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Sustainable development and the maintenance of Pakistan's indigenous languages

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Abstract

This contribution engages in some explorations of the state of the indigenous languages of Pakistan, and of the social and economic mechanisms that pose a threat to the country's rich linguistic heritage. All around the world, indigenous cultures and languages are disappearing at an alarming rate. Pakistan itself is the home of some seventy different languages, many of which can be further divided into various distinct dialects. In Pakistan, too, the future viability of many of these unique language varieties is seriously endangered. In the paper, I present case studies of situations where a community's ancestral language is giving way to a more dominant language, and also of situations where a native language is being maintained in the face of pressure from a more powerful language. One purpose of these studies is to uncover factors that underlie the phenomena of language loss and language maintenance in Pakistan.

As we consider these issues, we see that they are closely connected with the subject of sustainable development. Languages need communities of people who speak them and pass them on to the next generation. Communities can only exist where there is a viable living environment and a means of subsistence. The loss of languages around the world is connected to the socio-economic difficulties faced by local communities, and these difficulties in turn are connected to the way modern societies go about economic development.

One of the conclusions of the paper is that good, sustainable development is concerned with empowerment of local communities, and that efforts towards this purpose should build on the local cultures and languages and the knowledge encoded in them, rather than replace them.

Introduction

In Pakistan and around the world, public awareness of the need to protect our environment and to conserve the world's animal and plant diversity is growing, as is public awareness of the importance of sustainable development in general—the importance of meeting our needs in a way that leaves a healthy and viable world for future generations. People are often less aware of the fact that all around the world, unique indigenous cultures and languages are disappearing at an alarming rate, and that this is a further symptom—in addition to environmental damage, depletion of natural resources, and loss of biodiversity—of the fact that things are not going as well for humanity as they could.

In this paper I engage in some explorations of the state of the indigenous languages of Pakistan, and of the mechanisms that pose a threat to the country's rich linguistic

heritage. As we consider these issues, we will see that they are closely connected with the subject of sustainable development.

In the paper, the term "indigenous" is used for languages that are spoken as mother tongues by communities whose home areas are fully or partially within the current borders of Pakistan and Pakistani-administered areas. This may include communities that have migrated from other areas at some point in the past, but who now have their permanent home in Pakistan. As a first case study, let us turn our attention to Punjabi, the country's largest indigenous language.

Punjabi

In order to establish the current size of the Punjabi-speaking population, one has to decide first on the definition of "Punjabi", and this in turn depends on the definition of "language". This is not a trivial matter. For instance, the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000), which is a catalogue of the world's languages, lists not one but three languages that are called "Punjabi": *Western Punjabi* (mostly in Pakistan), *Eastern Punjabi* (mostly in India), and *Mirpur Punjabi* (or *Mirpuri*, in Azad Kashmir). On the other hand, if we use the criterion of mutual intelligibility (looking at how easily speakers of different varieties can understand one another), we can probably group a whole chain of language varieties together and give it a convenient label, such as *Greater Punjabi*. Restricting ourselves to Pakistan, this would probably include *Hindko* of Peshawar, Kohat, Attock, Hazara, and Azad Kashmir, *Pahari* of the Murree hills, *Mirpuri* in Azad Kashmir, *Potohari* spoken in the plains around Rawalpindi, the different Punjabi varieties spoken in central Punjab, and the forms of *Siraiki* to the South and West of that.

Going on the figures given in the *Ethnologue*, this *Greater-Punjabi*-speaking population in Pakistan might easily consist of 80,000,000 people, perhaps even quite a few more, as some of the figures in the *Ethnologue* are quite old. In global terms this is a very large-sized language, easily ranking in the top 20 of the world's largest languages. Even if we count Hindko and Siraiki as separate languages, Punjabi would still be a major language in global terms, and by far the largest language of Pakistan.

