

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/240750993>

The Punjabi Movement in Pakistan

Article in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* · January 1996

DOI: 10.1515/ijsl.1996.122.73

CITATIONS

5

READS

3,218

1 author:



Tariq Rahman

Beaconhouse National University

129 PUBLICATIONS 2,028 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:



cancelled project [View project](#)



Linguistics Politics [View project](#)

The Punjabi Movement in Pakistan

TARIQ RAHMAN

Abstract

The Punjabi language movement is the aspiration of certain Punjabi intellectuals to increase the use of the Punjabi language in the domains of power in place of Urdu and English. It is an urban phenomenon which started soon after the emergence of Pakistan but has never become either populist or powerful. The activists of the movement have, however, created some modern terminology in Punjabi and they publish some journals and books. The movement is a reaction of intellectuals who feel that the Punjabi elite dominates the country by using the integrative symbols of Islam and Urdu, which is the national language of the country despite being the mother tongue of about 8 percent people, whereas Punjabi is the mother tongue of more than 48 percent people. They feel that the neglect of their mother tongue is too great a price to pay for suppressing language-based ethnic movements in the other provinces of Pakistan and hence retaining hegemony over the whole country.

1. Introduction

Pakistan had a population of 126,406,000 in 1992 and Punjabi is the mother tongue of most Pakistanis, as the following figures, based upon the 1981 census, indicate:

Punjabi	48.17%
Sindhi	11.77%
Pashto	13.5%
Siraiki	9.54%
Urdu	7.60%
Baluchi	3.02%
Hind ko	2.43%
Brohi	1.21%

However, Urdu is the national language, while Punjabi is not used in any formal domain — not even in basic schooling — in the Punjab.

The Punjabi Movement aims at persuading the state to enhance the status of Punjabi by using it in these domains: education, administration, the judiciary, etc. This functional allocation, or status planning (Cooper 1989: 120), of Punjabi is resisted by the ruling elite of Pakistan, which is Punjabi-dominated and consists of an overdeveloped military-bureaucratic elite — the “salarial” in Hamza Alavi’s terms — supported by the feudal aristocracy and the industrial elite¹ (Alavi 1987, 1991).

The ruling elite uses Urdu (in addition to Islam) as a symbol of integration and Pakistani nationalism, which is being “constructed.” Urdu is part of this “official nationalism” and helps to imagine or “construct” the Pakistani nation, as explained by Anderson (1991 [1983]: chapters 6 and 10). The proto-elites,² who challenge the hegemony of the ruling elite in a bid for increased power sharing, manipulate the symbols of language (Sindhi, Baluchi, Pashto, Siraiki, etc.), in a counter-hegemonic manner. The first such instrumental use of language was made in the Bengali language movement (1948–1954), which contributed toward articulating and developing Bengali nationalism (Alam 1991; Umar 1977).

Language was used, albeit less effectively, as a symbol of identity in varying degrees in the articulation of Sindhi, Pakhtun, Baluchi, and Siraiki ethnicism. Even the *mahajir* ethnic identity, which emerged in the 1980s in its own right and not as part of the Pakistani identity (Alavi 1991: 167), is underpinned by Urdu (*mahajirs* are Urdu-speaking immigrants from India). However, in this case Urdu can hardly be salient as the state emphasizes it as part of the Pakistani identity.

As most language movements in Pakistan are movements of ethnonationalistic assertion, the role of language is best explained by instrumentalist theories — those that claim that elites manipulate language to create pressure groups in order to obtain higher shares in power³ (Deutsch 1966 [1953]; Hechter 1971; Young 1970). But primordialist theories — those that explain language movements with reference to the actors’ extrarational bonds or feelings for them (Shils 1957; Geertz 1963; Connor 1993) — will be more useful for explaining the Punjabi Movement, as we shall see.

The aim of this article is to present a detailed account of the history of the Punjabi Movement so as to place it in the context of the power struggle — politics in the widest sense of that term — in Pakistan.

The evidence used in this article comes from publications in magazines, newspapers, books, and unpublished sources in Punjabi, Urdu, and English. Informal interviews with leaders of the movement Shafqat

Tanwir Mirza (journalist and editor); Asif Khan (writer, philologist, and Secretary of the Punjabi Literary Board); Raja Rasalu (an office holder of the Writers' Guild); and Ilyas Ghumman (a writer on scientific subjects in Punjabi) have also been used in places. These interviews were held in February 1993 at Lahore.

2. Punjabi in the British era

The British annexed the Punjab in 1849, and by 1851, after extensive correspondence with district officers (Chaudhry 1977), Urdu was declared the vernacular language to be used in basic education and the lower courts. J. Wilson, the Deputy Commissioner (DC) of Shahpur, and Robert Cust, in 1862 (see Cust's Letter No. 318 in the Punjab Archives) argued that it was Punjabi that was the real vernacular (Wilson 1894), but most of the other British officers dismissed Punjabi as rural patois (Chaudhry 1977: 52, 55, 181, 183, 191, 208, 218).

