

Chapter 7

A Historical view of Sindhi Language

Any historical view can be contested by opponents who fear undermining of their position. Even if not that, there are other problems. The evidence of the available interpretations of the decreasing historical records as we move back in history has to be re-interpreted for any new viewpoint. In doing this one may not come across some good evidence. Therefore one should keep one's options open which means that even if we are not precise or even wrong somewhere in specifics, it should not alter our course and its general direction. In this case our general direction is determined by the interests of the Sindhi people and therefore of the Sindhi language, remaining overall within the right behaviour and civilizational framework. Therefore, so far, what was possible is being put in front of the reader keeping the possibility open for any new evidence and correcting any error if it came or brought to my notice.

A view from India

A view of Sindhi language from an Indian source [1] goes like this:

Sindhi is the language of the Sindh region of Pakistan. It is spoken by approximately 18 million people in Pakistan, making it the third most spoken language of Pakistan and the official language of Sindh in Pakistan. It is also spoken in India and has also been made an official language of India. It is an Indo-Aryan language of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. Sindhi and Urdu are the two languages in which the government of Pakistan issues national identity cards to its citizens.

Sindhi is taught as a first language in the schools of Sindh and as a second language in Balochistan in Pakistan. In India, especially in the states of Maharashtra & Gujarat, Sindhi is either taught as the medium of instruction or as a subject by many educational institutions managed by Sindhi community. Due to its vast vocabulary, it is a favourite of many writers and therefore, much literature and poetry have been written in Sindhi. Southern Punjab, Balochistan, Northwest province of Pakistan (NWFP), Gujarat and Rajasthan are the places where dialects of Sindhi are spoken.

History

Sindhi was a very popular literary language between the 14th and 18th centuries. The ancestor of Sindhi was an Apabhramsha Prakrit, named 'Vrachada'. Abu-Rayhan Biruni in his book 'Mal al-Hind' had declared that even before the advent

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of Islam in Sindh, the language was common in the region. It was not only widely spoken, but also written in three different scripts. Ardhanagari, Saindhu and Malwari, all variations of Devanagari were the three different scripts in which it was written. During the British period Devanagari, Modi or Vanika scripts, without any vowels were used by the traders and common people including Khojas and Memons for writing Sindhi, whereas government employees used some kind of Arabic script.

Writing System

The Sindhi Hindus followed Devanagari script for writing the language (which they do even today). However, a modified Arabic script was produced with the Arab invasion of Sindh and the conversion of most Sindhis to Islam. The government of India introduced Devanagari, alongside the official Arabic script, for writing Sindhi after the independence of both Pakistan and India from British rule. Given below are the two most common scripts used for Sindhi language.

- **Arabic Script:** Sindhi is written in a variant of the Persian alphabet in Pakistan. This was adopted under the support of the British, when Sindh fell to them in the 19th century. It has a total of 52 letters. Some letters that are distinguished in Arabic or Persian are homophones in Sindhi
- **Devanagari Script:** In India, the Devanagari script is used to write Sindhi. In 1948, the government of India re-introduced it. However, it did not gain full acceptance that is the reason both the Sindhi-Arabic and Devanagari scripts are used. To mark implosive consonants diacritical bars below the letter are used. The dots known as nukta are used to form other additional consonants.

[1] <http://languages.iloveindia.com/sindhi.html>

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It is really interesting to be informed that ‘Sindhi and Urdu are the two languages in which the government of Pakistan issues national identity cards to its citizens.’ This leads me to try to explain an irony relating to our linguistic situation generally but particularly for Punjabi. On top of that, consider my situation when I have already found that what they call ‘Urdu’ is not a language but Hindi in Persian script. Further, I am addressing, in particular, Pakistanis who have been totally disoriented by the ‘Urdu Party’.

Anyhow, when they say that ‘Sindhi and Urdu are the two languages in which the government of Pakistan issues national identity cards to its citizens’; it must have been considered a plus point for Sindhi. And I believe Sindhis must be feeling that

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way generally. Imagine the legitimacy attained by a ‘non-language’, a fake, a deception – Urdu. This is the historical process which cannot be turned off instantaneously.

And to undo a wrong, it seems obvious that it must be understood rightly. But then, historical process has not been necessarily to reject a wrong after understanding it. Any wrong has a life span. If not challenged and defeated when it is young and energetic, it weakens with time, becoming more and more irrelevant to the new realities and withers away with time leaving its imprints here and there. In other words, history finds its own solution to problems created by men and women which remain normally unsolved by humanity. It seems history has been treating the problem of what they call Urdu in this manner. And here right now, I am trying to give it the final push to its grave in a deliberate and calculated move. And to say that, I am in the service of History, Truth and Civilisation at the right time and at the right place. And that has taken a life time’s effort, indeed.

Anyhow, what is the irony? Suppose, I write ‘Lahore’ in what they call ‘Urdu’. Then I write ‘Lahore’ in Punjabi. As Punjabi has two scripts, Shahmukhi and Gurmukhi, one may ask, in which script? Now on one play card is written Lahore in ‘Urdu’ and on another in Shahmukhi Punjabi. Showing these two play cards to anyone one by one, say, in Lahore and if asked ‘which language is this’? The answer in both cases would be without hesitation, ‘Urdu’.

And if you write ‘Lahore’ in Gurmukhi Punjabi and ask anyone in Lahore as to which language is this, the answer would be ‘Hindi’ but some might not be very definite. History has alienated Muslim Punjab from itself to such an extent that apparently it is unbelievable. And the forces which caused this alienation are right now on the centre stage of Muslim Punjab and Pakistan.

When Muslim Punjab comes out of this alienation, they will find that all identity cards issued in Pakistan if not in Sindhi are in Shahmukhi Punjabi. Name anything or anyone in Pakistan and write it. For anybody, it is written in Urdu, but if we write it in Punjabi, will it not be the same? The question is of claiming or not claiming our heritage. Punjab has yet to claim itself! Punjab has yet to claim Pakistan. Punjab has yet to claim its history as its own history. And this is true for all of Pakistan too – be it Sindh, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Kashmir or Baluchistan. Pushing fake claimants out, Pakistan has yet to claim itself.

Scripts of Sindhi language

First about the scripts of Sindhi language as far as possible to know. The present script of the language is not very old as it was introduced by the British who conquered Sindh in 1839 about a decade before they became masters of Punjab in 1849 thus bringing whole of Hindustan under their control.

Let us try to have an overall historical view of the Sindhi language and its scripts. It should be understood that History is an imperfect knowledge. But then whatever is available can help us to see rightly in the future.

One narrative

To the question: ‘What is the original script of the Sindhi language: Devanagari or Arabic’, Arvind Iyengar, a ‘Professional Student in Linguistics’ as he introduces himself writes (Feb 19, 2015):

Today we write Sindhi in Arabic script, but is it true that the original script of Sindhi is Devanagari? The short answer is: There is no clear answer to this question. The answer to your question also depends on when you think the Sindhi language came into being, since languages change at a rapid rate. The language of Shāh ‘Abdul Latīf Bhitṭāī (1689 - 1752 AD), the ‘national poet’ of Sindh, might be quite difficult to understand for a speaker of modern Sindhi. Therefore, can Shāh Latīf’s language be considered Sindhi?

That said, those driven by linguistic pride often claim (usually without proof) that the yet unknown language of the Indus Valley Civilisation was actually Sindhi, and therefore, the script used on the Indus Valley seals must be the original Sindhi script (even though no one knows what the symbols mean). On similar lines, there might be those who claim that (depending on their ideology) either Arabic or Devanāgarī is the original script of Sindhi, again usually without proof. A Sindhi translation of the Qur’ān and of the Mahābhārata are believed to have existed as far back as the 11th century (assuming of course that one can safely call this language Sindhi). Whether these were written in a Brāhmī-based script or an Arabic-based script is not clearly known (Brāhmī is the ancestor of the modern Devanāgarī script).

By the early 1800s, it has been attested by several authors, both Indian and European, that there were **several different scripts in use for Sindhi**, including Haṭavāṇikā (or Khudābādī), Gurmukhī and of course Devanāgarī and Arabic. Usage of a script during this era usually depended on the religion, profession and/or ideological disposition of the user: Muslims might have been predisposed towards the Arabic script;

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Hindus (Sindhī Nānakpanthīs) towards Gurmukhī or Devanāgarī; Sindhī traders (Bhāibands and Shikārpurīs) towards Ḥaṭavāṇikā, since this script did not mark vowels clearly and was near-illegible to most people except the writer; this script was therefore used to maintain accounts and keep them cryptic!

