

**University of Nevada, Reno**

**Dialectics of Linguistic Elicitation: Textuality, language ideology and  
consultant interventions in linguistic fieldwork among urban Hindko  
speakers**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in Anthropology**

**by**

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## **Abstract**

Traditional linguistic fieldwork runs the risk of obscuring what is linguistically relevant to the consultants. I encountered this situation in my fieldwork In Karachi, where Hindko speakers intercepted my requests for word lists and translations with the presentation of long-form texts in the form of songs, a film and a school textbook. This change in genre brought forth by my informants allowed my fieldwork to be reformulated in a way that more directly addressed their concerns, Taking a view of Hindko informed by these texts, a language ideological portrait can be constructed in which Hindko exists in a low but negotiable position in the multilingual language hierarchy. The presentation of these texts are an attempt to negotiate the status of Hindko along three negotiable axes of language development: The historic and geographic claims of a language, the writing system, and the literary traditions of the language.

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## **1 Introduction**

This thesis is based on linguistic and ethnographic fieldwork carried out in Karachi in the summer of 2008. My population of consultants consisted of a group of twelve individuals, all of whom were native speakers of Hindko who had immigrated to Karachi from Abbottabad or surrounding villages. My original plan was to conduct my studies in Abbottabad, but political instability at the time me to stay in Karachi for the whole of my time. While my initial focus was on the phonological and syntactic features of Hindko, dissatisfaction among my informants, especially the two that I relied on the most, lead me to change the scope of my inquiry to one that more closely reflected Hindko as they saw it.

My method of inquiry into Hindko revealed a conflict of language ideologies as well as speech genres. The genres of speech used in linguistic research, such as elicitation and translation exercises, imposed a definition of language on my consultants that objectified their language in a manner that separated Hindko's connection to them as a people and to their homeland as an area. Furthermore, discourse in the specific genres associated with linguistic fieldwork took away their ability to negotiate the worth of their language. By resisting my choice of genres and offering their own as replacements, my informants were able to regain these connections and to present their language in a manner that was consistent with their own language ideology and as prestigious in a manner that is consistent with local notions of language and development.

This thesis argues that the multilingual environment in Pakistan is one in which languages exist in a hierarchy of prestige. This hierarchy is, to some extent, negotiable. Through changing the genres and focus of my investigation into Hindko, my informants

attempted to negotiate a higher status for Hindko. These actions also revealed the network of factors upon which a language's worth can be negotiated, and this thesis attempts a rough outline of the complex ideological frame in which multiple languages are situated.

### **1.1 Setting**

In order to properly contextualize the linguistic environment that my informants live in, a brief geographic, historical and linguistic sketch of Pakistan, paying particular attention to Karachi and Abbottabad, should prove helpful.

Pakistan is a country in South Asia covering approximately 804 thousand square Kilometers (310 thousand square miles), bordered by India to the East, Iran to the West, Afghanistan to the Northwest and China to the Northeast. Pakistan was established as an independent state in August 1947, consisting of a West Pakistan, the present day state, and East Pakistan, which gained independence as Bangladesh in 1971. The division of British India along religious lines led to mass migrations in both directions across the newly declared borders; according to the 1957 census, one in ten Pakistanis was a migrant, known collectively as Muhajirs (Jaffrelot 2002: 2). The colonial British view of Urdu was that it was not a separate language, but rather a form of 'Hindustani'. Its use was sidelined in favor of 'purer' forms of the same language that were not influenced by the Arabic script or large amounts of Arabic and Persian loanwords (Cohn 1996: 32-33).



*Fig. 1: Map of Pakistan (Source: CIA world Factbook, [www.cia.gov](http://www.cia.gov))*

The primary language of the Muhajir community is Urdu, a language that was not native to any of the areas that became Pakistan. Despite this, Urdu and English were chosen as the national languages of the country. The founder and first president of Pakistan, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, sought to establish Pakistan as a state of 'one nation, one culture, one language' (qtd. in Jaffrelot 2002b: 8). A single, national language for Pakistan was seen as a necessity by Jinnah as the following quote illustrates:

“But let me make it very clear to you that the state language of Pakistan is going to be Urdu and no other language. Anyone who tries to mislead you is really the enemy of Pakistan. Without one State language, no Nation can remain tied up solidly together and function” (Quoted in Khan 2006: 135).

Jinnah’s statements fit into the larger narrative of post-colonial language movements such as Malaysia’s 1928 slogan of “One Island, one language, one

nationality” (Errington 2008: 145) the similar ‘oath of the youth’ in Indonesia (Errington 2000: 208).

Despite, this, Pakistan has always been a state of numerous linguistic and ethnic identities that are actively shaped and reshaped, often through language. The standards by which languages have been hierarchically arranged in Pakistan and how a speaker may negotiate and challenge these rankings should prove to be of interest to linguistic anthropologists.

Karachi, located at the delta of the Indus River along Pakistan's southern coast, is the largest city in Pakistan, with a population of approximately 12 million. The capital of Pakistan from Independence in 1949 until it was moved to Rawalpindi in 1958 and to the newly constructed city of Islamabad in 1960, the city remains the financial hub of the country and is the most popular destination for internal and external migrants looking for a higher standard of living. Since independence, Karachi's population has greatly expanded from under one million at the time of independence to over 13 million in 2010.

My population of consultants consisted entirely of first-generation immigrants from Abbottabad and the nearby villages of Sialkot and Thandiani. My consultants came primarily from two extended families of Hindko speaking Hazarans living in Karachi. One family lived within a Pathan-dominant area of the Chanesar Goth neighborhood. The other family was spread through multiple neighborhoods in Karachi, including Orangi Town. In both cases consultants from these neighborhoods lived in close proximity to other Hindko-speaking Hazarans in a neighborhood that is primarily populated by Pashto-speaking Pathans. This is an interesting parallel to life in Abbottabad, where the Hazara Valley that contains Abbottabad is a small area on the border with the Pashto-speaking Pathans of the Khyber-Pakhtunwa.

Interviews were conducted both at the house I where I was staying, near Chanesar Goth and within an apartment in Chanesar Goth. The residents of Orangi Town that served as consultants were all interviewed in the PECHS neighborhood. My consultants and the inhabitants of the city primarily self-describe their ethnicity as Hazaran. This term can lead to confusion, as it is also used to describe groups in Afghanistan and Iran, which speak a variety of languages. To what degree the residents of Abbottabad and surrounding villages are related to these groups remains unclear and my consultants claimed no relation to groups that did not originate from their own valley or neighboring valleys. The term "Hazaran" then is an unclear one. Unlike the populations in Afghanistan that go under that name, all of the individuals I interviewed were Sunni Muslims. The term appears to be used to refer to several, but by no means all of the ethnic minorities living in or adjacent to the portions of Pakistan and Afghanistan dominated by Pathans. For this study it should be taken as only referring to residents of the Hazara valley in Pakistan. "Hindko" is another term that lacks specificity. IT also refers to a minority language spoken in Peshawar, but my informants claimed no knowledge of that language or of any similarity between it and their native language.

While my population saw itself as both culturally and linguistically distinct from surrounding groups, this view was not held to in the other direction, and members outside of that group I talked to, primarily from the Muhajir community, saw them as a group that is ethnically and culturally mixed between Pathan and Punjabi peoples and who speak a form of Punjabi. This is a conception that my informants attempted to argue against as my fieldwork progressed and my informants began making the case for the unique status of their language and ethnicity more directly.

This paper concerns itself with two areas of Pakistan in particular; Karachi from personal experience and Abbottabad, considered at a distance. The linguistic attempts to bridge that distance are detailed in later sections. Abbottabad is a small city in the Southeast corner of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, which is more popularly known under its former name, the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP). It is the primary population center of the Hazara Valley and capital of the Abbottabad District. The Hazara Valley is one of many mountainous valleys, including Mansehra and Noushera, on the border between Punjab and Khyber-Pakhtunwa. The nearest large city is the capital, Islamabad, located approximately 50 km (31 miles) to the south. It was founded during the British Colonial period in 1853, named after British major James Abbott. A military base during the years of British Rule, this remains the purpose and the chief economic center of the city today.

## **1.2 Methodology**

While I conducted recording sessions with twelve individuals in all, most of my recordings centered around two individuals. Umair, a high-school student who had come to Karachi from Abbottabad as a child with his family, and Gulshan, a domestic worker who had recently come to Karachi in search of work after the death of her husband. The rest of my informants were either friends or relatives of these two and were primarily used to confirm data provided by them or to serve as conversation partners in recordings.

The first phase of my recordings consisted of single word elicitations based on an Urdu word list of basic vocabulary terms. The informants spoke the Urdu word once, followed by the Hindko translation twice. The completed list can be found in appendix A. While Gulshan and Umair were initially happy with this work, they both soon began to

show dissatisfaction and frustration at the answers they were providing. This appears to be because of the large number of identical words and cognates that followed predictable patterns of production between Hindko and Urdu. Two of these predictable changes can be seen in the chart below:

Urdu	Hindko	English
[kʰana]	[kʰaɳa]	‘Eat’
[pina]	[piɳa]	‘Drink’
[dena]	[deɳa]	‘Take’
[a:g]	[əkʰ]	‘Fire’
[a:dʒ]	[ədʒ]	‘Today’
[ba:l]	[bəl]	‘Hair’

*Table 1: Samples from the Hindko Swadesh list, showing that many of the words in Hindko are cognates that follow a predictable pattern.*

While there are many words on the list that are not cognates (the complete list can be found in appendix a), the high level of similarity between Hindko and Urdu was a cause for concern. Placing the two languages in direct comparison, within this limited frame of single word elicitation did not provide data on Hindko that my informants felt reflected favorably on their language.

The next stage of my elicitation also led to dissatisfaction among my informants. I recorded several sessions of sentence translations between Urdu and Hindko, focusing on case and tense alternations. While Umair and other informants near his age had no problem with these exercises, Gulshan and other older informants found them troubling. At one point, Gulshan requested that I change a set of sentences (I am going to the movies/I will go to the movies, I went to the movies, etc.) because she didn’t want to be recorded saying something that she doesn’t do. This dissatisfaction with my initial recording sessions would continue until she was given the opportunity to steer the



recordings to topics and genres that she found to be important in the free conversation phase.

The third technique I employed before deciding to follow the lead of my informants was the recording of 'free conversations'. While acknowledging the somewhat artificial quality of bringing people together and asking them to talk in front of a microphone, I anticipated these recordings would be less labor intensive than translations and more enjoyable for my informants.

