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To write literature in any Indian vernacular today is, to some degree, to fight a battle. Salman Rushdie famously argued in 1997 for the ascendancy of Indian writing in English, such that fiction and nonfiction produced “by Indian writers working in English is proving to be a stronger and more important body of work than most of what has been produced in the eighteen ‘recognized’ languages of India”; V.S. Naipaul asserted a similar sentiment at a 2002 conference in Delhi.¹ While the problems with such assertions are obvious, the global politics of English and the economics of the publishing industry ensure a continuing embattled status for vernacular literary production in South Asia. This is all the more pronounced with respect to modern Punjabi language cultural production, where in Pakistan, according to Tariq Rahman, the “effort to teach Punjabi [has] floundered on the rock of cultural shame and prejudice,” and in India, where Punjabi has achieved state support, the language loses ground to both Hindi and English, which are often chosen particularly by elites over Punjabi. Concern in the Punjabi Diaspora over language loss is even more intense. Punjabi overall has been erroneously declared to be at risk of extinction in recent years, based on a much-referenced United Nations report on languages at risk that does not in fact name Punjabi.² This latter “fact” does not need to be true to resonate with the experience of activists for the Punjabi language today, who rightly perceive a range of challenges arrayed against it.

The battle over Punjabi is eloquently expressed in its visualization in two scripts. The language today is generally written in both Gurmukhi, which is utilized in the Indian Punjab and is extant first in manuscripts associated with the Sikh tradition (but is related to other early modern scripts), and the Perso-Arabic script, called Shahmukhi in Punjabi, which is utilized today in the Pakistani Punjab and was used to write Punjabi both in early modern manuscripts and in popular print contexts across the region before Partition. Devanagari, the script used for Hindi and Sanskrit, has been used for Punjabi at times, but Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi dominate, and it is not generally utilized for Punjabi in the Indian Punjab today (although as will be discussed very briefly, proposals have been made for its use). Speakers of the language were divided along religious lines with the formation of post-colonial successor states to British rule in 1947: thus Punjabi as a primary language is spoken in both the larger section of Punjab, the Pakistani Punjab, (with approximately 70 million speakers), and the Indian Punjab (with perhaps 30 million), with approximately five million Punjabi speakers in the Punjabi Diaspora outside of South Asia; we must also include in that total the number of Punjabi speakers in parts of Haryana and other regions both contiguous and not to the states of Punjab, where Punjabi speakers also reside, in other parts of Pakistan and India.³

The historical evidence for Punjabi as a language does not easily map to contemporary understanding of the language and its scripts.⁴ For example, Sikh cultural production in Gurmukhi is generally seen as being “in Punjabi,” yet Sikh texts are linguistically diverse. Some of the languages found in Sikh texts in Gurmukhi—particularly Braj, which characterizes the compositions of the later Gurus in the Guru Granth Sahib and the historiographical literature associated with the Sikh tradition that emerges in the eighteenth century—are now seen in the genealogy of “Hindi,” but these are generally political or social, not linguistic, definitions. This

is not by any means to place "early Punjabi" within a longer "Hindi" literary history, but instead to challenge the notion of any of these early languages being subsumed within teleological accounts of later modern languages, as has been asserted effectively in recent discussion of "before the divide" of Hindi and Urdu.⁵ Allison Busch has written eloquently of the broader difficulties of defining the boundaries of Braj itself, so this is not an issue that is specific to Punjabi; in her words, Braj "often appears to be congenitally impure, that is to say, hybrid and multiregistered,"⁶ with "considerable internal variation within the loosely defined larger rubric of Braj Bhasha"⁷; the designation of identity and difference is almost always politicized.⁸ As Busch notes, "during the seventeenth century [Braj] became a language that travelled vast distances, and along the journey it encountered a range of courtly contexts and regional linguistic practices, to which the poets adapted."⁹ Punjab was one of its destinations, and there Braj flourished within Sikh literary production, in Gurmukhi. The common declaration of the Punjabi language as the special domain of the Sikhs and as somehow intrinsically linked to Gurmukhi, therefore, is not grounded in fact; indeed, as Christopher Shackle has noted, "it was precisely during this period of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when Sikhs were writing in Braj... that Punjabi was being developed as a literary medium for the creation of superb verse by Muslim poets."¹⁰ We have relatively late manuscript evidence for such compositions, however, constraining our ability to speak definitively of Punjabi's development among Sufi poets.¹¹ There is much merit, as Francesca Orsini has advocated, in moving beyond the "constraints of teleological narratives of Hindi and Urdu," to understanding Punjabi within a "more spacious framework of 'north Indian literature,'"¹² where we can then appreciate the complexity of Punjabi's emergence alongside Sadhukkari (a mix of various vernaculars, and commonly used across North India in the early modern period), what Imre Bangha calls "Gurmukhi Rekhta" (exhibiting Khari Boli features, as associated with later Hindi and Urdu), and Braj.¹³

This brief discussion suffices to demonstrate the highly politicized nature of defining language in the early modern period; things are similarly complex in the modern. Shackle notes in an important exploration of the evolution of modern standard Punjabi that the language "is quite as close to the Khari dialect, which underlies both Urdu and Hindi, as Surdas's Braj, and is indeed far closer to it than the eastern Avadhi of the *Ramcharitmanas*."¹⁴ As Christopher King argued in his foundational work, Braj is "Hindi" only in so far as it was needed to give Hindi its needed past: "the NPS [or Nagari Pracharini Sabha] constructed a major myth about the antiquity of 'Hindi' by using the term to include older writings in other literary dialects, particularly Braj Bhasha, but to exclude modern writings in these same dialects"; as he later engagingly puts it, "to give 'Hindi' a glorious past one had to include all of her elder sisters, but when one came to the present only the youngest sister—Khari Boli Hindi—received attention."¹⁵ This example provides a parallel to the script issue relevant here, for just as a genealogy for Hindi was constructed out of the use of the Devanagari script, the same was done for texts in Gurmukhi: the designation of the language used in Sikh texts within the ambit of Punjabi is conventionally based on use of this script. The use of Gurmukhi, however, in fact parallels the status of script in relation to other languages in the early modern period; as Francesca Orsini and Samira Shaikh have argued, "while traditionally for Hindi and Urdu literary histories the script of a text has been a primary indicator of where and to whom the text 'belongs'... Script was [instead] an indicator of circulation rather than of the intrinsic nature of the text... [and thus] for north India in this period, it is vital to decouple language from script."¹⁶ Indeed, even today the term

"Gurmukhi" is used for the language by many Sikh Punjabi speakers in the Diaspora, effacing the difference between script and language. Thus it is not surprising that Punjabi literary histories, particularly but not exclusively by Muslim authors, have tended to be communally defined.¹⁷ Exceptions to this, however, are notable, such as in the historical account produced by Budh Singh in the early decades of the twentieth century, which provided an enduring model for subsequent Sikh literary historical imaginaries, in which we see "a dual reliance... upon Sufi poetry as well as Sikh scripture long [continuing] after the disappearance of a living Muslim presence from an Indian Punjab."¹⁸ We can see a much more recent version of such an alternative formulation of Punjabi literary and cultural history in the "*Mā Bolī*" or "International Mother Language Day" celebration I attended in Lahore on February 21, 2014. There, as a rock singer roused Punjabi language enthusiasts with his electric guitar in preparation for a parade, he declared among the features of Punjabi that it was the language of the people and the Sufi saints, but also "*Gūrūāñ dī bolī*," or the language of the Gurus. While perhaps not an entirely historically accurate statement, since the Gurus also wrote in Braj and Persian and it is unclear how distinctively Punjabi the early language of the Gurus is, the political intervention intended by the statement was achieved and the Punjabi language imagined as an integrated whole, across religious community definition.¹⁹

To choose to write in the Punjabi language today is therefore to engage directly with the religious and national implications of script and language choice, as well as a national border. We can see the dimensions of this—and its ramifications in the Punjabi diaspora—in a specific example: in April 2011, Fauzia Rafiq, a Pakistani Canadian writer living in British Columbia, Canada, released the English-language version of her novel *Skeena* in Vancouver.²⁰ The Shahmukhi Punjabi version of the book was previously released in 2007 in Pakistan; it has now also been released in Gurmukhi.²¹ This example demonstrates a self-conscious effort to bridge the gap between Shahmukhi and Gurmukhi that is characteristic of modern Punjabi literary work as a political and **cultural** intervention, as much as a linguistic one. The content of the novel—with its focus on the trials and triumphs of a Muslim Pakistani Punjabi woman in Pakistan and Canada—also speaks to the political commitments common in modern Punjabi literature: to progressive and secular politics and the portrayal of social exclusion and hierarchy. *Skeena* thus reveals the political commitment that constitutes writing in Punjabi today, as well as the role of the Diaspora in Punjabi's life, across scripts.