The British invaded and captured Sindh from the ruling Ṭālpur clan in 1843, and in 1853, decided to use a modified version of the Arabic script for Sindhī, since the majority population of Sindh was Muslim. This modified 52-letter Arabic script is still the official script for Sindhī in Pakistan and India. In India, the government declared Devan āgarī a co-official script for the language in 1950. [2]

[2] <https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-original-script-of-the-Sindhi-language-Devanagari-or-Arabic>

Another narrative

What was the original script of Sindhi? It was written in more than eight different scripts. Even 300 years after the Arab conquest, at the time of Mahmud Ghaznavi, Al-Biruni, the historian, found three scripts current --- all variations of Devanagari. When the British arrived, they found the Pandits writing Sindhi in Devanagari. Traders including Khojas and Memons were using a variety of "Modi" or "Vanika" scripts, without any vowels. Hindu women were using Gurmukhi and government employees, some kind of Arabic script. British scholars found the language Sanskritic and said that the Devanagari script would be right for it. In 1849 they produced an English-Sindhi dictionary in Devanagari. A year later they translated the Bible in Sindhi, again in the Devanagari script. Government servants, many of whom were Hindus, favoured the Arabic script, since they did not know Devanagari, and had to learn it anew. A big debate started, with Capt. Burton favouring the Arabic script and Capt. Stack favouring Devanagari. Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sindh, referred the matter to the Court of Directors of the British East India Company, which favoured Arabic on the ground that Muslim names could not be written in Devanagari. Sir Richard Burton, an orientalist, with the help of local scholars Munshi Thanwardas and Mirza Sadiq Ali Beg evolved a 52-letter Sindhi alphabet. Since the Arabic script could not express many Sindhi sounds, a scheme of dots was worked out for the purpose. As a result, the Sindhi script today not only has all its own sounds, but also all the four Z's of Arabic. [3]

[3] <http://www.sindhilanguage.com/script.html> (not available during revision 2-8-2017)

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In the narrative above the reference that "Hindu women were using Gurmukhi" needs investigation. I have come across similar statements elsewhere also. Why this mention, particularly, of women only with Gurmukhi? Another example is the following evidence of a family of Sindhi Hindus who left Sindh after Partition. A grand-daughter is quoted by the author as telling about her home and grandmother when she was a child and they were in Hyderabad, Sindh before Partition:

The only religious picture we had in our home was one of Guru Nanak. There was a *gurdwara*, that we called *tikano*, very close to our home. *Tikano* is a Sindhi word which refers to a place where you sit. We had two huge copies of the Ramayana and Mahabharata in Sindhi and were expected to read them. Our prayers were the *Sukhmani* and *Japsahib* from the Guru Granth Sahib. We had to say the *Japsahib* every morning before breakfast but I don't remember it now. After Partition we stopped doing this but in Hyderabad, we would get breakfast only after reciting it all. ... We carried the buckets into the bathroom for our baths but the babies and infants were bathed in the *angan*. As she bathed me, my grandmother would repeat, "Wahe Guru, Wahe Guru" over and over, smiling at me. She repeated this *japa*, saying it to herself when she worked or sat by herself. ... Many of us Sindhis are part Sikh and our prayers come from the Guru Granth Sahib. Even when we call Hindu priests for rituals, we often keep the Guru Granth too. ... My mother used to tell us that ... had arranged a teacher to come and teach her Sindhi. So, although she had never been to school, she could read and write both Sindhi and Gurmukhi, which she had learnt in her parents' home. [4]

[4] [Sindh: Stories from a lost homeland, by Saaz Aggarwal, Oxford University Press, 2013; pages 42-45.]

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One more narrative

Another narrative about the script of Sindhi goes like this:

Sindhi is one of the oldest languages of India. Indeed, the first language Muslims (Arabs) came in contact with when they entered India was Sindhi. There is evidence that there was a 'Sindhized Arabic script' in Sind in 1020-1030 AD when al-Beruni was in India. The Hindus, especially business people, used derivatives of the Brahmi script. ... Richard Burton, the first Englishman to write a report on education in Sind, says: "He [a boy pupil] probably is nine years old before he proceeds to the next step— the systematic study of his mother tongue, the Sindhi. The course is as follows: The Nur-nama, Tafsir, and Tales in verse and prose such as the adventures of Saiful, Laili-Majano, etc." From the age of nine till the age of 12 or 13, roughly about four years, the student read these works in his mother

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tongue. It was only then that he started studying Persian. In the rest of India, as we know already, Persian began from infancy though there too the teachers had to explain the basic vocabulary and the art of spelling and writing informally through the mother tongue. The place of honour was, of course, reserved for Persian. Thus, besides the Muslims, the Hindu Amils (so called because as a class they were employed in secretarial work - mam) who aspired to bureaucratic jobs under the rulers of Sind, also learned Persian. This state of affairs changed when the British took Persian down from its high pedestal and put English in its place (this had been done by the British in 1837 before they had conquered Sindh in 1843 - mam). But for lower jobs in the domains of power, the British chose Sindhi in the Arabic script. [5]

[5] Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh and Sindhi, by Tariq Rahman.

<http://www.worldsindhi.org/publishedreports/reports/tariqrahman.pdf> (not available during revision July 2017)

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Above it has been mentioned about the debate between Capt. Burton favouring the Arabic script and Capt. Stack favouring Devanagari script. And Sir Bartle Frere, the Commissioner of Sindh, referring the matter to the Court of Directors of the British East India Company, in London, which favoured Arabic script on the ground that Muslim names could not be written in Devanagari – an unsustainable argument. It means that at that time, Devanagari script could have been adopted for Sindhi language. As this decision was made by the British authorities, it was a political rather than a linguistic decision. The idea was to make Muslims happy and attract them towards British. Connect this decision with the partition of Bengal in 1905, imposition of Urdu in the Punjab after they conquered it during 1945-49 and their preference of Urdu over Hindi. It was the continuity of the culture of this British-Muslim relationship that Jinnah told Bengalis in Dhaka on 21 march 1948: “Let me make it quite clear to you that Urdu and no other language will be the state language of Pakistan”. Any leader of this region who really have sympathies with the people has to understand these events of history. To be ignorant of history or to sit on the events which were made by others manipulating us and doing politics is nothing but disservice to the people. Anyhow, the ‘Ground was now laid for adopting Sindhi as a medium of instruction in schools. For the Sindhi Hindus, schools were established in which Sindhi written in the khudawadi script was taught. But this script did not prosper because jobs came only by the knowledge of the Arabic Sindhi script. This policy continued undisturbed throughout the nineteenth century and a modern literature as well as journalism started flourishing in Sindhi. In this way, Sindhi became the only indigenous language which was taught officially by the British at various levels of education. But after the influx of Urdu-speaking Mohajirs to Sindh in 1947, the teaching of Sindhi has become

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an ethnic, identity symbol for the Sindhis. Thus, it is promoted by the Sindhis and resisted by the Mohajirs.’ [6]

[6] <http://www.worldsindhi.org/publishedreports/reports/tariqrahman.pdf> (not available during revision July 2017)

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Urdu Party mind fundamentally flawed

An ideologue of Urdu in Pakistan Dr. Tariq Rahman cannot be expected to sing songs for Punjabi or other languages but at the same time he cannot say anything bad about the real languages of Pakistan, be it Punjabi or Sindhi. And to be recognized as a scholar of languages, one has to undertake research work. And no one can stuff a research work entirely with falsehood. One must provide facts, look genuinely fair-minded and analytical. Therefore, to be creditable even to an ordinary eye, a research work must have correct data and information. But the narrative will ultimately be bent to satisfy the already held views rather prejudices of the author.

Under the title of ‘The Death of a Language’, if he brings Punjabi, laments about its condition, paints a picture of hopelessness, and at the end recommends even more space for Urdu and English in Pakistan, his undermining of Sindhi hardly needs any proof. He writes:

A tribe called Badeshi lives in Bishigram valley (Madyan, Swat area). All the accounts by linguists used to report that they speak a language called Badeshi which was said to be a variety of the Persian of Badakhshan. Once upon a time they come from Badakhshan and must have spoken the language but now it is dead. The tribe, numbering around 600-700, speak Torwali in Bishigram. This report, recording the death of a language, was given to me by Dr. Johann Baart of the Summer School of linguistics which has done more work to record the languages of Pakistan than any other institution in this country. Dr Baart, who is leaving the country after thirteen years of dedicated linguistic research here, has done us linguists a great favour by getting this survey completed before his departure. The report, brief as it is, set me thinking. It also made me sad. ... As it is we tend to marginalize Punjabi by being ashamed of it. We even call it the language of the rustics washing our urban hands off it. Punjabi is, indeed, the biggest language of Pakistan so its spoken form is not threatened. But the written form is almost dead. **(He does not mention the Punjabi in Indian Punjab, where Punjabi is the official language. – mam)** Only some writers and activists keep the literary language alive. But the Punjabi middle and upper classes have given up. If Punjabi is to be given life this is the time to teach it in all schools to all children in the

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Punjab. And why stop at Punjabi? We are rich in languages. Let us treat them as cultural assets and not liabilities. As it is, the forces of globalization and modernity are killing the languages of the world at a very fast pace. Let us, at least, change our language policy so as to add English and Urdu to our repertoire (a complete list of skills used in a particular field - mam) of linguistic skills without destroying our mother-tongues, our authentic selves, our culture and our identity. [7]

[7] [Dr. Tariq Rahman: The Death of a Language: 2004:
http://www.fli-online.org/documents/sociolinguistics/death_of_a_language.htm]

An advocate of Urdu in Pakistan cannot honestly advocate Sindhi, Punjabi or any real language of Pakistan. Because if these languages are to get their place, which they will, Urdu has to go. Therefore what they advocate is subordinate cultural presence of these languages while Urdu reigns supreme. Urdu Party never produced wise men. If they looked wise and civilized, it was within some narrow and restricted frame, not in the civilizational sense. Therefore, it would be appropriate to go head on into what they write about Sindhi and make bare the artificiality and superficiality of their good words for Sindhi. In light of such observations and considerations, therefore, below some parts of Dr. Tariq Rahman's 'The Sindhi Language Movement' [8] and 'The Case of Sindh and Sindhis' [9] are discussed.

