. heat 'breaks into chest' ((i)/12). *ninghān* 'scoldings' ((i)/13) is however an example of including excessively local words in composing. It seems that *mārū Thal* ((i)/13) is used, as it is by most of the modern Siraiki poets, in its general, literal sense (i.e. the killer desert) whereas it is a standard term attributed to the nomad tribes of Thar in Sind called *maru*.

As far as the theme is concerned, the second poem more clearly than the first one, is an expression of the stand of `the land of thirst' i.e. the Siraiki region against the economic exploitation of `the land of rivers' i.e. Panjab. The third poem, however is a general expression of helplessness by a traveller in the Rohi, the Cholistan desert of Siraiki region.

9.8 Aziz Shahid

(i)   Transcript

'Nakhēr̥e di hik nazm'

od̠un̠ tūn nikhir̥ paen--- ed̠ūn s̄ham laeh pai

od̠ūn taen ajan pēr pahlā rakhyā he

pichhū te valan dā

ed̠ūn s̄ade sir te pahār an paē hin

od̠ūn āsun̠ pas̄ūn   5

andhāre kalhēpe kūn̠ kattha chā kīte

ed̠ūn apn̥e d̠ukh tūn

as̄an̠ āp kūn chīnān chīn̥ān chā kīte

as̄an̠ muṭh mīti dī

chun̥ūn apne chīne   10

ya be vaqt vāchhar* de patthar sanbhalūn̠

as̄an̠ phas gae hain

jo pahle taikūn̠ alvidā* kar ke d̠ekhūn

ya taid̠e nakhēr̥e de manzar sanbhālūn̠

meter; v- -/ v- -/ (two and four ft lines; standard line; 8)
(Shahid 1991: p.12)

(ii)   Translation

('A poem of separation')

There you left----here evening fell

There your had just taken your first step

To return back

Here upon our head mountains have come and fallen

There all around

378

Darkness has gathered loneliness

Here through our grief

We have shattered ourselves into pieces

We, a handful of dust

Should we gather up our pieces

Or look after the stones of untimely downpour

We are caught

Whether we should first see you off

Or sustain the scenes of your separation?

----

* For original *vachhara* (scribal error)

(iii)   Comments

Aziz Shahid (b c.1950) comes from the D.G. Khan region. Shahid inherited a poetic talent from his father,N.M.Sail, who was a well known Siraiki poet in his day. Siraiki poets of the right bank of Indus like Sokari, Sarmad and Shahid himself, though each showing individual features, have much in common as against those coming from the left bank like Salim Ahsan, Ashu Lal, Rafat Abbas and Mumtaz H. Dahar whose language is more romantic and 'Siraiki-like'.

Shahid, who is popular for his 'mushaira' recitations, also made a name as one of the best selling Siraiki poets when first published in 1988. Like his fellow poets from the right bank he shows a tendency to follow the norms of contemporary Urdu poetry, coupled with a somehow casual use of language, with accentual effects of Panjabi. The extract given is a short poem entitled *Nakhēre di hik nazm* ('Poem of separation'). Apart from the blank verse style of

379

composition, Urdu words like *be vaqt* 'untimely' ((i)/12),
al-vida 'good bye' ((i)/14) and *manzar* 'a scene' ((i)/15) are
placed in parallel with skilfully used Siraiki vocabulary like
vachhar 'downpour' ((i)/12) and *chinan* 'small grains, pieces'
((i)/9). It represents an effort to encode modern thoughts in
local metaphor, a common trend in modern Siraiki poetry. On
the other hand, a simplifying phenomenon of getting rid of
glide, and additionn of nasalization in the end of adverbs, a
Panjabi pattern, e.g. Panjabi, *ethun* versus Siraiki
itthoun/ittho is adopted casually, thus *āsyūn̲ pāsyūn̲* 'around'
appears as *āsūn̲ pāsūn̲* ((i)/6).

9.9   Salim Ahsan

(i)   Transcript

vasti de vāse hin patthar

danḍh piya ghatte chhērū sap sap

dhuppān da kam saokha kīta

lokān buṭe lānēn kap kap

dil ṭibri hai rēt di aslūn   5

bhōr khindāyā jakhrān lap lap

dū kaniyān na sāhiyān kandhān

umrān langhiyān mitti thap thap

rah gaī shām meḍe ghar vehṛe

āi kandhān koṭhe tap tap   10

meter: _ _   _ _   _ _   _ _   (standard line, 10)

(Ahsan 1986: p.44)

(ii)   Translation

The residents of the village are like stones

The shepherd is crying `snake! snake!' (in vain)

The task of the sun-heat was made easy

By the people cutting the reeds and alkali plants

The heart was realy a small dune of sand

Which the winds crumbled and scattered in handfuls

The walls did not bear two drops of rain

Lifetimes were spent plastering them with mud

The evening stayed in my courtyard

It came after jumping over many walls and roofs

(iii)   Comments

Salim Ahsan (b 1950) is a college teacher (assistant

professor) in Urdu. Like many others, Ahsan started his   .

poetic career by composing in Urdu, but then, perhaps

impressed by the Siraiki literary movement, he turned towards

Siraiki and found it more suitable for his success as a poet.

His first collection of verses and poems entitled *Jhakkar*

jhole ('Stormy winds') (1986) earned him fame as well as an

award from the Pakistan Academy of Letters. As against major

classical poets like Khwaja Ghulam Farid, modern Siraiki poets

tend to localize their language as well as their imagery.

This is certainly true in the case of Ahsan. His imagery,

dialect and the treatment verify this, as may be seen in the

extract.

The five couplets are taken from one of his verses

included in the section classified as *ghazalan* in the

collection. His reliance on his dialect of Mianwali (cf.

Shackle, 1992: pp.10,11) can be observed throughout his work.

This short extract too shows few peculiarities. The

pluralization of *dhup* 'sunshine' ((i)/3) is rare in the

central and southern dialects. In the commonly used synonyms,

Mianwali dialect seems differ from the central dialects, to

be selective, e.g. *dhup*, and *kanyan* 'drops of rain' ((i)/7),

which are paralleled with *chitka* and *phīngāṇ* respectively in

SrC. and SrS. Final nasalization in the adverbs ending in

'*o*'is another difference of mianwali dialect with SrC.

(western) thus *aslun* 'at all' ((i)/3) vs. *aslõ.* Salim's

vocabulary is fairly Siraiki decorated with colloquial

expressions e.g. *ḍanḍh piya ghatte* 'would cry, quarrel'

((i)/2). Worth noticing is the remarkable rhyme ending in -*ap*

-*ap* which is difficult to arrange.

The penultimate couplet is a simple but well conceived description of a centuries old problem of dwellings in the poet's region i.e. the Thal desert. Pure clay being scarce, the walls of mud-built houses contain big proportion of sand and are thus weak in the face of heavy rains.

9.10   Rafat Abbas

(i)   Transcript

naqli de vat āndeyān sabh kujh badal gyā

badshah ne ghussā tān unvēn bahūn kīta

bāndiyān sāriyān khil piyān badshah dir dekh

munh te hatth jalād vī ākho rakkh kharā

apṇi apṇi rassiyān sabh khulēnde gae   5

sabh nē apne āp kūn akkhīn bhāl ditha

naqlī akhyā badshāh sir he taede tāj

par eh shoda tāj he aslūn gatte dā

iyyho sāri khēd he naqli hōrīn dī

bādshah da lōkēn tūn dende dar lahā   10

meter: - -/- -/- v- /- -/- -/ - /(standard line; 8)

(Abbas 1989: p.24)

(ii)   Translation

With arrival of the jester everything changed

The king, though, was very angry

All the female slaves burst out laughing, looking at the king

The executioner too, say, stood covering his face with his

hand

All were undoing their ropes

All opened their eyes looked at themselves

The jester said, 'o king, you have a crown on your head

But this poor crown is really of cardboard'

This is all the game of Sir Jester

He takes the fear of the king away from the people.

(iii)   Comments

Rafat Abbas (b 1952), now a lecturer in Urdu, was a junior level employee of the railway department when he produced his two major works. He comes from the suburbs of Shujabad, an old town on the bank of river Chenab. This background is more evident in his poetry than in the work of fellow poets of similar origin. Shy and solitary by nature, Rafat entered Siraiki literary circles with his first collection of verses, _Parchheyān utte phul_ ('Flowers on straw mattresses') (1984).

Although his subject-matter is drawn from his introspective imagination, Rafats style is simple, delicately close to that of folk-poetry. The meter of this extract is common in such folk genres as the _var_, the typical ballad form. His use of Perso-Urdu vocabulary is correspondingly sparing.

The extract is taken from his second work, _Jhomari jhum turē_ (1989). Like his first book, this too fits into no customary format, but is something between a long poem and an epic. While his first collection is purely romantic in tone, this is more ideological. Besides his main theme, the poet clearly expresses his regard for the movement of Siraiki cultural awareness and pays tribute to certain individuals and groups active in the task (Abbas 1989: p.17).

This passage includes the poet's philosophical perception of the tradition of dance and drama. He explains the importance of the role of the jester or an actor-comedian. To him such an actor-comedian liberates the masses from their own fears as well as from suppression by their rulers. The repetition of word _naqli_ lit. 'mimic' ((i)/1,7,9) reflects the

effort to revive of dying Siraiki vocabulary by recharging it
with literary significance. Though simple, the use of
language is not especilly localized and local words like *dir*,
dher 'to' ((i)/3) are rare. The honorific postmodifier *horīn*
with *naqli* ((i)/9) is a nice colloquialism.

9.11   Ashulal Faqir

(i)   Transcipt

'Hāth de ghōṛe'

tusān vi apṇiyāṇ hiṇakdiyān

apṇe dar te baddho

asāṇ vi hāth de ghōreyān vāngūn

apṇe pichhle pērāṇ utte   5

thī kharnalle nachchūn

hạth de piṛ ich

hiṇakdiyāṇ kanūn vadh ke chas e

killa paṭ ke

jaeṇ di sāng saphal thī pōve   10

mēle de vich

uvvho sādi kanḍ te hōve.

meter; 'free' with exception of line 1 and three which are

scanned as; 1, v- v - -/- v-/

               2, v- -v - -/- -/- -

(Faqir *Sojhala* 1989: p.14)

(ii)   Translation

'Racehorses'

You too fetter your neighing mares

To your door

We too, like race-horses,

On our hind feet

Stand and prance

In the racecourse

There is a thrill greater than in the neighing mares

In having hit the peg

Whoever's lance is fruitful

In the fest,

Let him be mounted on our back.

(iii)   Comments

It took him nearly 10 years to convert from Muhammad
Ashraf (b c.1958), a student of medicine and an intelligent
Urdu poet using *Shu a* as his pen name (*takhallus*), in 1980,
to Ashu Lal Faqir , a qualified physician and a famous modern
Siraiki poet with a work published i.e. *Chhērū hath na murli*
(1989). His new name which he adopted after the name of a
hermit buried near his village also indicates his withdrawal
from an Islamic/Arabic identity and his love for local-self
past. Popular on one hand, Ashu is highly criticized, on the
other hand, for his jump from the traditional diction and
thought of Siraiki poetry to an ideal Indian mythological one
(cf. 8.3(iii).