To write in Punjabi, then, is to take part in something larger, across borders religious and national, and for a cause. International Mother Language Day is thus celebrated by Punjabi language enthusiasts with as much passion in Lahore, Pakistan as in Vancouver, Canada. This UNESCO day of recognition was founded on the date in 1952 when students were shot and killed by police in Dhaka, then East Pakistan, during a demonstration in recognition of the rights of Bangla speakers; this is an event therefore with particular significance for the place of Punjabi in Pakistan, as will emerge later.²² Those who celebrate it in Punjabi's name today, however, do so out of a commitment to their "mother tongue," from Lahore to Patiala to Abbotsford, BC, Canada. Activism for Punjabi thus goes across script and border, as much as these work against its cause. I cannot in the scope of this short article account for Punjabi language activism as a whole, nor can I address the history of Punjabi language cultural production manifest in both text and image (the Punjabi film industry has entered a new phase in the last two decades that itself warrants attention).²³ Instead, here I synthesize a range of recent scholarship to sketch out a

broad outline of how writing in Punjabi in both Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi has reflected larger political and social forces, and how it has acted (but as will be discussed, does not always) to constitute a challenge to the national in its different contexts. The choice for Punjabi can, in short, speak to the crossing of borders, both in national terms and at intersection with class, caste and gender (with the first of these three as the focus here).²⁴ The place of Punjabi at the simultaneous convergence and divergence of religious and secular interests, in relation to both religious mobilization and Leftist ideas and organizing, guarantee that to engage with Punjabi is to address some of the foundational political issues that face Punjabis in South Asia and beyond.

The emergence of modern Punjabi literature

Recent work by Farina Mir has revealed the history of what she calls a "Punjabi literary formation" in colonial Punjab, formed outside of direct state control and expressive of a local and yet cosmopolitan vision of being Punjabi.²⁵ This cosmopolitan vision, steeped in a non-religiously inflected sense of *punjabiyat* or "Punjabiness", is one that ran counter to the more divisive religiously defined identities also found in colonial Punjab—and which figured so profoundly in the partition of the province between Pakistan and India in 1947. As Mir shows, Punjabi literary production flourished in the colonial period despite, and indeed because of, not benefitting from patronage by the state, where "communalism was promoted, wittingly or unwittingly, by state and civil society." Instead "other community affiliations" flourished in the world of the *qissā*—that is, the world of narrative story-telling akin to the earlier Hindavi *prem-ākhyān* tradition—because of "the relative autonomy that colonial language policy itself produced for Punjabi literary and print cultures."²⁶

There is still more to say about the crucial changes as well as continuities that constituted the colonial period if we want to understand them in relation to the development of the later formations of Punjabi literary worlds.²⁷ For while the Punjabi language in *both* scripts did provide a medium for the continuance of cultural forms like the *qissā* under colonialism, the language also was engaged towards the production of modern literary works as a part of a global conversation in the latter part of the period. It has thus provided a vehicle for the expression of *Punjabiyat*, or "Punjabiness"—the underlying ethos of Mir's "Punjabi literary formation"—in multiple terms, and is as strongly associated with modernist and progressive literary developments as it is with continuing story-telling traditions.²⁸ There are therefore three broad domains occupied by Punjabi literary production in colonial India; these do not however map to the "three broad stages" Shackle identifies in the development of modern standard Punjabi, which roughly correspond to literary developments and are defined in sequential chronological terms;²⁹ I'll discuss his categories alongside mine.

Firstly, modern Punjabi served as the vehicle for the creative reproduction of existing literary forms, such as the *qissā*, in both scripts, which found new voice in the print environment of the Raj (as Mir has shown so vividly). Shackle does not address this literature (and its rich life in Gurmukhi as well as Shahmukhi), and instead focuses on Sikh literature that exhibited the "dominance of specifically religious concerns, such as is exemplified by the work of Bhai Vir Singh (1872-1957)," who famously promoted Punjabi as both a medium for literature and for educational and ideological treatises (more on this important figure later).³⁰ That work I place in a *second* category: modern Punjabi used for the expression of religiously marked discourses of debate and reform (and, in alliance with these, historical inquiry and theology) and utilitarian

discourses such as astrology or medicine; these are the sources that have informed our understanding of religious mobilization in the period, for example. This category constitutes the body of work described by Christopher Shackle as utilizing modern Punjabi "as the distinctive vehicle for the expression of a revitalized Sikhism," what he called "the achievement of a quite small number of outstandingly industrious and talented literary figures associated with the Singh Sabha movement around the turn of the century."³¹ Pedagogical, religious, and utilitarian discourses were also however expressed in Shahmukhi Punjabi and by non-Sikhs, as well as the more dominant Urdu in the period. In this category, we can also place the work associated with the *Ghadar* ("revolution") movement, which emerged in 1913 on the West Coast of Canada and the United States.³² The progressive and secular (more on this later) interests of this body of literature link it to modern Punjabi literary work that emerged later—the last of my three categories—but in form and style it exhibits closer ties with these first two.

Thirdly, modern Punjabi was the vehicle for modern literary creation meant to rework tradition and self-consciously utilize new forms, where Gurmukhi Punjabi dominated and for the most part Urdu supplanted Shahmukhi Punjabi, particularly for narrative forms like the short story and novel (although these new forms were also linked to already existing narrative forms, with a "plural heritage," in the words of Meenakshi Mukherjee; in Dubrow's more recent description, "the Indian novel was not only reinterpreted on the ground, but also itself emerged from the ways that late nineteenth-century writers overlaid indigenous literary traditions with their own reinterpretations of the genre."³³ This Shackle identifies as his second stage, dating from the time of the First World War onwards.³⁴ It would also be a mistake however to see these three categories and the diverse works of the first half of the twentieth century that fall within them (in both scripts), as absolutely distinct; it was the partition of Punjab that altered fundamentally the literary lives of Punjabi and enforced far stricter distinctions between Shahmukhi and Gurmukhi work. Our understanding of the dynamic exchange among them can be informed by other similarly emergent linguistic domains. The diversity in Hindi literature in roughly the same period, for example, from 1920 to 1940, was thus described by Francesca Orsini as being comprised of two types:

First, there is variety in literary traditions and forms of transmission: courtly, devotional and popular, and manuscript, oral and mixed... Second, we find a great variety of literature in printed form: literary, educational, and commercial. Premchand's groundbreaking novels of social realism appeared together with scores of historical romances, social dramas, and chapbooks of ballads from the folk tradition. Traditional love-poetry in Braj Bhasa coexisted in the same journals with the didactic poetry of the Dvivedi poets, the strikingly new diction of the Chāyāvād poets, samples of Urdu verse and folk-songs collected from the field.³⁵

Exhibiting parallel diversity of type and content, Punjabi was used in the tract literature of late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century British India for communally charged literature (part of my second category, of religiously marked discourses of debate and reform, historical inquiry and theology, and utilitarian work) in the period sometimes by some of the same persons who wrote *qisse* (my first category), which are the focus of Mir's study. Diversity of type of literature in both Shahmukhi and Gurmukhi, with strong parallels among work in both scripts, was thus far more normal than perhaps is apparent to us now, when script use adheres to national boundary so closely.

Modern Punjabi literary works (the third category, outlined above) express a generally progressive (*pragatīvādī*) set of political commitments.³⁶ This is no surprise; the history of modern vernacular literary production in South Asia is deeply tied to a broader history of leftist politics; as Priyamvada Gopal has described, "the historical conjuncture from the early 1930s to the years immediately after independence made possible a range of historical tasks or, at the very least, a *perception* that it would be possible--and necessary--to undertake certain kinds of radical endeavors."³⁷ This was the founding crucible of the Progressive Writers Association, begun in 1936 with a commitment to critical engagement with and reconstruction of the past and present, towards the production of a new future that would exceed the constraints of the present.³⁸ This occurred without, at least at first, a strict adherence to leftist party politics, but these did explicitly shape organizations and individuals increasingly over time.³⁹ Progressive interests did not, and still do not, characterize all modern writing; by the early 1940s, the increasingly narrow ideological commitments of "Progressive" writers alienated those that did not adhere to its defined program.⁴⁰ As Syed Akbar Hyder engagingly puts it, "[t]he Progressives pined for justice in the fashion of the ghazal poet-lover's masochistic longing for the unattainable beloved, and began to fence their gardens of hope with censorship and expulsion."⁴¹ But it was overall a foundational context for the late colonial literary and marked the production of modern literature even among those who challenged a progressive ideological status quo, as Hyder's own example shows.

After the Conference of Indian Progressives in Lucknow in 1935, Punjabi novelist and short story writer Kartar Singh Duggal tells us that "the old concept of art for art's sake was formally abandoned... [marking] a conscious shift in new writing in Punjabi from the portrayal of the privileged to that of the under-privileged."⁴² This was accompanied by new interests in dialect and new literary forms, including narrative fiction, although poetry at first predominated and continues to, in Pakistan, in Punjabi; although he sees the orientation of modern Punjabi poetry overall as secular, Attar Singh argues that poetry in Gurmukhi retained a strong connection to "tradition" and can be seen as a "part of the movement of Sikh renaissance."⁴³ The oldest example of modern Punjabi prose, according to Sant Singh Sekhon and Kartar Singh Duggal, was Sharda Ram Philauri's 1875 *Sikhān de Rāj dī Vithiā*, "an account of the rule of the Sikhs," which like Rattan Singh Bhangu's 1840 verse history was written on commission for a British agent.⁴⁴ The modern form of the novel emerged by 1898, with Bhai Vir Singh's well-known originally serialized novel, *Sundarī*. Duggal calls Bhai Vir Singh the "grand old man of our time," who "upheld the torch of modernism in Punjabi literature."⁴⁵ It is from this landmark text that Punjabi modern literature is usually understood to have proceeded, through figures like Gurbakhsh Singh *Preet Larī*, who re-wrote the *qisse* as modern stories, and was the founder of both the journal by the name of *Preet Larī* (by which name he is known) and a community between Amritsar and Lahore, now in India, called Preet Nagar.⁴⁶ Mohan Singh, Nanak Singh and Amrita Pritam were among those who were a part of the Preet Nagar landscape, as were masters of the short story, Kartar Singh Duggal and Kulwant Singh Virk, among many others. Many of the great Urdu writers in the late colonial, early independence period were of course ethnically Punjabi themselves, though they did not generally write in Punjabi (Faiz Ahmed Faiz's very few but beautiful Punjabi *nazm* are a later exception). Tariq Rahman has argued that overwhelmingly, up until Partition "Punjabi was not owned by the Muslims" and that "most people... felt that the promotion of Punjabi was a conspiracy to weaken Urdu and, by

implication, Muslims."⁴⁷ This limited cultural production by Muslims in the area of modern creative work. Yet, at the same time, as Mir demonstrates so vividly, *qisse* were certainly produced by a range of Muslim Punjabi authors in Punjabi in the Shahmukhi script in this period, as was Islamic cultural and reformist literature of a wide variety.⁴⁸ As has been noted, a large number of chapbooks on diverse topics were, and have continued to be, produced in Shahmukhi Punjabi.⁴⁹ Muslim Punjabi alienation from Punjabi as a language of literature, therefore, was not as complete as Rahman has suggested.⁵⁰ It is in the realm of modernist literature, this third category, that a particular divide can be discerned, with Urdu displacing Shahmukhi Punjabi. However, as will be described we can also perceive important commonalities among works in Punjabi and Urdu alongside that divide, and across national borders.