[8] http://www.tariqrahman.net/content/scholarly_articles/sindhi_lang_mov.pdf

(not available during revision July 2017)

[9] <http://www.apnaorg.com/research-papers-pdf/rahman-3.pdf>

(Tariq Rahman: Language, Politics and Power in Pakistan: The Case of Sindh and Sindhi)

The Sindhi Language Movement

British Policy towards Sindhi

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Sindh was conquered by Sir Charles Napier in 1843. At this time the Baloch tribe of Talpurs, who had seized power from the Kalhoras in 1783, used Persian as the court language, though this Persian had Sindhi words in it. Sindhi was also taught in some schools but, according to B. H. Ellis, Assistant Commissioner in Sindh in the 1850s, this was ‘HindooSindee, written in the Khudawadee and other varieties of the Sindee character’. Most Muslims as well as Hindu (clerks) who functioned as bureaucrats under the Muslim rulers studied in schools where Arabic and Persian were taught. However, according to Lieutenant (later Sir) Richard Burton (1821-1890), at that time a military officer and spy in Sindh, even in these Perso-Arabic schools the pupil ‘is nine years old before he proceeds to the next step—the systematic study of his mother tongue, the Sindhi’. This, it should be pointed out, was a departure from Muslim educational practices in the rest of South Asia where the mother tongue was not taught. Thus, besides numerous poetical and religious works in Sindhi, there were also textbooks in the language, such as the seventeenth century work called *Abul Hasan Jo Sindhi*, even before the British conquest.

In 1847, R. K. Pringle, Commissioner of Sindh, submitted a report on the language situation in Sindh to George Russell Clerk, Governor of Bombay, suggesting that education may be encouraged. It may also be for consideration whether the vernacular language of the people may not with advantage be introduced in business; but I have not yet had an opportunity of ascertaining its capabilities for this purpose.

Most British officers favoured the use of the vernacular language at the lower levels and Sir George Clerk wrote in his Minute of 24 April 1848: We should introduce the language of the country (namely, Sindhee) as the medium of official intercourse. I do not see in what way our revenue and judicial officers (however their offices and courts may be constituted) can work effectually through a foreign medium of communication, such as Persian or English.

The Bombay Government finally issued a circular (6 September 1851) requiring all officers to undergo an examination ‘to test their proficiency in a colloquial knowledge of Sindhee’.

Controversy over the Script

The major controversy between the British officers concerned the script. Burton was in favour of the Arabic script as, in his opinion, the eight orthographic systems of the Hindus were ‘equally useless’, for ‘want of a sufficient number of vowel signs’. The Arabic naskh was preferable because: 1st. That all the literature of the country has been for ages written in this hand. 2nd. All educated Muslims are able to read it and most of them to write it. 3rd. Although the Hindoo Amils throughout Sindh are at present unable to read it, their knowledge of the Nastaliq or Persian

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hand would render the difficulty of learning it nugatory. Captain George Stack, the only other authority on the Sindhi language, advocated the cause of the Hindu khudawadi script which had the merit of being indigenous. Stack also modified the proposed script and R. K. Pringle favoured this modified form of khudawadi. The Governor of Bombay, Lord Falkland, also agreed with the use of this script because of its indigenoussness, although he did point out that it was not well known.

A number of British officers had, indeed, pointed out the same difficulty in response to questions addressed to them by the Commissioner in 1847. Thus, the Court of Directors of the Company decided in favour of the Arabic script through Resolution No. 48 of 1852. This decision was political in that it was meant to conciliate the Muslim majority of Sindh so that it would not oppose the British government.

Once the choice of naskh was made, it was necessary to agree on orthographic symbols. Up to that period, writers had used different symbols, especially for sounds that were not common between Arabic and Sindhi. The government now appointed a committee, headed by the Deputy Commissioner of Sindh, B. H. Ellis, to agree on the graphemes of Sindhi. The Committee had five Muslims and four Hindus and they agreed on 52 graphemes of Sindhi orthography and ‘a sheet containing the alphabet revised was published in July 1853’. It should be emphasized here that, contrary to popular opinion in Pakistan, the Sindhi alphabet was not invented by the Committee but only standardized by it.

British Political Considerations

Apart from fleeting references to Muslim opinion in Burton’s writings and elsewhere, there is no direct documentary evidence that the conciliation of Muslims through the choice of naskh was an objective of British language planners. However, conciliation was a general policy and there is no reason why it should not have influenced the choice of the script in Sindh. Moreover, Ellis showed a keen understanding of the Hindu-Muslim antagonism in Sindh and writes in his report: there can be no doubt but that this, or any other character in ordinary use by Mussalmans, will not be adopted by the Hindoo community. While the great majority of the population of Sindh consists of Mahomedans, it is imperative on us that we should not deter them (the Hindoos) from entering the public service, and debar them from the means of instruction in their own language, by the universal adoption of a Hindoo-Sindee character, which Mussalmans would never adopt; yet the Hindoos are a sufficiently numerous and influential community to demand that their interests should not be overlooked.

The point that the Muslim interest was secured first—as they were more numerous and prosperous than the Hindus—is implied here. Direct evidence that the Muslims were conciliated comes from other matters such as the distribution of jobs. The

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following letter of H. B. E. Frere, the Commissioner of Sindh, to the Acting Collector of Hyderabad, states: I have the opportunity of begging your attention to the great preponderance of Hindoos in all offices except that of Kardar, to an extent that shows that in a very few years there will be none but Hindoos in the district offices. This is a result by no means desirable, and there can be but little difficulty in averting it; at towns like Tatta [sic] there are numbers of well-educated Mahomedans capable of and anxious for employment as Government servants, and where proper care has been taken I have found a fair proportion in comparatively subordinate positions.

The Arabic Sindhi script was adopted in the same spirit, although the Hindu script was also used in order to win over the Sindhi Hindus to British rule.

The Hindu Sindhi script was recommended by Englishmen like B. Ellis and Sir Bartle Frere, who felt that alienating the Hindus would not be conducive to the consolidation of British rule in Sindh. According to the Education Commission of 1882, the ‘Hindus held aloof from the Government school, because it taught Sindhi through the Arabic character’. Sir Bartle Frere had a standard alphabet prepared from Hindu orthographic symbols in 1856, but it was not introduced immediately.

The moving spirit behind the efforts to spread the use of Hindu Sindhi was Narayan Jaganath Mehta, ‘a Deccani Brahmin gentleman whom the Bombay government appointed to be Deputy Educational Inspector in Sindh’. Mehta’s reasons were probably nationalistic—the Hindu script was a symbol of the Hindu identity for him—and it was among identity-conscious Hindus that the script became popular when it was introduced in 1868. However, once this grievance of the Hindus was removed, they turned their attention to Arabic Sindhi which, being used for employment widely in Sindh, was less ghettoizing than Hindu Sindhi.

In any case, as many British officers reported, Hindu Sindhi and even the Devanagari script ‘itself [was] one may say, quite unknown to the natives of Sindh’. Frere felt that the Devanagari ‘character is better known than Dunsterville allowed’, but recommended the publication of a dictionary in Arabic Sindhi. Thus, despite all efforts at promoting Hindu Sindhi, Fultun, an Educational Inspector, reported a falling off in the study of this script between 1875 and 1877. Political expediency prevailed and the Education Commission reported that it had not been given up ‘as it is believed to be a concession to Hindu sentiment, which may one day attain its purpose’. However, in 1881 Dayaram Gidumal, an Assistant Collector in Sindh also recommended its abolition. This was supported by Giles, the Commissioner, and ‘official support was withdrawn and the script soon died a natural death when it ceased to be pushed by government agency’.

The Muslims saw Hindu Sindhi as a British-Hindu conspiracy, and even recent reports assert that the idea behind Hindu Sindhi was to cut off the Muslims from

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the adjoining Muslim civilizations using Arabic- based scripts (Barelvi 1987: 35). It was, however, an attempt to promote Hindu culture by people for whom, according to Dow, ‘any sign of the predominance of Muslim culture was anathema’ (1976: 56).

The conclusion which one reaches after a study of British efforts at promoting Sindhi, in both the Arabic and the Hindu scripts, is that this was a way of conciliating public opinion in Sindh and thus consolidating the empire.

Muslim Attitude towards Sindhi in Pre-Partition Days

One of the demands of the Muslims of British India, also included by M. A. Jinnah in his fourteen points, was the separation of Sindh from the Bombay presidency so as to create another Muslim majority province in western India. Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, a representative of Sindhi Muslims, pointed out at the Indian Round Table Conference (12 November 1930 – 19 January 1931), that Sindh ‘is racially, geographically and linguistically a separate province’ from Bombay. Coming to the question of the Sindhi language, he said: I come to the Director of Public Instruction . . . Does he know Sindhi? Even some of my Inspectors of Education do not know Sindhi, the language of the place, though most of the Civilians are required to pass the examination.

During a debate in the Sindh Legislative Assembly, Pir Ilahi Bakhsh complained that ‘Every Sindhi who goes to the Bombay University complains that he is not being heard’, and argued that Sindh should have a separate university. This university, according to Ghulam Murtaza Syed, who was then a member of the Sindh Legislature and was later to become the leader of the Sindhi ethno-nationalist movement, was for the following purpose: We wanted to get rid of the intellectual dominance of the Bombay university and with a view to achieving that aim, and creating such an atmosphere under which the cultural homogeneity of the province might be maintained and developed, we appointed a Committee to investigate the possibility of establishing a university of Sindhi language whereby the literary talent in the province might be encouraged and properly guided.