2.1. The partisans of the Punjabi Movement claim that the British were influenced by their native subordinate staff (the *omla* or *amlah*) in their preference for Urdu (Mirza 1985). There were, indeed, a large number of Hindustanis (as people from what is presently called Uttar Pradesh and Bihar were called) in the army, the police, and the district administration (Adm. Rep. 1854). In the army there were political reasons for not recruiting Sikhs in the beginning (Adm. Rep. 1854: 24), but in the other services there seems to have been no bias against Punjabis. The Report tells us, "There are sixteen tehseeldars [keepers of land revenue records] and fifty-three thanedars [police officers]. We would gladly have filled these sixty-nine appointments with Punjabees exclusively, had fit men been procurable" (Adm. Rep. 1854: 208). However, the Hindustanis predominated in the *amlah* up to 1857 (Adm. Rep. 1859).

2.2. By the 1880s, however, the Sikhs emerged as the champions of Punjabi. They sent memorials to the Education Commission of 1882 requesting that their children should be educated in Punjabi written in the Gurmukhi script. By this time, however, religion, language, and culture were the major identity markers in British India. Thus the Hindus supported Hindi written in the Devanagari script while the Muslims supported Urdu in the Persian script (Edn. Comm. 1884a, 1884b).

This was the situation just before the partition of India in 1947. All the important publications in Punjab were associated with the Sikhs, as was Punjabi literature. Only Joshua Fazal Din (a Punjabi Christian)

published *Punjabi Darbar* from Lyallpur (Khurshid 1986: 382). Some intellectuals wrote for it, and Sir Shahabuddin, one of its contributors, established the Punjabi Society at the Government College at Lahore (Hameed 1964). Another such literary organization was the Poets' Association of Doaba (Doaba Kavi Saba) of Umer Din in 1931 at Jullundur (Faqr 1956: 3). Apart from these few exceptions, the Muslim intellectuals of the Punjab expressed their creativity in Urdu.

3. The beginning of activity in Pakistan

Being a symbol of Pakistani nationalism, Urdu was supported by the state almost to the exclusion of all indigenous languages in the early years of Pakistan (ABE 1948: 4, 1949: 25–27, 1955: 208–209). Punjabi was ignored to the point that it “vanished as a University subject” (Shackle 1970: 243), and even its claims were ignored (*Muslim* [Islamabad daily], 23 July 1979; henceforth M.). Some activity did, however, begin as early as 1948 when a meeting of some Punjabi intellectuals was held at the Dyal Singh College. The participants were distinguished men of letters, including M. D. Taseer and Faqr Mohammad Faqr among others. They decided to work toward making Punjabi the language of education in the Punjab and encouraging publications in Punjabi (*Lahran* [Punjabi monthly] 1991: 57). The first objective remained an aspiration, but Abdul Majid Salik started publishing the monthly *Punjabi* in 1951 (Qaisar 1992: 20). Its editor, Faqr Mohammad Faqr, was successful in persuading eminent Punjabi literary people, who had made their name in Urdu literature, to write for it. Thus Zafar Ali Khan, Ghulam Mustafa Tabassum, Qateel Shifai, Agha Shorish Kashmiri, and others appeared in print in Punjabi (in the Urdu script) for the first time (Khurshid 1986: 384). The Punjabi League and the Punjabi Cultural Society were formed early in 1952, but they could not get Punjabi accepted even as an optional language in the University of the Punjab in 1953 (Editorial, *Punjabi*, March–April and November–December 1953). Despite this slow pace and failures, these activities created the feeling, or at least expressed it clearly, that the Punjabi language was culturally disadvantaged in the Punjab.

3.1. The Lyallpur Punjabi Conference

The first significant event of this period was the Punjabi Conference, held on 9 March 1956 at Lyallpur. It was sponsored by the Punjabi literary

society (Bazm-e-Adab) and its main purpose was consciousness-raising (Editorial, *Punjabi*, March 1956: 3-5). Bazm-e-Adab was the Pakistani version of Umar Din Ulfat Varsi's Doaba Poets' Association (Faqr 1956: 3). The major impediment in the way of Punjabi, as perceived by Punjabi intellectuals, was that most Punjabis exhibited various degrees of culture shame about their language. In his presidential address at the conference, Abdul Majid Salik pointed this out and also said that the Punjabis had always served Urdu. He was, however, quick to add that the progress of Punjabi would not be at the expense of Urdu, which would remain the national language of West Pakistan (that of East Pakistan had been Bengali since 1954) (Salik 1956: 8).

The Conference demanded that Punjabi be used as the medium of instruction at the lower level. This was accepted in principle, though no real change was made. In fact, since all the provinces of West Pakistan had been amalgamated into one unit since 1954, the ruling elite was less supportive than ever of provincial languages. In 1958 General Ayub Khan imposed martial law on the country, and the Punjabi Movement entered a new phase.