Post-partition: The modern Punjabi literary formation in India

The modern Punjabi language and literary formation in the post-partition period both counters and mirrors the complicated position for Punjabi language and literature under British rule. In India, the Punjabi language has been implicated in the post-colonial state in the search for a platform for the expression of Sikh interests.⁵¹ This was most dramatically visible in the fight for a linguistically (and culturally) defined Punjabi *sūba* or province, which, as Paul Brass rightly noted early on, can only be understood in the context of the post-colonial state of India in relation to the Hindi movement and already existing issues around the imbrication of language and religious identity in the Hindi/Urdu controversy (which had already expressed itself in the effort to displace Urdu as the language of the Province in 1882).⁵² It also must be seen in relation to Hindu nationalist politics.⁵³ As Paul Brass has noted, "the regional languages of the north have been able to survive against the inroads of Hindi only where they have been useful as symbols in the struggles of minority peoples, such as Muslims and Sikhs, whose demands have not been primarily linguistic."⁵⁴ This is the dynamic that marked the movement for the Punjabi *sūba* in post-colonial India: its cultural and religious as well as linguistic character, although its linguistic character was explicitly at the forefront. According to A. Narang, a member of the Akali Dal Working Committee claimed that the Committee was advised by Dr. Ambedkar to frame their argument in linguistic terms, so that "you can have a Sikh State in the cloak of 'Punjabi Suba'."⁵⁵ It is generally accepted that the 1961 census, which was used to determine the boundaries of the Punjabi language state, did not reflect the actual mother tongues of the speakers of Hindi and Punjabi in the then-Punjab; instead Hindus were encouraged by the Arya Samaj and other organizations to declare their mother tongue to be Hindi, and Punjabi came to be more and more identified with Sikhs alone.⁵⁶ This had been a major issue with the census figures for some time.⁵⁷ Thus, the Punjabi state was framed as a linguistic space, but language was reported broadly to reflect religious affiliation, so there is no way to untangle religious and linguistic identity. The resulting state boundaries as a result accurately reflect "the language preferences of the people of the Punjab, although certainly not the actual mother tongues spoken," and many Punjabi speakers were thus excluded from the resulting Punjabi *sūbā* or province.⁵⁸

Punjabi language activism in post-colonial India, therefore, has been tied politically to the expression of Sikh interests. In some ways, this is still true today. At the same time, Punjabi literary worlds in post-independence Indian Punjab have remained intimately connected to the Left (although not always in explicit terms), requiring us not to subsume interest in and activism

for the sake of Punjabi language, in Gurmukhi, within an explicitly Sikh political agenda. Simultaneously, the Punjabi state also has attempted to position itself as patron of the language, providing patronage unheard of in the Pakistan context. The simultaneous commitment to Punjabi in the Gurmukhi script (as opposed to Hindi and Devanagari) of these different groups demands careful attention. This is particularly the case with the parallels between the interests and experiences of those committed to a Sikh political vision and those from the Left, because they mirror other kinds of convergences between the two, such as the potential for conflict with the state (so vividly seen in Naxalite activity in Punjab as elsewhere in the early decades after Independence), and in challenges to the federal structure of India in the name of Sikh interests. This can account in part for the complicated antipathy that has existed between those who have advocated for a separate Sikh-defined state for Punjab and those who have opposed it; it is, however, an error to see this as a simple binary.

The commitment to Punjabi and *Punjabiyaat* that formed the basis for rejection of a further partition of Punjab along religious lines by those who rejected the Sikh nationalist perspective, harkens back, perhaps, to that space that Punjabi literary interests inhabited at least in part in the colonial period: where regional Punjabi cultural interests and identities were articulated through celebration of a non-religiously defined Punjabi language and literature *outside* of state sponsorship, as Mir describes. This decision *not* to choose religion was here a conscious political choice. This is not however an obvious one, since the Communist Party of India (CPI) had supported the call for Pakistan in the closing years of British rule out of respect for the principle of national self-determination (although just prior to and certainly after Partition this was rethought and the unity of British India was valorized and the quest for Pakistan vilified).⁵⁹ Satyapal Dang provides a prominent example of a Punjabi Leftist and CPI member who supported the state explicitly, against separatist forces.⁶⁰ Hailed as a "hero of the freedom movement in Punjab," Dang was commended, in the words of scholar Paramjit S. Judge after Dang's death in June 2013, for his "tireless involvement with the workers' movement over the better part of the 20th century," as well as "his strong stand against the Khalistani movement through the 1970s and 1980s."⁶¹ Dang organized with other communists in direct support of the state, with government security, coining the slogan "*Na Hindu raj na Khalistan, jug jug jiye Hindustan!*"; AB Bardhan, former General Secretary of the CPI, called this a "stirring call against religious fundamentalism and in defence of secularism," which did characterize the shape of opposition to the call for Khalistan.⁶² Yet, while the praise heaped on Dang by Judge and others may be well warranted in terms of his contribution to the nationalist movement, his work to meet the urgent needs of workers and the poor, and the efforts made by him and others to discourage religious polarization, Dang was also unwilling to recognize fault on the side of the state, and all too ready to excuse and even advocate state violence.⁶³

I am unable in the scope of this article to fully address this issue, but this one brief example suffices to give a sense of the conceptual and practical opposition given in some communist circles to the Khalistan movement.⁶⁴ This resulted in tension and violence, such as the tragic murder of the renowned poet Pash (the literary name for artist Avtar Singh Sandhu); the killing of Sumeet Singh, son of Gurbakhsh Singh *Prīt Larī*'s son Navtej (when he was mistaken for a Hindu, according to a blog associated with the journal)⁶⁵; and the murder of activists like Darshan Singh Canadian, who asked simply: "To those who say that they are serving religion by killing innocent people, I ask what type of service they are rendering to their religion?"⁶⁶ Pash, like Darshan Singh Canadian, invoked the teachings of the Gurus in his opposition to

separatism; he also was a vocal critic of Hindu nationalist forces.⁶⁷ He also wrote eloquently of the dangers associated with state power (and suffered at its hands); as he wrote in 1978:

ਜੇ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਆ ਇਹੋ ਹੁੰਦੀ ਹੈ

ਕਿ ਬੇ-ਜ਼ਮੀਰੀ ਜ਼ਿੰਦਗੀ ਲਈ ਸ਼ਰਤ ਬਣ ਜਾਵੇ

ਅੱਖ ਦੀ ਪੁਤਲੀ 'ਚ ਹਾਂ ਤੋਂ ਬਿਨਾ ਕੋਈ ਵੀ ਸ਼ਬਦ

ਅਸਲੀਲ ਹੋਵੇ

ਤੇ ਮਨ ਬਦਕਾਰ ਘੜੀਆਂ ਸਾਹਮਣੇ ਡੰਡੋਤ 'ਚ ਝੁਕਿਆ ਰਹੇ

ਤਾਂ ਸਾਨੂੰ ਦੇਸ਼ ਦੀ ਸੁਰੱਖਿਆ ਤੋਂ ਖਤਰਾ ਹੈ

If the protection of the nation means

that a lack of conscience becomes a requirement to live

that any word other than 'yes' that might emerge

from the corner of one's eye is obscene

And that the mind must bow down before vicious times

then the protection of the nation is a danger to us.⁶⁸

The acceptance of state action at all costs by figures like Dang, then, did not represent the position of all Communists, and even less so Leftist and progressive perspectives more broadly. This is particularly so for progressive writers. It is generally the case that Sikhs and those sympathetic to Sikhs' experiences of violence—both in the 1984 attacks in Delhi and other north Indian urban centres, as well as in Punjab in the years leading up to and after 1984—have been faced with only two options: support the state fully, or support Khalistan. Sikhs are thus asked to distance themselves from any resistance to (or even critique of) the state, lest they be branded as separatists.⁶⁹ Ultimately, the binary is a false one: many who do not support separatism also do not support the state, and are deeply critical of its actions. (And, among those critical of the violence enacted by the state in Punjab in the 1980s and early 1990s, only some support a separate state; others are ambivalent towards it acting as a solution to ongoing federal-state issues in India in general and in solving issues for Punjab in particular.)

