

The history of *bhāṣā*, *bolī*, and *zabān* in South Asia: Sindhi and Saraiki

Aryaman Arora

HIST 129-01: Modern South Asia

May 7, 2022

South Asia is, linguistically, a place of extremes. Despite being host to over a billion people in historically easy to traverse geography, South Asia has managed to be one of the most linguistically diverse regions of the planet.<sup>1</sup> Other chapters in the textbook have covered the region's religious pluralism, the difficulties in reconciling the various viewpoints in forming the constitution, the conflicts of social class, and different political movements that have competed for control in the postcolonial arena. But our discussion of language has been focused on: (1) language policy administered from above, such as the national language debate and the Hindi–Urdu conflict; and (2) popular post-independence ethno-linguistic movements that led to the reorganisation of states in India. From the perspective of the scientific study of linguistics, we have just barely delved into sociolinguistics, let alone the rest of the field (that too just in North India). What is missing is the study of language itself: how have the languages of South Asia changed and developed under modern (especially post-colonial) pressures? How can the study of language in this region inform our understanding of South Asian history and people?

This chapter will introduce linguistics and illuminate the value of these questions through case studies in the context of Pakistan: the cross-border development of the Sindhi language, and the emerging language and concurrently maturing ethno-linguistic identity of Saraiki. I argue that ignoring the study of language (at a more basic level than the study of official language policy and ethno-linguistic identities) in South Asia would mean losing an important means for understanding its post-Partition history.

## 1 Introduction

Linguistics is the scientific study of language, which is concerned with: describing the way sounds are produced and structured (phonology), the systems underlying words (morphology) and their meanings (semantics), the grammar of sentences (syntax), the layout of speech and texts (pragmatics and discourse), the historical development of languages (historical linguistics), language's role in communities and society (sociolinguistics), and the human capacity for

---

1. Braj B. Kachru, "Introduction: languages, contexts, and constructs," in *Language in South Asia*, ed. Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, and S. N. Sridhar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1.

English	Hindi	Bengali	Telugu	Tamil	Manipuri	Santali	Nihali
<i>one</i>	<i>ēk</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>okaṭi</i>	<i>onru</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>mit</i>	<i>biḍi / baḍa</i>
<i>two</i>	<i>dō</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>reṇḍu</i>	<i>iraṇḍu</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>irār</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>maiñ</i>	<i>āmi (mui)</i>	<i>nēnu</i>	<i>nān</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>jo</i>

Table 1: Some basic words in a selection of South Asian languages. Hindi and Bengali are both Indo-Aryan, Telugu and Tamil are both Dravidian, Manipuri is Sino-Tibetan, Santali is Austroasiatic, and Nihali is a language isolate in Western India with no known relatives. There are some other unclassified languages in South Asia: Burushaski and Kusunda. *mui* was the Old Bengali word for ‘I’, and is only retained in some dialects today.

language (psycholinguistics).<sup>2</sup>

The major language families of South Asia are **Indo-Aryan** (in North India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and the Maldives), **Dravidian** (in South India and Sri Lanka), **Sino-Tibetan** (in Northeast India, Bhutan, and Nepal; its largest member is Mandarin Chinese), and **Austroasiatic** (mainly the Munda languages in Jharkhand and Bihar). Language families are genetic groupings, with each group characterised by a shared historical development and fundamental similarities in grammar and vocabulary. Table 1 shows some basic vocabulary across South Asian languages to illustrate this point. South Asia is also an areal zone (a *Sprachbund*) in which languages of all of these different families have come to share vocabulary and other linguistic features due to long periods of contact and traditions of multilingualism.<sup>3</sup> For example, 80% of Hindi’s agricultural terminology is of non-Indo-Aryan origin, reflecting the millennia-long exchange of food and grain names with Dravidian, Munda, Persian, and European language speakers. Words such as that for ‘cardamom’ (Hindi *ilāyaci*, Bengali *elāc*, Tamil *ēlakkāy*, etc.) are shared across language families in South Asia.<sup>4</sup>

The pre-colonial history of the South Asian languages is beyond the scope of this work; however, it should be stated that linguistic evidence (e.g. non-Aryan words in the Rigveda, the oldest Sanskrit text) affirms that the migration of the Indo-Aryan speakers occurred after the Dravidians came, and Munda speakers were even earlier established in South Asia.<sup>5</sup>

Post-colonial language history is what is of interest to us. We are aware of the political forces

2. Geoffrey Nunberg and Thomas Wasow, eds., *The Field of Linguistics* (1997), <https://web.archive.org/web/20071126121113/http://www.lsadc.org/info/ling-fields.cfm>.