4. The Punjabi movement in the 1960s

According to Shafqat Tanwir Mirza, an activist of the Punjabi Movement and later the editor of the Urdu daily *Imroze*, Ayub Khan's martial law was anti-Punjabi. In his words,

To support Punjabi language and literature was labelled an anti-state act and in 1959, under Ayub's martial law, the Punjabi Majlis, a Lahore based literary organisation was declared a political party and banned. So much so that from 1959 to 1962, no one dared to form a literary organization in Lahore lest it might be declared a political party (Mirza 1985: 43).

This was true for the political aspects of the movement, but after 1962, it seems, the state did make some concessions to the cultural aspirations of the Punjabi intellectuals. Radio Pakistan started its Punjabi program "Ravi-Rang" in 1960, and the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Lahore, agreed to teach Punjabi from the 6th to the 12th grades (Raja Rasalu, personal communication, 3 February 1993). The monthly *Punjabi Adab* also began publication, and there was a literary efflorescence in which some outstanding works on the Punjabi identity were produced.

Two writers, Najam Hussain Syed and Ishaque Muhammad (1921-1982), are well known for having made some of the heroes of the

Punjab symbols of the Punjabi resistance to foreign authority. These heroes are Abdullah, popularly known as Dullah, Bhatti (circa sixteenth century), who rebelled against the Mughal emperor Akbar (1554–1605); Ahmed Khan Kharal (1803–1857), who rebelled against the British in 1857; Nizam Lohar (circa nineteenth century); Bhagat Singh (1907–1931); etc (Ramay 1985: 111–130).

Najam and Ishaque's work supported the multinationality thesis of ethnonationalists (Ishaque 1972, 1976). As this was also supported by Soviet scholars (Gankovsky 1973 [1964]), it was labelled as being leftist and anti-Pakistan by those who supported the official one-Pakistani-ation thesis (Malik 1985: 245).

4.1. *Other cultural activities of the 1960s*

The Punjabi Group of the Writers' Guild was formed in 1963 with Shafqat Tanwir Mirza as its first secretary. The Punjabi Adabi Sangat; the Punjabi Majlis of Government College Lahore; the Punjabi Adabi League, an irregular private society of Lahore; Majlis Shah Hussain; and a number of smaller organizations provided forums to the activists of the Punjabi Movement to come together and communicate with each other. The Sangat met in the YMCA at Lahore on Sunday evenings, though, according to Shackle, its attendance was thin, while that of the Halqa-e-Arbab-e-Zauq, an Urdu literary forum, was much greater (1970: 248–251). Among the other bodies the Majlis Shah Hussain, which was formed in 1962, was "the most dynamic of the Punjabi institutions" in the late 1960s (Shackle 1970: 252–253). In 1962 the Punjabi Guild arranged a literary and musical function on "Mela Charaghan" [the Fair of the Lamps], which marks the death anniversary of Shah Hussain in Lahore (Malik 1988: 18). It also began publishing a monthly called *Lahran* in 1965. Another magazine called *Haq Allah* started publication in 1962 but was wound up in 1965 (Khurshid 1986: 384).

4.2. *Political activities of Punjabi organizations*

The main purpose of the Punjabi organizations was to make the Punjabi language the focus of the Punjabi, as opposed to the Pakistani, identity. The Punjabi Group of the Writers' Guild, under the inspiration of Shafqat Tanwir Mirza, held symposiums on the future of Punjabi writers (*Pakistan Times* [Lahore daily], 22 February 1969; henceforth PT) and was actively concerned with consciousness-raising. As this assertion of the Punjabi,

rather than the Pakistani, identity was seen as being ethnonationalistic, it was condemned as being anti-Pakistan. Thus Syed Abdullah, Principal of the Oriental College of Lahore and a great supporter of Urdu, accused the Punjabi activists of being anti-Pakistan and anti-Islam in a speech (PT, 15 March 1962). Hamid Ali Khan, the representative of Punjabi on the Central Language Board, declared that he loved literary Punjabi but condemned "political Punjabi" (Chikna Choor 1963: 3). By "political Punjabi" he meant the demand of making Punjabi the language of basic schooling, administration, and the judiciary in the province.

The term "political" also referred to the opposition to Urdu (and in some cases the *mahajirs*) by some of the activists of the movement. In fact most middle-class Punjabis had internalized the superiority of Urdu, and the activists complained, and even now complain, of culture shame and the tendency not to use Punjabi in informal settings (Shackle 1970: 245-247). The *mahajirs* believed that Urdu was intrinsically superior to the indigenous languages of Pakistan. They supported Urdu against Punjabi, so that the Punjabi activists were often critical of them. This was another aspect of the movement that the government found disquieting. What alarmed the government most, however, was the interest the Punjabi Movement took in the development of Punjabi across the border in India. The apprehension was that the Muslim Punjabis would either join the Sikhs to form a "greater Punjab" or at least negate the religious basis of the Pakistani identity by favoring the Punjabi identity over the Muslim Pakistani one.