In short, the Muslims emphasized the distinctiveness of Sindhi culture from that of Bombay—language being a major determiner of this distinction—in order to create a separate Muslim majority province. **(If before 1947 Sindhi was so important, what happened after 1947? It only means that Muslim League was opportunistic on the issue of Sindhi otherwise after 1947 Sindhi would not have been pushed back and shattered by the same community who was in the forefront of the Muslim League. - mam)** However, Dr Moonje, a Hindu leader, argued that language could not be a basis of separation because, if that were admitted, then in principle, the Bombay presidency alone would have to be split up into Gujrati, Marathi, Karnatki, and other linguistic administrative units.

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However, the Sub-Committee on Sind, of which Jinnah was a member, recommended that ‘the social and linguistic differences between the inhabitants of Sind and those of the Presidency of Bombay proper’ provided an impressive case to separate Sindh from Bombay.

Muslim politicians prevailed and Sindh became a province in its own right in 1936. Sindhi was now the major language of basic schooling in the province. **(Muslim politicians did not prevail. They were made to prevail by the British. It was the overall policy of the British. It is unethical to discuss Sindh without overall British-Muslim and British-Congress relationships. - mam)** According to the annual report on public instruction (1939-40), this was a sound step. The report said: The results after the adoption of this medium [mother tongue] are distinctly better. This in itself shows that the step taken is psychologically sound and is on the whole natural.

The provincial government also outlined the steps it had taken to promote Sindhi. These included the compilation of a dictionary along the lines of the Oxford English Dictionary and the creation of scientific terms. The Sind University Act also was debated again and again in the Legislative Assembly.

Sindhi was also the language of official correspondence and records at the lower level. There was, indeed, an office of a Sindhi Translator ‘so that circulars, Laws and Acts issued in English could simultaneously be translated into Sindhi’. According to N. A. Baloch, as many as 734 laws were translated into Sindhi, of which the Indian Contract Act of 1872 was an early example. The Sindhi Press too was flourishing and there were 87 Sindhi newspapers—not counting Hindu Sindhi, English, and Urdu Sindhi ones—in the province.

Hindus, despite being Sindhis, tended to identify with Hindi. The provincial government, which was Muslim-dominated, had ceased to recognize Hindi as a language for primary education on 25 November 1931, though Urdu was recognized as one. Sindhi thus became the dominant language of schools and even Gujrati, Marathi, and Urdu schools had to teach it after 1942. The antagonism between Hindus and Muslims also extended to other dimensions, the most important being political. G. M. Syed complained that ‘The Hindus who formed 27% of the population were given 40% representation in the Sind Legislative Assembly’*. They also dominated business and commerce and formed a majority of the population of Karachi. However, on the eve of Partition, when Sindh had a Muslim government, Durgadas B. Adwani wrote a letter to M. A. Jinnah (23 June 1947), complaining against the Sindh University Act and the conduct of the Education Minister, who was alleged to have shut out even first class Hindu students from the Government Medical College, and declared ‘that Urdu shall be the medium of instruction in the Sindh University’. As in the rest of India, Urdu was a Muslim identity symbol to confront Hindus. But, whatever members of the

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2Sindh government might have said in their battle against their Hindu opponents, they did not make Sindhi subservient to Urdu.

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*Under the Communal Award 1932 for India by the British Muslims were allocated the following percentage of seats (population percentage in brackets) in various provincial legislatures on the basis of separate electorates: Punjab 49 (57); Bengal 48 (55); **Sindh 57 (71)**; North-West Frontier Province 72 (92); Assam 31(34); United Provinces 29 (15); Bihar and Orissa 24 (11); Bombay 17 (9); Madras 13 (8); Central Provinces 14 (5). [10] P. 26

[10] The Emergence of Pakistan by Chaudhri Muhammad Ali 1967

For this award, the British had a precedent. Sixteen years prior to this something happened which is called 'Lucknow Pact' of 1916 between Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League for which Jinnah is given credit. In this pact the underlying formula of reducing seats of Muslim majority provinces and increasing of Muslim minority provinces was agreed. And Urdu Party mainly belonged to Muslim minority provinces. Therefore the complaint of G. M. Syed, if true is not justified as he himself was part of the process.

The dilemma, if understood rightly is: how to mourn the fact that Partition of India brought rivals of Sindhi language and Sindhi people into Sindh – Urdu and Urdu-speaking Mohajirs respectively? And Urdu came as conqueror and national language of the new State triumphantly standing on the chariot of the ideology of Pakistan. Did not the Partition of India defeated Sindhis and Sindhi language in their own home ground? The facts are irrefutable. The question today is: Remaining within the parameters of civilisation, how this defeat is to be turned into victory? And this is possible.

*

The Case of Sindh and Sindhis

Urdu-Sindhi Controversy before the Partition

The settled question of Sindhi script was not enough for the 'Urdu Army' in the U.P. which was fighting the Hindus for the supremacy of Urdu over Hindi. They wanted to impose Urdu on Sindh. And the British were sympathetic. This is how the writer depicts this:

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The Sindhi Muslims were backward in education especially the children of the feudal lords (the zamindars). To suggest measures to change this, a committee was appointed by the Bombay government. These were the days of the Urdu-Hindi controversy all over British India because of which Urdu had become associated with Muslims. **(It is simply dishonesty of the author to say that a committee was formed because Sindhi Muslims were backward in education when all over India there was Urdu- Hindi controversy. These matters have been thoroughly discussed in Part I: The Partition of Hindi Language. – mam)** Thus, to the members of the Commission, the teaching of Urdu was one way of satisfying the Muslims. Among these members Syed Shamsuddin Kadri was the only one who signed subject to his minute of dissent. The other five members, of whom there was no Sindhi Muslim, reached a consensus on the necessity of encouraging Urdu in Sind. The Committee, appointed in June 1913, submitted its report a year later. Among other things it recommended that: ‘The Committee is in favour of the experiment already initiated by Government of having all teaching in Urdu schools given through the medium of Urdu, the vernacular of the district being taught to those who wish to study it. The Committee thinks that this should apply to the whole presidency, the different Urdu standards being started simultaneously.’

The experiment alluded to in the report must have resulted in the printing of a large number of textbooks in Urdu because the report goes on to state: ‘The Committee is advised that adequate textbooks in Urdu exist, and that all the subjects can be taught through this medium at once, except the geography of the province, for which special translations may be required.’

The Committee emphasised Urdu in other ways too: it provided grants to encourage the production of literature in Urdu and suggested that statistics about the number of Urdu schools should be provided annually to the government of India. W H Sharp, the Director of Public Instruction who sent the report onwards to the Bombay authorities, noted that he was not convinced that it was either the desire of Muslims or in their interest to teach them only in Urdu. However, some of their representatives had urgently requested that texts should be prepared in Urdu and he had agreed to countenance the experiment. The report was then circulated to the district officers of Sind who further asked prominent Muslims for their opinion. Among others the Wazir of Khairpur state, Mahomed Ibrahim Shaikh Ismail, commented as follows: ‘... to adopt Urdu as the vernacular of the Mohamedan Community in the province, in my opinion, is not only unnecessary, but may be positively harmful. The conditions prevailing in this province are vastly different from those obtaining in the Presidency proper. The Sindhi language is as much the Vernacular of the Moslem Community as that of the Hindus of Sind; besides the Court language is also Sindhi. If Urdu is to be taught to them as compulsory language, instead of Sindhi, which is the language of the Province and the mother tongue of the Mohamedan Community, in the Primary and the Anglo

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Vernacular Schools, the Community will be forced to impart to their children education in two foreign languages, which to an ordinary scholar will appear a troublesome task to accomplish.’

Khan Bahadur Allahando Shah of Nawabshah also said the same (Letter of K B Syed Allahando Shah to the Collector of Nawabshah, 11 February 1915. English translation of the Sindhi letter in the Collector’s Letter to the Commissioner in Sind, 11 February 1915, No. 292). The district officers themselves also held similar views. At last the Commissioner sent the following views to the authorities in Bombay: ‘On one point there is entire unanimity of opinion, amongst officials and non-officials, namely on the necessity for the encouragement of Urdu in Sind; as Government are doubtless aware Urdu is not the mother tongue of the Sind Mahomedans; his vernacular is Sindhi and he would be much embarrassed if Urdu were forced upon him.’

The Commissioner also suggested that another committee—this time consisting mostly of Sindhi Muslims and Englishmen working in Sind—should be appointed ‘to consider for Sind the whole question of Mahomedan education.’ This committee was appointed in 1915 and submitted its report a year later. Among other things it recommended that the teaching of Persian and to a lesser extent Arabic, be encouraged but it decided not to take up the vexed question of Urdu again. As such Sindhi continued to be the medium of instruction at the school level as before.’

Sindhi Teaching in Pakistan

In independent Pakistan the only provinces in which the indigenous languages were the media of instruction in the non-elitist state schools were Bengal and Sind. In both, therefore, the resistance against perceived domination by the centre came to be expressed primarily through linguistic and cultural symbols. In Sind the feeling for Sindhi was high because it had already been part of the struggle against the administrative domination of Bombay. Although an administrative matter on the surface, the issue had the overtones (and hence the stridency) of a Hindu-Muslim conflict. The Muslim leaders wanted Sindh to be separated from the Bombay presidency on grounds of Sind being a separate entity, a cultural and linguistic whole with its distinct identity. The Hindus felt that this would create a Muslim majority province and, therefore, have the effect of increasing Muslim power at their expense. Sindhi was very much part of the struggle, the Muslims claiming that it gave Sind an identity distinct from Bombay while the Hindus said that this argument would sub-divide Bombay along other linguistic lines as well. Eventually the Muslims won and Sind became a separate province in 1930.