Again, forced to brevity on this topic in the scope of this article, I give but one brief example: Kartar Singh Duggal's meditation on the Punjab crisis, published in 1992.⁷⁰ He opens with broad recognition:

Agreed that the Punjab, a Sikh majority State, has been discriminated against. Agreed that the sanctity of the Golden Temple was wantonly violated and the holy premises were desecrated. Agreed that the killings of the Sikhs as an aftermath of Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assassination in Delhi and other parts of the country was diabolical and savage. Agreed that the guilty are still at large and are being given political protection. Agreed that army deserters and other detainees are not being given a humane deal.⁷¹

He follows this with a challenge: "But is it being a true Sikh of Guru Nanak taking to indiscriminate slaughter of innocent men, women and children?" This sets the tenor of Duggal's work overall, where we see real recognition of grievances and problems—he notes that "every true Punjabi nurses a grievance against the Government" and that the "responsibility for it can be squarely laid at the door of the politicians both at the Centre and in the State, more the Centre"—

but a denial of the tactics and the goal of religious division that have been adopted by separatists.⁷² He connects the violence in Punjab with violence elsewhere in India—UP, Kashmir, Telengana, etc.—but instead of utilizing this as a reason to disavow what has happened in Punjab (a tactic visible in Dang's work), argues that in total this violence speaks "of a deep malady with which our body politic seems to be afflicted."⁷³ For Duggal, as for many others, it is the further division of Punjab that he seeks to prevent: "The fact remains that Punjabi is the mother tongue of the entire Punjab. But in all the political machinations—first partition then the carving out of the Punjabi Suba—the worse sufferer was the Punjabi language."⁷⁴ He thus quotes a poem of prominent poet, Surjit Patar: "It was Waris who was lost to us yesterday/Is it Shiv Kumar's turn now?"⁷⁵ (Patar refers here to Waris Shah, the 18th century author of the great Punjabi narrative *Hir-Ranjha*, and one of modern Punjabi's great post-Partition poets, and Hindu poet Shiv Kumar Batalvi, who wrote the beloved *Lūnā*, a verse play based on the *qissā* Puran Bhagat. Batalvi's Hindu identity would leave him outside a Sikh-defined Punjab.) This is also the position expressed in a recent interview with UK-based poet Punjabi language poet Amarjit Chandan, who argues that his lack of support for Khalistan directly reflects his rejection of Punjab's partition along religious lines in 1947.⁷⁶ This is articulated also in Anand Patwardhan's "In Memory of Friends *Un mitroñ kī yād pyāri*" where Sardara Singh of the Kirti Kisan Union and others argue against both the terror of the "Sikh fundamentalists" and that of the state.⁷⁷ "What is at the root of all the trouble in Punjab," Duggal argues, "is the language problem." How so? He argues that the cause of conflict in Punjab "is not a Hindu-Sikh problem and yet the genesis of the trouble lies in the Punjabi Hindu not accepting Punjabi as his mother tongue."⁷⁸ The problem of script also persists, in the question of Devanagari; Duggal advocates for its use by Hindus on a "day-to-day" basis so they "not distance themselves from their mother tongue"; at the same time, he argues for the superiority of Gurmukhi.⁷⁹ (This is not a new argument: the use of Devanagari for Punjabi was also advocated by nationalist militant Bhagat Singh, in 1923, as a way of building national unity.)⁸⁰

The case of Punjabi and its Sikh connections reflects broader tensions in post-colonial India over the contradictions and promise associated with the "secular"; this has remained the central problematic in the imagination of the post-colonial polity since before independence, particularly in the north. As Karin Zitzewitz has shown in a valuable recent book, the articulation of a nuanced and rich notion of the secular "that far exceeds the official one in its richness and complexity" has been a major concern of visual artists in India; the work of modern writers bears the same marks.⁸¹ The Punjabi language is perhaps particularly useful to think about in the context of the problem of national belonging that Zitzewitz highlights, because it is so vigorously used to articulate a kind of inclusion within the nation, and is so problematic in the way it resists such enclosure, as suggested earlier. Just as we must reject the common opposition drawn between the Left and the religious/Sikh, which impoverishes our ability to understand the complexity of affiliations and critique available to writers and others before and after 1984, we must reject a simple opposition between the religious and the secular and accept a much more complex lived reality.⁸² Among thinkers working recently along such lines, Arvind Mandair has suggested that Sikh thought denies this binary, in both practices and concepts such as that of the *shabad-guru*, which he describes as "radically conservative yet radically subversive, the very element of what eventually became 'religion', yet at the same time the very element of disenchantment or secularization (without there being a separation between religion and the secular)."⁸³ He advocates a radical rejection of the naming of the "religious" and the "secular" in

their conventional forms -- allowing therefore for the emergence of a "religiosity-without-religion" that would and could not be subsumed within the colonial/national.⁸⁴ Such an approach can allow for new readings of Leftist and progressive positions: a recent provocative article by Parambir S. Gill demands that we take seriously the involvement of early twentieth century Ghadar (revolutionary anti-colonial) activists in what are understood as "religious pursuits" (for example, their active participation in the historical 2nd Avenue Gurdwara in Vancouver, and references within their writings to aspects of Sikh tradition). This is not simply to claim these activists as "religious," but instead to understand the poverty of the binary of religious vs. secular and to understand how religious practices and spaces relate to secular forms: "the engagement of Ghadaris with Sikh spaces, figures and festivals" he rightly argues, seems "to have generated the latter as mediums for the enactment of radical politics in popular form... [and] the practice of labouring Sikhs points to the integration of religiosity as an infrastructural element in the struggle that Ghadar would carry to its historic consummation."⁸⁵ This runs counter to the dominant historiography on Ghadar, which sees it as "actively hostile to religion"; such a reading also does not subsume them, however, within a solely Sikh narrative (which would be to impose conventional religious/secular demarcation again).⁸⁶ Author Darshan Singh, winner of the Dhahan Prize for Punjabi Literature in 2015 (about more later) for his novel *Lotā*, agrees, noting that there strong affinities between Sikh and progressive, Leftist thought: this is why so many Sikhs have been attracted to the Left such that, in the words of Gurharpal Singh in early work, "for almost forty years the communist movement constituted the avant-garde of the Sikh community."⁸⁷ Ghadar cultural production thus indicates what Leela Gandhi has called "a forgotten variety of hybridity whose refusal of secular rationality and transcendental subjectivity is quintessentially political and anticolonial," beyond a religious/secular divide but, at the same time, drawing on both.⁸⁸

The Punjabi language in Gurmukhi is therefore somehow marked by ambiguity, associated with both the Left and with Sikh interests (sometimes simultaneously), located at the joining point of (or the divergence between) the secular/religious problematic and competing articulations of the national. And it remains in this position, claimed by both as its cause. Nationalizing state forces at the local and national levels in India compete with these forces. We can see how Punjabi language continues be configured centrally in political terms in India in a series of recent examples: the implementation of Punjabi language teachers in New Delhi schools, purported to be an effort meant to sway the upcoming 2017 Assembly elections in Punjab in favour of the Aam Admi Party;⁸⁹ continuing efforts to increase support for Punjabi in the Indian Punjab, with complex political ramifications⁹⁰; and the credit for support for Punjabi claimed for Sikhs, alone, in the Indian Punjab.⁹¹ Duggal's assessment of the centrality of Punjabi language issues in the politics of Indian Punjab is well grounded, even today.

Across a border: The modern literary formation in Pakistan

There are parallels, alongside striking differences, in Pakistan. Dublin-based Punjabi-language poet Mahmood Awan has argued that the relative dominance of the Shahmukhi script in colonial Punjab contributed to the problems facing integrated Punjabi language cultural production in the post-colonial state. He writes:

West Punjabis were the foremost losers of the script divide as almost all the Punjabi writers who migrated to East Punjab were well-versed in both scripts, Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi as Urdu and Farsi were compulsory subjects at primary level in public

schools of the pre partitioned Punjab. On the other hand [the] majority of the Pakistani Punjabi writers could only read and write in Shahmukhi.

So distances furthered, common literary heritage faced existential threat and coming generations of Punjab got alienated from their collective ethos.⁹²

In Pakistan, Urdu dominates and the state resists implementation of pre-collegiate education and other forms of state support for the language, even when other regional languages such as Sindhi gain ground.⁹³ Yet, there is support for Punjabi in Pakistan, and it is significant. Alyssa Ayres has highlighted a depoliticized role for Punjabi in Pakistan, as a uniquely non-nationalist and symbolic linguistic project.⁹⁴ Punjabis in Pakistan, in short, do not advocate for the language as a means to gain power; Punjabis dominate numerically in Pakistan, as well as in terms of access to power and resources: "there are more Punjabis than anyone else in Pakistan, and they are better off than anyone else, with more productive land, cleaner water, better technology, and better educated families."⁹⁵ The restoration--or in some way invention, since Punjabi has only ever received state support in post-partition Indian Punjab, not before or elsewhere--of support for Punjabi thus does not clearly serve the material interests of elites and Ayres sees this as an instance of "a strategy entirely focused on increasing symbolic capital as an end in itself."⁹⁶ This is because Ayres' understanding of the political is nationalist and elitist in orientation: a movement outside of such parameters is "confounding."⁹⁷ Tariq Rahman does something similar, claiming that "the pre-modern sentimental attachment to a distinctive way of life, conveniently symbolized by Punjabi, is really what is at stake" in the Punjabi movement, not "rational, goal-directed, instrumentalist reasons."⁹⁸ As Kalra and Butt persuasively assert, however, "[i]t is a lack of an analysis that takes into account class, which misdirects much of the research on the Punjabi movement in West Punjab,"⁹⁹ where left organization and activism remain central.¹⁰⁰ Kalra and Butt argue that "as the language of the uneducated--of the peasants and working class, it is shunned by the nationalist elite. Yet it is precisely this status that provides the rationale for its appeal to Left-wing groups and parties."¹⁰¹ Instead, "[l]anguage in the context of the Left in West Punjab is therefore being used instrumentally, but not for the formation of a linguistic state, but rather for the formation of a communist or socialist state" or, at least, set of state structures.¹⁰²