At last, on 6 April 1963, the Punjabi Group of the Writers' Guild was banned on the grounds that it had started the Punjabi-Urdu controversy, which could harm the interests of Urdu and strain the relations between the supporters of Urdu and those of Punjabi. Moreover, the Group had discussed the Gurmukhi script and been in touch with the Sikhs. For some time the issue was hotly debated. The greatest opposition to Punjabi was articulated in the Urdu Tarweej Conference of 26-28 April, and the usual allegations against the Punjabi Group — of being anti-Pakistan and anti-Islam — were repeated (Yar 1963: 49-54). After this the Punjabi Movement became very subdued on the political front, though the literary and cultural activities continued.

4.3. *The 1969 educational policy and the movement*

Ayub Khan's rule came to an end in 1969, and the new martial-law ruler, General Yahya Khan, set up a committee under Air-Marshal Nur Khan to suggest proposals for a new educational policy. As these proposals

were anti-English, they were welcomed in pro-Urdu and antielitist circles. However, they were opposed by the supporters of regional languages (except Bengali, which was, with Urdu, a national language). The activists of the Punjabi Movement also opposed them. Among those activists was a retired Lieutenant General, Bakhtiar Rana, who was a member of the Punjabi Literary League (Punjabi Adabi League). He too urged the government to accommodate Punjabi in the new educational policy (PT, 7 August 1969).

The journalist Safdar Mir pointed out that, whereas Sindhi and Pashto could be used at the primary level under the proposed policy, Punjabi was not even mentioned. "This," in his view, had "aroused the suspicions and apprehensions of the protagonists of the Punjabi" (Zeno 1969). Ahmed Rahi, writer and Secretary General of the Punjabi Literary Comradeship (Punjabi Adabi Sangat), also protested against the proposed policy, and the Sangat passed a resolution on 29 July 1969 demanding Punjabi as the medium of instruction (Memorandum 1969). These demands were supported by all Punjabi organizations and several eminent individuals (Memorandum 1969: 13-17).

Punjabi intellectuals also wrote articles in the newspapers in support of Punjabi (Mirza 1969: Tarar 1969). Despite all this opposition, however, the New Education Policy of 1970 did not alter the position of Punjabi.

5. Activities of the 1970s

The 1970s began with one positive achievement for the Punjabi Movement: the opening of the department of Punjabi at the Punjab University under the chairmanship of Najm Hussain Syed. However, Najam's secular and leftist reputation made the department suspect in the eyes of his ideological opponents. During Zia-ul-Haq's martial-law regime, when these opponents came into power, syllabi were changed, the literature of the Sikhs was tabooed, and members of the faculty were purged. This was, and remains, an impediment to the study of Punjabi literature and its interpretation (Humayun 1986: 227-233).

In 1970 the Punjabi Literary League translated the Quran into Punjabi, and General Rana himself organized the Movement for Punjabi Unity (Punjabi Ittehad Tehrik), which was reported to have over 1000 members and which published a weekly called *Punjab di Avaz* [The Voice of the Punjab]. The Tehrik reiterated the demand for use of Punjabi in education, administration, and the judiciary at the lower levels. Faiz Ahmad Faiz and Habib Jalib, both Urdu poets of great fame, supported the Tehrik, but Josh, an Urdu-speaking poet from Uttar Pradesh, opposed

it on the grounds that Urdu would have no place in Pakistan if every region had its own regional language (*Link* [an English publication from New Delhi], 19 July 1970).

When Yahya Khan reconstituted West Pakistan into the provinces of the Punjab, Sind, N.W.F.P., and Baluchistan in 1969, the former state of Bahawalpur declared its aspiration to be given provincial status and not be amalgamated into the Punjab. The Punjabi Youth Movement, among other Punjabi organizations and individuals, expressed concern over this (*Dawn* [Karachi daily], 1 March 1971; henceforth D). This opposition to the division of the Punjab grew over the years as the Siraiki Movement developed and the Punjabi Siraiki controversy went on in the press (Shackle 1985: 322). In the last analysis the controversy is political and economic, as the Punjabi intellectuals oppose a diminution in the power of the Punjab in the federal structure.

5.1. *The newspaper controversies*

After the emergence of Bangladesh in December 1971, the Punjabi Movement became somewhat subdued. However, the issue of identity, linked to literature as it was, received literary expression at different forums. No less a personage than the Urdu poet Faiz Ahmad Faiz said at a convention of the Sangat that only Punjabi could express one's true self most authentically. Ustad Damman, the Punjabi poet, made much of Faiz's remarks, concluding that speaking Punjabi was being yourself (PT, 13 January 1972). A related issue was language planning. The issues of choosing a script and making dictionaries available, that is, corpus planning (Cooper 1989: 122–156) had to be done by the Punjabi activists, and they used the newspapers to express their views.