For my recordings, I requested that my informants spoke in Hindko exclusively. While my informants complied with this request, their conversations appeared initially very formal and formulaic. My request for a monolingual conversation turned out to be a much more significant instruction than I had anticipated, and it shaped the responses of all of my informants in ways unexpected to me. Ordinarily, my informants regularly code-mixed between Hindko and Urdu, and occasionally used Pashto. In this context, code-mixing was the norm, similar to the English-Spanish code-mixing Bonnie Urciuoli describes in her work in a Puerto Rican neighborhood of New York (Urciuoli 1991). At least in Karachi, it was not normal for my informants to speak only in Hindko, and again much like in Urciuoli's experience, monolingual speech had the potential to carry an unexpected political weight. Writing on code choice among multilingual individuals, Gumperz writes:

"Concepts such as status and role are thus not permanent qualities of speakers; Instead, they become abstract communicative symbols, somewhat like phonemes and morphemes. Like the latter, they can be isolated in the analyst's abstract model, but they are always perceived in particular contexts. The division between linguistic and social categories is thus obliterated. Communication is seen as a two-step process in which the speaker first takes in stimuli from the outside environment, evaluating and selecting from among them in the light of his own

cultural background, personal history, and what he knows about the interlocutors, in order to decide on the social norms that apply to the situation at hand. These norms then determine the speaker's selection from among the communicative options available for encoding his intent." (1971:224)

While in this case the code choice was made for my informants, the same decision-making factors are in play. Instead of choosing a language to fit the situation, they were faced with the challenge of changing the situation to fit the language. For the study of language ideology, the displaced nature of my consultants may have actually been to my benefit, as notions of how Hazarans judge the value and effectiveness of their language against other languages they are in contact with would be harder to come by in less multilingual areas such as Abbottabad.

What happened in these free recordings is what eventually motivated my change in focus and a complete rethinking of the purpose of my work. In a recorded conversation between Gulshan and Rabeela, her cousin, Gulshan, after the conventional formality of a greeting and inquiring about her cousin's children, asked her cousin if it would be acceptable for her to sing. Her cousin agreed and provided vocal accompaniment as she proceeded to piece together several traditional verses together. On subsequent recording sessions, Gulshan strongly expressed her preference for singing over the other types of recording sessions and suggested that this is what I should be studying. I recorded Gulshan singing, either solo or with one of three accompanying singers multiple times after this incident. Full transcripts and translations for three of these songs can be found in appendix B.

At the same time, Umair, who found the free conversations tedious, presented me with two items that he thought would help me in my work. A high-school level, English

language Pakistan Studies textbook (Khan 2006) and a video disc of a film, *Main Julian England*. He claimed that both of these would help orient my study into Hindko in a more productive direction. These texts from both Gulshan and Umair, and the multiple language ideologies that can be drawn from them, became the new focus of my study.

## **2 Literature Review**

This thesis draws upon multiple areas of research to develop its argument. Chief among those are 1) linguistic fieldwork methodology, 2) textuality, including inter-and pre-textuality, 3) language ideology, 4) speech genres and 5) mediascapes.

### **2.1 Linguistic Fieldwork**

Given that my work did not take place in the area I had planned and that the focus of my work shifted dramatically during my fieldwork, it should prove beneficial to review numerous approaches to linguistic fieldwork and situate my own methodology among them. Writing on linguistic fieldwork among refugee populations, Williams and Comfort (2007) view the practice as both a useful precursor to language study in its traditional geographic home and valuable in its own right. Given the increasing worldwide nature of migration, both voluntary and forced, it is also seen as an inevitability. Regarding ethnographic studies, Appadurai expresses a similar sentiment when he argues that “[a]s groups migrate, regroup in new locations, reconstruct their histories, and reconfigure their ethnic products, the *ethno* in ethnography takes on a slippery, nonlocalized quality, to which the descriptive practices of anthropology will have to evolve.” (Appadurai 1996: 48). My original intent was to research Hindko in Abbottabad, thus allowing me access to a larger population of native speakers and an environment in which Hindko is the majority language. Dealing with linguistic fieldwork

in India, Abbi (2001) raises many issues that concerned me with my research in Karachi. In regards to minority languages, Abbi notes the detrimental effect that migration to major cities has on their maintenance as well as the desire to show social advancement by abandoning a low-prestige language in favor of a prestigious one (2001:13). Abbi claims that when conducting linguistic interviews with minority-language speakers in urban settings, speakers will "invariably" deny knowledge of their native language to the interviewer (2001: 14). Among the speakers of Hindko I spoke with, this situation never arose. While two speakers downplayed their proficiency in the language, none denied being able to speak it. Before I turned my attention toward Hindko, I made recordings with several Sindhi speakers, and the same was true for them. The only potential case of this happening during my fieldwork was an individual who I was told spoke Punjabi but who claimed to be monolingual in Urdu. This differing result from Abbi may be due to my informants having a different view both of the status of their language and of their ability to negotiate that status with me. One similarity to Abbi's work I did find was a pervasive hierarchy of linguistic prestige, with national languages at the top, followed by official regional languages, and finally local languages at the bottom.

One of the ways in which my fieldwork experience was shaped by my consultants was that a large portion of my fieldwork was spent actively learning the language. Given the time restraints I was under, language learning was not part of my original plan, which was to do all elicitations of Hindko through Urdu. After a few sessions of eliciting word lists in this manner, my informants, Umair in particular, decided that it was necessary for me to learn the language myself. This is similar to Briggs' early fieldwork experiences where he notes that because of his inexperience "...most of the utterances that were

addressed to me, especially by the elders, were pedagogical in nature” (1986: 58-59).

Focusing on linguistic work on endangered languages, Mithun endorses a collaborative shaping of the record between linguist and informant, taking their concerns and expertise into account (2001). While Hindko is not at the present time endangered, little previous study on the language has been done.

Regarding the choice of my informants, Vaux and Cooper state that “it is generally better to pick an informant who is monolingual” (2003: 8). Given the setting of my study, finding monolingual speakers would likely not have been possible. According to my informants, bilingualism in Urdu is common even in Abbottabad, although monolingual speakers may be found.

While it can be argued that time spent learning a language takes away from time that could be devoted to analysis, Everett, arguing in favor of monolingual fieldwork, claims it as the preferred method in all situations, meaning that the learning of the language under study is an essential component of linguistic fieldwork (Everett 2001: 166). This view is echoed by other field researches, such as Terry Crowley (2007: 154-155). While only a small portion of my fieldwork near the end of my stay could be classified as monolingual, the time I spent learning the language was of great benefit and made new areas of inquiry far more accessible to me and convinced me of the value of at least attempting to conduct monolingual fieldwork. Umair strongly pushed me toward conducting my work primarily in Hindko. While he was proficient in Urdu and regularly spoke both, he professed a strong personal dislike for Urdu and appreciated my efforts to question him in Hindko. As Bowerman points out, positioning oneself as a language learner

also gives the researcher an easy to define role in relation to language consultants (Bowern 2008: 9).

## 2.2 Textuality

Given that this paper deals with multiple texts and how they presented in a new context, that of performing an ethnic identity, research on how texts relate to one another is essential. Much of what Gulshan and Umair presented me with involved entextualization. Bauman defines this as "...bounding off a stretch of discourse from its co-text, endowing it with cohesive formal properties, and (often, but not necessarily) rendering it internally coherent..." (2004: 4).

What does the packaging of these texts into new contexts accomplish? Urban writes that "...some forms of discourse *make for better culture*, in its classic sense of sharing and transmission across the generations" (1996: 24, emphasis added). Gulshan's songs fit this definition well. Numerous independent, well-known verses are individually selected, reproduced and used to frame and contextualize new, improvised verses. The portability of these texts allows them to even be deployed in unfamiliar genres, such as the recorded "free conversations".

One of the main reasons I was presented with these texts were because of numerous misunderstandings on both ends regarding what I intended to study. Fully understanding the causes of these misunderstandings may not be possible, but there are theoretical tools that can shed some light on the matter. The notions of *pretextuality* and *pretextual gaps* can be applied here. Pretextuality, the "package of socially preconditioned knowledge articulated in speaker's personal 'baggage' and assessments of what is... meaningful in the ongoing text trajectory". Pretextual gaps are the "conditions on sayability, differential

access of to these conditions, and social evaluations attached to such differences”

(Maryns and Blommaert 2002: 13). Gulshan, Umair and I had differing views of where my discourse of linguistic elicitation would lead and what areas it should cover.

Pretextual gaps can explain these differences. By exploring these gaps rather than editing them out of the record, a greater insight into differing language ideologies can be gained.

### **2.3 Language Ideology**

Language ideology (and linguistic ideology, the ideology of language, etc.) can be a complicated field to define, as multiple similar yet distinct definitions are in use ( and many works that address the same issues don't cast themselves as studies of language ideology but rather under the fields of "metalinguistics, attitudes, prestige, standards, aesthetics, hegemony, etc." (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 56). Blommaert defines language ideology as "[t]he socioculturally motivated ideas, perceptions, and expectations of language, manifested in all sorts of language use and in themselves objects of discursive elaboration in metapragmatic discourse..." (Blommaert 1999b: 1), a definition that suits how notions of language ideology are addressed here. It is important to emphasize that this paper deals with language *ideologies*, not a single overarching ideology. The multiple ideologies are what allow Hindko speakers to negotiate and index the status of their language along multiple scales of prestige because there is no single ideology guiding their speech, but an interconnected multiplicity of ideologies. Kroskrity writes of the necessity of multiple language ideologies due to significant social divisions within speech communities, such as gender, class and generation (Kroskrity 1999: 12). It is taken as a given that ideologies within the community studied varied based on many internal divisions. While not denying the importance of those divisions and the multiple

ideologies they create, the focus of this chapter is on the multiple ideologies of a language's worth that Hindko-speaking individuals, evinced in their dealings with me, a linguistic researcher that they used to negotiate their language use, as noted in section 1.1 and as I will elaborate below. These ideologies are shaped in part as a response to the dominant ideologies of Urdu speakers and speakers of other larger languages. National ideologies of Urdu were briefly noted section 1.1.

## **2.4 Speech Genres**

The choice of genre to present information in can be a highly complex process that entails a great deal in terms of the expectations and capabilities of the participants to a discursive interaction. Hanks treats genre as “historically specific elements of social practice, whose defining features link them to situated communicative acts” (1987:668). This means that the choice of genre, in and of itself carries meaning separate from the discourse within that genre. Genre choice is also closely related to intertextuality, as to choose a particular genre for one’s discourse places it within the contextualizing expectations for that genre. As Briggs and Bauman write, “When discourse is linked to a particular genre, the process by which it is produced and received is mediated through its relationship with prior discourse” (1992: 147). When considering the content of the film, textbook and songs, their genres, and the locally constituted expectations within those genres need to be taken into account.

## **2.5 Mediascapes**

To explain how traditional and contemporary cultural texts were deployed by my informants to intercede in the representations of their language and identity that I was beginning to construct, Appadurai’s notion of the *mediascape* is a helpful tool. Defined as



both “the distribution of the electronic capabilities to produce and disseminate information... and to the images of the world created by these media” (Appadurai 1996: 35), the mediascape is one of five ideological domains, or “scapes” that cross traditional cultural boundaries. Appadurai places the mediascape alongside ethnoscapas, technoscapas, financescapas and ideoscapas. While they are not explicitly mentioned by Appadurai, verbally transmitted songs and the literacies that allow one access to print media can be incorporated into this definition, allowing Gulshan’s traditional verses to be considered side-by-side with the film presented by Umair. Through examination of these texts and performances, I argue that this mediascape is navigated by both Umair and Gulshan in different manners, but for the same purpose: to negotiate a higher status for Hindko. The factors that establish a “higher” status for a language are detailed in section 4.