3. Kachru, “Introduction: languages, contexts, and constructs,” 2.

4. Colin P. Masica, “Aryan and Non-Aryan Elements in North Indian Agriculture,” in *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*, ed. Madhav M. Deshpande and Peter E. Hook (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1979), 131.

5. Michael Witzel, “Substrate languages in Old Indo-Aryan (Ṛgvedic, Middle and Late Vedic),” *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 5, no. 1 (1999): 57.

that have operated on language after Partition, such as the push for Sanskritisation in India and Perso-Arabicisation in Pakistan. Linguistic conflict has been rife throughout the Subcontinent, most recently the Sri Lankan Civil War between minority (Dravidian) Tamil speakers and the elevated (Indo-Aryan) Sinhala speakers. Perennial protests against Hindi imposition in India, Nepali imposition in Nepal, and Urdu imposition in Pakistan have erupted as well. But how have the languages themselves changed?

## 2 Pulled apart: the case of Sindhi

Sindhi is a Northwestern Indo-Aryan language closely affiliated with Punjabi, “Lahnda” (which is a label for the native languages of Pakistan’s Punjab province, and has an interesting history of its own which will be discussed later), and Gujarati. It is spoken chiefly in the Sindh province of Pakistani and the northern parts of Gujarat in India, with significant populations in Mumbai, various metropolitan areas of North India and Pakistan, the Persian Gulf countries, East Africa, and major ex-British trading cities worldwide.<sup>6</sup>

Partition broke up the Sindhi language, putting it on two trajectories under the two states of India and Pakistan. Article 351 of the Indian Constitution explicitly states that modern Hindi vocabulary will be based “primarily on Sanskrit”, a policy that has extended to the other Indian languages.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, Pakistan pushed towards the *lingua franca* of the Muslim world, Arabic; its 1973 Constitution required the state to “to encourage and facilitate the learning of Arabic language”.<sup>8</sup> This has led to Sindhi becoming increasingly Arabicised in Pakistan, while Sindhi in India is more Sanskritised.<sup>9</sup> For writing, Sindhis in Pakistan use the Perso-Arabic script with unique extensions (e.g. the letter for *kh* is totally new, while the Perso-Arabic *kāf* is used for *k*) and Sindhis in India use the Devanagari script.

However, the spoken forms of Sindhi have resisted the paths of these official linguistic trajectories, unlike in the government-appropriated Hindi and Urdu. Two selections from Sindhi

6. Lachman M. Khubchandani, “Sindhi,” in *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, ed. George Cardona and Dhanesh Jain (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2003), 683, 685.

7. *Constitution of India* (1949), Part XVII, Article 351, [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution_of_India).

8. *Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan* (1973), Article 31, [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Islamic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Pakistan](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Islamic_Republic_of_Pakistan).

9. Khubchandani, “Sindhi,” 684.

music in India and Pakistan illustrate this below.<sup>10</sup> In the first, a Hindu devotional song, Sanskritised vocabulary is in bold. Note that these are all names of Gods, while the fundamental vocabulary is neither Sanskritised nor Arabicised. Hindi devotional music is more Sanskritised than in Sindhi; for example, note the use of the native word *karaja* ‘duty’ rather than Sanskrit *karma*.