One of the consequences of this separation was the establishment of the University of Sind. Although the medium of instruction at the proposed university was not to

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be Sindhi, it was mentioned as an entity in need of development which only a university could do. Dr. Gurbakhshani wrote a note arguing: Sind is an old province, perhaps the most ancient in India. It has a history, traditions and a culture of its own. Its soil and stones could be compelled to reveal movements and geological formations of the hoary past. Its races and its language possess a distinct Oriental bias. All this remains unexplored and no attention paid to the systematic study of Arabic, Persian or Sindhi with all its philological wealth.

The University was established in 1946 in Karachi, only a year before the creation of Pakistan. Thus, on the eve of the partition, the position of Sindhi was strong. It was the medium of instruction in state schools; it was to be promoted by the university; it was a subject of study at various levels in educational institutions. Above all, and what made it popular, was the fact that at the lower level of the administration and the judiciary as well as in journalism, it was in demand. Thus someone who had acquired it could get jobs. This position was not enjoyed by any other language of (West) Pakistan at that time because neither Punjabi nor Pashto nor Balochi, the major languages of this area, were used in the domains of power at any level.

The coming in of the Urdu-speaking Mohajirs from India challenged this privileged position of Sindhi. According to the 1951 Census the Mohajirs constituted about 57% of the population of Karachi and dominated other Sindhi cities too: Hyderabad (66.08%); Sukkur (54.08%); Mirpurkhas (68.42%) and Nawabshah (54.79%). The consequences of this in linguistic, cultural and educational terms were profound. Above all, it meant that Sind was a divided province. Its cities were predominantly Urdu-speaking while its villages were Sindhi-speaking. This, in turn, implied that the Sindhis would be disadvantaged not only culturally and socially but also educationally and economically because they would have to compete with mother-tongue speakers of Urdu for jobs in the cities which would now be available at the lower level in Urdu and at the higher in English. The psychological trauma of this cannot be adequately comprehended by non-Sindhis. But the feeling that one has become disadvantaged, and what is worse, one's self-esteem has been lowered in one's own country must have been very galling for the emerging Sindhi middle class. Language and culture are intimately linked not only with jobs and power but even more importantly with self-esteem. To feel that one's language is regarded as a rustictongue; an uncouth jargon; is to feel humiliated. The dominance of Urdu, which was seen as the language of sophistication and civilised intercourse, was in itself a source of humiliation for the Sindhis. Moreover, the Mohajirs made little effort to conceal the fact that they looked at Sindhi culture as a rustic, and hence less sophisticated, culture. Thus, they felt no psychological need to assimilate with this culture and learn Sindhi.

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Looking at this issue from the Mohajir point of view one finds an alternative version of reality. Urdu, as we know, had replaced Persian as a symbol of elitist, educated Muslim identity in north India during the 19th century. The Hindi-Urdu movement hardened attitudes both among Muslims and Hindus so that Urdu became more closely associated with Muslim identity, and Hindi with the Hindu one, than ever before. So, the Mohajirs assumed that Pakistan would be a place to preserve and promote Urdu. The idea of reducing its importance for the sake of the indigenous languages went against everything they had heard for more than a century in favour of Urdu being the language of all Indian Muslims. Even more importantly, the Mohajirs were mostly urban people and were now living in urban areas again. Urban people do look down upon rural people not only in South Asia but almost everywhere in the world. Thus, the Mohajirs had a prejudice against Sindhi which made them resistant to learning Sindhi. **(This is the way to justify a crime or wrong. British in India had a case! Muslim League had a case not Congress! Israel has a case not Arabs! Mohajirs in Sindh have a case not Sindhis! – mam)**

Above all, the state's policies did not force the Mohajirs to transcend or suppress their preconceived attitudes and learn Sindhi. **(What a joke when the state belonged to Mohajirs! – mam)** At least in the cities, where most Mohajirs lived, the business of life could be carried on in Urdu. Cultural life, as Feroz Ahmed and many other Sindhis pointed out, was so dominated by Urdu that one did not feel that the cities of (West) Pakistan used any language in the streets other than Urdu. The music, the films, the popular magazines, the newspapers, the conversation—all were in Urdu in the cities of Sind. In the villages **(Really but where? – mam)** and towns Mohajirs did learn Sindhi even if they never stopped believing in the superiority of Urdu; but most of them lived in the cities. They did not feel inclined nor did they need to learn Sindhi. Indeed, they could not even if they wanted to because all business, formal and informal, was carried out in Urdu and not in Sindhi. Thus the Mohajirs remained a non-assimilationist, urban and privileged minority in Sind—a fact which made the teaching of Sindhi part of the ethnic politics of Sind.

As the present author has referred to the role of language teaching in the ethnic politics of Sind with special reference to the Sindhi language movement, there is no need to repeat the details. However, some repetition is inevitable considering that the teaching of Sindhi is an important issue in Pakistan.

Briefly, then the first shock for the Sindhis was the removal of the Sindh University from Karachi to Hyderabad. Writing on this issue Feroz Ahmed says: The creation of Pakistan coincided with the decision to set up Sindh University in Karachi. The Pakistan government packed off the new university to Hyderabad to vacate the room for Karachi University, which was supposed to be an Urdu-speaking refugee university in which there was room for even a department of the Sindhi language.

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(‘there was room’ or ‘there was no room’? – mam) While Karachi University remained a more or less exclusive preserve for the Urdu-speaking intelligentsia, no such exclusive policy was adopted in the hiring of faculty at Sindh University.

As Karachi was made the federal area, the new university was not even part of Sind in name and was seen to be antagonistic to Sindhi. Thus, when in 1957-58 the University of Karachi forbade students from taking examinations in Sindhi, the Sindhi nationalists protested strongly. Among others, Hyder Baksh Jatui, president of the Sind Hari Committee, said that the new order was a signal to Sindhi students to: ‘Leave Karachi, go to Sind if you want to retain Sindhi, Karachi is none of yours.’

In 1954 Sind became part of the one-unit (of West Pakistan). Ayub Khuhro, the then premier of Sind, argued that Sindhi language and culture would be preserved as follows: So far as culture and language is concerned, Sind has done its bit. Our Legislature has passed an Act appointing a statutory body which goes by the name of Sind Cultural Advancement Board to look after the development of Sind Culture. Sind Government has made an endowment of 25 lakhs we have given for the library, art and art gallery and the development of oriental and Sindhi literature and its preservation. It is hoped that in the future setup, Sind’s interests regarding its culture are fully preserved.

But, in fact, such puny efforts were of no avail. In the one-unit Sindhi was relegated to a regional, hence peripheral, language. In 1957 the Sindhi Adabi Sangat, one of the several bodies which had sprung up to defend the interests of Sindhi and Sindhis, said that the Sindhi-speaking people would be handicapped as far as the race for jobs is concerned if Sindhi is not ‘made to serve as an official language at least for Sind and its adjoining areas.’ Even worse, in 1958 one-unit came to be backed by Ayub Khan’s martial law. The tide was now even more against the teaching of Sindhi.

There are anecdotes about how General Tikka Khan, then part of the martial law machinery in Sind, stopped the teaching of Sindhi in parts of the former province. However, evidence does not support these stories. There is no doubt, however, that the military, being centrist and highly distrustful of ethnic movements, did want to suppress the teaching of Sindhi. This is borne out by the Education Commission which submitted its report in 1959. After having said that Bengali and Urdu, the national languages, would be encouraged, the report points out that in West Pakistan Urdu is, indeed, the medium of instruction from class VI onwards. Indeed, even up to class IV, it was the medium of instruction in the Punjab, most parts of the North Western Frontier Province (NWFP), Balochistan and Azad Kashmir. In Sind alone was Sindhi, rather than Urdu, the medium of instruction even after this level. To the centrist members of the commission this could prevent the Sindhis

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from being `nationalised.' Hence, they suggested, that `Urdu should be introduced as the medium of instruction from class VI from 1963.'

But such a radical change in the position of Sindhi could not be accepted by the Sindhi nationalists. Hence, despite the repressive nature of the state, the Sindhis took out processions throughout the province and finally Ayub Khan decided to let Sindhi alone. However, Urdu was encouraged and Sindhi discouraged during the Ayub Khan era—a fact which led to much resentment among the Sindhis.

Although Sindhi was still the medium of instruction in schools (rural schools generally), Urdu was taught as a subject. Sindhi nationalists sometimes objected even to this arrangement. One of them (probably Ibrahim Joyo?) wrote as follows: In Sind, Sindhi-medium children read Urdu compulsorily from class IV to class XII. The Urdu medium children have not to read Sindhi correspondingly. This imposes inequality of burdens, inequality of opportunity, and social and cultural inferiority on the Sindhi-speaking children, and is the greatest discrimination against a free people in a free country.

A number of Sindhi-medium schools closed down in the urban areas probably because urban people were either non-Sindhis or people who wanted their children to acquire Urdu for utilitarian reasons. The anonymous 'publicist,' whose article has been referred to above, reported the establishment of Urdu-medium schools in Mirpur Khas and Khairpur Mirs in order to seduce Sindhi-medium students away from their own schools.