### **3 Texts Countering Words**

Having established that my informants wished for a study under different terms, and having reviewed the theoretical issues that a study of the texts I was presented with requires, this section focuses on the acts of interceding upon the terms of fieldwork as I set them by presenting these texts and upon rhetorical/poetic analysis of the texts themselves.

The act of resistance to my choices in method and speech genre is important in and of itself. As Briggs notes from his own encounters of resistance to the fieldworker's methodology, “The effects of my attempts to impose my own metacommunicative strategies on my consultants also made it quite difficult for me to see that they were presenting me with extremely valuable material” (Briggs 1986: 58).

The problem with my methods was that they reflected a different ideology of what constitutes a language and of how a language is learned than that of my informants. Briggs' warning, that "[i]gnorance of native theories of the acquisition process thus deprives the fieldworker of the resources needed to foresee how her or his attempts to gain competence will fare in the eyes of the natives" (Briggs 1986: 62-63) applies to my situation. Writing on the disjuncture caused by the presence of the ethnographer, T. Nevins reminds us that "The ethnographer travels, so to speak, in an inventive and destabilizing discursive field that her very presence has a hand in making." (Nevins 2010: 59). My presence, to say nothing of my requests and methodology had placed us all in that destabilizing discursive field. This led all of us to strive for creative solutions to the situation, as Gulshan and Umair responded by employing and creating texts in novel ways, and I reframed the scope of my own research.

To begin, it is clear that the attempt to steer my research in a different direction was based on a misunderstanding. Pretextually, Gulshan and Umair clearly have a different view of what was at state in our time together than I did. My choice of genres, combined with differing notions of what my inquiries covered and where they were heading, lead to a break in my model and the implementation of new methods for my study of Hindko. Under these new conditions, Gulshan and Umair, independent of each other, used their own positions in the local mediascape to create and share texts with me that spoke to their concerns about language and allowed them to convey this information in genres that were of importance to them.

Gulshan and Umair had succeeded in breaking the elicitation frame I had set and at least in part moving my area of inquiry into domains that were meaningful to them.

Writing about resistance to his interview techniques in his own fieldwork and the power relationships implicit in them, Briggs notes that “the respondents principal means of subverting this power lies in breaking the frame of the interview. It’s likely that my insistence on elicitation and translation was even more restrictive and alien to my informants than an interview would be. In addition to teaching me Hindko rather than letting me pursue knowledge of the language through my own methods, Both Umair and Gulshan presented me with various objects and performances that served to convey their knowledge of Hindko under their terms. In addition to the songs, textbook and film discs previously mentioned, there was an additional text, that while minor, reveals a great deal ideologically. In my notebook, Umair drew a newly created orthographic symbol used to represent the nasal flap sound that Umair claimed to be essential to Hindko. In both of these cases Umair and Gulshan have drawn from their experiences, literacies and media knowledge to convey what they see as significant about Hindko.

As Mühlhäusler notes, "...languages, next to transmitting information... also serve a large range of metacommunicative functions, such as marking and sustaining group identity..." (Mühlhäusler 2001: 134). As a linguistic minority both in Karachi and Pakistan as a whole, the population I studied was under more pressure to assert an distinct identity than members of the larger, widely recognized ethnic and linguistic groups of Pakistan. Separated from a homeland and a larger culture and community of speakers, the role language plays in establishing identity increases. In multilingual situations, languages can fall into niches and embed strong social connotations and complex power relationships. Jane Hill, for example, noting the different roles for Mexicano and Spanish in the Malinche Volcano area, writes that Spanish “is the language of money and the

market, of the city, of evil personages in myths and of social distance” and is used to mark discourse as “profound and authoritative” (Hill 1998: 310). Mexicano fills the complementary role as a language of close social relationships and of ceremonial, rather than political, power. While the multilingual makeup of Karachi consists of many more languages than this, the same general relationship can be seen, with National languages carrying overt political power and local languages establishing closer relationships and cultural authenticity.

What do these texts reveal that was obscured through elicitations and translations? What makes these texts more authentically Hazaran than the initial recordings I made? Before any conclusions regarding ideologies can be made, the texts themselves must be examined.

### **3.1 Film**

The Film I was presented with was *Main Julian England* (“I’m going to England”), a 2007 comedy. While the film markets itself as a “Pothwari Comedy Tele Film” (The Pothohar Plateau is a region to the East of the Hazara Valley), Umair still felt it was more representative of Hindko than my word and sentence-based inquiries had been. While the film does not make any claims to represent Hindko, what it does represent is the language in a strong geographic context, as the film takes place in mountainous valleys similar to the Hazara Valley. The film’s mountainous scenery and small-town setting are used as a background for the main character, Aftab, played by Iftikhar Thakur. He is portrayed as ignorant and bumbling, but ultimately caring and good-natured. There are many scenes which have strong rural connotations, such as scenes of traveling from house to house on a donkey, or comically chasing an escaped

chicken through an open field. The superiority of rural life is often implied. In one scene, after a difficult encounter in the city with a photographer, Aftab insinuates that the photographer left his village to come to the city not because of any job opportunity, but because he was driven out of his village for stealing. The physical setting of Hindko could not be made apparent through my initial recordings, but in the film it is made instantly clear.

### **3.2 Textbook**

In addition to the film, Umair presented me with his old English-language Pakistan Studies textbook (Khan 2006). While the book does not devote a great deal of space to languages, they do reveal a language ideology whose concerns were quite different from my own. The chapter on languages has two primary concerns; defending Urdu's status as the national language of Pakistan and informing on Urdu and the major regional languages of Pakistan. The information provided on the languages of Pakistan is not of a grammatical nature, but instead concerned with the history, literature, geography and 'development' level of the language. Like the film, languages, with the exception of Urdu, are clearly placed in a specific geographic area.

### **3.3 Songs**

The songs I recorded are treated here as texts after the fashion described in Silverstein and Urban (1996). That is, a decontextualized piece of culture that is made transmittable through this removal of background and may be recontextualized in new contexts to suit the purposes of the performer (Silverstein and Urban 1996: 1-2). While Silverstein and Urban focus on the contextualizing of texts and how this relates to the

transmission of culture from one generation to the next, it can also be profitably applied to instances of a member of one culture sharing it with members of another.

Gulshan used her songs to locate herself in three ways: 1) through specific reference to Abbottabad and related areas, 2) through reference to actions and ways of life that are geographically linked to Abbottabad and 3) through vocabulary choices that place her further away from Urdu. Examples of all of these will shed light on the complex negotiations of ideology and identity on display in these performances.

The songs consisted of a mix of traditional and improvised verses within a traditional verse structure. The order of verses was variable, and the individual songs, while primarily consisting of existing verses, are original creations. Recording sessions for songs generally consisted of Gulshan and a second singer who would accompany her on verses they were familiar with. For improvised verses, the second singer would occasionally accompany the repeated portion of the verse and clap along. The recordings contain many instances of Gulshan whispering the first few words of the verse she has chosen to the other singer before beginning. The following sample illustrates the structure and some of the subject matter of the songs. Detailed transcriptions can be found in appendix B.

*chagra wich chagra wich ai charya ta bich pardaisan da  
dil lagda ni dil lagda ni tay ki karya ta bich pardaisan da  
pata tootain da poochain aan pata tootain da poochain aan jagg sara tahna desi  
jagg sara tahna desi to itna ta soochain aan  
khari talla kan dakya onain to main sadka jinna arif naah rakhya jinna arif naah  
rakhya  
niki meen zanjeeri aa bachyaan da naah kinka dil thunda kareeri aa kareeri a  
bachyaan da naah kinka dil thunda kareeri aa  
Kashmeer ich wasdao chalo jeeo veero parrain kolo dardao dardao chalo jeeo  
veero parrain kolo dardao*

*asmani jahaz aya sootti hoi jagay aan beerain da waaz aya waaz aya sootti hoi  
 jagay aan beerain da waaz aya  
 roti tawa utta sukthi aa loka di moyan mukdi sadi jeendain mukh gay aa mukh gay  
 aa loka di moya mukhdi sadi jeendain mukh gay aa  
 odh kawan mera pata kis lawai gilgilt daya oh jaza oh jaza mera pata kis lawai  
 gilgilt daya oh jaza  
 gaddy more kay sag lawain gaddy more kay sag lawain pullain waalla baddal  
 barr pullain waalla baddal barra Abbottabad utta  
 boor polahi hossi koi boor polahi hossi koi kujh sadi galti Allah kujh sadi galti  
 Allah ta kujh taqdeer aa alai hossi  
 Assalaamualaikum*

*A lady came into the city and there was fighting  
 My heart is upset and I don't know what to do in this city  
 She is grabbing the raspberry leaves, you did not think that people will taunt me  
 I put a crow under the basket and I want to sacrifice my life to those who made  
 the name Arif.  
 I have a small chain, because of my children's names my heart is like cold hail  
 (very happy)  
 My brother is living in Kashmir; long live my brother who is afraid of his sister  
 I heard the sound of the plane in the sky; I thought my brother was calling me  
 Bread is drying on the pan; people are dying at death, but our lives are like we  
 are dead  
 Hey crow, go away, this is Gilgit's airplane, how did they know my address?  
 I am going to turn my car around; I want to flowers to rain on Abbottabad  
 New buds are forming; some things are my mistakes, some are in my fate*

Through naming specific areas, Gulshan locates herself in both Abbottabad and the nearby valley of Manshera. She also mentions Gilgit and Kashmir as locations of her brother, who is mentioned in two of the songs considered here. A verse from the first song makes her feelings on Abbottabad clear:

*gaddy more kay sag lawain gaddy more kay sag lawain pullain waalla baddal barra  
 pullain waalla baddal barra Abbottabad utta*

*'I am going to turn my car around; I want to flowers to rain on Abbottabad'*

In addition to explicitly naming Abbottabad and surrounding areas, Gulshan evokes the geography through reference to actions and practices associated with a mountainous rural existence and incompatible with the Urban, coastal life in Karachi.

takkay nal goaha sokhta dooroin siyan kidday arif ta mozammal doy dooroin siyan  
kidday dooroin siyan kidday arif ta mozammal doy

*'Dung is drying on the mountain, I recognized both Arif and Mozammal'*

Checking the mountainsides for drying dung (to use as fuel) is an activity with strong suggestions as to the area and lifestyle of one involved in it. The activities in this verse are compatible with life in Abbottabad and not possible in Karachi. Another verse with allusions to a pastoral lifestyle can be found here:

pata tootain da poochain aan pata tootain da poochain aan jagg sara tahna desi jagg sara  
tahna desi to itna ta soochain aan

*'I am gathering raspberry leaves/ You did not consider that other people will taunt me'*

Raspberry leaves are commonly gathered to supplement the diets of livestock. While urban goat keeping is common in Karachi, the gathering of wild food for them as described here has a very strong rural connotation.

The third method in which Gulshan sought to place herself in Abbottabad was through vocabulary choice. The following verse contains a telling change:

mansehra aggay bambba laggay suit malshiya da Arif nal accha laggay suit malshiya da  
suit malshiya da Arif nal changay laggay

*'I wish there would be a tube well next to Manshera; Arif (Gulshan's son) would look good in a malaysia suit'*



Breaking the typical pattern of repetition in these verses, Gulshan changes *acchay* to *changay*. While both of these mean 'good', *accha* is a shared cognate between Urdu and Hindko, where *changay* is not. This active negotiation of identity suggests that even in the middle of verses, Gulshan was seeking more points on which to anchor her identity through song.