The main issues were change in script and compilation of a good dictionary. After a long debate (see PT, 10 and 17 September, 5 October 1972) the script was not changed. A good dictionary was, however, published by the Urdu Science Board in 1989 (Bukhari 1989).

6. *Punjabi in the Zia-ul-Haq regime*

On the whole General Zia-ul-Haq's military regime (1977–1988) was not sympathetic to the regional languages, as they were regarded as symbols of ethnonationalist movements.

On 2 January 1985 a Charter of the Punjabi-Speaking People was signed by 139 prominent people. The press conference was addressed by

Masood Khaddarposh, Convener of the Punjabi Forum, and Fakhar Zaman, a well-known writer and former senator. Besides the activists of the Punjabi Movement, leftist members of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) like Mairaj Khalid and Mubashar Hassan also signed the charter (M., 3 January 1985). The prominent English language journalist and editor of the left-leaning weekly *Viewpoint*, Mazhar Ali Khan, also signed the charter. In short, the opposition to General Zia's right-wing government took this opportunity of supporting Punjabi and the multi-nationality rather than the one-Pakistani-nation thesis advocated by the government. The demands of the charter were not different from before. One of them was as follows:

We believe that without the development of intellectual and cultural capabilities of our people which take place only with the introduction of our own language as the medium of instruction at all levels and in the transaction of business in all spheres of life, the personality of millions of our people will remain underdeveloped and the current socio-cultural crisis in the Punjab will remain unabated (Charter 1985: Demand No. 3).

This demand was important since it suggests that the major motivation of the Punjabi activists was to feel proud of their cultural identity and prevent posterity from remaining alienated from their cultural and literary traditions.

6.1. *The International Punjabi Conference of 1986*

The Punjabi Conference took place in Lahore from 25 to 29 April 1986 after martial law was lifted and Muhammad Khan Junejo was appointed Prime Minister. The newfound freedom encouraged Fakhar Zaman to arrange the conference and invite participants from India and other countries of the world. The delegates from India, however, were denied visas, so that Amrita Pritam, the famous Punjabi poetess, could not preside over the conference as originally intended. The supporters of Punjabi protested over this (Shah 1986), and this matter, like most other ethnonationalistic ones, took on the character of a left-right debate. The right-wing writers pointed out that well-known leftists like Abdullah Malik, the famous Urdu novelist, had participated in the conference (Rahman 1986). Other known leftist political figures, such as Tariq Ali Khan, the Trotskyite student leader of Ayub Khan's days, now in exile in London; Ajmal Khattak of the Awami National Party of Wali Khan; and Ghaus Bux Bizenjo, an ethnonationalist Baluch leader, had sent messages to the conference (Qasmi 1986). Even Benazir Bhutto, Zia-ul-Haq's main political opponent with

known liberal views, sent a message (Qaisar and Pal 1988: 9). The atmosphere of the conference was undoubtedly progressive and antiestablishment. The religious group was accused of censoring Punjabi literature (Humayun 1986: 227–233). Aftab Naqvi, a college lecturer, was hooted when he emphasized the Muslim identity of Pakistani Punjabis (Naqvi 1986: 118–119), and it was proposed that the Punjabi Movement should try to ally itself with the working class rather than the middle class, which had always been indifferent to it (Saqib 1986: 127). Among the resolutions passed by the delegates the most important one was, predictably, that which pertained to the use of Punjabi in the educational, administrative, and judicial domains (Qaisar and Pal 1988: 457–484). The delegates also supported the ethnonationalist movements in the other provinces of Pakistan as well as the socialist revolution in Afghanistan. One typical comment by the right-wing press about these activities was, “This is not serving one’s mother tongue. This is only finding ways for the progress of socialist thought and politics under the banner of progressivism” (Rahman 1986).

Such conspiracy theories had always been advanced by both the right and the left for different phenomena. In this case they underlined the mutual antipathy of the two ideological camps. However, for some time the Punjabi activists increased their activities. Young people held processions and chanted slogans: “Punjabi Parho Punjabi Likho” [Read Punjabi, Write Punjabi] (M., 9 May 1986) and there was a debate whether the Punjabi and the Pakistani identities were in a hierarchical relationship (Malik 1988: 20) or a mutually exclusive one (Punjabi activists).

7. The Punjabi Movement at present

General Zia-ul-Haq died in an aircrash in August 1988. The elections of November that year brought Benazir Bhutto’s PPP into power, while Muhammad Nawaz Sharif’s Islamic Democratic Alliance (IJI) was in the opposition. As Nawaz Sharif remained the Chief Minister of the Punjab, he started using Punjabi nationalism to confront the center. Fakhar Zaman, still a PPP supporter, called this policy “Punjabism” and stigmatized it as a “political stunt” (D, 20 December 1988). The demands of the Punjabi activists, however, remained unheeded by both the PPP and the IJI (Hafeezullah 1989). On 20 July 1989, when Benazir Bhutto inaugurated the first Baba Farid Conference in Lahore, she did promise that she would allow the provincial government to take action on Syed Afzal Haider’s proposal that Punjabi be allowed to become the medium of instruction of the province (PT, 21 July 1989). However, Benazir’s

government was dismissed in August 1990 and the elections of October that year brought in Nawaz Sharif as the new prime minister. He too remained indifferent to the demands of the Punjabi Movement (Qaisar 1992: 29). The PPP, which again took power in 1993, also continues to be indifferent to it.