Judging from the information that I have seen, Punjabi in Pakistan is at the same time very much a language under pressure (Mansoor 1993; see also chapter 12 of Rahman 2002). From sheer numbers one would think that the language must be healthy and strong, but when one looks at the sociolinguistics of Punjabi, there is reason for concern. The language is not generally used as a medium of instruction or taught as a subject in the schools, and people do not generally read and write in it. It is not used for official purposes. Negative attitudes about the language abound. Many of the more educated speakers of Punjabi also use Urdu and English alongside it, and for them the sphere of life where Punjabi is used as the primary language is shrinking more and more. In all of this, perhaps the most worrying observation is that there are many families (especially in the more educated, urban strata of society) where the parents are not transmitting the language to their children; instead, they have switched to Urdu (and sometimes English) as the language of the home.

So, while Punjabi in Pakistan continues to thrive especially in informal domains (as a language of intimacy, in male culture and jokes, in the theatre, etc.), it appears to be subject to serious attrition at the same time. The extent of this attrition, and the rate at

which it is happening, have not been formally investigated to my knowledge. One would like to know, for instance, how many families (as a percentage of the total Punjabi population) have shifted from Punjabi to Urdu as the language of the home. And also, when we look at different age groups, what percentage of the members of each age group are still speaking Punjabi as their mother tongue? These and related questions constitute an important priority for future research.

Kohistani

While there is reason for concern about Punjabi, I should also point out that it is possible to be too pessimistic about the fate of a language. This is illustrated by my second example. In 1921, George Grierson, the editor of the *Linguistic Survey of India,* wrote the following words about the tribal languages spoken in the hill-country south of the Hindukush (the "Kohistani" languages of the NWFP): "These languages are being gradually superseded by Pashto, and are dying out in the face of their more powerful neighbour. Those of the Swat and Indus Kohistans are disappearing before our eyes." (Grierson 1921:124). The advance of Pashto into these territories was also observed by John Biddulph in his book *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (1880:69-70).

The interesting thing here is that more than 80 years later, one would expect there to be little left of the languages Grierson was writing about. However, nowadays languages like *Gawri*, *Torwali* and *Indus Kohistani* are still very much around, their populations have grown, their children are still learning the native languages, and in general the languages are still being valued by the speakers. We should remain concerned about the ultimate fate of these unique languages, but they have certainly shown more resilience and vitality than earlier scholars held possible.

The causes of language loss

So, when looking at the sociolinguistic picture of Pakistan, we are faced with the following question: Why do some people give up speaking and transmitting their inherited language, even if this is one of the major languages of the world and their group is the most powerful group in the country, while others hold on to their language, even if they are surrounded by more dominant groups and languages?

In order to tackle this question, let us begin with a closer look at the situation of the Kohistani languages. First of all, it seems to me that the process that Biddulph and Grierson were observing in their days was different from the processes that are currently affecting Punjabi. Biddulph and Grierson were watching how the Pathans were actually expanding their geographical area by migrating into those valleys and villages, setting up businesses there as well as homes. They were the socially, economically and politically dominant group, and over time they gradually took over these villages as more and more of them settled there. So the spread of Pashto here was related to a migration of Pashto speakers.

However, it is also possible for a dominant language to spread without an actual migration of its speakers. Typically this second kind of language spread is related to the large power inequalities that emerge between groups of people as a result of modernization. When modernization arrives, the traditional means of subsistence of an indigenous community often become unsustainable. In order to make a living, they have to look to the larger society and economy that have engulfed them and they have

to learn the languages that are associated with the powerful groups in that larger society. It is these languages that may open the doors of advancement for them. As a result, the old languages lose much of their utility and come to be associated with backwardness (they come to be seen by their own speakers as "ghettoising", as Tariq Rahman would say), while the dominant languages are associated with progress. In such cases, then, the dominant languages spread not because their speakers settle in new areas, but because members of the indigenous communities give up their inherited languages and shift to the dominant languages. (For extensive studies of correspondences between language use and the distribution of power in Pakistani society, see Tariq Rahman's work cited above, and also his 1996 work, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*.)

It is this second type of onslaught that is putting pressure on Punjabi (with Urdu and English in the role of dominant languages), and while the Kohistani languages have survived the first type of onslaught, we still have to see if they can survive this newer type of onslaught. The modernization process in the Kohistan areas took off in the 1960s, the construction of roads being a major factor. Before the 1960s, changes happened only slowly. Since the 1960s, the pace of change has accelerated drastically.