At first I did not see the study of these songs as very important to my overall work and collected them primarily because the singers wished to hear their voices played back on tape. This is similar to Abu-Lughod's initial impression of the short poems she encountered in her fieldwork, which became central to her ethnography (Abu-Lughod 1999: 25). Changing the genre of discourse in order to better represent one's identity or ideas can be found in many other examples in the anthropological and linguistic literature. In Abu-Lughod's work with Bedouins of Egypt, she found that topics that were particularly personal or emotionally charged were not expressed in everyday speech, but through poetry (Abu-Lughod 1999).

Regarding the differing goals behind the use of poetry as opposed to ordinary discourse, Abu-Lughod describes the goal of poetic discourse as markedly different from ordinary discourse. In ordinary discourse, the gaining of respect is the goal, whereas in poetic discourse it is the gaining of help and sympathy (1999: 242). Abu-Lughod found that the use of poetry allowed individuals to broach subjects that would be found to be too blunt if expressed in everyday discourse. She notes that "[b]y channeling such powerful sentiments into a rigid and conventional medium and delimited social context, individuals demonstrate a measure of self-mastery and control that contributes to honor" (Abu-Lughod 1999: 245). Gulshan's motivations appear to have been similar to those

encountered by Abu-Lughod. For Gulshan to simply state where she is from and her membership in a distinct cultural group would not carry the convincing weight that a performance in song, that only suggests those claims, does.

#### **4 Constructing Ideologies**

An explanation of these responses requires a deeper understanding of both how my informants defined their language and in what ways the value of a language can be negotiated. Based on interviews with my informants and examination of the texts they presented to me, I have identified five factors upon which the value of a language is locally judged. The first three are based directly on my encounters and were factors upon which the status of Hindko was negotiated. They are: 1) A claim to a long-term historical homeland within a discrete geographic area 2) A unique writing system and a history of written work in that language and 3) The literary suitability and the renown of literary works in the language. Based on information in the Pakistan Studies textbook and from interviews and conversations there are an additional two factors, 4) The suitability of the language for scientific and professional discourse and 5) The suitability of the language for religious discourse, upon which the status of a language can potentially be negotiated, but I did not directly encounter negotiations along these factors. A detailed discussion of these factors and how they can be negotiated follows.

##### **4.1 Historical and geographic claims**

One way in which a language can attain prestige is through a long-term claim to a particular geographic area. Through interviews, both with my informants and others during my fieldwork, and the information presented in the Pakistan Studies textbook I make the claim that a clearly defined, long-term homeland for speakers of a language is a

positive factor upon which the worth of a language is judged. This ideological position bears a strong resemblance to that of 19th century German philologists, used as a source of authority in the Pakistan Studies textbook and to the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder, whose notions of Romantic Nationalism as it relates to language bear strong resemblances to the views on language encountered among my informants.

The Pakistan Studies textbook presents information on languages from a literary and philological point of view. In writing on Sindhi, it states “Prof. Max Muller is of the opinion that Sindhi was born even before Sanskrit which is generally held to be the most ancient Indian language... [h]e says that the people living on both sides of the Indus as early as BC 2000 spoke Sindhi” (Khan 2006: 136). This simultaneously establishes a strong historical and geographic role for the language very well. Sindhi is placed in a specific location and is identified with a (very) long-term claim to that location. As opposed to Urdu, all of the regional languages of Pakistan are presented as long-term residents of specific areas of Pakistan. None of them are presented as creoles or in any way ‘mixed’. In many studies of language ideology, the belief that one's own language is ‘pure’, and a rejection of evidence to the contrary can be found. This can be seen in Roberge's (1990) study of Afrikaans speakers rejecting a “creole” origin for their language. Errington notes the placeless quality that colonial agents viewed creole and pidgin languages with (2008: 148n) and the importance my subjects placed on the uniqueness and locality of their language suggests they take a similar view.

Why the book employs data from German philologists for information on Pakistan's languages goes beyond the prestige that foreign scholarly study of Pakistan's language confers. A similar language ideology motivates both the German philological

approach and modern attitudes on language in Pakistan. Errington describes one of the uses for philology outside the academy as making "...the past into a resource for nationalizing ideologies on an industrializing Europe, nowhere more importantly than in Germans' confrontation with a political and cultural crisis of identity quite close to home" (2008: 71). Many of the concerns of German philologists are reflected in everyday attitudes toward language that I encountered among my informants. In trying to explain my work on languages, I was often asked if my research concerned which languages came first, or were the oldest. Wilhelm Von Humboldt's teleological view of language development toward a complete state, and a hierarchical categorizing of languages along that scale of development (Errington 2008: 76) could be seen among my informants, albeit with far different criteria used to place those languages along the same scale. Errington describes Grimm's Law as a discovery that had bound Germans together "organically, through speech, to their ancestors in a kind of intimate but unconscious project, working itself through between generations and across centuries" (2008: 80). This concern with the locality and the age of a language was clearly present with my informants and nearly everyone with whom I discussed language with in Pakistan.

While not a philologist per se, the German philosopher of language Johann Gottfried Herder presents a language ideology that offers numerous points of comparison with the ideologies of my informants.

The notion of creating a distinct identity through song or other verbal art is not a new one. Kroskrity writes of Herder's "use of folk verbal art as a nation-nucleating discourse" (Kroskrity 2000b:11). Herder's views closely tie a language and its speakers to their geography. As Errington notes, "Herder's story allows no firm line between nature

and culture, or individual and community” (Errington 2008: 52). Bauman and Briggs write that “...in Herder’s conception, it is the possession of its own language that constitutes the touchstone of a people or *Volk*, the sine qua non of its national identity and spirit” (2000:173). In this way it is clear that Herder’s and my subject’s share a linguistic ideology. Showing their linguistic uniqueness also serves to show their status as a distinct cultural entity within the larger national polity. This same ideology can be seen on a state level as well, serving a different end. Both Jinnah’s and Khan’s call for a single national language fit with Herder’s notions of nationalism. While Herder celebrated cultural and linguistic diversity, his view of diversity leaves no room for cultural exchange, mixing or multiple identities. For Herder, “acceptable diversity, whether linguistic or cultural, begins at the national boundary” (Bauman and Briggs 2000: 185). Given these ideological preconditions, the goals of my informants becomes clearer. In order to achieve recognition from among their surrounding identities, it is to their advantage to position Hindko as a separate, historically unique, and developed language.

Negotiation of Hindko’s status in terms of historical and geographic claims also occurred outside of the presentation of specific texts to me. In addition to elicitation and translation exercises I asked my informants general information about their language and its use. The most revealing line of questioning turned out to be questions regarding Hindko’s similarity to other local languages. While my intent was just to gather information about Hindko’s grammatical relationship to other languages, this proved to be an opportunity for my informants to negotiate the status of their language with me. As I had expected at least some of those I asked to make a connection between Hindko and Punjabi, I directly asked one of the individuals surveyed if Hindko and Punjabi are

similar. Her answer was that it was not like Punjabi, as she was not a farmer. While at first this appears to be a non-sequitur, it shows the strong connection between language, geography and traditional ways of life. This can be taken as an example of *fractal recursivity* as it is defined by Irvine and Gal (2000: 38), as the opposition between lifeways has been extended to become a delineating factor between language groups. This may also explain the inclusion of material labeled as Pothwari (the film), offered up as a representative example of Hindko in use.

While Urdu was the most consistent answer for the language that Hindko is the most similar to, neighboring regional languages were also mentioned. Umair claimed that Hindko and Potowari were ‘the same’ based on what he had viewed from the film he presented to me, and he associated Hindko with other nearby languages such as Siraiki. These languages, from mountainous valleys similar to the Hazara valley, emphasize show the obverse of the earlier denial of a link between Hindko and Punjabi and demonstrate how similar lifeways can lead to a perceived similarity in language. This stated distance from Punjabi and similarity to Urdu matches observations by Hans Wolff of groups claiming knowledge of distantly related yet prestigious languages while downplaying knowledge of closely related languages of less prestige (1959:39).

It is clear that for my consultants, linguistic identity is shaped by more than just the structure of the language one speaks. Addressing the historic and geographic factors that influence one's linguistic self-identification in India, Khubchandani offers three, two which lead to speakers of the same language referring to their languages as different, and one which leads speakers of different languages to claim them as the same. *Physical or political environments* refers to natural geographic features and national borders (such as

the Indian-Pakistan border) that limit interaction between groups on either side (Khubchandani 1983: 46). *Sociocultural affinities* refers to "ethnic, religious, [national] and/or occupational affiliations" (Khubchandani 1983: 46) that determine one's linguistic identity. Khubchandani offers the division between Hindi and Urdu as explainable through this. The third reason, *Legendary convictions*, works in the opposite direction of the other factors as it describes situations in which speakers of languages that linguists would consider separate claim to speak the same language because of a shared belief of a common origin (Khubchandani 1983: 46-47). Umair's claims of similarity between Hindko and Pothwari are likely based on notions of shared geography and origins as much as grammatical similarity between the languages. Of the two non-linguistic factors that lead to claims of speaking a different language, It appears at first glance that *sociocultural affinities* is the determining factor in this case, as the reason that a speaker gave for Hindko not being similar to or the same as Punjabi was a wholly occupational one.

#### **4.2 Writing System and Literacy**

The second factor in which a language's worth is judged is the presence of a writing system, with a historically long lasting and unique writing system being especially valuable. South Asia is the home of numerous writing systems which carry charged cultural and political significance to speakers of those languages. For example, Eisenlohr writes of how an act as seemingly minor as changing the order in which Hindi and Tamil text appears on currency lead to protests and the storming of a bank in Mauritius (Eisenlohr 2006: 3-4).

Even though there is no formal Hindko writing system, Umair still found that this was a factor upon which Hindko's status was negotiable. Based on his writing example and information from the Pakistan Studies textbook I argue that the presence of a writing system and literacy in a particular language are factors in which a language's "worth", as seen against a global backdrop and influenced by concerns of "development", can be judged and negotiated.

I treat literacy here in the sense that Brian Street does: not as a binary quality that is possessed or not, but as an ideologically shaped set of practices related to reading and writing (Street 1993b). While the literacy rate in Pakistan is quite low, literacy itself is valued and seen as prestigious. This is common throughout South Asia. A study of the gendered differences in literacy in Pakistan, including an ethnographic study of the ideologies behind literacies can be found in Zubair 2001.