*asām jā karaja karaṇa **prabhu** pāṇ āyo ā*  
***prabhu** pāṇ āyo ā*  
*asām jā karaja karaṇa **prabhu** pāṇ āyo ā*  
***bramhā** bhī āyo, **viśaṇu** bhī āyo*  
*bhaṇḍārā bharaṇa **bholenātha** āyo ā*  
***bham bham** bhole āyo ā*  
*asām jā karaja karaṇa **prabhu** pāṇ āyo ā*

“The lord himself has come to do our duty  
 The lord himself has come  
 The lord himself has come to do our duty  
 Brahma too has come, Vishnu too has come  
 To fill the stores Bholenath [Shiva] has come  
 Shiva has come to rid us of our fears  
 The lord himself has come to do our duty.”

—Sindhi Hindu devotional song, Alka Yagnik<sup>11</sup>

The same can be said of the recent Pakistani Sindhi song release *Allay*, of which the first verse is given below. Note that the Perso-Arabic vocabulary that Urdu poetic compositions cannot live without (*musāfir*, *sayyāh* ‘wanderer’, *āsiq* ‘beloved’, *hamsafar* ‘companion’) is eschewed in favour of native vocabulary (*jogī*, *māru*, *sāngī*). There is not a single Perso-Arabic borrowing present, in fact, which is unthinkable in a language such as Urdu or Punjabi given the genre of the song.

*ale, re ale mujā māru arā*  
*ale mujā māru arā*  
*ae mujā jogī arā*  
*ae mujā sāngī arā*  
*māruṛa miṭhrā muhinjā e*  
*māruṛa sāngīṛa muhinjā e*

10. The first is translated by me and I am liable for all errors as I do not speak Sindhi natively. The second uses the official English translation provided in the song.

11. Alka Yagnik, “Soulful Indian Sindhi Song by Alka Yagnik,” 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFDcmg9UI-g>.

“Oh, my Sindhi sweetheart!  
 Oh, my Sindhi sweetheart  
 O my wandering devotee  
 O my fellow companion  
 My sweet Sindhi lover  
 My beloved Sindhi companion.”

—*Allay*, Ali Zafar ft. Urooj Fatima and Abid Brohi<sup>12</sup>

Given the clearly opposing momenta of the two states of India and Pakistan in controlling language vocabulary in Hindi and Urdu, we would expect Sindhi from the two countries to have a greater divergence in vocabulary. This divergence is present to some extent in high-register, formal uses of Sindhi (e.g. in newspapers) but not at all at the colloquial level. We can surmise that the religious polarisation and political considerations that led to the divergence of Hindi and Urdu were not as powerful in Sindhi.

The historical record concords with the linguistic data; there was always a more syncretic existence of Islam and Hinduism in Sindh, with Sufi traditions built around local Sindhi *pīrs* and a body of spiritual literature in the Sindhi language that was revered by both Hindus and Muslims. In Pakistan, this was one of the ways in which conflict with the *muhājirs*, who usually followed a more doctrinal form of Islam, expressed itself. Nandita Bhavnani writes that “many urban Muhajirs were unable to appreciate Sindhi culture, which they viewed as rustic and backward” and “Muhajirs tended to look down on Islam as practised by Sindhi Muslims, believing it to be a ‘Hinduised’ version of Islam.”<sup>13</sup> The language identity of Sindhis was well-cultivated before Partition, as Sind was separated from the Bombay Presidency in 1936, and the tensions with an overwhelmingly Urdu-speaking *muhājir*-Punjabi-Pathan political centre erupted into violence repeatedly after Partition. Protests in 1962 declared a ‘Sindhi day’, Karachi University disobeyed the centre’s demand to administer using Urdu resulting in military intervention in 1971, and further violence occurred in the 1980s between Sindhis and *muhājirs* leading to secessionist demands by both.<sup>14</sup> The One Unit system and the inspiration that Bangladesh’s split provided further provoked intense Sindhi nationalism. The end result of all this is that

12. Ali Zafar, Urooj Fatima, and Abid Brohi, “Allay (Munja Mar Wara),” 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OmgziQczKfk>.

13. Nandita Bhavnani, “Unwanted Refugees: Sindhi Hindus in India and Muhajirs in Sindh,” *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 39, no. 4 (2016): 801–802.