The 1990s saw the rise of young people to the forefront of the movement. Among their major contributions was the publication of the Punjabi daily *Sajjan* on a voluntary basis with extreme paucity of funds for 21 months (3 February 1989 to October 1990) (see Qaisar 1992; Ali 1992). Among the activists who have been writing in support of the movement or related issues are Saeed Farani Kammi in Rawalpindi; Iqbal Qaisar, Alyas Ghumman, and Akram Waraich in Lahore; and Nazir Kahut in Karachi (Kahut 1992).

8. Culture shame and the Punjabi Movement

It was mentioned earlier that many Punjabis, especially middle- and upper-class ones, feel ashamed of their culture in general and their language in particular. The complaint that it was only by abandoning Punjabi that a Punjabi-speaker could be socially accepted in urban Pakistan has been voiced by many Punjabis (Sheikh 1986: 25; Kammi 1989: 15–23). However, empirical evidence has only recently been provided by Sabiha Mansoor, in her study of the attitudes of students toward Urdu, Punjabi, and English. She says,

Majority of Punjabi students (59%) display negative attitudes to Punjabi. Not only are instrumental reasons given for not wanting to study Punjabi by all groups of Punjabi students i.e. English medium, Urdu medium, boys and girls but an anti-integrative orientation is also seen. An examination of the content analysis of the responses of Punjabi students display little or no inclination to study Punjabi. It is also considered economically unimportant (Mansoor 1992: 113).

Given this apathy toward Punjabi even among students, who are generally supporters of radical causes, one need not wonder why the Punjabi Movement has had so little success in having its demands accepted.

9. Conclusion

The Punjabi Movement is different from the other language movements of Pakistan in the sense that it cannot be explained on the instrumentalist

theory of language being manipulated as a symbol of identity to create a pressure group in the power conflict between the elite and the proto-elites.

The Punjabi activists can be, and sometimes are, part of the dominant elite. In fact some activists stand greater chances of being part of urban culture and even rise to positions of power if they do not actively support Punjabi. The fact that they do so is explained more on primordialist than instrumentalist grounds. It is instrumentalist in so far as it is a means of countering cultural imposition. The manipulation of the symbol of Punjabi then takes on an antihegemonic function; it is the means toward achieving cultural authenticity.

But the focus remains primordialist: the retention of the Punjabi identity without feeling inferiority and culture shame. This is a concern with nonrational goals. It is related to questions of one's image of the self. Such questions fall in the realm of social psychology rather than politics and economics. Thus, more than the supporters of other language movements in Pakistan, the Punjabi activists feel they are struggling for primordialist attachments — love for their mother tongue and the desire to be respected for their indigenous, rather than constructed, identity.

Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad

Notes

1. The terms "ruling elite" and "elite" are used for members of the decision-making levels of the government as well as powerful people in the machinery of the state. Thus, besides the civilian politicians, this elite consists of the military, bureaucratic, feudal, and industrial elites in Pakistan.
2. Proto-elites are defined as powerless (or less powerful) groups who "are (or feel) excluded from the power and influence they covet and ... who ... possess the personal gifts or material resources to move symbols and masses toward desired sociopolitical regrouping" (Fishman 1972: 15).
3. However, the very choice of the symbol of language by the elites and its appeal to them and the masses is extrarational (Skinner 1974: 277-303) and is best explained on primordialist grounds. Moreover, once a movement is in progress, the actors' intersubjective reality is best explained by the primordialist theory. They genuinely feel that what is at stake is even more fundamental and deeper than jobs and power.
For the instrumentalist-primordialist debate in relation to Urdu's role in Muslim separatism in India see Brass (1974; 1976) and Robinson (1977).

References

- ABE (1948). *The Advisory Board of Education: First Meeting 7-9 June*. Karachi: Manager of Publications, Ministry of Education.