The political project associated with Punjabi language and literary activism is therefore central; it is not a movement for language and/or literature in isolation. Rahman has made light of the Punjabi language movement in Pakistan because of the historical lack of support for Punjabi: "although activists of the Punjabi movement make much of the teaching of Punjabi, they ignore the fact that it was not taught for itself in pre-British times."¹⁰³ But that is really not their point, for most activists in the movement stress that their primary concern is in fact the use of Punjabi in education: they want to see Punjabi as the language of instruction in Pakistan, as a way of enabling social and educational mobility for students *as well as* preserve the language.¹⁰⁴ Rahman identifies the first post-colonial activist for Punjabi as poet Faqir Muhammad Faqir, supporting Punjabi even before Partition and then even right after it, when in the wake of the violence (and in light of ongoing tensions with Bangla speakers in East Pakistan) it was a forbidden cause.¹⁰⁵ Ustad Daman (1911-1984), whose poetry is described by Rahman as "anti-establishment, irreverent, and humorous," is a figure still looked to among Pakistani Punjabi writers today.¹⁰⁶ In the early years of the post-colonial state, as Hafeez Malik notes, "the embryo of an organized left, which indicated vitality and creativity through its literary forum in the first decade of Pakistan's life, was almost totally destroyed."¹⁰⁷ But this was not permanent: Kalra and

Butt rightly note the central role of communist political organizations such as the Mazdoor Kisan Party (formed in 1970) in promoting Punjabi on a national level, during a period of reformulation of communist organizations.¹⁰⁸ In this same period, Punjabi was instituted as a post-graduate course of study at Punjab University Lahore, with Najm Hosain Syed (a central figure in the Punjabi movement, even today), who engaged in Marxist literary analysis, as its first Chair.¹⁰⁹ Since then further institutions have been formed to support Punjabi, but it is still not used for pre-collegiate education in the province.

In a recent exploration of "Literature in Punjab" (and not, for the most part, literature in Punjabi), Urdu poet and feminist Fahmida Riaz highlights both the role of progressive values and their retreat among Urdu writers. She calls attention to the forces arrayed against progressive interests among Punjabis writing in Urdu: "the progressive movement never failed," she writes, "[i]t was banned. What is meant to be understood as its failure is, in fact, its suppression by official decrees, indiscriminate harassment of writers, and intimidation of its supporters,"¹¹⁰ for example through the banning of the Communist Party of Pakistan in 1954 and the Rawalpindi conspiracy case, which put Faiz Ahmed Faiz, Communist Party leaders, and members of the Pakistani military behind bars.¹¹¹ Riaz suggests that beyond this the relative prosperity and dominance of Punjabis in Pakistan accounts for a shift in perspective of ethnically Punjabi writers, writing in Urdu, who were largely invested in the Pakistan state project. Progressives, in this context, she argues, were seen as "anti-national" and Punjabis had too much to gain, as a whole, in the national project to counter it wholesale, as Ayres also argues (see discussion earlier).¹¹² This is an overstatement, since writers in Pakistan have maintained a critical distance from the state in important ways; the most obvious example of such ambiguity is Faiz Ahmed Faiz himself. But it does account for the commitment of Punjabis to Urdu, and reflects the workings of power within Pakistan as "Punjabistan," as Ayres, Ian Talbot and others have argued.¹¹³ This encouraged writers, Riaz argues, to retreat into a "private world"; more on that later.¹¹⁴

Punjabi writers, however, did not take up the anti-Indian, nationalist position Riaz finds prevalent among many Urdu writers. Instead, she argues, "it is as though, while writing in Punjabi, the Punjabi writer shed the outer crusts of a mould showing from inside a completely different person."¹¹⁵ There are perhaps stronger resonances, however, between Punjabi and Urdu cultural production than Riaz allows, particularly within work that challenges national claims. This resonates with the argument of Aamir Mufti that Manto's use of the Urdu short story form was a "means of dislodging the resolutions of... nationalism from within and renders an account of national modernity inscribed not with affirmations of identity and subjectivity but with displacement and difference," and that "at its best" the form has retained this role, "pointing always to the possibility of collective ways of life that are less singular and more hospitable to individual and collective freedom."¹¹⁶ Punjabi's position as "outside" has perhaps allowed it to explore such an oppositional stance in constitutive terms, demonstrating how the story of Punjabi literature represents more than a reflection of Urdu's more prominent history, and yet intersects with it in important ways. This also perhaps accounts for the dominance of poetry in the Pakistani Punjabi literary world as well, and the relative lack of presence of the novel: Mufti argues that the "foregrounding of the short story at the cost of the novel... may be understood in terms of the ambivalent relationship of Urdu literary culture to the discourse of Indian nationhood" and as an indicator of the "problematic of minoritization"; poetry's evocation of a

shared pre-colonial literary ethos may act in similar terms.¹¹⁷ Punjabi in Pakistan, too, lies outside a narrow nationalist trajectory, converging with Punjabi interests in India in ways that are perhaps only allowable because of its relative marginalization in Pakistan.¹¹⁸

Riaz attributes to Najm Sahib, who has played a foundational role in the imagination and support of Punjabi literature in Pakistan, a kind of "mystical Marxism" that is "preoccupied with the 'reality of the self', an undefined goal that transcends the issue of democracy and human rights."¹¹⁹ Riaz sees his ideas as "impossible" as a result.¹²⁰ It would be a mistake, however, to read this as a failure to address the political in real terms, or to see it as a fringe view. It reflects, instead, the pressing cultural and intellectual concerns of Pakistani writers since 1947 itself, as a range of recent work describes. As Kamran Asdar Ali has discussed, the post-Partition modernist movement in Urdu exemplified by Mohammad Hasan Askari (1919-78) and others embraced an approach to societal and material change that suggested, in Asdar Ali's words, "that mere advocacy of the economic needs of the people is not enough, as people also have nonmaterial and spiritual needs."¹²¹ The so-called "modernists" rejected the ideological program of the progressive writers to pursue alternative lines of inquiry and experimentation, but they did not necessarily abandon concerns for material realities. That Askari did this within a position supportive of Pakistan as an idea and "Muslim" as an identity would outweigh the other resonances of this kind of position for Riaz.¹²²

It would thus be a mistake to accept the simple binaries of the modernist vs. the progressive, or communist vs. nationalist: as Asdar Ali points out, the "political stance of the communists was at times dangerously close to that of its own opposition, the Pakistani state and the Islamists... they too were seeking to create a universalist politics of social identity and homogeneity and a rational society."¹²³ Amir Mufti's important discussion of the problematics of the recourse to the "authenticity" of religion as an alternative to the destruction associated with colonial modernity addresses this set of concerns, requiring a rethinking of the binary assumed between the two to embrace "the possibilities of living *with* this crisis [of authenticity] and coming to understand the social and ethical stakes in the struggle to live."¹²⁴ We can see just such an articulation in the recent short stories of Lahore-based Punjabi-language writer, Zubair Ahmed, who explores social and economic deprivation within a deeply personal and emotionally rich narrative frame.¹²⁵ Indeed, as A. Sean Pue has recently argued, the distinction between the modernist and the progressive in Pakistani intellectual and literary circles is overdrawn, denying the multiplicity of positions that were taken in relation to them. In discussing the work of N.M. Rashed, he thus argues that the author's exploration of personal experience "may very well be Rashed's response to the devastation wrought by Partition upon the claims to identity," but that "emphasizing personal experience is not the same thing as turning from the social realm, as progressive critics frequently contend."¹²⁶ Instead, Rashed's embrace of the contingency of human experience allowed him to oppose both progressivism and the "auratic criticism" Mufti highlights, to articulate a contingent position outside of identity itself. Today, such an intersection of concerns opens up conditions of possibility for a new engagement with Marxist thought and practice in our post-socialist bloc world of "global war" and "terror," stark global economic inequality, and increased stratification within national boundaries.¹²⁷ Advocacy for Punjabi today too is being reconfigured on such newly drawn progressive lines, but is no less political, as Virinder Kalra and Waqas Butt have recently observed: adherence to party lines has been eschewed in favour of a new progressive articulation, no less challenging to a simple

national formation.¹²⁸ Thus, while Alyssa Ayres is correct that this “new spirit of Punjabiyaat [that] has been nurtured by activists and intellectuals on both sides of the border as well as by the Punjabi diaspora” may “hold the promise of a more peaceful future,” this is not so only because of its ability to “foster ties of affection and fellow feeling between Punjabis on both sides of the border,”¹²⁹ but because of its commitment, in India, Pakistan and beyond, to social justice.¹³⁰

Closing

The use of two scripts in India and Pakistan thus marks difference, but it is a difference that masks striking parallels. The comparison of the case for Punjabi in these two locations, which corresponds to script difference but far more than that, allows for insight into the relationship between language, nation, and politics far more than each case in isolation allows. It is the relationship to the state that distinguishes the place of Punjabi in India and Pakistan; at the same time, an intimate connection to the Left, and tension with religiously articulated political positions, form a commonality. In India, tensions have emerged with the assumption/threat of Punjabi's tie to a religious identity, its simultaneous link to the Left, and its appropriation by the state. As Duggal asserted, creative writing in Punjabi cannot be subsumed within either Sikh political or state interests, but exists in complicated relation to each; in this, it is tied to a politics that yet requires full enunciation. Indeed, our understanding of Sikh political interests in the Indian Punjab overall has been impoverished by lack of attention to this complexity; critical examination of the political failure of some members of the Left to address ongoing violence by the state in Punjab, the relationship of this failure to the ongoing political malaise in the state, and the range of progressive positions that *continue* to exist in critique of state violence would provide a different way of understanding politics in Punjab today, where progressive positions still hold power. Just as political commitment to Punjabi in Pakistan has been construed more recently in broader terms, outside of the confines of a narrow Left political articulation, a multiplicity of political positions outside of existing binaries in the Indian context suggests a new way of thinking through both Punjabi and Sikh political articulation.