The importance of writing on the local views of language is hard to underestimate. In fact, it may be that the presence of a writing system is what determines what is viewed as a language and what is considered a dialect. Writing on local usages of the terms 'language' and 'dialect' across the Indo-Aryan languages, Masica notes that the terms are primarily used in two differing senses. The first is similar to linguistic definitions of the term in that dialect refers to one of several subgroupings within a language. The second uses dialect as a blanket term for unwritten languages and 'language' is reserved for forms of speech with a script and literature (Masica 1991: 23). From my own fieldwork both definitions can be found. The Hindko speakers I interviewed all considered their variety of speech a separate language despite the lack of a written tradition (at least in the Abbottabad area. Written works in 'Hindko' from Peshawar were unknown to my

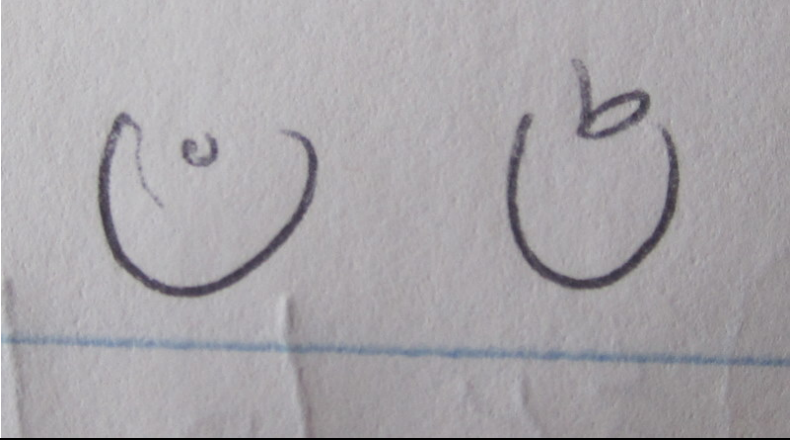


consultants). The notion that language is defined by its written form and its literature can be seen in many publications. An English-language school textbook in Pakistan Studies provided to me by a consultant who was in secondary school at the time contains examples that illustrate this view. In the chapter on languages, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto and Balochi are all briefly summarized. The languages are all discussed exclusively in terms of their history, written script and written literature (Khan 2006: 135-140). The only mention of Hindko is in a list of dialects of Punjabi (Khan 2006: 136).

While those of my consultants who could write did write words for me in Hindko, it lacked even the moderate amount of standardization that vernacular written Urdu has. This would be expected as Hindko is not taught in schools and writing it is based on a speaker's knowledge of written Urdu or written English. Written languages are seen as more developed than unwritten ones, and as all of my consultants who could write did offer some written Hindko. Literacy and the development of a written script are not always presented as beneficial (Mühlhäusler 1990 describes the deleterious effect the introduction of writing had on Pacific Island languages), my consultants all saw writing as desirable. The amount of written Hindko I observed was limited. Most examples are from consultants writing sentences in my notebooks, using either the Perso-Arabic script or Latin characters. The only other domain I encountered written Hindko was with text messaging (SMS), where Latin characters were used exclusively, even on newer phones capable of producing Urdu script. The small English character set compared to Urdu makes for more ambiguous spelling, but it appears that none of my consultants, or anyone else I encountered, felt the clarity provided by Urdu script worth the compatibility problems or the tedium of inputting them.

Other examples of individuals using a 'higher' language in attempt to convey a "developed" affect can be found in the anthropological literature in South Asia. Laura Ahearn, for example, writes of Magars in Nepal using Hindi, Sanskrit and English in love letters written primarily in their dialect of Nepali (Ahearn 2001: 42). The English in these notes were not used in a way that the author found comprehensible, and Ahearn attributes their importance to be not one of literal communication, but rather in order to demonstrate mastery of a "prestigious skill" (Ahearn 2001: 43). Trivedi's humorous example of the non-proficient use of English in Hindi film is another example of English used not for its literal communicative properties, but as a marker of development and intellectualism (Trivedi 2008:203). Both of these examples suggest a hierarchy of linguistic prestige and the connection with politically and religiously important languages to prestige and development.

The most interesting example of written Hindko that I encountered consisted of a single character. While the nasal flap sound that occurs in Hindko does not appear to contrast phonemically, it nevertheless provides a point of contrast as the sound is not found phonetically in Urdu. During my elicitations with Umair, he made a point of stressing the distinctiveness of the sound. He did this by spontaneously coining a new Hindko script character. By replacing the dot in the character *nun* with the retroflex symbol used for the retroflex versions of [t], [d] and [r], Umair created a symbol that gave this sound the unique status he feels it deserves as well as giving an idea of the pronunciation.



Letter	Name	Sound
ن	nun	[n]
ت	te	[t̪]
ٹ	ṭe	[t̪]
د	dāl	[d̪]
ڈ	ḍāl	[d̪]
ر	re	[r]
ړ	ṛe	[r̪]

*Table 2: excerpt from the author's notes showing the letter nun, representing the [n] sound (left), and Umair's coined letter (right) representing the distinctive nasal flap [n̪]. The table shows the use of the retroflex to 'e symbol in Urdu, providing the basis from which this new character was created.*

The novel combination of elements used to create this character show both the cultural need for orthographic uniqueness and an awareness of the actual production methods of the sound, often seen by linguists as unconscious and unavailable to the native speaker without training. By creating a new orthographic character solely to show the unique character of his language, Umair shows that literacy is not a passive process, but one in which the learner is active and one in which the literate agent affects literacy as much as being affected by it. Kulick and Stroud's description of literate Papua New Guineans as people who "actively and creatively apply literate skills to suit their own

purposes and needs” (1993: 31) can also apply here. This can also be seen as an extension of the Herderian notion of linguistic nationalism, as a spontaneous act of orthographic uniqueness is used to support linguistic and cultural uniqueness.

### **4.3 Literary suitability**

Literary suitability, as well as the qualities of scientific, professional, and religious suitability are at least in part measured by the development of particular registers of speech. The notion of mastery of speech registers correlating with increased status for speakers is a widespread one. In Nahuatl, Errington notes that mastery over the *tecpillatolli* register of speech marked elite status for the speaker (2008: 39). For these examples I take a slightly different approach and argue that not only can mastery of a particular register confer prestige on a speaker, but the presence of culturally valued registers can confer higher status upon a language.

Given the motivations of those involved, it’s not surprising that my requests for single words and individual sentences were met with responses of long form texts, whether those be films, books or songs. One factor may have been the large number of cognates, many with predictable forms, found between Hindko and Urdu. My subjects tended to define and differentiate languages largely on their vocabularies. Given this, a shift to a domain where the focus on individual words is lessened would work in their favor. By shifting my focus from the microscopic level of individual sounds and words to the broader domain of discourse, Umair and Gulshan were able to more effectively communicate the cultural and ideological issues of a unique and prestigious linguistic identity that were raised by my inquiries. Writing on the language-culture relationship, Sherzer notes that it is at the level of discourse that the link is most apparent. He writes

that discourse “...creates, recreates, modifies and fine-tunes both culture and language and their intersection” and that it is in verbally artistic discourse that “...the potentials and resources provided by grammar, as well as cultural meanings and symbols, are exploited to the fullest and the essence of language-culture relationships becomes salient” (Sherzer 1987: 296).

#### **4.4 Scientific, professional and religious suitability**

Based on the Pakistan Studies textbook, it is clear that the use of a language in scientific and professional contexts, and the development of the necessary registers for this use is a sign of a developed language. This is not a factor that any of my informants attempted to negotiate the status of Hindko on, apparently ceding that ground to the national languages of Urdu and English. A portion of the introduction, quoted here, illustrates the qualities upon which Khan judges and argues for languages upon:

“Physical and social sciences affect the character of a language and the language in turn affects the academic life of the society. Languages of the vibrant and civilized societies are rich in the academic tradition and vice versa in the uncivilized societies. Urdu is the product of centuries of cultural interaction between the Hindu and Muslim communities of India, and was identified to be the symbol of Hindu-Muslim unity, but on a particular juncture of history the Hindus totally alienated themselves from it. With this, cracks started appearing in the body of the magnificent Indian culture based on Hindu-Muslim unity. In this way, the process that started with meager linguistic differences ended up in a total separation of two nations” (Khan 2006: 133)

With these paragraphs, Khan makes several claims. The first is that academic traditions are embedded within a language. The second is to place Urdu in a deep historical context, one that is associated with a grand, unified civilization. While not specifically mentioning Hindi, it also suggests that Urdu speakers can make greater claims of historical prestige.

Masica describes the difference between developed and undeveloped languages as not merely one related to the social status of the speakers, but at least in part to the development of specialized registers within the 'developed' languages (Masica 1991: 23). The development of a scientific register fits in with this well.

One of Khan's justifications for Urdu's status as the national language of Pakistan is that "Urdu has a potential of being developed into a perfect language of science and technology as well as the language of official use" (2006: 133). There is nothing to suggest that Urdu is more or less capable at this than other languages, this quote is important in that it emphasizes the importance of specialized, technical registers and places those registers at the high end of a language's development, with the endpoint being a 'perfect language'. While the notions of what developed and undeveloped languages are is likely to be more informed by the status of those that speak the languages rather than a survey of a language's technical registers, this doesn't discount the importance of these registers.

The final characteristic in evaluating the relative worth of a language is that language's suitability in religious contexts. A language that is suitable for Islamic dialogue and scholarship, or at least one with strongly Islamic connotations is seen as more developed. Like the factor of scientific and professional suitability, this was not one in which my informants attempted to negotiate the value of their language upon.

The language-religion connection can also be seen in Mauritius where Eisenlohr notes that "...in order to remain Hindu, religious practices such as daily worship, going on pilgrimages and visiting temples are not sufficient. Somebody who does not know one of the Indian languages (with the exception of Urdu) cannot claim to be a true Hindu but is

'denationalized' (Eisenlohr 2006: 55). This also reinforces Urdu's status as a Muslim language, as it is the only one that cannot be used to establish a Hindu Identity, showing that the association between Urdu and Islam is strong even outside of Pakistan and from non-Muslims who do not speak the language.

Of the seven reasons Khan gives in support of Urdu's status as the national language, two deal explicitly with Urdu's status as a language of Islam. He first notes that "[w]ith the adoption of the Arabic, Persian and Turkish words, Urdu has developed a close affinity with other languages of the Muslim world" (Khan 2006: 132). The other reason stated is "[i]n the History of Southeast Asia, Islam, Pakistan and Urdu have been so closely related to each other that none of these can be supposed to flourish and prosper independently. Urdu has a very rich treasure of Islamic literature. We cannot achieve the ideological objectives of our state unless we give Urdu the status it really deserves" (Khan 2006: 133).

While religious suitability is a significant factor upon which the worth of a language can be judged, much like professional and scientific suitability, my informants bypassed this factor in favor of others that they were more prepared to negotiate Hindko's status upon.

#### **4.5 Summary of Factors**

These reasons bring in multiple elements of language and status, and they show the intertwining of the multiple manners in which a language's worth is judged. The author attempts to negotiate Urdu's status by comparing it to the more prestigious languages (especially in a specifically Islamic context) of Arabic and Persian. This is similar to the strategy my own informants took in comparing Hindko to Urdu. The similarities claimed

to Arabic, Persian and Turkish are vocabulary based. This shows that the similarity in vocabulary that frustrated many of the Hindko speaking informants can in other contexts be used to raise the status of a language, if not its uniqueness. Urdu's literary history is also invoked to raise its religious worth. While Urdu, especially Urdu in Pakistan cannot make a claim to a long-term, specific area of occupation, the author does place Urdu strongly in space and time, albeit on a much larger plane.