14. Alyssa Ayres, *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 52–55.

Sindhi speakers have resisted the centre's language policy of Arabicisation, perceiving themselves as opposed to Urdu, the language of *muhājirs*.<sup>15</sup> The work of governmental institutions such as the Sindhi Language Authority (SLA) is important too, but the main point that linguistic analysis provides is that Sindhi is not being shaped from above, but rather that the unique properties of Pakistani Sindhi as a language are a result of grassroots changes in Pakistani Sindhi self-perception in the wake of post-Partition conflict.

In India too, we find that Sindhis, largely descended from Pakistani Hindus seeking refuge in India after Partition, have been treated as outsiders by more doctrinal Hindus. Culturally, Sindhis tend to be non-vegetarian and do not observe *pardā* or other limitations on the dress of women, which Bhavnani says led to perceptions of them being 'quasi-Muslim' among Gujaratis and Marathis.<sup>16</sup> The causes in India for the Sindhi's divergence from the state's language trajectory towards Sanskritisation are different, however, from those in Pakistan. The intent is not to assert the separate Sindhi identity, but rather to assimilate by *giving up* on Sindhi. We can then attribute the lack of Sanskritisation to a lack of cultivation of the Sindhi literary standard in India. A Sindhi refugee to India, Savitri Mirchandani, poignantly relates her own experience about her language: "In India, the Punjabis still have some Punjab, the Bengalis still have some Bengal, and so their languages continue to be spoken, continue to flourish. But Hindu Sindhis have no Sindh; no part of it exists on this side of the border. And so perhaps that is why Sindhi is a dying language."<sup>17</sup> When choosing an Indian Sindhi song for this paper, none could be found that were as popular as songs like *Allay* in Pakistan.

What I hope to show through this examination of the Sindhi language is that language can be useful evidence for analysing historical changes, and the impacts of historical changes on language is important, particularly in South Asia. Our textbook has investigated language policy and language movements, but never how those have interacted with language itself (as opposed to identities of language users). In the case of Sindhi, we can examine the diverging paths that one language has taken in two different political environments. A good comparison can be made

---

15. Tariq Rahman, "Language and Politics in a Pakistan Province: The Sindhi Language Movement," *Asian Survey* 35, no. 11 (1995): 1010–1015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645724>.

16. Bhavnani, "Unwanted Refugees: Sindhi Hindus in India and Muhajirs in Sindh," 795.

17. Aanchal Malhotra, *Remnants of Partition: 21 Objects from a Continent Divided* (London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Limited, 2019), 279.

to the development of the widely-spoken languages Bengali (in West Bengal and Bangladesh) and Punjabi (in East Punjab and West Punjab), as well as more marginalised languages such as Kashmiri (in Azad Kashmir and Jammu and Kashmir) and Maithili (in Bihar and Nepal), all subject to divisions between countries.

### 3 Brought forth: the case of Saraiki

English	Saraiki	Sindhi	Punjabi	Urdu
‘small’	<i>nikkā / nanḍhā</i>	<b><i>nandho</i></b>	<b><i>nikkā</i></b>	<i>choṭā</i>
‘big’	<i>vaddā</i>	<i>vado</i>	<b><i>vaddā</i></b>	<i>barā</i>
‘long’	<i>drigghā</i>	<b><i>ḍrigho</i></b>	<i>lammā</i>	<i>lambā</i>
‘beautiful’	<i>soḥhā</i>	<i>sohaṇo</i>	<b><i>sohṇā</i></b>	<i>xūbsūrat</i>
‘what?’	<i>kyā</i>	<i>chā</i>	<i>kī</i>	<b><i>kyā</i></b>
‘y’all’	<i>tussāñ</i>	<i>tavhīñ</i>	<b><i>tussīñ</i></b>	<i>tum (sab)</i>

Table 2: Comparison of some basic vocabulary in Saraiki with that of Sindhi (provided by Birmani and Ahmed, 2017), Punjabi, and Urdu (provided by me). This illustrates its place between Sindhi and Punjabi. The underlined letters are implosives, a sort of sound produced with an excessive burst of air and, in South Asia, found only in Sindh.