The present poem *Hath de ghore* ('Racehorses') is an
expression of the typical bitterness of a Pakistani
intellectual, increased during the martial law of General Zia.
'People surrendered to slavery', the poet thinks. And if we
give his metaphors like *hinkadiyān* 'neighing mares' ((i)/1,7),
ghōreyān 'to horses' ((i)/3), *chas* 'joy' ((i)/7) and *killa
pat ke* 'having uprooted a peg' ((i)/8) Freudian
interpretation, the jist of the poem will be that men become
conditioned with passivity and impotence when subjugated.

Words like *saphal* 'fruitful' ((i)/9), a Sanskritic loan
in Urdu, which could have been easily altered with a Siraiki

word of similar origin i.e. *sajai*, and orthography of 3p. plural pronoun *oho* 'that' ((i)/11), originally *uvvho* show linguistic impacts of Urdu and Panjabi languages on Siraiki. One striking aspect of the poem is exploitation of comprihensiveness in the language itself. For example, again, *hinkadiyan* 'neighing' with elapse of a word for 'mares', and *kharnalle nachchūn* 'let us prance' ((i)/6) are expressions which respectively portray females striving for mating and men intoxicated with stupidity.

9.12   Abid Amiq

(i)   Transcript

'Lafzāṇ bare kujh gālhīṇ'

sāṛe vaḏke iyyhọ āhdin

sachchā lafz he iyyho jhīyāṇ

iyyhō jhīyāṇ

īyyhō jhīyāṇ

paehlā nuktā sāre vaḏke sach nahīṇ āhde   5

aglā nuktā maeḏe hovin ya ō bhāvēn kahīn de hovin

lafz tāṇ hondin bandar vāṇgūn

vaḏ mahāṇ darakhtāṇ utte

ṭinglī nāl aṛāvin pūchhal

khavin oh kharbāzi   10

vārī

vārī

siddhi puṭṭhi.

talle beṭhe saodāgar dī

hik hik kar te chaeṇde vaññin paeṇde vaññin   15

uchchi lambi turki ṭōpi

hik ṭingṛi tūṇ dūjhi ṭingṛi bharin bilāṇgāṇ

khaṛ khaṛ hassin

ṭopi pa te sachchi muchchi bāṇdar sāḏe vaḏke lagdin

---

iyhe baṇdar karin tamāshā   20

---

chhoṭe vaḏḏe khil khil buddiṇ saṭṭin vēlāṇ

sārī vēlāṇ hik hik kar te chuṇdā chaeṇda bandirvālā

⁻tur vaeṇda he

ūṇda itthāṇ toṛīṇ kam he

390

In tūn aggo vī koī kam he?   25

chhekar bāqi tussān dasso

meter; - -x 1 to 8, or free in number ft.

(Amiq *Sūñān* 1988: p.4)

(ii)   Translation

('Few words about words')

All the elders say this same thing

A true word is like this

Like this

Like this'

First point: not all the elders speak truth

Next point: be they mine or anyone's

Words are like monkeys

On the big, high trees

They entangle their tail with a branch

They turn somersaults

Turn by

Turn

Right way up, upside down, reverse

The same monkeys perform

All the people, young and old, cannot help laughing, and throw

money

The monkey-man picks up the coins one by one

Walks away

Is task lasts only so long

Has he anything further to do?

In the end the rest is for you to tell

(iii) Comments

A. Amiq (b 1945), a lecturer in English, is known as an
intellectual ideologist of communism (Maoism). He was one of
the few intellectuals of the Siraiki region who were harassed,
interrogated and punished by the intelligence agencies during
the martial law of General Zia in the early 1980s. Having
been never involved in the Siraiki movement, Amiq started
composing in Siraiki in 1976, perhaps following the principle
of writing in the mother tongue. The influenc of Najm H.
Syyed's school of thought is reflected in his poetry. The
present poem i.e. 'Lafzān bāre kujh gālhīn' represents his
unique themes and ultra modern treatment. Muslim literature
inherits the Quraanic (also Biblical) idea of supremacy of
kalam 'the Word'. In Amiq, however, words are personified.
They offer to play any role for their user like a monkey for
his master.

The extract includes seventeen lines selected out of the
49-line long poem. The first half of the extract preaches
'doubt' as if suggesting that orthodoxy must be checked. In
the following lines, the poet's perception of words is
conveyed. If used skillfully, these can deal with the
profiteers of the mercantile class by exposing them and their
'Turkish cap'-like status symbols, just as the monkeys of a
parable did with a dishonest merchant. These can play tricks
for the audience and can earn their master something in
return. Is this all, or is there something else worth doing?
The last line ends in a question.

The poem is a rhythmic verse type (not prose poetry), the treatment is more logical than poetic, for example use of speech openers like: *pehlā nuktā* 'first point' ((i)/5), *agla nuktā* 'next point' ((i)/6).

In morphology, on the one hand compounds like *vad mahan* 'big and great' ((i)/8), original Siraiki, *vadda mahād* 'big and authorized', represent an invention of more general vocabulary, on the other hand, alteration of '*r*' with '*l*' in *tingli* 'branch' and *pūchhal* 'tail' ((i)/9), originally, *tingri* and *puchhar* respectively are examples of substandard colloquialism. The omission of the first of the two determiners + pronouns i.e. *bhaven o* 'either that/be it' ((i)/6) clearly shows the impact of Urdu constructions on modern Siraiki. In formal Siraiki it would be constructed as *bhaven o mede hovin ya o bhaven kahinde hovin*.

9.13 *Lok sunan*

[extracts from different poets showing expression of the
movement in a direct way]

(i)   Ttranscripts

(a)   Aziz Shahid

assān   Sindh di man de vasde dharti-vās purāṇe

sāḍe   thal damān te rekhān bet̄ bui lai lāṇe

jhokān bhāṇe vastiyān thatthiyān garrhiyān goth asāḍe

kaṇak juār te bajhari sadi chaṇṇe moth asāḍe

butthe bhurde qilᶜe sāḍe kappar chitt asāḍe   5

theriyān thul te tibbe toe tobhe bhitt asāḍe

aj dā pal tārīkhī pal e aj dā pal nā rōlō

andhe khwāb akkhīn pae lahndin hun tān akkhīn khōlō

Sindh di sāri patti apni Sindh e rūh di rāṇi

panj pāṇi nā rās asākuṇ sāḍa hikko pāṇi   10

opare hath diyān pañj aṅglīn nā apṇe sir te tāṇō

dhur de gūnge dhartī vāso pal de paer suñanō

----

sāḍe laᶜl Karachi tōnrīn bukh de mul te vikkin

man de vasde nadi kināre jhūpri sāṅge sikkin

saḍiyān naslān sandān chā ke daftar daftar rullin   15

par sāḍi kahīn dastak te maqsūm de dar na khullin

pal pal di khaerat he jīvaṇ pal pal ᶜaen ᶜazābī

har kursi te khaorā chehrā har chehrā Panjābī

----

kahīn de nāl nā sāḍe jhere assān ghiyū de gharre

assān tān bas e chahndūn koi sāḍe ghar nā ḍarre   20

394

sāda   hik   suñāpūn   chehrá   sādi   khās   nishāni

assāṇ   pehle   sirf   Siraiki   pichchēṇ   Pakistani

----

ke,   taīṇ   sāda ,   khūṇ   pachēsī   kōṛho   kutto   kāṇo

dhur   de   gūṇge ,   dharti   vāso   pal   de   paer   suñāṇo

meter;   - -/ - -/- -/ - -// - -/ - -/ - / (standard line; 15)

(Shahid 1987: pp.60 ff)

(b)   Aslam Javed

maeṇ tassā maedi dharti tassi

tassi Rohi jai

maekūṇ ākh nā panj daryāī

meter 1;   - - -v/ - -v/ - -/ - -

       2;   - -/ - -/ - -

       3;   v- -/ - -/ - -/ -

(Javed 1994: p.3)

(c)   Afzal Ajiz

A)

rōhi thal dāmāṇ vāsiyō bukkhō nangō tassō

sādi lōk suñāṇ di qātil pañj daryāī vasso (vassūṇ)

meter;   - -/ - -/ - -/ - -/ - -/ - -/ - /

B)

sādẹ qātil in pañjābī

unhāṇ de nāī sūluh ko ni

unhāṇ de nāī bhēṛ e   5

meter; - -/ - -/ - - /- -, x2

       + - -/ - -/ - -/

395

(Ajiz c1990 *Mianwli nambar*)

(d)   Maqsud Kaosar

sāde vēṛhe ā vaeṇdin pañjāb de kutte bille

sādā khāja kha vaeṇdin pañjāb de kutte bille

meter: identical with the first two lines in (c)

(ibid.)

(i)   Translation

(a)

We, the dwellers of banks of Indus, the ancient natives of the land

The Thal, the the foot hills of Sulaiman range and the the sand dune tracts are ours

The hamlets, the cattle farms , the villages, the populaces, the huts, the settlements are ours

The crops of wheat, Indian corn, millet, chick-peas, peas and vetch are ours

The decaying forts are ours, the deep waters and the bare and bleak spots are ours

The ruined places and fortresses, the heights, the slopes, the ponds and the high hills are ours

Today's moment is historic one do not miss this moment!

Blind dreams are gaining eyes, if you open your eyes now

The whole tract of the Indus is ours, the Indus is the queen of hearts

The Five Waters do not suit us, ours is one water

Do not let the five fingers (sign of curse) of the alien hand

fix on your heads

O natives, as dumb by origin, do recognize the steps of time

Our dear sons sell themselves for the price of hunger as far away as Karachi .

The dwellers of the (big) river bank strive for a hut on the bank of the stream (Hab Nadi/the slums area in Karachi)

Our new generation wanders office to office with degrees in their hands

But never at our knock does the door of luck open

Every moment of life is as if charity, each moment a torment

A harsh face seated in every chair, every face a Panjabi face

---

We do not have any differences with any people, we are like "butter-oil pitchers" (generous people)

No body should intrude in our home, that is what we want

Our faces as identical as if one face, and that is our character- istic

First we are only Siraiki, and then Pakistani

How long will the ugly, the dog, the one eyed digest our blood?