When Ayub's rule ended, the Sindhis felt relieved. Although martial law was imposed once again by General Yahya Khan, the one-unit was abolished and the Sindhi nationalists felt that their language would be given the importance it had before the one-unit days. However, the Yahya government's educational policy, issued under the chairmanship of Air Marshal Nur Khan, laid even more emphasis on the national languages—Bengali and Urdu—than the Ayub Khan one. Once again the indigenous languages of the people of Pakistan, called the 'regional languages,' were to be marginalised. Again the Sindhi nationalists protested saying that they desired that Sindhi should be taught more widely. For them the teaching of Sindhi was part of Sindhi identity and ethnic assertion. **(What this 'ethnic assertion'? Sindhis are owners of the land and Sindhi is their language. Ethnic assertion is from the Urdu Party who failed to melt and join the mainstream. Even after the experience of Bangladesh, Urdu Party has not learnt. History is marching on. The time left is really very hort. – mam)**

Language Riots and Sindhi Teaching

Ethnic assertion, as the present author's previous book suggests, is a consequence of many factors. In the case of Sind instrumental factors—lack of jobs, lack of

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access to power commensurate with the rise of the population and historical position of the Sindhis, growth of the middle class wanting a role in the salariat—contributed to the ethnic assertion and language was the symbol which expressed it. However, the actors in language movements—the educated young men and members of the intelligentsia—are not motivated by such factors alone. In the heat of the moment they feel as if they are striking a blow for their language i.e. their heritage, their identity, the very essence of their nationality. Thus, one has to take the sentimental reasons of both Sindhis and Mohajirs to understand language riots. The riots, however, have been explained earlier. Let us see what role language-teaching played in it.

In the January-February 1971, language-teaching led to riots because it was resisted. One reason why the situation became explosive was because the Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education (BISE), Hyderabad, resolved on 21 December 1970 that Mohajir students be examined in Sindhi in the Secondary School Certificate examination of the year 1972. Nawab Muzaffar Hussain, leader of the Mohajirs at that time, decided to resist this decision and brought out processions in Hyderabad. Soon other cities became influenced and the Mohajirs clashed with the Sindhis in Nawabshah, Mirpur Khas, Hyderabad and even in Karachi. Indeed, in Karachi the situation became very violent by the end of January and the army had to be called out.

In July 1972 there was a replay of this bloody drama once again. This time it was the Sind (Teaching, Promotion and use of Sindhi Language) Bill of 1972 passed on 7 July 1972 by the Sind Legislative Assembly, which created the problem. Although what caused extreme apprehension among the Mohajirs was clause 6 of the Bill according to which Sindhi could be used in the domains of power (offices, courts, legislature etc), the language-teaching provisions too were controversial. The language-teaching provisions provided for the teaching of both Urdu and Sindhi as compulsory subjects from class IV to class XII. On the face of it this was only just but in 1972, when a Pakistan People's Party (PPP) government was in power both in Sind and the centre, the Mohajirs of Sind (especially those of Karachi) felt completely alienated. They had voted against the PPP and they felt disillusioned with the loss of East Pakistan. They felt that they too, like the Urdu-speaking Biharis of East Pakistan, would be 'thrown out into the sea' if Sindhis came to dominate Sind. The Sindhis, including Mumtaz Bhutto and later Z A Bhutto himself, explained reasonably that Urdu was the national language of Pakistan and that the purpose of the bill was merely to secure the position of Sindhi which one-unit and martial law had harmed. But the question was really one of power in Sind, and language was the apparent bone of contention. The Mohajirs, as non-assimilationist as ever, had converted Sind into a bilingual province. They wanted the Sindhis to recognise this reality. The Sindhis did not. Indeed, they could not without also recognising that Sind had, indeed, been partitioned. As such there was a compromise after the bloodiest language riots in Pakistan's history took

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place in the fateful summer of 1972. The extent of the loss, as reported in the national assembly, was staggering. But, more ominously, the bitterness of the conflict led to the rise of militant ethnicity among the Mohajirs which led to Karachi becoming a battlefield from 1985 onwards.

The compromise solution, issued by the Governor of Sind on 16 July, gave a twelve-year reprieve to the Mohajirs but, in fact, no government dared make only Sindhi the language of state employment in Sind. This means that, like before, urban Mohajirs get away without learning much Sindhi while Sindhis have to learn Urdu so as to prevent being locked out of the domains of power in Sind.

However, the fact that Sindhi is more convenient for those whose mother tongue it is, is borne out by the following statistics of the preference of school students in the 1981 matriculation examination. Medium of Examination (Percentage): Urdu Sindhi English: Karachi Board: 97.90%, Nil, 2.59% respectively. Sukkur Board: 21.13%, 78.62%, 0.23% respectively. Hyderabad Board: 50.80%. 45.23%, 3.95% respectively.

The Teaching of Sindhi at Present: Higher Studies in Sindhi

Sindhi was used both as a medium of instruction in Sind and was taught as a subject. Masters courses were offered in it at the University of Sind when it was at Karachi. When the university moved to Hyderabad, the Masters classes were suspended but were continued once again in 1971. At the newly established University of Sind in Jamshoro, the MA in Sindhi was started by Dr. Nabi Baksh Baloch along with his colleagues in the early 1950s.

The MA is important as a symbol of the development of a language in Pakistan. Thus the Sindhi nationalists point out with pride that their language and literature were developed enough to justify teaching at such an advanced level. The products of the post-graduate departments of Sindhi do better than those of Pashto, Punjabi, Balochi and Brahvi because there are schools and colleges where Sindhi is compulsory and they can find jobs. Thus the MA in Sindhi is the most successful MA among all the other MAs in the indigenous languages of Pakistan.

Apart from the MA, higher research is also available in Sindhi language and literature. The University of Sind (Jamshoro) and the University of Karachi both offer research courses leading to the MPhil and PhD. The University of Karachi has both a Department of Sindhi and the Shah Abdul Latif Chair (since when and how? - mam). The presence of such academic programmes has had a multiplier effect on academic and creative writing in Sindhi. Thus, there are many books on the historical and linguistic aspects of Sindhi among which the works of Nabi Baksh Baloch and G A Allana are well known. These books are in circulation because students in colleges and universities need them. This demand encourages

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publishers to publish and authors to write more books thus resulting in the establishment of Sindhi as an academic language in addition to being a language of journalism, literature and administration.

After the rise of the Mohajir Qaumi Movement (MQM) in Karachi and Hyderabad in 1984, language has become a secondary issue in Sind. It was, in a sense, a secondary issue even earlier because the primary issues even then were power, goods and services and shares in employment. But language, being an ethnic symbol, stood for the Sindhi and Mohajir community's consolidated power as a pressure group. Moreover, language was seen as a repository of culture and, therefore, worthwhile in its own right and not only as a symbol of identity. This gave language far more prominence than it enjoys today.

This decrease in the significance of language is the direct consequence of the rise of militancy, chaotic conditions and a sense of emergency in Sind—especially in Karachi. Even so, the Sindhi nationalists do emphasise their language and insist that its teaching should be improved. The eleven prominent members of the Sindhi intelligentsia I interviewed in 1997 agreed that the Mohajirs and Sindhis could integrate if Sindhi was taught more effectively to all of them. However, one of them did point out that integration would require other inputs as well.

During the Zia ul Haq era (1977-88), Urdu was encouraged as a centrist symbol. Although no ostensibly anti-Sindhi steps were taken, the emphasis on Urdu and Islam discouraged the expression of ethnic nationalist (and, hence, pro-Sindhi) views. Moreover, the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) became so powerful in Sind that it almost took on the semblance of a civil war. In February 1988, however, a Sindhi Adabi Conference was held at Jamshoro. Among the resolutions it passed, one was that Sindhi should be taught in the cities. Later, the Sindhi Bolo Sath and other organisations worked to get Sindhi adopted as the sole official language, and hence a major instructional language, of Sind.

Speaking at a conference of the Sindhi Adabi Sangat on 17 August 1996 at Hyderabad, Ibrahim Joyo blamed all state functionaries, including those who were Sindhis but collaborated with the centre, for neglecting Sindhi. Among other things, a resolution was passed to ensure the publication of Sindhi books for the Urdu-speaking students of class XI as agreed upon earlier in the 1972 language agreement. Moreover, it was also resolved that Sindhi be introduced in all the English medium schools of the province. Thus, the idea was to expand the domain of Sindhi-language teaching.

Apart from the Sath and the Sangat, other bodies [such as the Servants of Sind Society (SSS)] also kept urging a wider dissemination of Sindhi. The president of SSS, Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah who is a well known Sindhi nationalist

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intellectual, said: “Those who do not speak Sindhi and have no pride in being Sindhis, have no right to be included in the population of Sindh.”

This statement was issued in the context of the census which was to be held in January 1998. Committed Sindhi nationalists still keep lamenting the state’s alleged apathy towards Sindhi.