Saraiki is an emerging written standard (along with Hindko) from the set of dialects known to linguists as Lahnda, or Western Punjabi. Saraiki is spoken in the southern parts of Pakistani Punjabi, upstream of Sindhi along the Indus river, and is best associated with the city of Multan.<sup>18</sup> Only in the past few decades has the Saraiki language gained a literary tradition, scholarly linguistic description, and the beginnings of an ethno-linguistic identity separate from that of Punjabis and Sindhis. Table 2 shows some linguistic data characterising Saraiki relative to its neighbours.<sup>19</sup>

One of the sources of evidence that we have for characterising the maturation of the Saraiki language movement is the promotion of the language in intellectual circles. The journal article “The Role of Literary and Social Movements in Redefining the Identity of Saraiki Region”<sup>20</sup> published in the known predatory journal *Journal of Basic and Applied Scientific Research*

18. Elena Bashir, Thomas J. Connors, and Brook Hefright, *A Descriptive Grammar of Hindko, Panjabi, and Saraiki*, vol. 4, Mouton-CASL Grammar Series (De Gruyter, 2019), 14.

19. Ali H. Birmani and Fasih Ahmed, “Language of the Khetrans of Barkhan of Pakistani Balochistan: A preliminary description,” *Lingua* 191-192 (2017): 8–10, ISSN: 0024-3841, <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0024384116302236>.

20. Muhammad Farooq et al., “The Role of Literary and Social Movements in Redefining the Identity of Saraiki Region,” *Journal of Basic and Applied Scientific Research* 4, no. 9 (2014).



serves well as a *primary source* given the partisan aims and lack of scholarly review of the work, and is an example of the importance for intellectual support of language movements (as we recall from the use of linguistic data in the fight between Gujarat and Maharashtra over Mumbai).<sup>21</sup> In an effort to promote the language status (as opposed to its perception as a dialect) of Saraiki, we find exaggerations in the article of the antiquity of Saraiki, including claims that it was the “ancient language of the Indus Valley Civilization”<sup>22</sup> and the dating of Saraiki literature as beginning in 1107 despite the lack of a written standard even at the time of linguist Christopher Shackle’s fieldwork on the language in the 1970s.<sup>23</sup> The Indus Valley script is undeciphered, but has also been the object of spurious claims by proponents of the Sindhi language movement,<sup>24</sup> associating Saraiki with the non-Aryan antiquity of the Indus Valley civilisation is a means to enhance its prestige over Sindhi and Punjabi, which is the primary prerequisite for language status.

That is not to say the the Saraiki language movement is merely pseudo-intellectual; in more recent years, there has been serious linguistic analysis of Saraiki by native speakers (as opposed to Western Orientalists such as Christopher Shackle), an articulation of the Saraiki aspiration for language-hood as an affirmation of their separate ethnic status in Pakistan. Linguist Firdos Atta, for example, has published work on Saraiki phonology and morphology as recently as the past month.

How does this play into the broader historical context of the Saraiki movement? Recall the history of the Sindhi movement in Pakistan, provoked into violence by the separate identity of the *muhājirs* and the subjugation of Sindh in the political system that favoured Punjabis (especially in the military), *muhājirs*, and (to some extent) Pathans. The case of Saraiki is parallel: the Punjabi elite, centered in Lahore, have disproportionately greater political power than the underdeveloped inhabitants of southern Punjab. Shackle, writing at the very beginnings of the Saraiki movement, believed that “the demand for a more equitable treatment of the local

---

21. Uli Kozok, “Promoting Pseudo-Academia in Indonesia,” in *Indo-Pacific Languages* (University of Hawaii, 2016), <https://ipll.manoa.hawaii.edu/internal/documents/predatory-publishers/sarwoko-mangkoedihardjo/>.

22. Farooq et al., “The Role of Literary and Social Movements in Redefining the Identity of Saraiki Region,” 95.

23. Christopher Shackle, “Siraiki: A Language Movement in Pakistan,” *Modern Asian Studies* 11, no. 3 (1977): 379, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/311504>.