- (1949). *The Advisory Board of Education: Second Meeting 7–9 February 1949*. Karachi: Manager of Publications, Ministry of Education.
- (1955). *Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Advisory Board of Education, 27–29 January 1958*. Karachi: Manager of Publications, Ministry of Education.
- Adm. Rep. (1854). *General Report on the Administration of the Punjab for the year 1849–50 and 1850–51*. London: India Office Library.
- (1859). *General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories in the years 1856–57 and 1857–58*. London: India Office Library.
- Afzal, Rafique (1987). *Political Parties in Pakistan 1958–1969*, vol. 2. Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
- Alam, Shamsul (1991). Language as political articulation: East Bengal in 1952. *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 26 (4), 469–487.
- Alavi, Hamza (1987). Pakistan and Islam: ethnicity and ideology. In *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi (eds.). New York: Monthly Review Press.
- (1991). Nationhood and communal violence in Pakistan, *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 21 (2), 152–178.
- Ali, Nadir (1992). A daily that was. *Frontier Post: Weekend Post*, 25 September.
- Anderson, Benedict (1991 [1983]). *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Brass, Paul (1974). *Language, Religion and Politics in Northern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1976). Ethnicity and nationality formation. *Ethnicity* 111, 225–241.
- Bukhari, Tanwir (1989). *Punjabi Urdu Lughat* [Punjabi-Urdu Dictionary]. Lahore: Urdu Science Board.
- Charter (1985). The Punjabi Charter of Demands. Unpublished manuscript of the original in collection of Raja Rasalu.
- Chaudhry, Nazir A. (1977). *Development of Urdu as Official Language in the Punjab 1948–1974*. Lahore: Government of the Punjab.
- Chikna Choor (pseud) (1963). Tote [Pieces]. *Punjabi Adab* (January–February), 4.
- Connor, Walker (1993). Beyond reason: the nature of the ethno-national bond. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16 (3) (July), 373–389.
- Cooper, Robert L. (1989). *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deutsch, K.W. (1966 [1953]). *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Enquiry into the Foundations of Nationality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Edn. Comm. (1884a). *Appendix to Education Commission Report: By the North West Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee with Evidence Taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing. London: India Office Library.
- Edn. Comm. (1884b). *Report of the Punjab Provincial Committee with Evidence Taken Before the Committee and Memorials Addressed to the Education Commission*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing. London: India Office Library.
- Faqir, M. (1956). Punjabi conference. *Punjabi* (May), 3.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1972). *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Gankovsky, Y.V. (1973 [1964]). *The Peoples of Pakistan: An Ethnic History*. Lahore: Peoples Publishing House.
- Geertz, Clifford (ed.) (1963). The integrative revolution: primordial sentiments and civil politics in the new states. In *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, C. Geertz (ed.). New York: Free Press.

- Ghaffur, Abdul (1984). Letter to the editor. *Punjabi Times*, 11 March.
- Hafeezullah (1989). Letter to the editor, Punjabi movement. *Nation* [Lahore daily], 23 January.
- Hameed, A. (1964). 'Punjabi Government College Wich' [Punjabi in the Government College]. In *Ravi Diyan Chalan*, Naseer Malik 9-11. Lahore: Government College.
- Hechter, M. (1971). Toward a theory of ethnic change. *Politics and Society* 2, 21-45.
- Humayun, Khalid (1986). Nazriyati Dhare Bandi, ik Vaddi Rukavat [Ideological polarisation, a major impediment]. In *A'almi Punjabi Conference 1986*, Iqbal Qaisar and Jamil A. Pal (eds.), 227-233. Lahore: Classic.
- Ishaque, Mohammad (1972). *Musalli* [Sweeper]. Lahore: Punjabi Adabi Markaz.
- (1976). *Quqnus* [Phoenix]. Lahore: Punjabi Adabi Markaz.
- Kahut, Chaudhry N. (1992). *Avo! Punjabi Nun Katal Kariye?* [Come Let Us Murder Punjabi]. Karachi: Waris Shah.
- Kammi, Saeed F. (1988). *Punjabi Zaban Naheen Mare Gi* [The Punjabi Language Will Not Die]. Jhelum: Majidiya Maktab.
- Khurshid, Abdussalam (1986). Punjabi Sahafut: Farsi Lippi Wich [Punjabi Journalism in the Persian Script]. In *A'almi Punjabi Conference 1986*, Iqbal Qaisar and Jamil A. Pal (eds.), 381-385. Lahore: Classic.
- Lahran XXX (1991).
- Malik, Fateh M. (1988). *Punjabi Identity*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel.
- Malik, Naseer (1964). *Ravi Diyan Chalan: Government College De Likhari 1914-1964* [The Waves of Ravi: The Writers of Government College]. Lahore: Government College.
- Malik, Rahat (1969). The new education policy. *Punjabi Times*, 7 August.
- Malik, Shahbaz (1985). *Goer: Khoj te Prakh* [Estimates, Research and Evaluation]. Lahore: Taj Book Depot.
- Mansoor, Sabiha (1992). Explorations of the linguistic attitudes of Pakistani students. Unpublished M. (TEFL) dissertation, University of Reading.
- Memorandum (1969). Memorandum on the new education policy. *Punjabi Adab* 10 (9) (September).
- Mirza, Shafquat T. (1969). Nayi Taleemi Policy: Punjab aur Punjabi [The new educational policy: Punjab and Punjabi]. *Punjabi Adab* 19 (September), 46-53.
- (1985). Privation and deprivation. *Viewpoint*, 15 August.
- Naqvi, Aftab (1986). Speech in the Punjabi Conference, 1986. In *A'almi Punjabi Conference 1986*, Iqbal Qaisar and Jamil A. Pal (eds.), 116-120. Lahore: Classic.
- N.E.P. (1969). *New Education Policy: Proposals* Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- (1970). *New Education Policy*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.
- Qaisar, Iqbal (1992). *Ratan Huyian Vadyan* [The Nights Got Longer]. Lahore: Ravel.
- ; and Pal, Jamil A. (eds.) (1988). *A'almi Punjabi Conference 1986* [World Punjabi Conference, 1986]. Lahore: Classic.
- Qasmi, Ataul Haq (1986). Punjabi Conference aur Porus Ke Hathi. *Nawae Waqt* [Urdu daily from Lahore], 15 May.
- Rahman, Aatur (1986). Lahore Mein Pahli Almi Conference [The First World Conference in Lahore]. *Nawae Waqt*, 1 May.
- Ramay, Hanif (1985). *Punjab Ka Muqaddama*. Lahore: Jang.
- Robinson, Francis (1977). Nation formation: the Brass thesis and Muslim separation. *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics* 15, 215-230.
- Salahuddin, I. (ed.) (1973). *Lalan di Pand* [Treasure of Gems]. Lahore: Aziz Book Depot.
- Salik, Abdul M. (1956). Khutba-e-Sadarat [Presidential Address]. *Punjabi* (May), 4-8.
- Saqib, Maqsood (1986). Punjabi Zaban di Rah Diyan Okran [Impediments in the Way of Punjabi]. In *A'almi Punjabi Conference 1986*, Iqbal Qaisar and Jamil A. Pal (eds.), 121-127. Lahore: Classic.