Let us look more closely at one example. The predominant language of the upper parts of Dir Kohistan is called *Gawri* (for a description see Baart 1999. *Gawri* and *Kalam Kohistani* are different names for the same language.). In this area, there are two villages (Patrak and Birikot) where in recent decades an almost complete shift took place from Gawri to Pashto (Zaman 2002a). People over 30 or 40 years can still speak Gawri, but the younger generations cannot. There are some five other Gawri-speaking villages in this area, and there the people vigorously maintain their indigenous language. So why is Gawri maintained in most of the villages, but not in these particular two?

Marriage patterns are an important factor here. The people in the two villages that have switched languages prefer to take their wives from the lower, Pashto-speaking areas of the valley. The people from the other villages prefer to marry within the group. According to my information, the villages that prefer Pashto-speaking wives do so because they feel that those women are more developed, more educated, exercise better cleanliness and take better care of the children and the household. So they feel that such marriages lead to an increased quality of life in their communities and to better opportunities for their children. The change probably started with one or a few "pioneers" taking Pashto-speaking wives. Then over time, people around them noticed the benefits and started to do the same, and then before you knew it everybody was following their example. In these mixed families, the children are raised in Pashto, the language of their mothers, and do not learn proper Gawri, the language of their fathers. The fathers allow this to happen because they associate Gawri with backwardness and Pashto with progress.

Maybe the most intriguing question here is not why the two villages mentioned above shifted from Gawri to Pashto, but why, in the face of the apparent advantages of Pashto, the other five villages are maintaining their indigenous language. I have one speculation to offer here. Yes, there are advantages to shifting to a more powerful language, but there are also costs to giving up one's own language (see also Nettle and Romaine 2000:87). Human beings are usually concerned with maintaining a good

standing in their community. In many situations, the community is of vital importance to one's survival. For instance, if you have lost your good standing in the community, you may not be able to find a wife or a husband, or to find spouses for your children; you may not have the advantage of exchanging labour with others (you help them with their harvest, they help you with your harvest), and they may not come and help you in times of emergency. If your reputation is very bad, you may be thrown out of the area altogether.

In other words, *belonging* in one's community is of vital importance. Language is a marker of identity for the community. Therefore, if you want to belong to them, it is important that you speak that language just like the other members of the community. For somebody in a close-knit community to give up passing on the indigenous language to his children, is to take a risk. If the other households in the community do not follow his example, his children will be outcasts when they grow up. Therefore this risk is an incentive for continued transmission of the inherited language to the next generation. It counterbalances to some extent the perceived benefits of shifting to a more powerful language.

I end this section with an unambiguous example of community-wide language shift. Recently, Mr. Khawaja Rehman, a resident of Azad Kashmir, brought to my notice the existence of an interesting language spoken by the Qureshi tribe of Kundal Shahi, a village in the Neelam valley in Azad Kashmir. This language is distinct from any other language in the area and has until now not been recorded in the linguistic literature. Preliminary investigations suggest that the language is genetically most-closely related to Shina, while it is heavily influenced by Kashmiri and Hindko, and also contains elements from some Kohistani languages that are located more towards the West (Rehman and Baart 2003).

In May 2003, Mr. Rehman interviewed eleven male members of the Qureshi tribe in Kundal Shahi. The ages of the interviewees ranged from 25 to 75 years old. All were born, raised, and are currently residing in Kundal Shahi. The interviewees were asked about the first language of their father, the first language of their mother, the language that their parents used with them, the language that currently feels easiest to them, the language that they use with the women in their house, and the language that they use with the children in their house. The responses to these questions are presented in the table below, where the abbreviation "KS" stands for the Kundal Shahi language.