24. Khubchandani, “Sindhi,” 687.

[Saraiki] inhabitants is expressed primarily in the form of a demand for the improved recognition of their language.”<sup>25</sup> In South Asia, his general theory was that the assertion of regional languages in opposition to the established *lingua francas* of Hindi and Urdu was occurring because of economic and societal instability in the post-colonial states. Just like in Sindh, we find that the first great supporters of Saraiki as an independent language were Sufi *pīrs* seeking an authentic local realisation of their spirituality. For Saraikis, especially important was Khwaja Ghulam Farid of Bawalpur in the 19th century.

In modern times, Saraiki-speaking portions of Punjab are far less developed than Punjabi-speaking portions, and have not experienced equal gains in literacy rate, economic output, and infrastructure such as health facilities.<sup>26</sup> There have been demands for a separate province of Saraikistan that would have Saraiki as a medium of instruction. Activists succeeded in official recognition of Saraiki in the Pakistani Census of 1981, but have not made such inroads in using it as a language of instruction in southern Punjab despite the obvious inability of Punjabi-medium education to include Saraiki content.<sup>27</sup> Political parties supporting a Saraiki regional identity have developed concurrently with literary societies and individuals promoting the language. Scholars such as Muhammad A. Z. Mughal now argue that “dividing Punjab into one or more provinces seems inevitable”<sup>28</sup> given the economic and social inequalities evident in the administration of the province in Pakistan.

The takeaways from the example of Saraiki in regards to South Asian history are that: (1) language is the most potent delineator of identity in South Asia; (2) regional movements with aims of economic justice or other problems that do not really stem from ethno-linguistic identity will still co-opt language in order to mobilise supporters; and (3) studying the regional dynamics of South Asia without considering linguistics misses out on how the ground truth of language use is different from its use in these language movements (e.g. Saraiki is not wildly different from Punjabi, but Saraiki speakers have always been marginalised in education and administration,

---

25. Shackle, “Siraiki: A Language Movement in Pakistan,” 386.

26. Khalid Manzoor Butt and Burhan Ahmed, “Demand for Saraiki Province: A Critical Analysis,” *Journal of Political Science* (Lahore) 34 (2016).

27. Muhammad A. Z. Mughal, “Ethnicity, marginalization, and politics: Saraiki identity and the quest for a new Southern Punjab province in Pakistan,” *Asian Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 3 (2020): 300, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2020.1814360>.

28. Mughal, 307.

hence the need to assert a unique identity).

## 4 Conclusion

My hope is that the examples of Sindhi and Saraiki in Pakistan have shed light on the value of linguistics in making sense of South Asian history in the post-colonial period. There is a complex interplay between language-based identity, perceptions of language, and the language itself that is taking place in South Asia.

We have seen how Sindhi has asserted its individuality by limiting influence from Urdu in light of Sindhi–*muhājir* conflicts in Pakistan, while in India there has been limited development of the Sindhi literary standard in light of discrimination and other pressures to assimilate. We also saw how the Saraiki language movement has been one of the articulations of the aim of Saraiki-speakers to correct economic and developmental injustices; the establishment of the separate Saraiki standard language, representing a separate Saraikistan, is a by-product of the demand.

Limitations of space, time, and knowledge have not let me explore this topic to the extent that it ought to be in historical scholarship. The languages of South Asian diasporan groups (as studied in my own fieldwork on Kholosi, a Sindhi offshoot in Iran<sup>29</sup>), the rise of local *lingua francas* such as Bazaar Hindustani (in Kolkata) and Haflong Hindi (in Northeast India), the post-colonial standardisation of the Adivasi languages, and the use of censuses by the state to shape linguistic identity are all worth exploring in regards to language's place in history in South Asia. These two examples, however, are more than sufficient for showing the value of linguistic evidence in studying South Asian history.

Recently, however, there has been significant growth in the study of language in South Asia, impelled by both traditional Linguistics departments but also computational work on language being done in Engineering departments in prestigious institutions such as the Indian Institutes of Technology. It is my hope that their collaborations with historians and social scientists will develop a better linguistic approach to history in South Asia.