- Shackle, Christopher (1970). Punjabi in Lahore. *Modern Asian Studies* 4 (3), 239–267.
- (1985). Language, dialect and local identity in northern Pakistan. In *Pakistan in the '80's*, W.P. Zingel and S.Z.A. Lallement (eds.), 311–333. Lahore: Vanguard.
- Shah, Bulleh (pseud) (1986). The World Punjabi Conference. *DAWN*, 22 June.
- Sheikh, Naseer A. (1986). Speech in the Punjabi Conference. In *A'almi Punjabi Conference 1986*, Iqbal Qaisar and Jamil A. Pal (eds.), 24–26. Lahore: Classic.
- Shils, E. (1957). Primordial, personal, sacred and civil ties. *British Journal of Sociology* 8, 130–145.
- Skinner, Quentin (1974). Some problems in the analysis of political thought and action. *Political Theory* 2(3) (August), 277–303.
- Tarar, Feroze (1969). Naveen Taleemi Policy te Madri Zaban [The new educational policy and the mother tongue]. *Punjabi Adab* 10(9) (September), 31–35.
- Umar, Badruddin (1977). *Language Movement and Contemporary Politics* [Bengali], 2 vols. Dhaka: Moula Brothers.
- Wilson, J. (1894). Note on primary education in the Punjab and the teaching of Punjabi in the roman character. In *Development of Urdu as Official Language in the Punjab 1948–1974*, Nazir A. Chaudhry, 169–177. Lahore: Government of the Punjab.
- Yar, Mehram (1963). Adabi Sargarmian [Literary Activities]. *Punjabi Adab* (July), 49–54.
- Young, F. (1970). Reactive subsystems. *American Sociological Review* 35, 297–307.
- Zeno (Safdar Mir) (1969). Urdu and Punjabi. *Punjabi Adab* 10(9) (September). (Originally published in *Pakistan Times*, 9 August 1969.)
- (1986). Punjab: a sense of distinct identity. *Punjabi Times*, 15 July.
- Zingel, W.P.; and Lallement, S.Z.A. (1985). *Pakistan in the 80's: Ideology, Economy, Foreign Policy*. Lahore: Vanguard.

Abstract

In the past few years the countries of the rapid changes in both the political and economic the totalitarian regime and consequent and increased nationalism have had significant linguistic transformations. This article examines nominal forms of address in Russian and Urdu. A comparative analysis. The main feature is the grammatical form 'comrade' with the original, political address. This substitution occurred very rapidly and will take some time before the changes are complete. Speakers need time for psychological adaptation.

1. Introduction

Rarely has the present-day sociolinguist witnessed such a linguistic upheaval as that which has occurred in Europe. The demise of communism has brought about certain linguistic norms that had been in vogue for a long time the various communist regimes had established firmly in their respective countries.

The present study of address forms is based on the patterns of address in Russian and Ukrainian. The main patterns can be pointed out: the Russian (hereafter abbreviated to FN) and the Ukrainian (hereafter abbreviated to TLN). The exchange of titles with the last names is a common pattern in which one person may use FN and the other TLN. Forms of address (A) and (B) units, both words and phrases, used in