## **5 Conclusion**

From the dissatisfaction expressed by my informants with my initial methods of understanding Hindko, it is clear that the gathering of linguistic information is not a neutral process, and there may be much more at stake to the informants than what the fieldworker is initially aware of. My two chief informants took it upon themselves to change my focus independent of one another. While their methodology differed, their motivations were similar: to frame Hindko in a way that maintained its cultural and geographic connotations, and left its status open for negotiation.

The multilingual state of Karachi, and Pakistan as a whole, is a complex ideological space in which identities and power relations are created and reinforced. Study in a particular language cannot be conducted outside of this space and, intentional or not, can make these relationships readily apparent, or allow for a context in which they can be challenged and recreated. The methodology of my inquiry into Hindko created a conundrum for my informants. By calling for monolingual linguistic performances, I was also inadvertently calling for a unique cultural performance in the spirit of the unique verbal art valued by Herder. The alien genres that I had imposed on my subjects (elicitations, translation exercises and highly artificial "free conversations") were an



impediment to such performances. Gulshan and Umair overcame this obstacle by challenging the genres in which I was studying Hindko, and shifting my focus to domains and genres in which they had the ability to validate their language and culture as a whole. Through the presentation and creation of texts, both were able to argue a higher, more 'developed' status for Hindko and for themselves.

These arguments also reveal much of the language ideology, both local and national, that shape how my consultants view their language, both as it relates to their cultural and political status and to the other languages of Pakistan. Combined with the national ideology, as supplied to me through Umair's presentation of the Pakistan Studies textbook, the axes upon which this negotiation can take place are shown. The five factors illustrated here, those of historical and geographic uniqueness, the presence of an orthography, the language's literary suitability, religious suitability and scientific/professional suitability show the many ways in which power relations are embedded in languages and how languages may occupy ideological niches in a multilingual milieu. How my informants were able to skillfully use several of these axes to show the worth of Hindko that through creativity and under the right circumstances the developmental hierarchy of language can be challenged and reconfigured.

These negotiations and challenges, and the light they shed on the larger language ideologies at work brought to the forefront methodological choices of mine that threatened to minimize them. This shows that the initial disruptive presence of the ethnographer, rather than obscuring, can provide an impetus for individuals to present, perform and recreate their culture in ways that under different circumstances would remain obscured.

## Appendix A

### Hindko word list

<b>English</b>	<b>Hindko</b>	<b>Urdu</b>
1. Yes	[ã]	[hã]
2. No	[na]	[nəhĩ]
3. Come	[a.i]	[ana]
4. Go	[dʒulna]	[dʒana]
5. This	[e]	[he]
6. That	[o]	[vo]
7. Here	[It <sup>h</sup> e]	[Id <sup>h</sup> ər]
8. There	[ut <sup>h</sup> e]	[ud <sup>h</sup> ər]
9. White	[dʒIta]	[safed]
10. Black	[kala]	[kala]
11. Red	[ɣəta]	[lal]
12. Blue	[nila]	[nila]
13. Green	[sava]	[həra]
14. Earth	[zəmin]	[zəmin]
15. Fire	[ək <sup>h</sup> ]	[a:g]
16. Air	[dʒã]	[həva]
17. Good	[ət:ʃa]	[ət:ʃa]
18. Bad	[mənda]	[bura]
19. Today	[ədʒ]	[a:dʒ]
20. Yesterday/Tomorrow	[kəl]	[kəl]
21. d.b. Yesterday/d.a. Tomorrow	[pərsō]	[pərsō]
22. Who	[kōn]	[kōn]
23. What	[ke]	[kja]
24. When	[kədō]	[kəb]
25. Where	[kIt <sup>h</sup> e]	[kəhã]
26. How	[kIndʒu]	[kæsi]
27. Why	[kjō]	[kjū]
28. Water	[pañi]	[pani]
29. Now	[ōn]	[əb]
30. Day	[djar]	[dIn]
31. Week	[əfta]	[həfta]
32. Month	[mina]	[mahina]
33. Year	[sal]	[sal]
34. Sun	[dē]	[surədʒ]
35. Moon	[tʃən]	[tʃa:nd]
36. Star	[tara]	[sItara]
37. Cloud	[tʃər]	[ba:dəl]
38. Sky	[əsman]	[asma:n]
39. Do	[kərsa]	[kərna]

<b>English</b>	<b>Hindko</b>	<b>Urdu</b>
60. Eat	[k <sup>h</sup> ãna]	[k <sup>h</sup> ana]
61. Drink	[piña]	[pina]
62. Give	[deña]	[dena]
63. Take	[kIn:a]	[lena]
64. Brother	[bra]	[b <sup>h</sup> a.i]
65. Sister	[beñ]	[behen]
66. Mother	[əmi]	[mã]
67. Father	[əbu]	[ba:p]
68. Son	[pət <sup>hr</sup> r]	[beta]
69. Daughter	[ti]	[beti]
70. Cat	[bl:i]	[bl:i]
71. Dog	[kɔta]	[kɔta]
72. Mouse	[tʃu.a]	[tʃu.a]
73. Horse	[goɽa]	[goɽa]
74. Donkey	[k <sup>h</sup> ɔta]	[gəɖ <sup>h</sup> a]
75. Cow	[gã]	[gã.ẽ]
76. Fish	[mətʃi]	[mətʃli]
77. Lizard	[tʃɔpkɪli]	[tʃɔpkɪli]
78. Yellow	[pila]	[pila]
79. Finger	[uŋgli]	[uŋgli]
80. Thumb	[əŋgɔt <sup>h</sup> a]	[əŋgɔt <sup>h</sup> a]
81. Arm	[bã]	[bazu]
82. Body	[dʒɪsəm]	[dʒɪsəm]
83. Stomach	[pɛt]	[pɛt]
84. Leg	[təŋk]	[ta:ŋ]
85. Foot	[pɛr]	[pã.ɔ]
86. Back	[lək]	[kəmər]
87. Hair	[bəl]	[ba:l]
88. Ear	[kən]	[ka:n]
89. Eye	[ək]	[a:ŋk]
90. Nose	[nək]	[na:k]
91. Mouth	[mũ]	[mũ]
92. Tongue	[zəban]	[zuba:n]
93. Teeth	[dʒənt]	[dʒa:nt]
94. Read	[pərna]	[pərna]
95. Meet	[mɪlsã]	[mɪlna]
96. Sleep (v)	[seña]	[sona]
97. Bite	[kuɽərna]	[kaɽna]
98. Right	[səɖʒa]	[da.ẽ]
99. Left	[kəpa]	[ba.ẽ]
100. Up	[ut <sup>h</sup> e]	[ɔpər]
101. Down	[təle]	[nitʃe]
102. In	[blɪtʃ]	[mẽ]
103. Near	[kol]	[kərib]

<b>English</b>	<b>Hindko</b>	<b>Urdu</b>
104. About	[mutalik]	[mutalik]
105. With	[nal]	[sa:tʰ]
106. And	[or]	[or]
107. Or	[ja]	[ja]
108. Cook	[pəkasa]	[pəkana]
109. Hit (v)	[marna]	[marna]
110. Swim	[tersa]	[terna]
111. Start	[ʃeru]	[ʃeru]
112. Finish	[xətəm]	[xətəm]
113. Fly (v.)	[urna]	[udərna]
114. Smoke (n.)	[dʰua]	[dʰua]
115. Rock	[mava]	[madə]
116. Dust	[dʰu:]	[dʰul]
117. Mud	[mIti]	[mIti]
118. Bird	[pərInda]	[pərInda]
119. Feather	[pər]	[pər]
120. Beak	[tʃūtʃ]	[tʃōtʃ]
121. Animal	[dʒənvər]	[dʒənvər]
122. Fly (n.)	[mækʰi]	[mækʰi]
123. Louse	[dʒu]	[dʒu]
124. Spider	[mækəɽi]	[mækəɽi]
125. Butterfly	[tIti]	[tIti]
126. Ant	[peli]	[tʃunti]
127. Frog	[dəd]	[mendək]
128. Turtle	[kətʃua]	[kətʃua]
129. Flower	[pʰəl]	[pʰəl]
130. Tree	[buta]	[dərəxt]
131. Leaf	[pətər]	[pətər]
132. Wood	[ləkɽi]	[ləkɽi]
133. Mountain	[pa:]	[pəha:]
134. Sing	[gəña]	[gana]
135. Dance	[nətʃna]	[natʃna]
136. Look	[dIxna]	[dexna]
137. Buy	[xəridna]	[xaridna]
138. Fast	[tez]	[tez]
139. Slow	[asta]	[ahIsta]
140. New	[nəwa]	[nə.i]
141. Old	[pɽəña]	[pərana]
142. Clean	[saf]	[saf]
143. Happy	[huʃi]	[xuʃi]

## Appendix B

### Song Scripts

*A note on the presentation of these songs: The following are transcripts of three of the Gulshan's songs. An in-depth analysis of the songs themselves is beyond the scope of this thesis, but in keeping with the theme of this thesis, adapting one's study to incorporate what the informants find to be relevant about one's area of inquiry, they are presented here. Repeated and partial, forgotten verses are presented here as they were performed, with time markers after each completed verse. For the sake of clarity, vowel alternations caused by the song structure of the verses are not presented.*

*Some preliminary notes on these songs may help in their interpretation. While there are moments of clear narrative in these songs, Many verses are there for the purpose of rhythm or rhyme. While the paper focused on how Gulshan placed herself in Abbottabad or depicted herself as Hazaran through these songs, that's only a portion of what she sang about and they also cover many other subjects, such as her feelings of alienation from her family.*

### Song 1

#### 1.1

chagra	wich	chagra	wich	ai	charya ta
fight	between	fight	in	came	lady and
bich	pardaisan	da			
between	cities	in			

*'A lady came into the city and there was fighting' (0:15)*

#### 1.2

dil	lagda	ni	dil	lagda	ni	tay	ki	karya ta	bich
heart	wants	no	heart	wants	no	and	what	to do	and between
pardaisan	da								
cities	in								

*'My heart is upset and I don't know what to do in this city' (0:26)*

#### 1.3

pata	tootain	da	poochain	aan	pata	tootain	da	
leaves	raspberry	of	grab	-ing	leaves	raspberry	of	
poochain	aan	jagg	sara	tahna	desi	jagg	sara	tahna
grab	-ing	people	everyone	taunt	give	people	everyone	taunt
desi	to	itna ta	soochain	aan				
give	you	that much	think	-ing				

*'She is grabbing the raspberry leaves, you did not think that people will taunt me' (0:50)*

#### 1.4

khari talla kan dakya onain to main sadka jinna arif naah  
 basket under crow closed those on me sacrificed who Arif name  
 rakhya jinna arif naah rakhya  
 kept who Arif name kept

*'I put a crow under the basket and I want to sacrifice my life to those who made the name Arif.'* (1:15)

#### 1.5

niki meen zanjeeri aa bachyaan da naah kinka dil  
 small mean chain is childrens of name because heart  
 thunda kareeri aa kareeri aa bachyaan da naah kinka  
 cold hail is hail is childrens of name because  
 dil thunda kareeri aa  
 heart cold hail is

*'I have a small chain, because of my children's names my heart is like cold hail (very happy)'* (1:38)

#### 1.6

Kashmeer ich wasdaochalo jeeo veero parrain kolo dardao  
 Kashmir in living live long sibling of afraid  
 dardao chalo jeeo veero parrain kolo dardao  
 afraid live long sibling sibling of afraid