O natives, as dumb by origin, do recognize the steps of time

(b)

Thirsty I am, thirsty is my land, thirsty is the daughter of the Rohi

Don,t call me `a Five Riverite'

(c)

A)

O natives of Rohi, Thal and Daman, o poor, hungry, and thirsty
people

The Five Riverites are the murderers of our local identity

B)

Panjabis are our muderers'

No reconciliation with them

We are at war with them

(d)

The dogs and cats of Panjab rush in our house
They consume our subsistence

(iii)   Comments

It is since late 1970s that a jingle,

sadi lok sunan   Rohi Thal Daman i.e. 'our local identity (is
based on the land tracts of) Rohi, Thal and Daman', is
frequently seen painted white on red banners in almost every
public meeting about Siraiki. The slogan, though falling
short of a term for an important portion of the Siraiki region
lying between the Ravi and Chenab i.e. Multan and its
neighbourhood, is still a quite significant expression of the
topography of the Siraiki area. As seen in chapter four, the
question of local identity has directed the people (through
the intelligentsia) to the demarcation of their land. This
appears in the literature in loose geographical terms some of
which are: *Sindh* 'Indus river and the valley', *Rohi* also known
as Cholistan, the north-western part of the great Thar desrt
which mainly lies in Pakistan, *Thal* (the smaller desert
between the Indus and Chenab), and *Daman* Per. 'foothills', the

tract between lower Suleman range and river Indus) etc.
Besides this there is a number of new topics introduced in the
poetry to establish the Siraiki identity. Most emphasized are
the following:

(I)   contrasts with the Panjab;

Lack of water, symbolized as *tas* 'thirst', against the
abundance of waters in Panjab e.g. in Javed (b) and Ajiz
((i)(c)/1), also stated in terms of one (Indus river) versus
five (rivers) the very base of identity and the name of Panjab
i.e. *pañj āb* lit. 'five waters', is established as a point of
basic difference as in Shahid ((i)(a)/10). Still worse is the
coincidence that in the Siraiki area, *pañj* in *pañj aṅglīn*
'five fingers' also called *bujja* is the sign of a curse when
pointed at someone, as referred to by Shahid ((i)(a)/11).

(II)   Siraiki and not Panjabi;

Siraiki individuals started retorting as `I am not Panja-
bi' as early as in 1950s. The notion that `I am Siraiki',
however did not establish itself at the mass level until very
recently, in the 1980s, real enforcement of which is reflected
in Shahid ((i)(a)/22). It should be clear by now that
although Siraiki extends to all four provinces of the country,
the conflict is concentrated in Panjab.

(III) re-discovering the land;

Having been deprived of its totality at the hands of the
Sikhs and the British in modern times, the Siraiki region as
a whole did not enjoy any political identity at any level
until recently. To meet this gap, modern writers started a
quest for the Siraiki identity's geo-cultural bases. One of
the outcomes is an influx of a new diction of the

nationalistic poetry centred at 'the land and the people'.
Among the examples of such diction are: *dharti* `land'
((i)(b)/1), **dharti vās** lit. `aboriginal', `son of soil', *sind
di,man* `bank of Indus' ((i)(a)/1), *sind di paṭṭi* `the tract of
Indus' ((i)(a)/9) and some very narrow expressions of ethnic
distinctiveness as sada *hik suñāpūn chehrā* `ours is the one,
identical face ((i)(a)/21).

(IV)   antiquity;

    Pride in the past is always an asset for the people who
are deprived of their representation in the present. Shahid
is rich in his verbose account of the preserved Siraiki
antiquities ((i)(a)/2-6). It is also a cry for help to save
all that it is feared will soon disappear.

(V)   the apple of discord;

    By many students of the social sciences the
Siraiki-Panjabi issue is looked upon as a semi-economic
problem and is diagnosed as having resulted from the uneven
economic development in the country (cf. Ahmad 1987, Rahman
1991). Modern Siraiki poetry confirms this to an extent e.g.
in Shahid's pathetic description of the young generation, the
dwellers of the fertile shores of Indus living homeless by the
nadi i.e. Hab nadi, a stream in Karachi ((i)(a)/13-14).
Similar is the nature of complaint in A Ajiz (c). However
this is not the whole story, but something more.

(VI)   the intruders;

    The people of Panjab have a better share in everything
but the ratio of unemployment among the educated youth of the
Siraiki region, due to lack of any provincial quota of their
own, is even higher than among those of Balochistan and Sind.

In terms of regional economic development, not only Panjab but most parts of the N W F P province are better of than the Siraiki area. The poets concentrate, however, on Panjab saying that Panjabis are seen as aliens by the Siraikis when they exploit the resources of their region. On this point the poets of the northern region i.e. Mianwali, militant in their historical background, appear to be crude and hard in their expression, e.g. Ajiz (c) and Kaosar (d) as compared to those of the western and central regions e.g. Shahid ((i)(a)/20) and Javed (b). Yet there is a point where Shahid seems giving outlet to the rage of a common man in 1980s against the dictator Zia, who for Siraikis had the additional defect of being Panjabi. Zia was abused as *kāna* `one eyed'and *korha* `ugly' by the people who disliked hi, as the dictator. A delicate indication is made to the *khun* `blood' of Bhutto by the preference given to Sindhi adjective *kāno* over the Siraiki one i.e. *kāna* ((i)(a)/23).

CHAPTER TEN

LITERATURE

The samples of modern Siraiki writing presented in the
two preceding chapters have so far chiefly been used to
furnish linguistic material, particularly in relation to the
evidence they provide for the conscious evolution of a modern
language by activist writers. Although the compass of this
thesis does not permit the inclusion of a comparably full
analysis from a literary perspective, some of the themes which
the samples touch upon, either explicitly or implicitly,
deserve a more connected description than it was possible to
provide in the short individual analyses in the preceding
chapters. The present chapter accordingly prefaces a brief
review of the quantitative expansion of the modern literature
to an outline of the mainstream of the earlier literary
history of Siraiki, culminating in the Sufi poetry of Khwaja
Ghulam Farid, before touching upon the neglected theme of the
region's Hindu past and its occasional appearance in
literature, and concluding with a final reflection on elegiac
mode which continues to be central to the Siraiki literary and
cultural identity.

10.1   Perspective

The importance of 'folk tradition' (*lok rīt*) and 'folk
literature' (*lok adab*) much emphasized by some modern
critiques of Siraiki and Panjabi does not seem to follow upon
any clear definition. What appears from the material
presented as the folk basis of Siraiki culture is the set of
pre-modern elements in language, literature and customs, etc.

One of the aspects of these elements is that they form a blend of the remnants of Hindu culture of the region, which we will be reviewed in some detail in the following pages, and the Muslim way of life enforced through the continuous exercise over the centuries of political power and the efforts of the Muslim preachers of all kinds, the mystics and the *mullas*.

Compared with the old remnants of Hindu cult which are looked upon with interest by the modern revivalists generally in terms of the origin of the culture of Siraiki region (cf. Ali 1994), Shi'ite Islam seems much more successful both in sustaining the continuous onslaught of purist Islam and in achieving a deep rooted spread of rituals and culture and establishing itself in the form of popular literary tradition of 'elegy' (*marsia*). The *Marsia* is a form of poetry which includes imaginative narrations of the sufferings of Imam Husain, the grandson of Prophet Muhammad in the tragic episode of Karbala, which is composed and recited in Siraiki by Shi'ite orators (*zakirs*) in the special gatherings called *majlis*. In 19th century *marsiya* recitation became a popular religious ritual and publication of this form of Siraiki poetry from local Multan press was at its peak in the period 1890 to 1947 (Shackle 1978 c: pp.282-3,292-3).

It is to the post-partition influx of migrants from India into the Siraiki urban centres that one may attribute the diversity of changes like rise of Sunnite Islam and sectarianism at the expense of religious harmony and tolerance before (highly valued and attributed to the mystical culture of the region by modern writers), and of the Sunnite versus Shi'ite divide resulting in the weakening of the latter.

Moreover, the immigrants of different background came to replace the Hindu middle class of the Siraiki urban centres, a people whose civil and economic roots and art and knowledge of survival had proved strong enough to resist the centuries long pressure for their conversion to Islam (cf. Maclean 1989: p.53).

It is the religious environment more than the political history of the region which has shaped Siraiki culture. According to Irfan (NI-7):

> Four major philanthropist religious waves, i.e. Buddhism, Ismaili preaches, Sufism and bhakti thoughts rendered major contributions to thematic and stylistic formation of Siraiki literature.

The norms of tranquillity, tolerance, and the neutralization of the effects of the Hindu caste system throughout the Indus region are also attributed to the earlier prevalence of Buddhism in the region. Similarly, preference to the language of the common a tradition that was carried on by the Ismailis, the Sufis and the Bhakatas subsequently and was never meant to disappear is also attributed to Buddhists who opted for Pali against Sanskrit for their preaching (cf. 1.4; Shaukat 1977: p.80; Gadi 1994: p.60).

Fondness of the Siraiki writers for Buddhism (cf. Ashulal 1995 'Foreword') apart, the traces of this cult are, however, more prominent elsewhere in Pakistan. The Buddhist epitaphs are placed in the Northern area, while the ritualistic significance of wide spread banyan tree synchronized with faith of the people in decoration of all old trees with colourful banners and added with the 'seats' built around their trunks, which is observed throughout the Pothohar, becomes sparse in the Siraiki area.

It is fitting here to mention the central theme of the
Siraiki classical poetry, i.e. 'unity of existence' (Ar.
wahdat-ul-wujūd) also called 'All is He' (Per. *Hama Us't*), and
its style which is seen as derived from more than one literary
traditions.   There are many interpretations of the popularity
of theme of *hama u'st* in the subcontinent, such as those found
in the history of the contacts of Indus Valley with Iran and
the import of the Hallajian ideas also through his own visit
of India and the Indus region which became widely popular
among all including the Siraiki poets from Sachal to Khwaja
Farid and onwards (Schimmel 1962: pp.161-2,191).   There can
also be a social interpretation of this as that the idea is
much suited for the intellectual mind of India and the Indus
which always aspires for unification of the diversity ridden
societies of the subcontinent.

Shackle distinguishes three stylistic categories of
Siraiki poetry: the Islamic style, the Persian style and the
local style.   The first is seen to be applicable only to the
poetic narratives of religion and the second, i.e. the Persian
style with all its lyrical qualities falls short of covering
the formats and themes like those of Siraiki *kafi*, a verse
with typical narration of pains of parting.   A modern style
evolved under European influence in Urdu genre is also seen
unsatisfactory for its comparative artificiality as a standard
to examine Siraiki poetry, which is more original.   Thus
Siraiki poetry is better appreciated by understanding of the
local style and its sources with combination to the other two
styles (Shackle 1976 a: pp.7-8).

Khwaja Farid as a model of Siraiki classical poetry

provides maximum to examine the above criteria. *Kafi* 3, *ban dilbar shakl jahan aya* 'the Beloved came in the form of universe' is a typical reflection of the Islamic style where a mystical analysis is directed to statement of historical personalities of Islam. There are many *kafis* where a local reader of Khwaja finds the lyricism and the narration of love and beauty as surpassing the Persian standards as observed by Talut (1944: p.14), given in literal translation as follows:

> The place that Khwaja Hafiz has in Persian or the status that Mir Taqi Mir and Ghalib have in Urdu the same status holds 'respectable' (*hazrat*) Khwaja Farid, blessings of God upon him, in the Multani language. But with this there is some difference and contrast. Khwaja Hafiz is a mystic poet and possesses lyricism; to this extant our Khwaja, blessings of God upon him, shares him but Khwaja Hafiz is not a poet with message and our Khwaja, blessings of God upon him, has a message.