---

29. Aryaman Arora, "Historical Phonology and other Observations on Kholosi," 2020, <https://aryamanarora.github.io/kholosi/Kholosi.pdf>.

## References

- Arora, Aryaman. "Historical Phonology and other Observations on Kholosi," 2020. <https://aryamanarora.github.io/kholosi/Kholosi.pdf>.
- Ayres, Alyssa. *Speaking Like a State: Language and Nationalism in Pakistan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Bashir, Elena, Thomas J. Connors, and Brook Hefright. *A Descriptive Grammar of Hindko, Panjabi, and Saraiki*. Vol. 4. Mouton-CASL Grammar Series. De Gruyter, 2019.
- Bhavnani, Nandita. "Unwanted Refugees: Sindhi Hindus in India and Muhajirs in Sindh." *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 39, no. 4 (2016): 790–804.
- Birmani, Ali H., and Fasih Ahmed. "Language of the Khetrans of Barkhan of Pakistani Balochistan: A preliminary description." *Lingua* 191-192 (2017): 3–21. ISSN: 0024-3841. <http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0024384116302236>.
- Butt, Khalid Manzoor, and Burhan Ahmed. "Demand for Saraiki Province: A Critical Analysis." *Journal of Political Science (Lahore)* 34 (2016).
- Constitution of India*. 1949. [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_India](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution_of_India).
- Constitution of Islamic Republic of Pakistan*. 1973. [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution\\_of\\_Islamic\\_Republic\\_of\\_Pakistan](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Islamic_Republic_of_Pakistan).
- Farooq, Muhammad, Zahoor Hussain, Mohammad Ajmal, and Mohammad Saeed. "The Role of Literary and Social Movements in Redefining the Identity of Saraiki Region." *Journal of Basic and Applied Scientific Research* 4, no. 9 (2014).
- Kachru, Braj B. "Introduction: languages, contexts, and constructs." In *Language in South Asia*, edited by Braj B. Kachru, Yamuna Kachru, and S. N. Sridhar, 1–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Khubchandani, Lachman M. "Sindhi." In *The Indo-Aryan Languages*, edited by George Cardona and Dhanesh Jain, 683–721. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2003.
- Kozok, Uli. "Promoting Pseudo-Academia in Indonesia." In *Indo-Pacific Languages*. University of Hawaii, 2016. <https://ipll.manoa.hawaii.edu/internal/documents/predatory-publishers/sarwoko-mangkoedihardjo/>.
- Malhotra, Aanchal. *Remnants of Partition: 21 Objects from a Continent Divided*. London: C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Limited, 2019.
- Masica, Colin P. "Aryan and Non-Aryan Elements in North Indian Agriculture." In *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*, edited by Madhav M. Deshpande and Peter E. Hook, 55–154. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1979.
- Mughal, Muhammad A. Z. "Ethnicity, marginalization, and politics: Saraiki identity and the quest for a new Southern Punjab province in Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Political Science* 28, no. 3 (2020): 294–311. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02185377.2020.1814360>.

- Nunberg, Geoffrey, and Thomas Wasow, eds. *The Field of Linguistics*. 1997. <https://web.archive.org/web/20071126121113/http://www.lsadc.org/info/ling-fields.cfm>.
- Rahman, Tariq. "Language and Politics in a Pakistan Province: The Sindhi Language Movement." *Asian Survey* 35, no. 11 (1995): 1005–1016. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2645724>.
- Shackle, Christopher. "Siraiki: A Language Movement in Pakistan." *Modern Asian Studies* 11, no. 3 (1977): 379–403. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/311504>.
- Witzel, Michael. "Substrate languages in Old Indo-Aryan (Ṛgvedic, Middle and Late Vedic)." *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 5, no. 1 (1999): 1–67.
- Yagnik, Alka. "Soulful Indian Sindhi Song by Alka Yagnik," 2017. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFDcmg9Ul-g>.
- Zafar, Ali, Urooj Fatima, and Abid Brohi. "Allay (Munja Mar Wara)," 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OmgziQczKfk>.