*'My brother is living in Kashmir; long live my brother who is afraid of his sister'*

#### 1.7

asmani jahaz aya sootti hoi jagay aan beerain da waaz aya  
 sky plane came sleep was woke ing brother of sound came  
 waaz aya sootti hoi jagay aan beerain da waaz aya  
 sound came sleep was woke ing brother of sound came

*'I heard the sound of the plane in the sky; I thought my brother was calling me' (2:29)*

#### 1.8

roti tawa utta sukthi aa loka di moyan mukdi sati  
 bread pan on dry ing people of death finish our  
 jeendain mukh gay aa mukh gay aa loka di moya  
 alive finish like ing finish like ing people of death  
 mukhdi sati jeendain mukh gay aa  
 finish our alive finish like ing

*'bread is drying on the pan; people are dying at death, but our lives are like we are dead'* (2:51)

### 1.9

odh	kawan	mera	pata	kis	lawai	gilgilt	daya	oh	jaza
fly	crow	my	address	who	knows	Gilgit	is	hey	plane
oh	jaza	mera	pata	kis	lawai	gilgilt	daya	oh	jaza
hey	plane	my	address	who	knows	Gilgit	is	hey	plane

*'Hey crow, go away, this is Gilgit's airplane, how did they know my address?'* (3:15)

### 1.10

gaddy	more	kay	sag	lawain	gaddy	more	kay	sag
car	back	to	straightbring	back	car	back	to	straightbring
lawain	pullain		waalla	baddal	barra	pullain		waalla
back	flower		like	rain	are	flower		like
baddal	barra	abbottabad	utta					
rain	are	Abbottabad	on					

*'I am going to turn my car around; I want to flowers to rain on Abbottabad'* (3:39)

### 1.11

boor	polahi	hossi	koi	boor	polahi	hossi	koi	kujh
before	flowers	is	which	before	flowers	is	which	some
sadi	galti	Allah	kujh	sadi	galti	Allah	ta	kujh
our	mistakes	Allah	some	our	mistakes	Allah	and	some
aa	alai	hossi						fate
ing	in	is						

*'New buds are forming; some things are my mistakes, some are in my fate'* (4:03)

Assalaamualaikum

## Song 2

### 2.1

latha	di	chadar	utta	salati	rang	mahiya	aa	ja	samna
cloth	's	shawl	up	gray	color	sweetheart	come	next	to me
aa	ja	samna	kolo	na	rus	kay	lung	mahiya	
come	next	to me	near	no	angry	's	walk	sweetheart	

*Cotton sheet of top grey color, darling/ come in front not upset darling come to me do not walk away upset, darling.*

**2.2**

assan	kandan	ta	satyan	rasiya	na	tussan	puchain		
we	walls	on	throw	rope	no	you	ask		
na	assan	dassiyān	latha	di	chadar	utta	salati	rang	
no	we	told	cloth	's	shawl	up	gray	color	
mahiya	aa ja	samna	aa ja	samna	kolo	na	rus	kay	lung
sweetheart	come	next to me	come	next to me	near	no	angry	's	walk
mahiya									
sweetheart	(0:42)								

*We threw ropes on top of the wall, you did not ask me and I did not tell you/ Cotton sheet of top grey color, darling/ come in front not upset darling come to me do not walk away upset, darling.*

**2.3**

assan	kandan	ta	satyan	choona	weriay	sotya			
we	walls	on	throw	paint	vernada	sleeping			
piya	na mun	na	latha	di	chadar	utta	salati	rang	
sweetheart	no face	no	cloth	's	shawl	up	gray	color	
mahiya	aa ja	samna	aa ja	samna	kolo	na	rus	kay	
sweetheart	come	nexttome	come	next to me	near	no	angry	's	
lung	mahiya								
walk	sweetheart (1:09)								

*We threw paint on the walls, my sweetheart is sleeping face up in the veranda/ Cotton sheet of top grey color, darling/ come in front not upset darling come to me do not walk away upset, darling.*

**2.4**

kootha	kootha	doorain	wass	pavay	ta	badla	mora	latha
roof	roof	run	wish	do	to	clouds	take	cloth
di	chadar	utta	salati	rang	mahiya	aa ja	samna	aa ja
's	shawl	up	gray	color	sweetheart	come	next to me	come
samna	kolo	na	rus	kay	lung	mahiya		
next to me	near	no	angry	's	walk	sweetheart (1:32)		

*I am running on the roof, I wish I would bring back the clouds/ Cotton sheet of top grey color, darling/ come in front not upset darling come to me do not walk away upset, darling.*

**2.5**

kootha	to	door	ayain	phul	motiya	da	soharan	
roof	on	run	came back	flower	jasmine	of	beautiful	
teri mangi	ta	chore	ayain	chore	ayain	phul	soharan	motiya
your bed	on	left	back	left	back	flower	beautiful	jasmine



da teri mangi ta chore ayain  
of your bed on left back (1:55)

*I came back from the roof, and I left pretty jasmine flowers on your bed. On your bed, pretty Jasmine flowers I left on your bed.*

## 2.6

kothe to door ayain batti zara ochhi way karo  
roof on run came back lantern little bit high this do  
karei chan gomma reayain batti zara ochhi way karo  
watch strap lost I did lantern little bit high this do  
batti zara ochhi way karo karei chan gommareayain  
lantern little bit high this do watch strap lost I did (2:15)

*I came back from the roof, turn up the lantern because I lost my watch strap. Turn up the lantern because I lost my watch strap.*

## 2.7

kothe to awainaan terain a neetai maan abbal sorawainaan  
roof on comes your this habit me before tells  
sorawainaan terain a neetai maan abbal sorawainaan  
tells your this habit me before tells (2:36)

*You could come from the roof and tell me your habits. Tell me your habits and come from the roof.*

## 2.8

takkay nal goaha sokhta dooroin siyan kiddy  
mountain with cow dung drying from distance recognize did  
arif ta mozammal doy dooroin siyan kiddy dooroin  
Arif and Mozammal both from distance recognize did from distance  
siyan kiddy arif ta mozammal doy  
recognize did Arif and Mozammal both (3:05)

*Dung is drying on the mountain, I recognized both Arif and Mozammal. I recognized both Mozammal and Arif, I recognized.*

## 2.9

mansehra aggay bambba laggay suit malshiya da Arif  
Mansera next to tube well would be suit kind of cloth 's Arif  
nal accha laggay suit malshiya da suit malshiya da Arif  
with good looks suit kind of cloth 's suit kind of cloth 's Arif  
nal changa laggay  
with good looks  
(3:27)

*I wish there would be a tube well next to Manshera/Arif looks good in Malaysia suit.*

### 2.10

kharee talaa kaan dakhya onnah to main sadkay jinnah Arif  
 basket under crow kept those on me sacrifice those Arif  
 naah rakya naah rakya onnah to main sadkay jinnah Arif naah  
 name kept name kept those on me sacrifice those Arif name  
 rakya  
 kept (3:46)

*We kept the crow under the basket/I want to sacrifice for the people who made the name Arif.*

### 2.11

peeriy day tukk paaway peeriy day tukk paaway tussain  
 bed of cut legs bed of cut legs you  
 nal tan layain tussain nal tan layain mat jinderi sukh  
 with why had you with why had maybe life legs  
 paaway sukh paaway tussain nal tan layain mat jinderi sukh  
 satisfied legs satisfied you with why had maybe life legs  
 paaway  
 satisfied (4:15)

*Cut off the legs of the bed/I was with you because I thought my life would be better.*

### 2.12

katli pariyan di banglay nal lai hoiaiy oho jani khana  
 kettle water of bungalow with keep is oh Johnny Khan  
 nai kaisee ronaq lai hoiaiy hoiaiy lai hoiaiy jani khana nai kaisee  
 ERG how party keep is is keep is Johnny Khan ERG how  
 ronaq lai hoiaiy  
 party keep is (4:43)

*There is a water kettle in the bungalow/John had a good party for us.*

### 2.13

pata tootain day pochainaan pata tootain day pochainaan  
 leaves berries of grab leaves berries of grab  
 jagg saara tannay dessi jagg saara tannay dessi to  
 people all sarcastic give people all sarcastic give you  
 itna tay soochainaan soochainaan jagg saara tannay dessi to  
 little bit thoughts thoughts people all sarcastic give of  
 itna tay soochainaan  
 little bit thoughts (5:10)

*I am grabbing the berries' leaves/Everyone will taunt me, you did not think about me before.*

### 2.14

mangi	tuppainchawaan	daai	hoiaa	mangi	tuppainchawaan	daai	hoiaa		
bed	sun	shade	put	did	bed	sun	shade	put	did
duk	maan	bachyaan	da	duk	maan	bachyaan	da	lokain	maraz
stress	me	children	's	stress	me	children	's	people	disease
barahi	hoiaa	barahi	hoiaa	duk	maan	bachyaan	da	lokain	
thoughts	did	thoughts	did	stress	me	children	's	people	
maraz	barahi	hoiaa							
disease	thoughts	did	(5:37)						

*My bed is in the sun and shade/people think I am sick because I am worrying about my children.*

### 2.15

aassmani	jaaz	aaya	aassmani	jaaz	aaya	sotti	hoi	jagg	gayaan
sky	plane	came	sky	plane	came	slept	was	woke up	
sotti hoi	jagg	gayaan	beerain	da	waz	aaya	waz	aaya	
slept was	woke up		brother	's	sound	came	sound	came	
sotti hoi	jagg	gayaan	beerain	da	waz	aaya			
slept was	woke up	brother	's	voice	came	(6:06)			

*When I was sleeping, I heard the loud sound of the plane and thought my brother was calling me.*

### 2.16

doliyan	doddan	diya	koi	doliyan	doddan	diya	
bowls	milk	is	some	bowls	milk	is	
wattano	bawattan	hoiaa	wattano	bawattan	hoiaa	pallian	tussan
country	foreign area	did	country	foreign area	did	cause	you
diya	tussan	diya	wattano	bawattan	hoiaa	pallian	tussan
gave you		gave	country	foreign land	did	cause	you
diya							
gave	(6:35)						

*There are some bowls of milk/I left my home because of you people.*

### 2.17

chhitti	kukkri	aa	shay	karyo	chhitti	kukkri	aa	shay	karyo	bich
white	hen	to	shoo	do	white	hen	to	shoo	do	in
pardisaan	day	bich	pardisaan	day	nikkay	baraa	aggay			
cities	's	in	cities	's	small	big	each other			

g karyo g karyo bich pardisaan day nikkay baraa  
 yes do yes do in cities 's small big  
 aggay g karyo  
 eachother yes do (7:02)

*Shoo away the white hen/ (to her children) be nice to each other in different cities.*

### Song 3

#### 3.1

kali kapni aan gal kali kapni aan tokar na layo tokar na  
 black cut ing talk black cut ing kick no don't kick no  
 layo dil aggay da zakmi aa zakmi aa tokar na layo  
 don't heart already of injure is injure is kick no don't  
 dil aggay da zakmi aa  
 heart already of injure is (0:32)

*I am talking badly/ Please don't say bad things to me, my heart is already broken*