Use of KS and Hindko as reported by 11 male members of the Qureshi tribe

No.	*Age*	*Father's first language*	*Mother's first language*	*Raised in which language*	*'Easiest' language*	*Language used with women*	*Language used with children*
1	25	KS	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
2	31	KS	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
3	39	KS	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
4	39	KS	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
5	42	KS	Hindko	both	Hindko	Hindko	Hindko
6	50	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	Hindko
7	53	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	Hindko
8	55	KS	KS	KS	both	KS	Hindko
9	62	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS
10	62	KS	Hindko	both	both	Hindko	Hindko
11	75	KS	KS	KS	KS	KS	both

All respondents report that their father's first language is KS. Eight respondents also have a KS-speaking mother, whereas three have a Hindko-speaking mother (Hindko is the predominant language in the Neelam valley). Two of the respondents that were born in mixed families were raised in both languages: their fathers would use KS with them and their mothers Hindko. The youngest of the respondents born in mixed families was raised in Hindko only. As a matter of fact, all respondents under forty years of age report that they have been raised in Hindko only. They also report, not surprisingly, that Hindko is the easiest language for them. Almost all respondents report that they use Hindko with the children in their house. The reason they give is that children do not understand the KS language well enough. Among the respondents, only one man reports that KS is still being used as the first language with the children of his household.

What the table illustrates, then, and what is confirmed by numerous informal conversations with members of the community, is a change in the Qureshi community of Kundal Shahi that started around forty years ago and that spread very rapidly across almost the entire community, namely that parents started to exclusively use Hindko with their children at the expense of KS. This happened in families where the mother is a Hindko speaker, but also in families where both parents are KS speakers. As a result, there are hardly any children nowadays that still speak the language.

It is not difficult to understand why the community is shifting to Hindko. The community itself is small (perhaps 1,500 to 2,000 people) and they are surrounded on all sides by the much larger Hindko language, which is also the language of wider communication for the area. The more intriguing question is why the shift started only forty years ago and not much earlier. The community has been living in the area for some 300 years, where they have always been a small linguistic minority. Most of this time they must have been functioning in a state of stable multilingualism, using KS among themselves and languages such as Kashmiri and Hindko with outsiders. What happened around forty years ago that suddenly prompted most of them to stop passing on their native language to their children? For the time being, this remains a topic for further inquiry.

Development and the maintenance of languages

The spread of a few dominant languages and the disappearance of many indigenous languages is a worldwide phenomenon. According to the *Ethnologue,* there are close to 7,000 languages currently spoken in the world. Optimists estimate that in this century, 50 percent of the world's languages will become extinct. Other, more pessimistic estimates say that 75 to 90 percent will die during this century (for discussion of these figures, see Crystal 2000).

The *Ethnologue* lists around 70 languages for Pakistan. A few of these are already on the verge of extinction. Others are very much subject to the modernization-related language attrition processes that I have been describing. In Pakistan, too, it is a real possibility that the number of living languages will be significantly reduced during this century.

There are many good reasons as to why we should care about this state of affairs. One reason is that language death is inevitably accompanied by culture death, and the death of a culture means the loss of a unique system of knowledge and a unique way

of looking at the world. (The converse, by the way, is not necessarily true. It is possible for a culture to die while the language continues to be used, albeit with significant changes, see Headland 2003.) A country's linguistic and cultural diversity can be seen as an obstacle, but it can certainly also be seen as an asset.

However, there is more to it. As has been pointed out by Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine in their book on language extinction, loss of linguistic diversity should be taken very seriously because it is itself an indication of a larger problem. We begin to see this when we recognize that "a language is not a self-sustaining entity. It can only exist where there is a community to speak and transmit it. A community of people can exist only where there is a viable environment for them to live in, and a means of making a living. Where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger." (Nettle and Romaine 2000:5).

Large-scale loss of languages, say Nettle and Romaine, is a symptom of economic stress experienced by local and indigenous communities around the globe. This stress often results from major changes to the natural environments in which these communities live. To the extent that it is important to preserve these environments, the disappearance of local and indigenous communities—traditionally the caretakers of these environments—constitutes bad news for humanity as a whole.

If we want sustainable economic development for humanity as a whole (and we do want sustainable development, because with our current economic activities we are eating up the resources of the earth, which is something that cannot go on forever), we will need to reverse the trend by empowering local communities, protecting their rights and giving them control over their environments at the local level to the greatest extent possible. This includes a positive validation of their systems of indigenous knowledge and their languages. As Nettle and Romaine say, "There is now widespread agreement that the problem of sustainable development is more likely to be solved if indigenous systems of knowledge and languages are valued and brought into play" (2000:166; for extensive documentation of this claim see Posey 1999).