And still many more of his *kafis* are of the type where the main theme of 'unity of existence' is artfully mixed with various local themes and similes from the folk and from the life around. Perhaps one of the best examples is the most popular *kafi* 132 where the single theme of submission to the 'eternal beloved' is reiterated in 23 couplets with the final couplets 24 and 25 concluding as follows:

> *je   yar   farid   qubul   kare*
> *sir-taj vi   tun   sultan vi tun*
> *na tan kehtar kamtar ahqar adna*
> *la-shae   la-imkan   vi   tun*
>
> If the friend grants acceptance O Farid,
> You are throne of the head, you are the king
> If not, then humble, meagre, the most meaningless, the most low,
> Insignificant, also non-existent is you

Only few points of his language and diction can be mentioned here. Khwaja Ghulam Farid exhibits a unique force of use of language in both expanse of vocabulary and skill of arrangements of words. His register is unparalleled in

skilfully including words of all those languages whose relation with Siraiki is established, for instance, the words of Indo-Aryan languages including Sindhi at a popular level and those of Arabic and Persian at the educated level through the customary learning of Islam. For instance, where *kafi* 63, with its use of Sindhi words is as a rich reflective of the lexical harmony of Siraiki with Sindhi as *kafi* 23 is of the familiarity of the Arabic-Persian literary terminology shown in the traditional mystical poetry of the region.

Probably the unparalleled example of wide range of poetic metaphor among his contemporary poets, Khwaja synchronizes few contrasting religious and philosophical traditions in his poetry. He impressively uses the pure Arabic-Persian terminology in his *kafis* on narration of Sufism (Farid 1944: 7) and shows regards to the old Hindu cult of the region by addressing prophet Muhammad as Sham, Shyam, Lachhman, Mohan (sacred names of Hinduism) and Ranjha, as if the Panjabi version of the flute playing Krishna (cf. Farid 1944: 3/4,132/7).

Hinduism, an old cult of the region, although undermined by the subsequent domination of Islam which also for its emphasis on the Arabic language discouraged the possible penetration of the local elements, yet many a features of Siraiki literature recall Hinduism, the prominent being the local poetic image of the Prophet Muhammad addressed

10.2   Origin

Leaving the account of legends about the antiquity of Siraiki literature and the element of truth in it (cf. Haidari

1971: pp.260 ff) to the discussion in the following pages, the main body of this literature evolved over a period of about three centuries (cf. Shackle 1978 c: p.287). It starts from Chiragh Awan of Harand (b 1670), the creator of the first known Siraiki classical text, the *Chiragh A'wan di Hir* completed in 1710 (*Chiragh* 1982: p.10). Khwaja Ghulam Farid (mention above), born in Chachran and buried in Mithankot (also known as Kot Mithan) two small towns on right and left banks of Indus respectively, is the giant poet destined to provide Siraiki identity with the required impetus to (cf. 9.1). He stands as a milestone marking the end of the period of Siraiki classical poetry and also concluding, along with his contemporary, the Pothohari genius, viz. Mian Muhammad Bakhsh of Khari Sharif (cf. Shackle 1995: p.8), the era of *Sufi* poetry in the territory of Pakistan. After the Khwaja, and with exception of a single but significant literary move of local self-consciousness in Bahawalpur again linked with the first authentic collection of his poetry (*Divan*) in 1944, a state of suspension and a small scale literary productivity prevailed in Siraiki region for about sixty years. It was fifteen years after the partition when the memory of his achievement provided the new wave of revivalism which began in 1962 with a link to a 'glorious past'.

As far as the claims of the activist researchers of the language movements built on general record of history are concerned, evidence of for the existence of Siraiki language and literature goes as back as from the 12th century or even more. Some linguistic analogies are found between Siraiki of to day and the language of the most ancient hymns of Dat

Brahmins (Rasulpuri 1980: p.38) which show some Siraiki verbs used in combination with the Old Indo-Aryan nouns, and also in the language of Farid Ganj-e Shakar (1173-1266) of Pakpatan. A number of school texts, the syllabus for traditional religious teachings of Islam used throughout the region until recently, may also be stated to have started in twelfth century onward (cf. 2.11; Smirnov 1975: pp.19-21).

In all such material the language appeared as reduced to mere translations and gap filling as medium of instruction for the heavy Arabic-Persian religious texts of Islam thus hardly bearing any local elements in theme or content. This started as part of a phenomenon of 'vernacularization' and passive induction in education of the local languages which were put on receiving end by Persian which flourished in the centre of Lahore in the 12th century to expand all around for the following eight centuries (cf. Schimmel 1981: p.5; Shackle 1995: p.1). The modern Siraiki writers come with a great appreciation of this record which projects Siraiki as having served as both language of text and medium of instruction in traditional education all over the region throughout until recently.

The role of a patron, which is seen as a general precondition for the development of a literature in the South Asian environment where standardization of creative works has been restricted to the smallest circles of the elite, has been denied to Siraiki literature throughout except in the cases of Sachal Sarmast (1740-1827) who was acquainted with the court of the Talpur Mirs of Khairpur, particularly with Mir Rustam Khan (Shackle 1977 a: pp.vi-vii) and Khwaja Farid who was

worshipped by the Abbasid princes of Bahawalpur. The latter lived during the reigns of two princes of Bahawalpur namely M Bahawal Khan-I (1858-66) and Sir Sadiq M Khan-IV (1879-99), the latter being well known for his special respect for the poet, which can be seen as a factor in raising the stature of the latter far high above a number of the Siraiki poets of the same tradition, for instance, Rohal Faqir (or Ruh ul Faqir (d 1733), Hamal Khan Lighari (1810-79), Sachal Sarmast (all the three from Sind) and Maulavi Lutf Ali (1716-94) of Mao, a small village in district Rahim Yar Khan. Prince Sadiq M Khan-V (1922-66) sponsored, through a scholar of his court namely Maulavi Aziz ur Rahman, compilation and a biblical publication of the *Divan-e Farid* ['The Collection of poetry of Farid'] in 1944. The Prince permitted himself to be honoured with a dedication of the book by the compiler (*Divan-e Farid* 1944: title page 2).

The scarcity of the references to the contribution to the Siraiki literature by Hindus (cf. 10.5), the more literate section of the population of the Siraiki region before Partition, is understandable for two reasons, in addition to the one given by Irfan (10.1). Firstly, it was not Brahmins but the money lenders (*bhabhra*) and shopkeeper Hindus who held influence in the region, hence only accounting and book keeping was conducted in the *Karikki* letters locally called *lalle*, which were also current among the literate Muslims and disappeared only after the departure of Hindus to India. Second, the difference of script having possibly caused lack of interest (cf. Mathews 1985: p.24) among the Muslim population in the preservation and reproduction of whatever

written material was left by the Hindus.

10.3   The environment

It is probably the scarcity of record of the past coupled
with lack of resources and training for modern research which
leads the native ethno-nationalist writers to rely more on
environmental and cultural evidence to extract facts about the
past and build a history which they take as their
responsibility (cf. 8.4).

To the modern nationalist writers, the peace and harmony
in the temperament of the civilized Siraikis is a reflection
of economic affluence in the past, as is the gloominess of the
people and its reflection in literature, that of the
deprivation brought by the old and new colonialism; the
'parting' is parting from a collective prosperity in the days
gone (cf. 9.13; cf. Faqir 1985; cf. Gadi 1994).

The standardized themes of 'melancholy' (*munjh*), a
typical mark of Siraiki poetry and of 'pains of parting'
(*birha*) a feature that this poetry shares partly with other
major folk and classical genres of South Asia are also given
environmental interpretation by some native scholars who link
them with the geographical conditions of the area. To them
the gloomy cultural expressions of Siraikis result from the
heat of tropical zone, the hardships and the helplessness of
the people in the desert life, and the dislocation and
destruction caused by the mighty river Indus (cf. 1.3). To
this is added the mythical tragedy of disappearance of Hakara,
the legendary river of Cholistan desert, a land of romantic
melancholy which echoes in poetry of Khwaja Farid.

It is perceived that because of the nature of the soil in the catchment area of the river, the sand flows with its waters down to the plans to turn the cultivable lands into wastelands undoing the affluence brought by this major factor in the geo-climatic formation of the Siraiki belt (Ashraf 1990; Gadi 1994: pp.25,38,44; cf. Ahmad 1988: p.7-8; cf. Shackle 1983: p.45).

The characteristic role of Indus in contrast to other rivers is, however, better summarized in two different proverbs which indicate both the prevalence of the mystic path in the region and the reason behind the lack of materialistic progress there, reproduced in (i) and (ii) following:

(i)   *ravi rakhasan, chananh ashiqan, sindh sadiqan*

'the Ravi, is for ruffians, the Chinab, for lovers, the Indus, for the truthful.'

(ii)   *ravi sona, chananh chandi, sindh suah*

'the Ravi is gold, the Chinab silver, the Indus ashes'

This character of 'mighty Indus' also resounds in folk poetry as in the opening lines of a popular ode *'Misri Khan di var'* ('The ode of Misri Khan') (Arch-65) given below:

be parvahiyan taediyan
tun dadha be parva
vahndiyan nadiyan thal karen
thallan kun dariya

'It is all your carefree will
You, the most carefree
You turn the flowing streams into deserts,
Deserts into rivers.

(cf. Husaini 1972).

The *munjh* of Siraiki poetry is in contrast to the tragedy (*ranj-u-alam*) of Urdu poetry of 19th century of Mir Taqi Mir and others, the latter being the expression of decline of a social group in a society, if we may term it so. Siraiki

expression of gloom is closely fastened with currency of optimism and hope. *munjh* and *äs* ('hope') are so interrelated in Siraiki as if have become synonym. This we see in the idiom of the language overall. Not a single mention of negative or disappointing fact is culturally allowed without being linked with an expression of good and positive. One of its many demonstrations is excessive use of euphemism both by speakers and writers. A child never dies but 'is increased' (*bäl vadh gae*) and diseased eyes are mentioned as 'eyes have come' (*akhin ayian paen*).

In Khwaja Farid occurrence of *munjh* is not only frequent but is innovative; it appears sometimes only to entail a theme of hope as in the following couplet (Farid 19944: 253/4):

munjhen munjhä e sulen satä e

qädir kadähin vichhre milä e

'Pains made me sad, sufferings teased me

May Almighty someday rejoin me with those parted.'

10.4   Roots of theme and style

The diehard revolutionary movement of the Ismaili faction of Shi'ite Muslims, having been forced out by the powerful Caliphate of Baghdad, extended its highly disciplined and secretive missions to the Indian subcontinent to succeed to power over Multan and northern parts of Sind in the late 9th century and continued to preach and penetrate into parts of lower Sind and Gujarat before being able to develop a centre under British protection in Bombay in 1818 (Shackle 1992 a: pp.4-7; Shackle 1978 c: p.282; cf.1.4).

The preachers of Isma'ilism, some of whom are now known

as saints (Pirs), adopted the tool of using the local languages and popular styles of poetic expression in a more deliberate and schematic way than any other such movement. Although the language of most of their hymns (*ginans*) is different in modern texts from Siraiki some of their themes can be traced in Siraiki texts, for instance, the order of secrecy a feature of the 'esoteric' Islamism of Ismailis made a popular notion of keeping quiet (*chup kar dar vat* and *khamosh*) both in speech of the common and in texts such as in Farid (1944: 3/13) following:

> *khamosh farid asrar kanun ; chup behuda guftar kanu*
>
> 'O, Farid, keep quite from telling secretes; refrain from cheap talk.'