Conclusion

The teaching of Sindhi has two points of significance for Sindhi-speaking people. First, it has utilitarian value as a language of the lower salariat. In this capacity it has been used since British days and, despite the domination of the Urdu-speaking Mohajirs in the cities of Sind, continues to be useful for Sindhis even now. Secondly, it has symbolic value as a marker of Sindhi ethnic identity. In this capacity it has become the most important icon of Sindhi identity since the nineteen fifties when the Sindhis first started feeling alienated in their own land because of the domination of non-Sindhis in the cities; the high handedness of the central ruling elite (which was mostly Punjabi) and policies which reduced their power as an ethnic group. **(Urdu Party invariably hid themselves behind Punjabis and they were successful in doing this because Pakistan’s all communities failed to understand the game - mam)** For both reasons, but especially because of the second, the Sindhi intelligentsia responded by promoting their language as an identity symbol. The idea was to preserve, or create, the consciousness of the Sindhi identity in the Sindhis and bring about the assimilation of the non-Sindhis. In this process a large body of creative and academic writing was produced which has made Sindhi one of the richest languages of Pakistan. However, Sindhi is far from being the major language of instruction for all the inhabitants of Sind for both utilitarian and political reasons. The non-Sindhis (Mohajirs, Punjabis and Pashtuns) resist it because they can get jobs through Urdu and English and there are no utilitarian incentives to learn Sindhi. Moreover, for them Sindhi is the major symbol of an identity they do not wish to adopt. In the case of Mohajirs, indeed, it is an identity they have often struggled not to assimilate into (at least in the urban areas). Thus the teaching of Sindhi remains a politicised issue—politicised because it is so deeply connected with power and identity.

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But for the period prior to that (1868), Wikipedia gives this information for ‘Sindhi language’:

In the year 1868, the [Bombay Presidency](#) assigned *Narayan Jagannath Vaidya* to replace the [Abjad](#) [11] used in Sindhi, with the [Khudabadi script](#). The script was decreed a standard script by the [Bombay Presidency](#) thus inciting anarchy in the

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[Muslim](#) majority region. A powerful unrest followed, after which Twelve [Martial Laws](#) were imposed by the British authorities.

[11] In Arabic, "A" (alif), "B" (bā'), "J" (jīm), "D" (dāl) make the word "abjad" which means "alphabet".

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This matter of *Khudabadi* script needs to be looked into. Therefore, the attempts of 'Urdu Party' and their British sympathizers to impose Urdu on Sindh before Partition to satisfy Muslims elsewhere, mainly U.P. Muslims, continued up to as late as 1913-1915. It could not succeed due to wise Sindhis and some sensible British officers who opposed the measure. This question like that of *Khudabadi* script also needs investigation. And earlier (1868), their opposition to *Khudabadi* script of Indian origin was in line with their attempt to impose Urdu on Sindh. And both were part of their general opposition to anything Hindu or Indian.

Muhajirs in Sindh

Independence and Pakistan brought misfortune for Sindhis and Sindhi language. Independence brought for them a new 'slavery'. It was different for the Sindhi leadership who were junior partners of Muhajirs or Urdu Party in bringing this slavery to Sindhis. The Sindhis who clamored for Pakistan were culturally insensitive and blind to the situation they participated in creating for the Sindhi people. Therefore nothing came out as a way out for Sindhis from their subsequent generations.

Bhutto family has dominated Sindhi politics for the last 45 years. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his daughter became world famous on issues other than faced by Sindhi people. Imagine Bhutto played Kashmir game with India. He was instrumental in sending armed men into Kashmir which caused 1965 India-Pakistan war. Then he played game with Mujib ur Rahman and caused bloodbath in the then East Pakistan. Then in spite of signing of Shimla Agreement with India, he did not turn Pakistan into a non-confrontationist mode with India which meant he did not intend to honor the agreement. This opportunity for peace was lost. In fact he was never a man of peace. Imagine a leader of Sindhis, the most left-behind people in Pakistan, was not interested in peace. Was not he a leader of Muhajir prejudices followed by others? I remember Benazir's last speech in the public meeting at Liaquat Bagh Rawalpindi. She was talking nothing else but glorifying the atom bomb.

Leaving successful politics apart, there was never a leadership in Sindh who had even some remotely reasonable and right ideas for Sindh and Sindhi. When a new province and therefore partition of Sindh is commonly talked about the initiative is not with the Sindhis. They are normally on the defensive How to explain it? And

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without accepting it and struggle accordingly, the sovereignty of Sindhi language cannot be established in Sindh. This is how I see things today. Those who were the cause of the Partition of India are now calling for the partition of Sindh. Sindhis must not wait, take initiative, and put their own house in order to retrieve Sindh lands and making Sindhi language sovereign all over Sindh.

Latest about Sindhi Language in Pakistan

TCF Story

TCF is a professionally managed, non-profit organization set up in 1995 by a group of citizens concerned with the dismal state of education in Pakistan. It is now one of Pakistan's leading organizations in the field of formal education. As of 2015, TCF has established 1060 purpose-built school units nationwide with an enrolment of 165,000 students. TCF encourages female enrolment and strives to maintain a 50% female ratio in most of its campuses. TCF has a full female faculty of 8,900 members. TCF also has a dedicated Teacher Training Center in Karachi and Mansehra for the ongoing training of its faculty and provides logistical support to all its teachers.

The vision of TCF is to remove barriers of class and privilege and to make the citizens of Pakistan Agents of Positive Change. We believe that access to basic education is the right of each individual and not a privilege. Apart from following the regular curriculum, we focus on the character building of students to equip them with high moral values and confidence.

To achieve these goals, TCF is constantly surveying education-deprived locations in Pakistan to extend its network. Each new location is appraised through an extensive land survey, assessment of income level, number and standard of existing schools in the area, demand for new school units, availability of an accessible site to build a school, qualified teachers in the area and a number of other criteria. <http://www.tcf.org.pk>

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TCF, The Citizens Foundation, what is this? Who are they? I have yet to know them. 1060/20 = 53 schools a year, between 4 and 5 schools in a month? Experience tells me that they cannot be any others but Urdu Party. And we have a problem with them.

Zubeida Mustafa writes under 'Language in Sindh schools' in Dawn dated 25 December, 2012:

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Last week I received an email from a friend who is doing wonderful work in her ancestral village of Khairo Dero where she has set up the Ali Hasan Mangi memorial trust to honour the memory of her grandfather. ... One of Naween's ambitions is to educate the children of Khairo Dero. She joined hands with The Citizens Foundation (TCF). ... Naween raised the required amount from philanthropists to enable TCF to open a primary school in her village which she visits regularly to keep track of the progress of the children. Naween is, however, having a problem with TCF's language policy. Adopting a uniform approach vis-à-vis language in all their schools, TCF policymakers understood early in the day that it would be futile to try to educate their students in English. ... Hence TCF adopted Urdu as the medium of instruction in all its schools. Some objected to that. ... The problem that has dismayed her is that in the process of learning Urdu the children are getting alienated from the Sindhi speakers whom they bully and look down upon. ... "As earlier, I found children speaking to each other in Urdu and replying to my persistently Sindhi questions in Urdu. Worse, the teachers and staff all speak to each other in Urdu ... and replied to all my Sindhi questions in Urdu," she wrote. "Are the children and the teachers thus brainwashed that they cannot ... respond in the same language they are being spoken to?" she asked.

They believe "they must not speak their native language". This she termed "as a great disservice to the children themselves, to the rich tradition of our language and to the community you aim to serve", she added. TCF has promised to respond.

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Teaching in rural Sindh in Urdu! Teachers of a rural Sindh school talk to each other in Urdu. I do not say more on that. But this is in line with what happened with Sindhi language at the hands of Urdu party. Anybody can do anything in Pakistan if he has means to do. Our societies are shattered. Our ideas are in a state of anarchy. Sindhis have to find the way out. The land of Sindh belongs to them, the Sindhi language belongs to them. The name of the task is to claim and retrieve your assets.

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Hafeez Tunio reported from Karachi in the *The Express Tribune* (October 14, 2013): The Sindh education department will start a drive against private schools – both primary and secondary – that are not teaching Sindhi language as a subject, Sindh Education Minister Nisar Ahmed Khuhro told *The Express Tribune* on Monday. Khuhro said that the drive will begin after Eidul Azha. "We will cancel the registration of all such schools and impose penalty on them," he said.

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Sidrah Roghay writes from Karachi in 'The News' 10 August 2012:

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In a step to provide national identity, an Urdu Committee was set up in 1948, which attempted to introduce a uniform script to all languages in Pakistan. The decision was met with major resistance, especially by the Bengalis, who thought this was a plan to sabotage their national heritage. Come Benazir Bhutto in 1999, and she gave an option to the government schools to either use English or Urdu as medium. Furthermore, English was to be taught as an additional subject from grade one. “It was thought this would serve as an equalizer for all classes,” said the survey by SPO. “It is a sad fact indeed that until now the policies made by the government considering the usage of language in educational discourse has merely added complexities. The last development in this regard was in 2003 when it was decided that computer, science and math will be taught in English at government schools,” shared Memon.

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Sindhis demand Sindhi

Sindhi writers and poets revived their old demand for the recognition of Sindhi as one of the national languages of Pakistan on International Mother Language Day on Friday.

“The use of Sindhi language should be enforced in the government offices, courts and educational institutions,” demanded Dr Mushtaq Phul of the Sindhi Adabi Sangat (literary fraternity), which organised a rally in Hyderabad. The speakers drew attention to how the Indian government has preserved its languages by making them state languages. “The Sindh Assembly has already passed a law to use Sindhi as the official language and ensure its compulsory learning right from the school level.”

Sindh Taraqi Pasand vice chairperson Dr Rajab Memon suggested that district-level committees should be formed to monitor the teaching of Sindhi language in schools. Writer Yousuf Sindhi suggested that protests should be held outside schools that do not teach Sindhi.

Sindh Language Authority chairperson Dr Fehmida Hussain, who was speaking at a separate lecture, warned of the potential threat to historic South Asian languages. She stated a research study of the Lahore School of Economics, which said that 33 out of the 700 South Asian languages may vanish in the next few decades. “Although Sindhi language doesn’t face such a threat at this point in time, there is a need to accord our language the recognition it deserves,” she said. The event, titled ‘Globalisation of cultures and importance of mother tongues’, was organised by the non-profit Sindh Agriculture Forestry Workers Coordination Organisation.