Comparison with Pakistan is revealing: there, the relationship of Punjabi language activism with progressive interests is just as strong, and we see parallel if slightly different tensions: "Does our Islamic faith requires [sic] or urges [sic] us to forfeit our historically born linguistic identity?" Pakistani poet and producer Mushtaq Soofi asked in the English-language Pakistani newspaper *Dawn* in 2013. He continues:

Punjabis in collaboration with Urdu speakers raised the slogan of 'one nation, one language' which was politically dangerous and culturally untenable. Other nationalities resisted this ill-conceived move vociferously and refused to slaughter their languages and cultures at the altar of pseudo national identity. What is left of Pakistan if you eject the languages and cultures of Pashtuns, Sindhis, Balochis and Punjabis from it?...

By renouncing their highly expressive language Punjabis have not enriched Pakistan. They have, in fact, impoverished it. Only the brain dead can celebrate impoverishment as an achievement.¹³¹

In some senses, to write in Punjabi at all challenges the national in Pakistan;¹³² in India, it is the focus of a nationalizing battle, with multiple forces (Khalistani and Indian statist) on hand to

appropriate it. Punjabi writers, Duggal tells us, are caught in between: destined "to watch and suffer."¹³³ Script difference masks these parallels, but does not efface them. We can again see a resonance between the positions of Punjabi in these locations as a challenge to the national, speaking from a border zone, in both scripts. Writing Punjabi across this border thus enacts a complex set of commonalities, across the intelligibility caused by script difference.

The politics of Punjabi are thus in some way marked by script difference, but also exceed it. Yet, we also see a literary movement with strong cross-script and cross-border aspirations (if not always realities). Such potential ties across the Indo-Pakistan border indeed constitute the major controversy with the Punjabi movement in Pakistan: the perception that pro-Punjabi activism would undermine the two-nation justification for Pakistan and establish unwanted cross-religious relationships.¹³⁴ As Faisal Devji has recently pointed out, the "provincialism" of the pro-Punjabi view is perceived as a threat to the Pakistani state, which sees it as sowing "the seeds of secessionism in a self-fulfilling prophecy that has already resulted in the creation of Bangladesh out of east Pakistan."¹³⁵ The convergence of the two, therefore, offers both threat and promise. Connections between the two Punjabs are tenuous at times, because of the difficulty of travel between the two states and the difference in script, although some members of both literary communities do read across the script divide. At the same time, as Pritam Singh pointed out in 2010, "[f]or a community that has experienced such fragmentation through the centuries, the Punjabi identity today is engaged in a remarkably active attempt at consolidation."¹³⁶ On the Web, Punjabi language writers remain in contact across the physical border through the well-known website for the Academy of Punjab in North America (apnaorg.com), as well as a Facebook page called "*Kitāb Trīñjan*," named in honour of a Punjabi language bookshop that was located in Lahore, on Punjabi writers and translators maintained by Dublin-based Mahmood Awan, who writes about Punjabi literature in English for Pakistan's *The News*.¹³⁷ Chandan, the London-based poet who was mentioned earlier, and who has been very active in the Punjabi literary Diaspora in engaging with an English-speaking audience through translation, also has strong ties in West Punjab as well as East. Such individuals demonstrate the transnational nature of modern Punjabi literary production, and how the effort to move beyond script is tied to movement beyond South Asia.¹³⁸ Punjabi language activism is however fundamentally supported by deeply local institutions and concerns, exemplified by the Sahit Sabhas and other related organizations (such as Punjabi Sath, which advocates for and supports Punjabi in different locations) that are as common in the countryside of the Indian Punjab as they are a central part of the Punjabi Diaspora; in Pakistan, institutions founded since the 1950s continue to advocate for and provide institutional support for Punjabi, such as the Punjabi Adabi League and the Punjabi Adabi Sangat, as do individuals like Najm Hosain Syed, who continues to hold *sangat* (a "gathering") on a weekly basis in his home every Friday in Lahore to explore Punjabi literature of all kinds. This network of local and global institutions has been enhanced recently by the founding of the Dhahan Prize for Punjabi Literature, an international Prize for Punjabi literature, which held its inaugural awards ceremony in October 2014 in Vancouver Canada.¹³⁹ This initiative maintains a commitment to fostering Punjabi in both scripts and across national boundaries. Such efforts do not necessitate the denationalization of Punjabi: as is well known, the Punjabi Sikh diaspora has been deeply invested in questions of national belonging in India. At the same time, diasporic experience undermines the simply national in important ways: Punjabi as a language of literature, across script, can represent such interests perhaps particularly well. Indeed, as Pritam Singh has also noted, what we mean by "Punjabiyaat"—the cultural basis

of “Punjabiness” that undergirds commitment to the Punjabi language—changes dramatically in different hands: “It is in this sense that Punjabiness appears as a floating principle and project, an elusiveness that can be considered a sign of both weakness and strength.”¹⁴⁰

It is common these days to hear of Punjabi's demise. Yet, somehow Punjabi flourishes, part of a movement that seeks to reach across both script and border. Perhaps this is in keeping with Tariq Rahman's description of Punjabi's association "with pleasure [that] is connected with a certain kind of Punjabi identity."¹⁴¹ Explaining both Punjabi's success and its demise in Pakistan, Rahman argues that this association "explains why Pakistani, or Muslim, Punjabis relegate their language to a marginal status in the formal domains while enjoying it and retaining it, especially for male bonding, in the informal and oral domains."¹⁴² It may be that Punjabi's lack of singular "location" may be its strength, not its weakness: challenging the nation to the degree it has, Punjabi retains a resilience that carries forward from the colonial period (as Mir so beautifully shows) to the present and has allowed for convergences across national borders that are allowable only through its marginalization. I have argued elsewhere that modern Punjabi literature functions as a kind of cultural historical practice, documenting and engaging the past in relation to the needs of the present.¹⁴³ This continues, today, in new media as well. Film and music retain a particular area for resurgence; as commentator Shiraz Hassan has pointed out: even while Punjabi is marginalized in Pakistan, Coke Studio Pakistan has extended the reach of the language through its rendition of folk and Sufi songs. Who can deny the power of Tina Sani's rendition of Faiz Ahmed Faiz's Punjabi *nazm* (poem) "*Rabba Sacchia*"?¹⁴⁴ At the same time, marginalized in Pakistan, struggling in India and in the Diaspora against the dominance of Hindi and English, and caught between statist and religiously defined political interests in both Pakistan and India, Punjabi's borders as defined by its scripts remain salient, even as they are crossed.

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¹ Iyer and Zare *Other Tongues*, xix-x.

² Rahman, *Language, Ideology*, 401. On the erroneous claim that Punjabi is facing extinction, see: Dhaliwal "Nayar vows to save Punjabi"; "Rs. 5 Cr. for growth of Punjabi sought"; & "Lost and Found." In part the confusion on this issue probably results from an early visual representation of the UNESCO report on endangered languages: an early interface identified endangered languages on a map alongside dominant languages, making it unclear to the viewer which languages are endangered and which are not. The current version does not feature this ambiguity. See: <http://www.unesco.org/languages-atlas/index.php>. Accessed 23 June 2016.

³ The general total commonly given for Punjabi speakers is 100 million, a rough estimate given the lack of conclusive data available (see "Let's Learn Punjabi."). The shape of the Indian Punjab and the existence of Punjabi speakers outside its borders is addressed briefly later. There is an obvious analogy between this usage of two scripts and the case of Hindi/Urdu. While it extends beyond the possible of the scope of this essay to explore this further, some points of comparison will be highlighted below.

⁴ For more on this issue, see Murphy "Punjabi in the (late) vernacular millennium."

⁵ On this problematic, see Shackle, "Making Punjabi," 116. Orsini, ed. *Before the Divide*.

⁶ Busch "Riti and Register," 116.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 88-9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 106.

¹⁰ Shackle, "Some Observations" 106.

¹¹ On this and the issue more broadly, see Murphy "Punjabi in the (late) vernacular millennium."

¹² Orsini, "Introduction" in Orsini, ed. *Before the Divide*, 2.

¹³ Bangha, "Rekhta," 27 on Gurmukhi Rekhta; 26, 54 on Sadhukkari; and overall.

¹⁴ Shackle "Some Observations," 105.

¹⁵ King *One Language, Two Scripts*, 127, 152.

¹⁶ Orsini and Shaikh "Introduction," 22.

¹⁷ See observations of Attar Singh *Secularization*, 23-4, Shackle "Making Punjabi" & "Punjabi Sufi Poetry."

¹⁸ Shackle, "Making Punjabi," 116; Budh Singh has also been discussed in Ishwar Dayal Gaur "Studying the Constructions of Past."