The theme of mixing romantic love with extreme respect for the *guru* and the Pir, for instance, 'Farid, the Pir, the sweet' (*Pir Farid mithal*) as he is called by his faithful, expression like 'king' (*shah*) for a descendant of prophet Muhammad (*sayyid*) and for spiritual guide, and the popular style of feminine expression of longing for the beloved by the poets, themselves masculine, frequently observed in all the major texts of Siraiki poetry, also appear in the style of *ginans* (Shackle 1992 a: pp.20-2,24,27-8,93). Although the main source of this feminine speech in poetry may be traced in folk poetry as is depicted in the material collected by O'Brien (1981).

The Shi'ite religious minority in the region rendered a worthwhile contribution both to poetry and prose. The nature of Shi'ism involves elements of myth, romance and emotions of extreme pain in its annual commemorations of the death of Imam Husain. The *marsia* and its *dohara* form which itself makes a

portion of popular Siraiki poetry, influenced the folk and
semi-folk style of the poetical compositions. The rhymed
description of the sufferings of the Imam called 'statement'
(*bayan*), prepared by the Shi'ite orators (*zakir*) for formal
recitations before the 'believers' (*mumins*), provided the
language with stylish rhymed phrases. Some of such phrases
turned into proverbs to be easily memorized by the people, for
example, 'Husain (his dead body) is neither on the saddle nor
on the ground, where did he go ?' (*husain na zin te na zamin
te; giya tan kidde giya* ('taken to the heaven' answer the sad
audience). While generally confined to the note books of the
zakirs some such material was also published (NI-1; cf. 10.1).

10.5   The absent Hindu factor

In contrast to the disciplines like history and politics
where Hinduism is discussed though mainly as an anti-thesis to
Islam and Pakistan, it is neglect generally in the studies in
languages and culture. The cultural transformation that the
Indus valley has undergone after partition shows some
interesting contrasts between the new 'all-Muslim' cultural
norms and the multi-religious ethos of the recent past.
Irshad Taunsavi, an activist Siraiki intellectual of the 1970s
and an officer in the Department of *Auqaf* dealing with the
shrines of *sufia* (NI-10), the old religious culture exhibits
itself even today in rituals like the 'festival of Dasehra'
(*mela dasārā*) (The News 10-10-1995), the distaste for beef and
many other taboos which are given medical reasons. The Hindu
basis of Siraiki culture is further defined as having been
different from the Hinduism of India, particularly in its

lesser observance of the caste-divide which is a mark of Indian Hinduism (cf. Masica 1991: p.5). According to Irfan, a writer (cf. 8.2) and leader of Pakistan Siraiki Party (NI-7), the region was free both from the division of caste and from the Muslim sectarian divide before partition:

> People used to say about their neighbouring village, for instance, that they are also Sammas but they worship in such and such a way, or that they are 'followers' (murïd) of that 'saint' (Pir). The wave of 'puritan 'Sunni Islam' (Wahhabiyat), particularly in the Northern Siraiki area has damaged our old culture.

About the lack of evidence of Hindu contribution to Siraiki literature, Irfan's explanation was that most of it was destroyed during or after the Hindus' migration to India. 'Burn the account-books' (bandiyan säro) was the call of the anti-Hindu hooligans, who were mostly illiterate (ibid.). It hardly needs explaining that the Muslims of Siraiki region used to be in debt to the moneylenders of the economically dominant Hindu mercantile class.

Where there are sufficient traces of the impacts of the bhakti revivalist wave of egalitarian Hinduism in the Siraiki area, evidence of which we will see in the following pages, there are also clues of a strong Hindu-Muslim divide in the period before partition which could not be properly recorded before its collapse with the evacuation of the Hindus. For instance, looting Hindu shopkeepers had become a 'Robin Hood' type of phenomenon and the bandits who were brought to book by the British administration were praised as heroes by the Muslim public. Folk poetry has some interesting poems (vär) composed by unknown poets in praise of such characters. A line from one of such värs written in praise of one Shamla Shah of Taunsa reads as follows:

jede shamla did bhanvave sorin pae bhagvan kun

'whichever direction Shamla tuned his eye, they (Hindus)
started praying the name of Bhagvan (i.e. called their
God for help, so was his terror)'.

This seems to have turned into a Muslim nationalism,
although of a mild and somewhat temporary nature in Siraiki
area, among the educated people of the region who witnessed
the partition. The writers of this age group show a clear
commitment to or partiality for the supremacy of Islam and the
Muslims over Hinduism and Hindus. Haidari (1971: p.277),
while making a reference to the influence of the bhakti
movement on Siraiki literature, emphasises the effects of
Islam on bhakti poetry itself.

Archaeologists have shown that throughout the
subcontinent religious inscriptions, even on mosques and
graves, etc. of the Muslim period include, besides Arabic-
Persian forms many forms of Indian Sanskritic origin (cf.
Schimmel 1981: pp.26-7,31). Many a shrine and tomb including
those of the saints whose origin, whether Hindu or Muslim, is
not attested through records, such as the famous shrine of
Sakhi Sarwar in Dera Ghazi Khan district, attracted both
Muslim and Hindu pilgrims. The tomb (*Samadhi*) of the Hindu
saint Garhu Lal in district Leiah was visited by pilgrims of
both communities as a requirement before visiting the nearby
tomb of the Muslim saint Rajan Shah (Gadi 1994: p.60). This
is also reflected in poetry in the forms of folk songs and
texts of *qawwali* sung at shrines in a contrast to the verbal
rhetoric delivered in the mosques. It was only after the rise
of *wahhabiyat*, a movement aimed at revival of purer *Sunni*
Islam, followed by the departure of Hindus from the region,

that some of the cultural norms changed or died gradually. For instance, smallpox called by the Hindu name 'mother' (*mata*), the goddess, was treated by common people by ritualistic singing of a song for the goddess until eradication of the disease.

In addition to the fact that the consolidation of Islam over the centuries was carried out in the face of the continuation of Hinduism, the fresh waves of different modified Hindu cults which are also seen as the recurrence of the Indian religious identity (cf. Shackle 1995: p.4), like the *Krishna bhakti* based in the Braj region, kept reaching the whole Siraiki region (cf. Entwistle 1983: p.58). One such wave was the spread of the revivalist Hindu movement of Vallabha sect in the 16th century at the hands of one Sri Lalaji who entered Sind and reached Dera Ghazi Khan to build temples in this and a few other towns of the region. Lalaji's popularity among the Hindu merchants and the subsequent success of the Dera Ghazi Khan temple invited many 'promoters of Hinduism' (*gurus* and *gosavamis*) to spread over the region. Some of these wrote the *Padas* (the religious hymns) of love of Krishna and Radha. These hymns were collected during the 18th and 19th centuries without reference to specific authors. Although they were mainly composed in Hindi and Sanskrit, the languages of the sect, these include some rare texts in Siraiki which bear interesting resemblance with a format of Muslim religious poetry called *Maulud* 'the born', a type of verse in praise of prophet Muhammad. Of interesting significance is the Hindu religious character of mother Jasumati which is comparable with the similar, religiously

respected Muslim character *hazrat Dai Halima*, the governess of

young Muhammad. The following piece of a Siraiki lullaby for

Krishna shows close resemblance to the many texts of *mauluds*

sung in praise of prophet Muhammad and his governess (ibid:

p.358);

> *loli devan muhana lala kun, loli*
> *vada thive te chirun jive bolata mithri boli*
> *ridhi sidhi tere dvare thadi lachmi goli*
>
> 'I say lullaby for Mohana, a lullaby.
> May he grow up and may he live long, speaks a
> sweet   speech.
> Whatever cooked, available, is presented at
> your door. Lakshami stands by as your maid.'

A clear contribution of the Hindu tradition to Siraiki

literature, however, can be traced in the somewhat changed

version of Hindu religious stories. One such episode is the

'tale of Prahalad Bhakat of Multan, a Raja (Prince) who for

resisting the sexual temptations of his young step mother was

made a prey to a conspiracy, sentenced to death by his father,

then thrown into a dark well but survived miraculously to

become a Bhagat 'saint' to preach peace and forgiveness.

Besides a recent reproduction of the story in its Hindu

version by a Siraiki woman migrated to Delhi (Batra, G 1992:

pp.51-3) it appears in adopted versions of the tale of 'Puran

Faqir' (Puran Bhakat in some texts) of the northern Punjab and

also has similarities with some Qur'anic stories, as well as

with some Greek fables (cf. Malik 1989: pp.40,44-5). It has a

completely Islamized folk version of versified '*Qissa raoshan*

zamir' ('The tale of a bright conscience') in Siraiki (the

text was seen in print form by this writer long ago and is

memorized by some old villagers in Dera Ghazi Kahn district).

Another interesting reference of Hindu poetry by Piyare

Lal, a poet of the Lallagot sect of Hindus who lived in Jampur in the c.17th century, is preserved in Jampuri (1969: pp.237-8) with some verses from his epic *'Sharap'* ('Malediction').

In spite of there being no apparent connection between the modern Siraiki literature and the contemporary Hindu literature of India, and a complete discontinuation of whatever was the tradition of Hindu literary expression of the past, some of the modern Siraiki poets readily revive the imagery and metaphor from Hindu mythology in their works (cf. 8.3) and do so without any risk to their popularity. This is an indicator of ineffectiveness of the state nationalism of Pakistan in the Siraiki region. Two couplets by the popular poet Ashulal Faqir (1989: p.13) may be cited as example:

> *nand lala ji de nam de,*
> *asan chheru sham shiyam de*
> *sadi radha pandh dinhvar da,*
> *sada ajjar ganga par da*

> 'Of the name of Nand Lala Ji, we are the
> shepherds of Sham, the Shiyam.
> Our Radha lives on (just) a day long
> distance,
> Our flock belongs across the Ganges.'

10.6 Language and diction

The decay of Sanskrit as the sole vehicle for standard literary expression led to the development of literature in some Indo-Aryan languages. But such developments were most of the time undermined by a language dichotomy. In the Siraiki language area after consolidation of the influence of Arabic as the language of religion during the second half of the first millennium, the domination of Persian resulting from the

Afghan-led Muslim invasions at the turn of the millennium, continued for about 800 years. Siraiki and Panjabi developed under this language trichotomy - Arabic as the language of religion, Persian as the language of centres of power and the popular use of a local language (cf. Shackle 1979: pp.192,203). A factor that needs to be considered in addition to the above is that Siraiki was at distance from the later historic inflow of Central Asian or in terms of languages Turko-Persian ˏ   effects. The direct approach and concentration of this phenomena into Braj region and downward, a factor which shaped Urdu in Delhi and Lucknow and influenced Panjabi in Lahore, spared the south western areas of Sindhi and Siraiki languages which then developed in a comparative aloofness from the South Asian Muslim mainstream. This factor is interpreted by the Siraiki scholars in terms of refinement and 'ripeness' of the diction of Siraiki literature as a point of its superiority over the neighbouring languages, particularly Panjabi (Talut 1944: p.13; cf. Gadi 1994: pp.49-50; cf. 8.4).