#### 3.2

main kadain billiyan nal me kadain billiyan nal  
 me playing cats with me playing cats with  
 photo beerain da photo beerain da latkawan killiyain nal  
 photo brother of photo brother of hang nails with  
 killiyain nal photo beerain da latkawan killiyain nal  
 nails with photo brother of hang nails with (1:04)

*I am playing with cats/I want to hang my brother's photo on the wall*

#### 3.3

chatta ropay mahya koi chatta ropay  
 white money sweetheart some white money  
 mahya dunya matlab di dunya matlab di insaaf na  
 sweetheart world means of world means of judge no  
 ray mahya ray mahya dunya matlab di insaaf  
 left sweetheart left sweetheart world means of judge  
 na ray mahya  
 no left Sweetheart (1:40)

*There is some white money, sweetheart/ There is no judgment in this world (everyone is selfish)*

#### 3.4

nopolish no lawaan nopolish no lawaan gage

nail polish	nail	putting	nail polish	nail	putting	this way
channa tudd	keete	gage	channa	tudd	keete	sare omar na
darling you	did	this way	darling	you	did	whole life no
mun lawaan	mun	lawaan	gage	channa	tudd	keete sare
talk don't	talk	don't	this way	darling	you	did whole
omar na	mun	lawaan				
life no	talk	don't				

(2:11)

*I am putting nail polish on my nails/I don't want to talk to you anytime in my life because you were not good.*

### 3.5

chadar pay	chibbdi	koi	chadar pay	chibbdikai	vari	rokyaa	ay
shawl on	embroidery	Some	shawl on	embroidery	time	stop	is
kai vari	rokyaa	ay	teray	bado	ni	nibdi	ni nibdi kai
lots time	stop	is	your	without	no	pass	no pass lots
vari rokyaa	ay	teray	bado	ni	nibdi		
time stop	is	your	without	no	pass		(2:46)

*There is embroidery on the shawl/I stopped myself many times (from missing you), but it is hard without you*

### 3.6

bun	basta	koi	bun	basta	pull	gayaan
close	bag	some	close	bag	forgot	did

*Bags are closed-oh I forgot*

### 3.7

bun	basta	koi	bun	basta	mera	pata	kis	layaai	mera	pata	kis
	layaai										
close	bag	some	close	bag	my	address	who	bring	my	address	who
	bring										
gilgit	daya	o	jaza	o	jaza	mera	pata	kis	layaai	gilgit	daya
	o										
Gilgit	of	o	plane	o	plane	my	address	who	bring	Gilgit	of
	o										
jaza											
plane											

(3:16)

*There are some closed bags/O plane of Gilgit, how did you know my address?*

### 3.8

aalo mattar pakaai hoyni aalo mattar pakaai hoyni aankay kha maya  
 potato peas cooked did potato peas cooked did come eat sweetheart  
 kharii ta kha maya pull gayaan  
 eating to eat sweetheart forgot did (3:40)

*I cooked some peas and potatoes/come and eat if you want to eat—I forgot*

**\*break in recording\***

### 3.9

basaan nal bus takri bus shesha pun gayiaa oho  
 buses with bus crashed bus window broke gave oh  
 gaddyan walay nai kaysy ronaq lai hoi a pull gayaan  
 cars driver ERG how party bring happened forgot gave (4:05)

*Buses crashed into each other and their windows broke/The car drivers had a party—I forgot*

### 3.10

basaan nal bus takri bus shesha pun gayiaa oho  
 buses with bus crashed bus window broke gave oh  
 gaddyan walay nai kaysy mojan banahi hoi aan  
 cars driver ERG how fun made happened (4:24)

*Buses crashed into each other and their windows broke/The car drivers are having fun*

### 3.11

boor pollai hosi koi boor pollai hosi kugh sadi galti a kugh  
 bud flower will some bud flower will some our mistakeis some  
 sadi galti a kugh taqdeer lai hosi  
 our mistakes is some fate bring will (5:24)

*Buds are forming/some mistakes are ours, some are our fate*

### 3.12

chagra bich aai chariyi chagra bich aai chariyi bich pardaisan da  
 fight in came lady fight in came lady in cities 's  
 bich pardaisan da dil lagdda ni ki kariyay  
 in cities 's heart unhappy no what to do (5:45)

*A lady came into the fight/My heart is sad in different cities*

### 3.13

ballan bich parandiaa ballan bich parandiaa dukhyaan di hai

hair in ribbon hair in ribbon sad people 's curse  
 daadi dukhyaan di hai daadi neela jungle jalandi aa jalandiaa  
 cruel sad people 's curse cruel green jungle burn is burn  
 dukhyaan di hai daadi neela jungle jalandi aa  
 sad people 's curse cruel green jungle burn is (6:18)

*There is a ribbon in my hair/A curse from sad people is like the green jungle burning*

### 3.14

par kaliyan kawan da par kaliyan kawan da tiyan  
 feather black crows 's feather black crows 's daughters  
 pardisaran vo tiyan pardisaran vo dil dada mawa  
 cities that daughters cities that heart strong mothers  
 da mawa da tiyan pardisaran vo dil dada  
 's mother 's daughters cities that heart strong  
 mawa da  
 mothers 's (6:53)

*The crow's feathers are black/Daughters living in other cities toughen the mother's heart*

### 3.15

par purr gay kawan da par purr gay kawan da Allah  
 feather falling crows 's feather falling crows 's Allah  
 kamyab kara Allah kamyab kara bacha randiya mawan  
 succeed do Allah succeed do children widows mothers  
 da mawa da Allah kamyab kara bacha randiya  
 's mothers 's Allah succeed do children widows  
 mawan da  
 mothers 's (7:25)

*The crow's feathers are falling/Allah will give success to the children of widows.*

### 3.16

sin jandiaa malomal sin jandiaa malomal sin bich  
 river going full river going full river in  
 main dohya sin bich main dohya otta tarda kalay bal kalay bal  
 me drown river in me drown top swim black hair black hair  
 sin bich main dohya otta tarda kalay bal  
 river in me drown top swim black hair (7:59)

*The river is full/I drowned in the river, my black hair is swimming on the surface*

### 3.17

pata tootain day pochanaan pata tootain day pochanaan

leaves berries of grab leaves berries of grab  
 jagg saara tannay dessi jagg saara tannay dessi to  
 people all sarcastic give people all sarcastic give you  
 itna tay soochainaan soochainaan jagg saara tannay dessi to  
 little bit thoughts thoughts people all sarcastic give of  
 itna tay soochainaan  
 little bit thoughts (8:32)

*I am grabbing the berries' leaves/Everyone will taunt me, you did not think about me before*

### 3.18

chittiyani chaderan koi chittiyani chaderan ik tera dama  
 white sheets some white sheets one you for  
 vapachaa ik tera dama vapachaa assan satiyani  
 back one you for back we left  
 baradaria baradaria ik tera dama vapachaa assan satiyani  
 everyone everyone one you for back we left  
 baradaria  
 everyone (9:10)

*There are white sheets/Just for you I left everybody*

### 3.19

doliyan doddan diya koi doliyan doddan diya  
 bowls milk is some bowls milk is  
 wattano bawattan hoiaa wattano bawattan hoiaa pallian tussan  
 country foreign area did country foreign area did cause you  
 diya tussan diya wattano bawattan hoiaa pallian tussan  
 gave you gave country foreign land did cause you  
 diya  
 gave (9:44)

*There are some bowls of milk/I left my home because of you people.*

### 3.20

niki meen zanjeeri aa niki mean zanjeeri aa bachyaan  
 small mean chain is small mean chain is children  
 da naah kinka bachyaan da naah kinka dil thunda  
 of name because children of name because heart cold  
 kareeri aa kareeri aa bachyaan da naah kinka dil thunda  
 hail is hail is childrens of name because heart cold  
 kareeri aa  
 hail is (10:16)





*I am cutting the wild grass/My child, you will fall from the mountaintop and I will say 'o my son, o my son'*

### 3.25

kalbooter	doy	kalla	kalbooter	doy	kalla	jeewan ta	doy	jeewan
pigeon	both	black	pigeon	both	black	live if	both	live
jeewan ta	doy	jeewan	mar jawa	ta	doy	nalla	doy	
live if	both	live	die	will	if	both	together	both
nalla	jeewan	beera		doy	jeewan	mar jawa	doy	nalla
together	live	brother		both	live	die	wil	both together

(13:08)

*Both pigeons are black/I want to live with you and I want to die with you*

### 3.26

meray talli	otta	rakh	gehran	meray talli	otta	rakh	gehran
my palm	on	keep	jewelry	my palm	on	keep	jewelry
wakhtaan	di	lai	bazi	wakhtaan	di	lai	bazi yari
times	of	bring	game	times	of	bring	game friendship
gayan ta	ke	mehra	ke mehra	wakhtaan	di	lai	bazi
finished	why	taunt	why taunt	times	of	bring	game
yari	gayan		ta ke mehra				
friendship	finished		now why taunt				(13:41)

*Put jewelry in my hand/Time is playing a game; If our freindship is finished, why are you taunting me?*

### 3.27

jinda reh	jani	khush	reh	Allah tallah	zindagi	rakhi	jahan	bhi
live long	Johnny	happy	be	Allah name	life	keep	wherever	
raha khush	raha	mah	yad	karda rehi	main	ak	Abbottabad	di
be happy	be	me	miss	do -ing	me	one	Abbottabad	of
rehra valli	aa	kisi	wakhat	dilli	ketay	mah	phone	karkay gal
living person	is	some	time	heart	did	me	phone	do talk
kar kinni	Allah tallah	khush	rakhi	tuddan	mera	bachyan	wasta	vee
do will	Allah name	happy	keep	you	my	children	for	's
dua karyo	main	bewa	zanani	aa	mera	yateen	baccha	mera wasta
pray do	me	widow	lady	am	my	orphan	children	my for
vee dua	karda	rayo	zindagi	hoi	ta fir	milsa	bacha	mar gay
's pray	do	keep	life	if	is	again	meet	child die go
aa ta	dua	karyo	Allah	tuddan	beta	bacha	dawa	bacha sonay sonay
is so	pray	do	Allah	you	son	child	give	son cute cute
Allah tallah	zindagi	Allah	bacha	dewa	naseeb	accha	howay	bara hoyda
Allah name	life	Allah	child	give	fate	good	would be	big job

walla	howay	Allah	tallah	teri	hur	khushi	puri	kare	mah	
person	would	be	Allah	name	your	every	happy	complete	do	me
gareeb	aan	we	yad	karda	rei	bachya	acha	teri	bohat	
poor	of	be	remember	do	-ing	children	good	your	very	
merbani	hosi		assalaamolaykum							
thanks	will	be	Assalaamualaykum							

(spoken) *Long live Johnny, be happy, God will give you a good life wherever you live. Please remember me, I am from Abbottabad, if you have time please call me and talk to me. God will give you lots of happiness, pray for my children. I am a widow, I have fatherless children, please pray for my kids. If I will still be alive, then we can meet again. If I will die, then just pray for me. God will give you very cute kids and God will give them long lives. Hopefully God will give you good fate and a very good job. God will complete every wish. Please remember me, I am poor. I am thankful to you. Assalaamualaykum.*

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