¹⁹ The Zafar-namah generally attributed to Guru Gobind Singh is in Persian. For more, see: Fenech *Sikh Zafar-nāmah* and Rinehart *Debating*.

²⁰ Rafique, *Skeena*.

²¹ There are numerous typographical errors in the Gurmukhi version, however, so this attempt to bridge the script gap is a checkered success.

²² <http://www.un.org/en/events/motherlanguageday/> Accessed 13 July 2016.

²³ For a valuable overview of the Punjabi film industry, see Parmar "From Lahore to Bombay."

²⁴ On caste and the intervention of modern Punjabi literature, see Murphy "The uses of the 'folk'"; on gender, see Dhariwal "The heroine in modern Punjabi."

²⁵ Mir *Social Space*. See also: Diamond. "A 'Vernacular' for a 'New Generation'?"

²⁶ Mir, *Social Space*, 15, 24 for quotes; see also 14.

²⁷ Mir addresses developments after partition in broad terms in the conclusion to her work.

²⁸ For a useful succinct overview of South Asian modernist and progressive literature, see Amardeep Singh, "Progressivism and Modernism."

²⁹ Shackle, "Some Observations," 107. Compare Shackle's stages, for example, with the three stages outlined in the same volume by another author: Maini "Religious and Secular Strains."

³⁰ Shackle, "Some Observations," 107.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 104.

³² Oberoi "Ghadar Movement"; Ramnath, *Haj to Utopia*; K. Singh *Ghadar Lahira*; Sohi, *Echoes of Mutiny*.

³³ Mukherjee "Epic and Novel," 596; Dubrow "A Space for Debate," 290-1. See also Orsini, *Print and Pleasure*, 163 ff. The three genres identified by Tariq Rahman to describe the chapbooks in Pakistan coincide partially with these: religious, romantic, and utilitarian. He does not include modern literary works. I do, and groups the religious and utilitarian in one category; Rahman *Language, Ideology*, 423. Rahman's category are roughly parallel to those later used by Ayres "Language, the Nation" 932-3. I laid out a preliminary version of these categories in Murphy "A Diasporic Temporality."

³⁴ His third stage concerns the post-colonial period, which I discuss separately later. The three domains I identify for Punjabi language production in both Gurmukhi and Shahmukhi do not fall neatly into chronological stages. For

discussion of the range of works by exemplary individual authors, particularly focusing on the production of historical representations, see Murphy *Materiality of the Past*, ch. 4.

³⁵ Orsini *The Hindi Public Sphere*, 31.

³⁶ K. Singh *Pragatīvādī*.

³⁷ Gopal *Literary Radicalism*, 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 17-18, 20.

⁴⁰ The Urdu short story writer Sadat Hasan Manto quite famously parted company with the "progressives"; see: Jalil "Loving Progress"; Asdar Ali "Progressives and 'Perverts'"; Jalal *Pity of Partition*, 110 ff.; Saint *Witnessing* 281-2, and discussion in Mufti *Enlightenment*, ch. 4. This discussion in part draws on Murphy, "Remembering a lost presence."

⁴¹ Hyder, "Urdu's Progressive Wit," 103.

⁴² Sekhon & Duggal, *A History*, 117. This paragraph draws on general information provided in Murphy "A Diasporic Temporality."

⁴³ Attar Singh, *Secularization*, 85 for quote, see also 57, 60, 102, 137. See discussion in Tejwant Singh Gill "Reading Modern Punjabi Poetry," 188 ff.

⁴⁴ Sekhon and Duggal *A History*, 105. On Bhangu, see: Bhangu, *Prācīn Pañth Parkāsh*; Murphy *Materiality of the Past*, ch. 4; Dhavan "Reading the Texture."

⁴⁵ Sekhon and Duggal, *A History*, 109.

⁴⁶ Gurbaksh Singh *Ishak*.

⁴⁷ Rahman, *Language, Ideology*, first quote 397, second 396

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 422-3.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Rahman himself provides evidence of this (*Language and Politics*, 198-99).

⁵¹ The quest for a Punjabi speaking state is not unique, of course, in the post-colonial state, but it did take place after other major linguistic divisions in the period. It took place in the wake of the Indian-Pakistan war of 1965. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was said to be in search of support for her leadership in supporting it. (Narang "Movement," 262-3).

⁵² Brass *Language*, 287. As Brass notes, "the competition between the Hindi movement and the other languages of Punjab, including Punjabi,... [had] been in progress for nearly a century." *Ibid.*, 292. In Punjab in the colonial period, Rahman argues, "the Urdu-Punjabi controversy was an extension of the Urdu-Hindi controversy." Rahman, *Language, Ideology*, 395. He argues that "the political need of the time, as perceived by Muslim leaders in the heat of the Pakistan movement, was to insist on a common Muslim identity" that Urdu played a major part in, although this is less convincing an argument for Punjab given that the Pakistan movement was successful there so late--we must keep Mir's portrait of Punjabi Shahmukhi literary production in view here.

⁵³ Rahman, *Language, Ideology*, 395. Narang rightly argues that many of the dynamics of the Hindu right in India today must be understood in relation to Hindu activism in Punjab and the communal climate of the state (Narang "Movement," 253.)

⁵⁴ Brass *Language* 297.

⁵⁵ Quoted in Narang, "Movement," 252.

⁵⁶ Brass, *Language*, 292-4.

⁵⁷ Manipulation in the census was an issue from 1911 on; see *Ibid.*, 292.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 293.

⁵⁹ Asdar Ali, "Communists in a Muslim Land," 507-12; Atiya Singh "Pakistan as an Alternative."

⁶⁰ Discussion of this issue tends to fall into the binaries outlined here. For a valuable general reference to this dynamic in the context of a larger discussion, see: Stepan, et al., *Crafting State-Nations*: 48, footnote 20.

⁶¹ Goyal *Dr. Satyapal*; for quote, Judge, "Satyapal Dang," 29.

⁶² Bardhan "Satpal Dang"; for a description of the efforts taken by communists in mobilizing the general public against separatism, see Dang, "Introduction."

⁶³ This is revealed in his writings as collected and published in 2000. These provide a portrait of a chilling set of contradictions: he recognizes the grievances claimed by Sikhs and by Punjabis broadly, and grants that many of them are "just and correct"; at the same time, he discounts these grievances through a complex set of maneuvers ("Is there Discrimination Against Sikhs?" dated 1982, in Dang, *Terrorism*, 85-93, 87). He acknowledges in the work that the Punjab police engaged in human rights violations and that "terrorism cannot be fought and defeated once for all if it is fought only on the law and order front." ("Police and Human Rights," dated 5 November 1992, in *Ibid.*, 259-

262, see pg. 263). Yet, at the same time, he immediately disavows this position, continuing with his next sentence: "at the same time it has to be fought on the law and order front also. It cannot be fought on that front only with the help of laws meant to deal with ordinary crimes. Some violation of human rights in the fight against terrorism seems inevitable." (Ibid., 263; this position is rearticulated elsewhere, e.g. "Terrorism and Human Rights," Ibid., 249-251). Such a stance advocating no mercy--for a "no-holds-barred fight" that allows for negotiation only when the "backbone of the terrorist organizations has been broken"--is familiar in North America from the "War on Terror" since 9/11; the results of such a program in this more recent context has been 15 years of global war and an increase in terrorism. (Ibid., 175, 74).

⁶⁴ Dang represented the Communist Party of India, which certainly does not speak for all Leftist and communist actors in Punjab and has taken a generally pro-Congress/pro-state stand. Members of other Left parties, such as the Communist Part of India (Marxist), took a more adversarial position in relation to the power of the Congress party in the 1970s and 80s; members, however, were also targeted in anti-communist violence in Punjab.

⁶⁵ <https://preetlari.wordpress.com/history/> Accessed 22 May 2015.

⁶⁶ D. Singh 'Canadian' *Darshan Singh 'Canadian'*, 28.

⁶⁷ Gurpreet Singh "Khalistani separatists' killings."

⁶⁸ Originally published in Pash, *Sāḍe Samiān Vicc* 56-7. See also: <http://www.punjabi-kavita.com/SaadeSamianVichPash.php#Samian24> <Accessed 11 July 2016>. This poem is used to great effect in Sanjay Kak's *Red Ant Dream* or *Māṭī de Lāl* (2013). See: http://redantdream.com/?portfolio_archive=insecurity Accessed 11 July 2016. On Pash, see T. Gill *Reckoning With Dark Times*.

⁶⁹ See discussion by Mandair, "The Global Fiduciary," 208. See my discussion of this issue in Murphy "Specter of violence." There is a typo in that article in the citation for Mandair; the correct page is as listed here.

⁷⁰ Duggal *Understanding*.

⁷¹ Ibid., 11.

⁷² Ibid., 119, 12; see also 31.

⁷³ Ibid., 32. cf. Dang, *Terrorism*; "Is there Discrimination Against Sikhs?" dated 1982, 85-93. Those issues that are replicated in other parts of India, such as the tension between federal and state-level control, are invalidated because they are larger than Punjab. This does not logically follow of course: that such issues need to be dealt with broadly does not mean they do not still exist for Punjab. Other issues he discounts because they are portrayed as trivial -- in one example, caused by the "wrong attitude" of the Congress party under Indira Gandhi (Congress-I). (Dang *Terrorism*, 91). Overall in this essay, Dang recognizes grievances and makes suggestions on how to ameliorate them; grievances that could theoretically be ameliorated through the actions of the state (even if the state did not do so) are portrayed as invalid.