There is, however, a clear difference of choice of language and the metaphor between the classical and the modern Siraiki poets. Where the language of the classics shows a tendency to universalization of the scope of language by use of words and constructions from the neighbouring dialects and relies more on Arabic-Persian metaphor, the modern poetry, doubtless for political reasons, shows a tendency to a use of localized language and a taste for language purism (cf. 6.3; cf. 7.29). Although preferred by some and criticized by others who label it as 'sacred purism' (*shudhi*) (CRI-8), this

tendency, however, has equipped the language with new metaphor of its own, again mostly linked with the theme of deprivation and love for one's homeland. Two such metaphors are *treh* (thirst), an analogy of deprivation of the Siraiki people, and *sindh/sindhu* (Indus) a symbol of land bound identity as discussed before (cf. 1.3). The second, however, has broader perspective as a wave of remembrance of the cultural past by the modern writers (cf. 10.3).

In the 1960s some modern intellectuals among Siraikis suddenly started recalling the Sind cult, for instance, Abdul Haq (1964) dedicating his book as 'to the waves of the river Indus (U *darya-e-sindh ki lehron ke nam*).

Out of the area of influence of the language movement, however, much literature continues to be produced by the poets and writers in the small towns with its belles-lettres content of the post classical period in a language which shows a greater influence from contemporary Urdu diction. The flow of the imported material of reading in Urdu and English having reduced dependence of the Siraiki writers on the hereditary literature, both the Siraiki classics and Arabic-Persian texts, there is an evident discontinuation of theme and style from the old, and an unstandardized internal diversity of diction and style in modern writings, for example a couplet by a poet Riaz sung by a popular singer Malangi. The second line is clearly based on vocabulary and idiom both of contemporary Urdu:

> *je marda e riaz tan maran devins*
> *tun mustaqbil tarik na kar*

> 'If Riaz, the poet, is going to die (longing for you), let him die
> You do not darken your future

As far as the prose is concerned it has only emerged as part of the modern literature thus is less standardized as compared to poetry. Where the latter shows a harmonic progress and preservation of language the first is developing under two contrasting trends among the writers: acceptance for influence of Urdu and a difficult choice for establishing local standard (cf. 8.2; cf. 6.3; cf. 6.7; cf. 7.26).

10.7   Volume

It is the volume of Siraiki publications to show a substantial change in progress of the literature. Accelerated by the start of the Siraiki awakening in 1960s when the task of publication was taken by few central Siraiki organization it has increased many times in the 1990s to be performed by numerous publishers in different town centres.

Worth studying is the continuous increase in Siraiki publication during the decade 1985-95. Books are published regularly indicating to emergence of a market for Siraiki books, something non-existent before, although this remains quite small (cf. Tab.10/1). Whether the phenomenon is a direct result of the rise in the movement in the 1980s thus may disappear as soon as the movement slows down, or has become independent having made roots in the taste of the people is a question which can not yet be answered.

There is also a progress in extension of the subject and topics. As against the fashion of collection of poetry, fiction writing and language research till the 1970s, it has started touching new subjects, left to be studied in Urdu and English literature before, such as history and research also

in areas other than language. Books on formal school subjects such as 'Pakistan' and the primers ('*Siraiki qa'ida*') appear frequently.

The region-wise progress of Siraiki literature shows a rise in the province of Punjab and NWFP and a decrease in the Siraiki area of Sind. In Sind, it appears as if Siraiki literature has been subdued by the dominance of Sindhi literature. Besides insertions of a portion of Siraiki texts in Sindhi magazines and the collections of Siraiki poetry which appear in Sindhi alphabet, such as the Barda Sindhi (Sindhi, B 1988), only a small volume of collections of Siraiki poetry appears to be published in the non-Sindhi alphabet with the Siraiki diacritic marked in some new publications casually (cf. Shah 1992).

Attempts are regularly made by some native researchers to show the progress in Siraiki literature by bringing out figures of Siraiki publications on annual basis. One such annual report, a booklet on 'Siraiki literary progress 1994', although poorly classified and confusing in its arrangements of the entries (of authors and books), and may not be taken as being exhaustive, gives an outline of the body of Siraiki literature during the year as shown in Tab.10/1 following. This bibliography consists 540 entries with the highest figure for poetry, 117, in turn itself dominated with the rising figure of the collections of *dohara*, a folk format of short verse of two couplets, i.e. four lines in a fixed metre, regaining popularity (cf. Malghani 1995: pp.6-14). The entries under heading, 'political literature' (*siyasi adab*) offer some interesting titles indicator of the tendency among

the political intellectuals of Siraiki as if heading to a direct approach to the Siraiki-Punjabi conflict, an attitude avoided in the 1960s, for example; *Panjab ke bala dast tabqe ki karstani*' ('A mischief of the ruling class of the Punjab'), '*Seraekio kab tak zulm sahoge?*' ('Siraikis, how long will you endure suppression'), '*aur faesla kaon karega?*' ('Who will then decide') (ibid. p.39).

The compiler, however noted with pride (ibid.):

> The Siraiki authors spend from their own pockets to publish their works and yet the number of Siraiki publications remains the highest.

A useful comparison to this bibliography of 1994 can be made with *Kitabiyat* of Ubaid (c.1979), the first of its type, which enlisted total 834 entries of the stuff published till then, or that was available to the resourceful compiler and was reproduced in 1983 with some details about the previous entries of the titles (Ubaid 1983).

Another similar source to reflect the expansion of writing in Siraiki is the *Daerektari seraeki musannifin* ('Directory of Siraiki writers') compiled by a prolific researcher Parvez (1993) offering useful figure on the subject reproduced in Tab.10/2 following:

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Tab.10/1  Siraiki publications in 1994
titles                                        number of entries
------                                        -----------------

dini adab (religious literature)          8
na't (verse of the Prophet)              15
sha'iri (poetry)                        117
lisaniyat (linguistics)                  25
naval, afsana (novel, short story)       52
tanz-o mazah (comics)                    20
tahqiq (research)                        15
tanqid (critics)                         72
faridiyat ('Faridiology') about Farid)   36
tarikh-o saqafat (history and culture)   38
jan sunan  (introduction/interviews, etc.) 40
tarjume (translations)                   54
siyasi adab (political literature)       22
darama, saqafati sho, film (drama,        7
        cultural show, film)
kalam (column)                           18
                                       ------
                          total          540
(cf. Malghani: 1994: pp.4-41)


Tab.10/2  Number of Siraiki authors, publishing centres, and
the                  dailies and periodicals in 1993

classification                       number
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authors (male)                       279
authors (female)                      21
publishers                            76
dailies                                3
weeklies                               4
monthlies                             10
quarterly                              1
book serials                           2
(Parvez 1993: pp.30-5,135-40)
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CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

It is said (cf. Aslam 1987) that the Siraiki people's lack of a culture of protest indicates the weakness of the political aspect of the movement. Given that the intellectual aspect of the movement is stronger, will this mean that Siraiki identity has a stronger literary and cultural basis, which can help the group sustain its distinctiveness independent of more or less favourable political environments. In other words, Siraiki literary and cultural renaissance is both an activity of intellectual creation which prevails independent of political activity and is one which appeals to a gradually increasing portion of the population.

In terms of its political ambitions, Siraiki movement plays the innocent in relation to the ideas of autonomy or independence. In this it is typical of the stage of modern South Asian nationalisms when a so called 'salaried class' dominates a movement whose main slogan is not independence or autonomy, but to get the government services localized (cf. Alavi 1988: p.228). This aspect of the movement also shows its reactive character, which makes it dependent for its articulation upon outside challenges and possibilities. Since its evolution, the movement has been supported by a political environment created by a stronger ethno-national movements. In the 1960s, it was the Bengali movement which supported the start of the Siraiki awakening (cf. 2.13; 2.14). Shaikh Mujib ur Rahman had promised the formation of a Bahawalpur province after his victory in the elections of 1970 (Williams 1975: p.46). In the 1970s, the Baloch resistance and in the 1980s

the Sindhi movement provided Siraiki activists with local models of resistance to copy, and to use as a moral and political justification. The 1990s is a test for the movement to sustain itself without either any apparent support or a popular fashion of resistance in other areas.

It seems, however, that a further transformation in this movement depends upon the overall future of ethno-national movements in the country in general and on the fate of the Sindhi and the Baloch nationalisms in particular. But as the Siraiki movement has shown a potential ability to articulate its assertion of separate identity from Panjab and a desire for autonomy in terms of a separate province, the possibility of an independent political rise can not be rejected.

It is the cultural and historical distinction of Siraiki from Panjabi which though difficult to define in simple terms tends to gravitate out towards Sind, and via Sind and the desert zone of Cholistan to the cultural region of north west India with which Siraiki people have old cultural affinity, depending upon the circumstances. These links must, however, compete unequally with the more powerful objective economic and developmental factors connecting the area with Panjab.

It is not only Panjab, to which the Siraiki resistance is mainly directed, for there are also some actual and political threats from some other directions. Changes in the political balance can bring new ethno-national alliances into being, on the pattern of the recent unity between Pakhtuns and Panjabis, for instance, or between Sindhi groups and the Urdu speaking MQM to be united on opposing Siraiki. Besides, one of the inherent problems of a Siraiki entity is that all the four

recognized national groups have their claims on it.

In the most important sphere of linguistics, the Siraiki
activists still have to decide between choices. At present
there are two known but undeclared trends among the writers.
Some prefer to retain the Arabic-Persian features. This
objective approach, however, leads to losing a point of
distinction from Urdu and Panjabi, and of a tactical
disagreement with the state-language policy (cf. 3.1). In
contrast to this, others opt for promotion of Indo-Aryan
features of the language (cf. 7.2) which can serve the purpose
of achieving linguistic distinctiveness but which, because of
its clash with the accepted norms and the state policy, may
cause delay in acquiring both official recognition and the
shared benefits of mainstream development. It is important to
remember the forgotten area of the linguistic understanding of
the origin of the language (cf. ibid.). The sheer neglect of
the Indo-Aryan basis and the Old-Indo-Aryan, Sanskritic
antiquity of the Siraiki language has been in agreement with
the general trend in linguistic studies in Pakistan which is
determined, not only by the official policy but by the
historic domination of Persian and Arabic. This trend however
no longer seems to serve the cause of religious nationalism,
since Persian and Arabic seem to have exhausted their
influence with the weakening of their traditional academic
base. As compared to the past, good grammarians of Arabic
language and masters of Arabic and Persian literature are rare
in the 'Religious schools' (*Islami madrasas*) at present.

One of the factors behind the start of the Siraiki
awakening was the fear of extinction. It has not fully

disappeared. The presence of such economic forces which guarantee the smaller cultural groups protection of their economic share only through surrendering their distinct identities and joining the cultural norms of dominant groups is unlikely to become flexible before further intensification of the ethno-national conflicts. In such a situation, it is possible that most Siraikis start to prefer being flexible on issues of language and culture.