Dr Hussain also pointed out the threat of extinction to some Sindhi dialects and called for measures for their preservation. She said that her organisation is recording the dialects, fables, stories and folk literature from sughars (folks) of Sindh. “The promotion of multilingualism is the only way forward to protect all

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our indigenous languages and dialects,” she contended. “This can be done by recognising Sindhi, Punjabi, Balochi and Pashto as national languages.”

Reported from Hyderabad: *Published in The Express Tribune, February 22nd, 2014.*

Very briefly this is the painful story of Sindhi language and Sindhi in Sindh province of Pakistan. But this story is not complete without those Sindhis who had to run from Sindh in 1947 or after. It is so simple to understand that tearing away a part of a community, apart from other things, damages its language. And this precisely happened with Sindhi language. If due to partition of India, some of the Sindhis got linguistically stranded in India or elsewhere but away from the mainland of Sindhi language which is Sindh in Pakistan, is it not a duty of Sindhis in Pakistan to think and do something about it, in particular when the stranded say that the ‘Sindhi culture is on a ventilator’. But can they do something? Well, it depends upon the best Sindhi minds. The question of the right approach to the problems left by history is fundamental. Those who can find inspiration in a long-term investment in their language cannot be stopped by any barrier. And then where are barriers today? It is, in fact, our own state of mind. The present and ever expanding possibilities of Technology are ever ready for those who set their minds to do the apparently impossible looking. Those who resolve to dedicate their lives to thinking, research and knowledge and connecting their results with the masses will find support not only from the hearts of their own people but from the enlightened humanity as well. The right approach is to make such trends popular in the masses.

Persianised/ Hindustanised/ Urduised British Mindset, Punjab and Sindh

The British conquered Sindh in 1843 and Punjab in 1849. The first battle won by the British against India was that of Plassey in Bengal in 1757. The last conquest of the British was Punjab which included present Pakistan province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The British by this time had gone through the process of becoming Persianised and Hindustanised/ Urduised because in 1837 East India Company replaced Persian with Urdu (i.e. Hindustani as the British called it) as the court language of lower courts and introduced English in government offices. The British had lived and worked with Persian for about three quarters of a century before they replaced it with English. Therefore they had become ‘Persianised’; it was, therefore, logical that they had become ‘Urduised’ too. Imposing Urdu in Punjab and designing the present Sindhi script and imposing it in Sindh was the result of this state of British mind. That this state of British mind was not influenced by the ‘Urdu Party’ should not even be considered. As far as I know, Sindhi is the only language of the subcontinent that has British-designed script.

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But then, what was the hindrance in imposing Urdu in Sindh also leaving Sindhi language to its own fate like Punjabi? Was that, at that time, Sindhi was luckier than Punjabi? If Pakhtuns could get Urdu, why not Sindhis? What was the need, when Urdu was favorite to design/ evolve a new script for Sindhi? Why 'Urdu Party' failed if it failed to convince the British to impose Urdu in Sindh in the very beginning? If correct and relevant, these questions need to be looked into.

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What an irony that after 1947, the Sindhis were physically overwhelmed by the Urdu-speaking Hindustanis – the 'Urdu party' - as leaders of a new country and torch-bearers of its ideology! And Urdu becoming the national language of Pakistan was a foregone conclusion.

Concluding, my question is: What to do? I believe, Sindhis all over the world collectively must claim the sovereignty of their language. If this decision is taken after due deliberations by the best minds and hearts of the Sindhi community collectively, avenues will start opening. Why any community anywhere in the world should feel helpless vis-à-vis a certain accident of History? It is not wrong to solve your specific or local problems in your own way. And people normally continue to do that. But the totality of an issue has to have a centrality and therefore it must be addressed at that level. I felt that Punjabi language should be seen from that angle. And that led me towards Sindhi and Hindi languages, too. The centrality of the issues for these three languages is the same.

Anyhow, as I said above, the question of right approach to the problems left by history is fundamental. Problems left by history have been used to create more problems. But then lessons have also been learnt. When public leaders fail to do that, which is not unusual, they create more problems by trying to solve, in their own way, a single one. But wrong posture of some cannot provoke right thinking people to abandon or wash off their hands from the real issues. "Referring to the stage anchor's wish (Ahmedabad, 24 March, 2012) that Sindh become a part of India one day, Shri Narendra Modi in his speech said that Jews had no place of their own in the world, and for 2500 years whenever one Jew met another Jew, they wished to meet in Jerusalem next year. For 2500 years this community saw a dream, and today the dream is accomplished. If those who dream have strength, everything is possible, Shri Modi said." [12]

[12] [<http://deshgujarat.com/2012/03/24/a-day-would-come-when-sindh-will-be-a-part-of-indianarendra-modi-says-adding-thata-grand-zulelal-dham-will-be-built-in-kutch/>]

If today we 'put' history in reverse gear and then see at what time what belonged to whom, where should be Shri Modi today? And how can we move forward? It is

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all absurd and unfortunate. This is not the right reading of History. It is no time to talk of dreams which culminate in adventurers riding them, giving death and destruction to humanity eventually. We should formulate ideas when we are fully awake and in senses. Why *Satyagraha* should not suffice for humanity? If a decision does not contribute in strengthening overall civilization and human relationships, it cannot be termed right. In the case of Israel, the whole of Christianity, Capitalist as well as Communist, tried to 'solve' as they thought 'The Jewish Problem' which by that time had been almost solved practically within Europe itself. And as a result, how many new problems they have created so far? And what was contributed to human relationships? And how much mischief due to Israel is still in store for humanity, we do not know. But then Shri Modi also said that "today, the way the world is becoming one due to technology and world trade, this changing feature of the world is full of possibilities, we all should go ahead towards these possibilities and the changing world." Good. Let us see what he will be able to accomplish as he has become the Prime minister of India.

An Overall View

At the fall of Communism in the former Soviet Union which should not be taken by default as if I mean the victory of Capitalism or whatever its latest form, I had thought about the age of the ideology there and then giving roughly the same time for what had gone wrong with human mind here in 1947. Now having played ideology for about 70 years amidst consciously created high pitched noise to stifle any right behavior, is it possible to talk sense now? If not, we can wait. If yes, let us put the questions of languages and scripts including Sindhi in the right historical perspective.

Therefore, it is opportune now to see Sindhi in an overall historical view of the linguistic scene in the region. As the original cause of what collectively is under discussion in the 'Sarab Punjabi Manifesto' is the Muslim intervention and presence in the subcontinent, I find, so far, the views of Late Professor Om Prakasha Kahol, who was one time Member Working Committee, and Central Parliamentary Board, All- India Hindu Mahasabha, most appropriate and nearest to reality as expressed in his 1955 book 'Hindus And the Punjabi State' published from Ambala Cantt. [13]

[13] Panjab digital Library

The professor wrote:

Conflict Between Hindu & Muslim Scripts

The results of this linguistic and cultural antagonism between the natives and the aliens was that every India language developed into divergent literary trends; the

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Hindus tenaciously stuck to the Hindu script, indigenous vocabulary and local literary traditions, the Muslims preferred the Arabic to the native system of writing, used abundance of Arabic words (often with a conscious effort) and drew all cultural matter and inspiration from Islamic (i.e. mainly Arabic) sources. In course of time, the two styles lost this pristine purity and each was slightly influenced by the other. The Hindus unwittingly learnt a few Arabic words and the Muslims likewise absorbed a few un-Islamic traits through inadvertence. But the two trends progressed along distinctly divergent lines. The Islamic missionaries wanted to repeat their old exploits on the Indian soil, the Hindus were determined to prove that Devanagari, Gurmukhi and Sharada were more fit than Pehlavi, Kharoshti and Hieroglyphs, to outlive the struggle for existence.

The professor continues:

Hindus' Successful Resistance to Arabic

The experiments of Arabicising Hindu languages yielded different measures of success. The Muslim style of Hindi – Hindi written in a derivative of Arabic script and saturated with Arabic words, which often goes by the name of Urdu – did attain the status of a standard language, though the Hindu style of Hindi also continued to develop side by side. Bengali written in Arabic script could never get recognition as a language, though the protagonists of Arabic script have continued their efforts to this day. The creation of an independent Muslim State of East Bengal has given the frustrated Arabic zealots a new impetus and they may now succeed in effecting the conversion of Bengali, proving thereby that a cultural struggle sometimes yields the desired results after centuries, provided the sponsors have the necessary endurance. Gujarati and Marathi too have Hindu and Muslim styles but Arabic script is now rarely used for them. Muslims of Mysore and Malabar frequently employ Arabic characters for Kanarese and Malayalam languages, respectively, though their accepted scripts are derived from Brahmi. Sindhi language has gone the way of Persian and has lost its original Hindu script. It is now invariably written in Arabic characters. The same is more or less true of Kashmiri, whose original script, Sharada is learnt only by a few Pundits as a religious duty. After a thousand years' strenuous efforts, the Muslims have succeeded in Arabicising only three languages of this land to any considerable extent, viz., Sindhi, which has lost the native style and characters completely; Kashmiri, which too has almost succumbed to Arabic onslaughts; and Hindi, whose Muslim style, Urdu, became at one time a serious rival of the Hindu style but could never wipe out the native script and vocabulary.

No other Hindu language submitted to the demands of Islamic fanaticism. ■