⁷⁴ Duggal *Understanding*, 58.

⁷⁵ Ibid.;

⁷⁶ Amarjit Singh, Interview.

⁷⁷ Patwardhan, "In Memory of Friends," at 12:11.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 142 for first quote, 16 for second.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 78.

⁸⁰ Bhagat Singh *Selected Writings*, 45-54. (See brief discussion: Rinehart "From Bhagat Singh," 166.) In his fascinating essay, Bhagat Singh rejects the use of Urdu in unequivocal terms and, while he says that "in Punjab you can succeed in Punjab only in the Punjabi language" (51), suggests that the use of Devanagari for Punjabi will result in it becoming more like Hindi with the use of Devanagari and, in so doing, "all the differences will disappear" (52). On the problems, politics, and the "ideologically promiscuous appeal" associated with Bhagat Singh's writings, see Moffat, "Bhagat Singh's Corpse," particularly 13-15, 18 for quote.

⁸¹ Zitzewitz *The Art of Secularism*, 4. See overall Bharucha, *In the Name of the Secular*.

⁸² For a useful overview of recent thinking on the religious/secular binary, see Osuri, "(Post) Secular Discomforts." Attar Singh's discussion of secularization within Punjabi poetry is exemplary of the acceptance of a radical distinction between secular and the sacred; he argues that it required Punjabi writing, which he identifies fundamentally with Sikhs, to "pass through a process of self-alienation to become receptive to the process of secularization" (Attar Singh, *Secularization*, xi).

⁸³ Mandair, "Valences of the Dialectic," 243.

⁸⁴ Mandair, "Global Fiduciary," 210-11. Mandair, "Beyond Secular and Religious." For an exploratory essay on agnosticism in relation to Sikhism, see: Rinehart "From Bhagat Singh."

⁸⁵ P. Gill, "A Different Kind," 34-5.

- ⁸⁶ Quote is from Oberoi "Ghadar Movement," 50; see this and Gill "A Different Kind" for discussion of existing scholarship on the movement; see also footnote 32. Efforts to see Ghadar as a solely Sikh enterprise would undermine this effort to see the lives of Ghadar activists in fuller terms; see Ramnath *Haj to Utopia*, 4.
- ⁸⁷ Darshan Singh, Interview, December 2015. (See an edited version of this interview online at <http://blogs.ubc.ca/punjabisikhstudies>). Darshan Singh's first novel in 2008 was in a fictional biographical mode, focusing on communist leader of the CPI (M) Harkishan Singh Surjeet (Bajinderpal Singh "Novel based"; Darshan Singh "The Conciliatory Revolutionary"). He lived and worked in the Soviet Union for an extended period. The author of this article serves on the Advisory Board for the Dhahan Prize, but has not been directly involved in award adjudication. Gurharpal Singh is deeply critical of the communist disregard for the "Punjab problem" as it is called, noting that "the movement's failure to deal with the Sikh national and Punjabi nationality questions were critical factors in its development": (Gurharpal Singh, *Communism in Punjab*, preface).
- ⁸⁸ Gandhi, *Affective Communities*, 118.
- ⁸⁹ On AAP's lead in Punjab, see: "Assured of victory" & B. Sharma "Exclusive HuffPost-CVoter Poll."
- ⁹⁰ M. Malik "Punjab Govt to Direct"; more recently, we also see: "Political parties demand English."
- ⁹¹ "Sikhs Secure Punjabi Language."
- ⁹² Awan "Scripted Wall of Punjabi."
- ⁹³ Rahman *Language, Ideology*; Shackle "Pakistan."
- ⁹⁴ Ayres, "Language, the Nation."
- ⁹⁵ Ibid., 920-1; for quote see 921. Discussed also in Kalra and Butt "'In One Hand a Pen," and Rahman *Language and Politics* and Rahman *Language, Ideology*.
- ⁹⁶ Ayres, "Language, the Nation," 939.
- ⁹⁷ Ayres, Ibid., 919.
- ⁹⁸ Rahman, *Language and Politics*, 209.
- ⁹⁹ Kalra and Butt "'In one hand a pen," 541.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ayres errs in subsuming the political into the national alone and in separating the symbolic and the political. Kalra and Butt "'In one hand a pen," 542-3.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid., 539.
- ¹⁰² Ibid., 540.
- ¹⁰³ Rahman, *Language, Ideology*, 387.
- ¹⁰⁴ Interviews by the author with Mustaaq Soofi, Zubair Ahmed, Saeed Bhutta, Maqsood Saqib, et al., February 2014, in Lahore. Indeed, as Rahman notes, the commitment to education in Punjabi has been a consistent feature of the Pakistani Punjabi movement since its inception (Rahman, *Language, Ideology* 399).
- ¹⁰⁵ Rahman, *Language, Ideology*, 398.
- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 395.
- ¹⁰⁷ H. Malik, "The Marxist Literary Movement," 664.
- ¹⁰⁸ Kalra and Butt, "'In one hand a pen,'" 544 ff.
- ¹⁰⁹ On Syed see Kalra and Butt, "'In one hand a pen"; Ayres "Language, the Nation," 925; and Ahmed "Najm Hosain Syed."
- ¹¹⁰ Riaz *Pakistan*, 67. On Riaz, see Anantharam *Bodies That Remember*, chapter 2.
- ¹¹¹ Asdar Ali "Progressives, Punjab and Pakistan"; Dryland "Faiz Ahmed Faiz." For important early work on this topic, see: H. Malik "The Marxist Literary Movement."
- ¹¹² Riaz *Pakistan* 69-70.
- ¹¹³ See discussion and references, Ayres *Speaking Like a State*, 71 and Ayres "Language, the Nation," 921.
- ¹¹⁴ Riaz *Pakistan* 71.
- ¹¹⁵ Riaz *Pakistan*, 91.
- ¹¹⁶ Mufti *Enlightenment* 178 and 209.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid., 183.
- ¹¹⁸ Christine Everaert has noted the "converging" and "diverging" forces that have both maintained commonality and enforced difference between Urdu and Hindi, the latter evident because of the nationalizing forces supporting each (*Tracing the Boundaries*, 225).
- ¹¹⁹ Riaz *Pakistan* 93.
- ¹²⁰ Riaz, *Pakistan*, 95-6.
- ¹²¹ Asdar Ali, "Progressives and 'Perverts'," 14. Also on Askari, see Mufti "Aura of Authenticity," 93 ff.; Asdar Ali "Communists in a Muslim Land," 522 ff.; and Farooqi "Towards a Prose of Ideas" & *Urdu Literary Culture*.
- ¹²² She does not directly discuss Askari. See discussion, Mufti "Aura of Authenticity" 95.

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- ¹²³ Asdar Ali, "Progressives and 'Perverts'," 20. See also discussion of "national realism" in Mufti *Enlightenment* 183 ff.
- ¹²⁴ See Mufti "Aura of Authenticity" overall and pg. 96 for quote.
- ¹²⁵ Murphy, "Remembering a lost presence."
- ¹²⁶ Pue "Ephemeral Asia," 86.
- ¹²⁷ This reflects a new interpretation of the progressive signaled recently by Aijaz Ahmed: "The house of the Left," today, he argues, "is a capacious house, in which the reading of Gramsci is next door to avante-garde art in the squares of Athens as thousands march against the bankers' idea of Europe...*This* is the progressive cultural movement of our time." (Ahmed "The Progressive Movement," 31-2. Emphasis his.)
- ¹²⁸ Kalra and Butt, "Campaigning for Punjabi in Sahiwal."
- ¹²⁹ Ayres, "The Two Punjabs," 65-66, 68.
- ¹³⁰ On the role of the performing arts in transgressing the border between India and Pakistan, see Purewal "The Indo-Pak Border," 551-2.
- ¹³¹ Soofi, "No Punjabi please!"
- ¹³² For more on this idea with respect to the representation of Partition, see Murphy "Remembering a lost presence."
- ¹³³ Duggal *Understanding*, 17.
- ¹³⁴ Rahman, *Language and Politics*, 202-3. See also Kalra and Butt, "'In one hand a pen,'" 548; Ayres, "Language, the Nation," 923.
- ¹³⁵ Devji *Muslim Zion*, 46, see also 9-10.
- ¹³⁶ Pritam Singh, "The Idea of Punjabilityat."
- ¹³⁷ For an overview of his writings, see <http://tns.thenews.com.pk/writers/mahmood-awan/> Accessed 14 June 2016.
- ¹³⁸ See Murphy "A Diasporic Temporality."
- ¹³⁹ The author of this article chaired the Advisory Committee for the Prize from 2012 to 2014 and was on the Advisory Committee as a member at the time of writing this essay. Dr. Raghbir Singh, editor of the Punjabi language journal *Sirajana*, is the current Advisory Committee Chair.
- ¹⁴⁰ Pritam Singh, "The Idea of Punjabilityat." Singh locates the historical basis of Punjabilityat in the establishment of a "distinctive Punjabi religion" (Sikhism) and dedicated Punjabi script (Gurmukhi), so his formulation exhibits strong ties to the articulation of Sikh identity. Overall, however, he positions Punjabilityat in broad terms, crossing religious and national boundaries.
- ¹⁴¹ Rahman, *Language, Ideology*, 395.
- ¹⁴² Ibid., 395.
- ¹⁴³ Murphy "The uses of the 'folk'."
- ¹⁴⁴ Shiraz, "Am I a 'ganwaar'." For Tina Sani's song, see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-sZOGBTgcs> <Accessed 12 July 2016>.