One of the factors which excludes the possibility of extinction is the gradual marginalization of the concentrations of non-Siraiki migrants in the urban centres, because of the continuous shift of the rural, overwhelmingly native population towards the cities. This has been a major challenge to urban Siraikis in each town centre on the left bank of the Indus. For example, in Multan, the dominant group of migrants known as 'Rangars', speakers of the Bangaru language of LSI (1916: pp.1,259), have since the 1970s captured the main economic and political place of the city previously occupied by Khakwanis and other old local groups. This has to give way to the restoration of a more comparatively natural demographic distribution of population which was shaken at the time of partition for long and remained so. The naturalization of the migrants is the ultimate hope of the Siraiki activists, who oppose any further influx of migrants in the region and were bitter against the government's plan of resettlement of Biharis from Bangladesh in the Siraiki region in the early 1990s (cf. 5.1).

In spite of such hopes for the future, however, one develops a feeling from the study of the multiple phenomena

associated with Siraiki and the Siraikis that the historical
forces combining to extinguish so much of this 'collective
uniqueness' hence led to a largely tragic present situation.
A final word about Siraiki can not be more elaborate than the
typical idiom of the language itself i.e. the favourite theme
of Khwaja Farid 'melancholy and hope' ('mūnjh and ās')
(cf.10.3). Or, as more eloquently said by McQuown (1982:
p.193) in the context of language and education:

> I take it for granted that variety of human resources is the
> only factor that will save us, in the long run, to our
> salvation. That variety manifests itself, in the instance,
> in the variety of individual personalities. That variety of
> personality possesses its social, cultural and linguistic
> aspects. Any educational policy that contributes to the
> maximization of that variety, provided that it is coupled
> with maximization of flexibility and adaptability, will
> continue towards our continuing existence. The mother
> tongue, whatever that may be, is one of the first vehicles
> in which that variety jells.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCE (B)

B.I   Material from the field

B.11	Doc-	Documents
B.12	CRI-	Cassette Recording of Interviews
B.13	NI-	Notes of Interviews
B.14	Quest-	Questionnaire
B.15	Arch-	Archival material

B.2   References by name

B.3   References by title

B.31   Books, journals and dictionaries
B.32   Newspapers, periodicals and book series

B   **Bibliography and reference**

[Each entry in the Bibliography is preceded by its Reference Code which may occasionally differ from the alphabetical order followed in the main entries.]

Ref. Code	Reference
B.1	Material from the field
B.11	Documents (Doc-)Government papers/office orders and other documents relevant to the movement, original or xerox distinguished by sequence numbers]
Doc-1	Government of the Panjab, Services and General Administration Department No.SOR.III-104/70, Lahore, 24-8-1970
Doc-2	Government of the Panjab, Services General Administration and Information Department No. SOR. III-104/73, Lahore, 13-7-1973
Doc-3	Government of the Panjab, Services General Administration and Information Department No. SOR. III-10-2/84, Lahore, 11-6-1991
Doc-4	Home Department, Government of Panjab, OD No. PA/OSD(H)MF/91, dated Lahore, 12-11-1991.
Doc-5	Pakistan Television Corporation Limited, Lahore Centre, Contract No.799, Lahore, nd, (c.1977).
Doc-6	The Sind Government gazette (Extraordinary) No.PAS/Legis-B-5/90, 23-12-1990, Karachi.
Doc-7	Petition from the Baloches nationalities of District Dera Ghazi Khan to The Governor General Pakistan (Consent to attachment with Panjab), 1-3-1949, Dera Ghazi Khan.
Doc-8	Government of Pakistan, Social Welfare and Special Education Department, No. Dr F 3-1/93, 23-12-1993, Islamabad.
Doc-9	Allama Iqbal Open University, office order of the Department of Pakistani Languages (1995), Islamabd.
Doc-10	Panjabi Adbi Board, booklet of introduction and byelaws

B.12	Cassette Recording of Interview given with date and place of interview (CRI-)
CRI-4	Rahman, Tariq (1991), Rawalpindi
CRI-5	Jalibi, Jamil (1993) Islamabad
CRI-6	Walabh, Wali Ram (1993), Jamshoro
CRI-7	Joyo, Ibrahim (1993), Hyderabad
CRI-8	Ashk, Nazir (1991), Dera Ismail Khan
CRI-9	Mirza, Zafar 1991, Dera Ismail Khan
CRI-10	Nasir, Nasrullah (1991), Bahawalpur
CRI-11	Abdul Haq, Mahr (1991), Multan
CRI-12	Qaisrani, M Y (1991), Multan
CRI-13	Adib, Aslam (1991), First Head of the Siraiki Department, *Islāmiā* University, Bahawalpur
CRI-14	Ata ul Akbar (1991), Senior Producer Radio Pakistan, Dera Ismail Khan
CRI-15	Baloch, Fiaz (1991), Dera Ismail Khan
CRI-16	Aziz ur Rahman, Malik, 1993, Senior Producer Radio Pakistan, Multan
CRI-17	Langah, Taj M (1992), President Pakistan Siraiki Party, London
CRI-18	Chandio, Javed H (1993), Bahawalpur
CRI-19	Arif, Mazhar (1993, Secretary *Siraiki Lōk Sāṅjh*, Multan
CRI-20	Ubaid ur Rahman, Seth (1993), Bahawalpur
CRI-21	Palijo, Rasul B (1992), London
CRI-22	Qasimi, M Mustafa, 1993, Hyderabad
CRI-23	Lighari, Nazir (Shamla 1993), Karachi
CRI-24	Shaikh, Nafis A (1993), Hyderabad
CRI-25	Magassi, G Rasul (1993), Jamshoro
CRI-26	Khan, M Asif (1993), Secretary Panjabi *Adbi* Board, Lahore
CRI-27	Kunjahi, Sharif (1993), Lahore
CRI-28	Zaigham, Sibt e Hasan (1993), Lahore

CRI-29	Khan, Umar K (1993), Multan
CRI-30	Khatak, Prishan (1993), Islamabad
CRI-31	Khan, Mir A Jabbar (1992), Islamabd
CRI-32	Agro, G Rabbani (1993), Islamabad
CRI-33	Khan, Sardar A Jabbar (1993), London

B.13   Notes from interviews of prominent figures (NI-)

[interviews of personalities who for various reasons could not be recorded on cassette]

NI-1	Mehdi, Ghazanfar, 27-1-1993, Islamabad.
NI-2	Shah, Mustafa, Federal Minister Education 1988-89, 17-1-1993, Rawalpindi.
NI-3	Malik, Ajmal, activist of Bahawalpur *suba* movement 1970's, 1993, Bahawalpur.
NI-4	Mr Saeed, expert computer and statistics in the office of Chief Commissioner Census, Islamabad, 30-10-1994, Islamabad.
NI-5	Karim, Mansur, Secretary General Pakistan Siraiki Party, Multan, known Siraiki intellectual, 4-7-1995, Islamabad.
NI-6	Faqir, Ashulal, popular Siraiki poet and intellectual, 23-4-1997, Bahawalpur.
NI-7	Irfan, M Abdullah, a Siraiki writer, leader of Pakistan Siraiki Party, 23-4-1997, Bahawalpur.
NI-8	Joyo, Ibrahim, known Sindhi nationalist Intellectual, 1993, Hyderabad.
NI-9	Qutb ud Din, Maulavi, a religious scholar of the Buzdar tribe of Thikar, district Dera Ghazi Khan, 1985, Taunsa.
NI-10	Taunsavi, Irshad, a Siraiki poet and one of the Siraiki intellectuals of the 1970s, 1997, Bahawalpur.

B.14   Questionnaire answered by Siraiki writers, activists and prominent (Quest-)

Quest-1	Sokri, Iqbal, Siraiki poet, 1993, Taunsa.
Quest-2	Shah, M Feroz, Siraiki poet, intellectual of Mianwali, 1993, Mianwali.

Quest-3	Ahsan, Salim, Siraiki poet, Pakistan Academy of Letters Award, 1993, Mianwali.
Quest-4	Sarmad, Nasir, Siraiki poet, 1993, Dera Ismail Khan.
Quest-5	Hamdam, Nur M, Siraiki poet, Lecturer Urdu retired, 1993, Quetta.
Quest-6	Shah, S Nasiruddin, Siraiki short story writer, 1993, Mianwali.

B.15   Archival material (Arch-)

[Material placed under this heading includes brochures, intimation/invitation cards of the meetings, handbills, press cuttings and correspondence among the activists and small cards with popular slogans of the movements printed on the etc., leaflets of propaganda or introduction and the aims of different Siraiki organizations. And also such contemporary material which bear witness to the facts but does fall in the classified, published material.]

Arch-1	Riaz Anwar, letter to editor in Nawa-e-waqt, (c.1987), xerox, (naming of the language, Siraiki).
Arch-2	Letter by Asiq Buzdar to Wagha (Siraiki Conference London, 1992)
Arch-3	Bilāl weekly, Dera Ghazi Khan, December 1995 (Report of Mehrevala annual Siraiki festival).
Arch-4	A registration form for Directory of Siraiki waiters (Siraiki Likharian di pothi).
Arch-5	Brochure Siraiki Lōk Sānjh ('Siraiki Peoples' Association'(SLS) bearing map of Siraiki region shown sketch of the rivers. nd (c.1986) pn, (Multan).
Arch-6	Proforma for collection of information about Siraiki villages' (Ma'lumāt taun kammeti).
Arch-7	SLS Rahim Yar Khan, a card bearing popular Siraiki slogans, nd.
Arch-8	SLS membership form of, nd.
Arch-9	SLS, circular letter from M Arif Secretary General, 16-4-1986, Multan.
Arch-10	SLS, invitation card of SLS study circle, 21-8-1986.

Arch-11	SLS, invitation card for reception of Ghaus B Bizenjo, 4-2-1987, Multan and a letter of intimation for meeting of Executive Council, on 4-6-1987, nd, Multan.
Arch-12	SLS, agenda for the elections of 'National Council', 20-5-1987, Multan.
Arch-13	SLS, brochure *Shāh Shams* Siraiki *Adbi Mēl* (Siraiki Literary Meeting), 21,22-9-1989, Islamabad.
Arch-14	SLS, ibid. programme and time table.
Arch-15	SLS, Poster of annual Siraiki festival Mehrevala, 1993.
Arch-16	SLS, collection of papers reflecting day to day activity of the Association.
Arch-17	SSS, brochure bearing introduction of the organization, nd, c.1985.
Arch-18	SSS, Dera Ismail Khan, press release on Pashto medium of instruction in NWFP, nd, c.1985.
Arch-19	SSS, brochure bearing popular slogans and demands, nd, c.1988.
Arch-20	Brochure Siraiki *Lok Tamasha* (Siraiki Peoples' Theatre'), 5,6-7-1987, Multan.
Arch-21	Brochure Siraiki Students Federation, Qaid-e-Azam University, nd.
Arch-22	Press release by Riaz Hashmi, 31-1-1985, Rahim Yar Khan.
Arch-23	A leaflet about the meeting of first Siraiki *Qaumi Kaunsal* ('Siraiki National Council') called by T M Langah on 30,31-7-1987), nd, Multan.
Arch-24	SQM Jatoi (J), brochure bearing the party programme, nd, c.1987, Rahim Yar Khan.
Arch-25	SQM J, press release about a demonstration on 24-6-1989 in Lahore.
Arch-26	SQM J, *asan qaidi takht lahor de*, a pamphlet, 1989.
Arch-27	SQM J, a circular, bearing outline of Siraiki province, 1990.
Arch-28	SQM J, a letter from Jatoi from Jadda to Wagha in London, 10-6-1992.

Arch-29	*'Uprap* 'Strangeness', a writing by Afzal Mas'ud, leader of Siraiki *Suba Mahāz* ('Front for Siraiki Province'), appeared in <u>*Sammal*</u> ['Asset'], 1990.
Arch-30	SQM (Shahin S), press release, 1989, Multan.
Arch-31	SQM S, leaflet calling for a demonstration, nd, c.1989, Multan.
Arch-32	Press release from A Naz Khosa, regional organizer of *Qaumi Inqilabi Parti* ('National Revolutionary Party'), nd, c.1989, Gadai.
Arch-33	Leaflet, Siraiki Conference in Mianwali Qureshan, 1986.
Arch-34	Introduction of *'Awāmi Tahrīk* Bahawalpur' (Peoples' Movement, Bahawalpur'), nd, c.1987.
Arch-35	*Manshūr te dastūr-ul-'amal* Siraiki *Nēshnal pārti* ('Programme and constitution of Siraiki National Party'), 6-11-1986.
Arch-36	Brochure of Siraiki National Party, by Haidar Javed Syed, nd, c.1989, Bahawalpur.
Arch-37	Brochure *Siraiki Qaumi Sañjōk* (Siraiki National Unity'), by Mushtaq Dahar, 8-6-1989, Bahawalpur.
Arch-38	Leaflet, Siraiki Conference in Mianwali, by Mianwali Academy, 6,7-7-1989.
Arch-39	Brochure, Pakistan Siraiki *Adbi Board* ('Pakistan Siraiki Literary Board'), by Abdullah Irfan, 1991, Bahawalpur.
Arch-40	A folder containing introduction and programme of World Sindhi Congress, 1993, London.
Arch-41	Introductory booklet Panjab *Lōk Pārti* ('Panjab Peoples' Party'), nd.
Arch-42	Progressive Writers Golden Jubilee Conference 6,7,8,9-3-1986, Karachi, Brochure of.
Arch-43	ibid., Programme: 7 languages, 11 literary organization of Pakistan recognized by the Conference, nd, Karachi.
Arch-44	ibid., List of members of Steering Committee
Arch-45	ibid., Note of dissent by Siraiki member against the notion of four provinces, demand for the concept of five, nd, Karachi.
Arch-46	ibid. News-item, <u>Dawn</u> 10-3-1986, on Siraikis' point of view.

Arch-47   Adnan Qadir, letter to editor (unpublished)
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Arch-48   Anis Shah Jilani, letter to editor (unpublished)
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Arch-49   ibid., on Siraiki deprivation, 1992,
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Arch-51   Raval Bakhsh, article on repatriation of Biharis
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Arch-52   'Eid-cards' in Siraiki, nd.

Arch-53   '*Kāndha*' ('Invitation cards of wedding
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Arch-54   Lakho, G M, a letter, Sindhis' stance on Siraiki
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Arch-55   Pakistan Academy of Letters, introductory
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Arch-57   *Seraeki majlis* ['Siraiki association'] (1977) I,
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BSOS   Bulletin School of Oriental Studies, London.

BSOAS   Bulletin of School of Oriental and African
                  Studies, London.

CDIAL   Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages
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-- (1968)	-- 1968 (c.1968), Karachi
-- (1973)	-- 1973 (1973), Islamabad.
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-- 1972	-- 1972-80 (1976), Islamabd.
-- 1991	-- 1991, Revised circulation, Islamabad.
-- 1992	-- 1992, (1992), --
Hir	*<u>Hir syyed waris shah</u>* ed Shaikh A Aziz (1964) Lahore.
Kafian	*<u>Kafiān shāh husain</u>* ed Abdul Majid Bhatti (1961) Lahore.
LSI 1916	<u>Linguistic survey of India</u> IX:I (1916), Culcutta.
LSI 1919	ibid. VIII:I (1919), ibid.
LSI 1921	ibid. X (1921), ibid.
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Majalis	*<u>Majālis-ul-mu'minīn</u>* ['Meetings of the believers'], manuscript of Shiite majlis from Sind nd, pn.
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-- III	ibid. III:15-63, Official report Friday, (13-12-1963), Deferred Questions and Answers, ibid.
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Nisab	*<u>Nisāb-e-zurūri</u>* Per., Sr. ['Essential syllabus'] ed Khuda Bakhsh, 1960 edn, Multan.
JASB	<u>Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal</u>, Calcutta (issues quoted 1895-97),.

JBBRAS   Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society
                     (1849), Bombay.

Khaer   Khaer shāh da kalām ['Poetry of Khair Shah'] ed
                     Tāhir Taunsavi (1995), Lahore.

LReform   Language reform: history and future volumes, I,
                     II, III and IV, ed Istvan Fodor and Claude Hagege
                     (1983-90), Hamburg.

MAS   Modern Asian studies IV:3, and II:3, Great
                     Britain.

PakAdab   Pākistāni adbiyāt U ['Pakistani literatures'],
                     collection of literature of Pakistan Languages,
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Statistic   (Statistic) Pakistan statistical book (1990),
                     Karachi.

Proceedings   Proceedings of the Pakistan Educational
                     Conference (1947), Karachi.

PunjDic   Punjabi English Dictionary ed Joshi, S S (1994)
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PUJMIL   Panjab University journal of medieval Indian
                     literature II:1,2, 1978, Chandigarh.

Raport 1975   Rapōrt kul pākistān seraeki adbi kānfarence
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                     conference Multan'] (1975), ed Umar K Khan,
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Report 1959   Report of the commission on national education,
                     government of Pakistan (1959), known as 'Sharif
                     Commission Report", Karachi.

Report 1993   Report on general election 1993, Election
                     Commission of Pakistan II, Islamabad.

Report 1981   Report of a study on introduction of Urdu in
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                     Islamabad (1981), Allama Iqbal Open University)
                     Islamabad.

Ruedad   Ruedād bain-ul-aqwāmi sindhi adbi kānfarence 1988
                     U ['Proceedings of the International Sindhi
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SSNP   Sociolinguistic survey of northern Pakistan
                     (1992), 5 volumes, Islamabad.

Statistic   (Statistic) Statistical pocket book of Pakistan
                     (1988), Karachi.

B.32   Newspapers, periodicals and book series

(i)   Daily newspapers

Al-akhbar   Al-akhbār U ['The News'], Islamabad.

Awaz   Awāz U ['Voice'], London.

Dawn   Dawn, Karachi.

Frontierpost   Frontierpost, Lahore.

Imroz   Imrōz U ['To day'], Multan.

Jang   Jang U ['War'], Karachi.

--   --, Lahore.

--   --, London.

--   --, Rawalpindi.

Jhok   Jhōk ['Abode'], Khanpur, Multan

Khabren   Khabren U ['News'], Lahore.

Naw-e-waqt   Nawa-e-waqt U ['Voice of the time'], Multan.

The News   The News, Rawalpindi.

Paras   Paras U [Sr, 'Magic stone'], Bahawalpur.

(ii)   Weeklies

Akhtar   Akhtar U [Sr, 'Star'] (1969), Multan.

Bilal   Bilal U ['Bilal', a Muslim name], Dera Ghazi
                 Khan.

Gharb   Gharb U ['West'], Dera Ghazi Khan.

Viewpoint   Viewpoint, Lahore.

(iii)   Bi-weeklies

Al-manzyr   Al-manzur U ['Accepted', a name'], Taunsa.

(iv)   Monthly magazines

AkhbarU   Akhbar-e-urdu U ['Newspaper of Urdu'],
                 Islamabad.

Goli nambar   Gōli nambar U ['Bullet issue', a special issue]
                 Kainat U ['Universe'] (July 1972), Bahawalpur.

462

Jinias   Jīnias P,U,E ['Genius'] I:9-10 (1994), Karachi.

Lard   Lārd U ['Lord'], I:8 (1992), Multan.

Mu'ashara   Mu'āshara U,S ['Society'], Bahawalpur.

Parit   Parīt ['Friendliness'], Bahawalpur.

Takhliq   Takhlīq, sindhi adb-o-saqāfat nambar U
             ['Creation, special issue on Sindhi literature
             and culture'] XIX:1-2, (1988), Lahore.

(v)   Quarterly magazines

Panjabi adab Panjabi adab P ['Panjabi literature'], Lahore.

Seraeki   Seraeki ['Siraiki'], Bahawalpur.

(vi) Series (also called 'book-serials' locally),

[magazines/anthologies; frequency given where established]

Dhammi   Dhammi U ['Dawn'], anonymous, nd, (c.1980's)
             Dera Ghazi Khan.

Juhd   Juhd 5 (1989), Baloch National Movement Organ,
             Quetta.

Parchol   Parchol ['Investigation'] (1984, 1985), Wan
             Bachran.

Rut lekha   Rut lekha P ['Season's story'] volumes II, III,
             nd, (c.1976-77), Lahore.

Saneha   Saneha ['Message'] (1975-79), Taunsa.

Sanehra   Sanehra ['duminitive form of Saneha, above],
             Bahawalpur, Multan, Dera Ghazi Khan.

Sangat   Sangat ['Friendship'] (1982), Lahore.

Sanjh   Sanjh ['Association'] (1979), Taunsa.

Savel   Savel ['Morning'] (1995), Bahawalpur.

SerIntar   Seraeki intarneshnal, S, U ['Siraiki
             international'] I (1992), II (1993), ed J C
             Batra, New Delhi.

Sochan   Sochan ['Thoughts'], nd, Rasulpur.

Sojhla   Sojhla ['Light'], (1975-91), Bhutta Vahan/Rahim
             Yar Khan, monthly (first as 'book serial' latter
             as declarated monthly since 1989), volumes
             referred to 1,3-4, 6-7),.

Savan rut	*Savan rut* ['Spring season'], Multan.
Sunan	*Sunan* ['Identity'] (1988-9), Bhuttavahan, Islamabad.
Surt di sui	*Surt di sui* ['pricking needle of consciousness'] (1991), Islamabad.
Vasdiyan	*Vasdiyan jhokan* ['Living hams'] (1971), Multan.

(vii) Pamphlets

E'lan	*E'lān-e bangla kurāi te ain seraeki lōk sanjh* ['The Bangla Kurai declaration and the constitution of Siraiki Peoples' Association'] (1985), Multan.
Jashn	*Jashn-e farīd yadgāri mujallâ* U, Sr. ['A memorial collection of (the event of), Farid celebration'] (1986), Quetta.
Jhang	*Jhang* ['Name of a town and the region'] (c.1988), Jhang.
Qa'ida	*Riāsti zaban ka qā'ida* ['Primer of the Riasti language'] (1939), Bahawalpur.
Rpt	*Raport sālālnâ kārkardagi pākistān seraeki party* ['Annual progress report of Pakistan Siraiki · Party'] (1995), Multan