Thus, if we deal with the problem of language loss we will be forced to deal with the other side of the coin, which is the precarious socio-economic state of many local communities. And if we deal with the latter problem in an appropriate way, we will see advances in both sustainable development and preservation of linguistic and cultural diversity.

This is not to say that in the tension between tradition and modernization, tradition should be chosen at the expense of modernization. Nettle and Romaine actually argue that empowerment of local communities will often lead to win-win situations, where the communities are able to benefit from modernization while at the same time retaining important elements of their traditions. As far as language is concerned, this means that the communities will maintain a healthy type of multilingualism, in which the mother tongue continues to be used while at the same time the people can speak one or more regional, national and international languages.

A colleague of mine who works in Cameroon, Africa, sent me an interesting comment. A leader of the Bafut people, an indigenous community of Cameroon, said:

> "The best situation is to get what is beneficial from the outside but also keep what you have. People who throw out their culture are being foolish—they are getting rid of what makes them who they are, in order to have what they

> will never have. [...] When we just take what is from outside assuming that it must be better, it leaves us worse off. […] New knowledge should reinforce and build upon traditional knowledge, not replace it. New knowledge does not always have to conflict with traditional knowledge."

For the situation in Cameroon, my colleague observes that the most hopeful situations are those where the people have found a way to successfully steer their way between tradition and modernization (Barbara Trudell, personal communication).

Conclusion

In this paper, I have touched upon a vast subject: the loss of linguistic diversity, the deplorability of this loss, and the connections between language loss and the need for sustainable development. We have seen that good development is concerned with empowerment of local communities, and efforts towards this purpose should build on the local cultures and languages and the knowledge encoded in them, rather than replace them. A more thorough public discussion of this subject as it applies to the situation in Pakistan is called for.

In the same vein I would call for local and regional socio-economic development projects—whether government-sponsored or sponsored by NGO's—to give increased attention to the native languages and dialects of the local communities that participate in these projects. To what extent is project staff aware of the languages and dialects of the area? To what extent does project staff value these languages? Are the local languages and the knowledge embedded in them put to use in the project? Does the project invest resources in the development of these languages? Does the project advocate the cause of these languages with the government at the various levels? These are some of the questions that need to be asked.

Finally, I would call for the provision of formal linguistic training in Pakistan. Over the years, there have been linguistic studies of languages of Pakistan, but to this date there remain many languages for which no dictionaries, grammars, text collections, etc., are in existence. Documentation of these languages and of the oral traditions embedded in them is an urgent need and one that can best be addressed by national scholars and/or interested native speakers of the respective languages. In many language communities, there are individuals that are interested in documenting their own mother tongues, but due to a lack of training and lack of facilities these attempts are often not as fruitful as they could be. At the moment, Pakistan does not have a university department or institute of higher education dedicated to linguistics, where students could gain the linguistic know-how required for analyzing languages, putting them into writing, and documenting them in the form of dictionaries and grammars (see Rahman 1997 for an account of the state of linguistics in Pakistan; an update of this account is underway). I see the creation of such a department as an urgent need.

Appendix: Languages spoken as mother tongues in Pakistan

This table was compiled by the author on the basis of the current edition of the Ethnologue (Grimes 2000), supplemented with information from a few other sources. Signed languages and languages spoken by non-permanent residents have not been included. The total number of languages in the list is 67.

This list should be regarded as tentative only. To arrive at something more definite, a great deal more language survey work would be required. The population figures, too, are often just rough guesses. In some cases they are still based on the 1981 Census results. Where the Ethnologue gives a population range, I quote the upper limit of the range in this table.

Language and location	*Population*	*Reference*
Aer, in Jikrio Goth, and around Deh 333, Hyderabad, and Jamesabad, Sindh province	200	Grimes 2000
Badeshi, in Chail valley, Swat, NWFP *(possibly shifting to Pashto)*	400	Zaman 2002b
Bagri, in all of Sindh and Punjab, and in Quetta	200,000	Grimes 2000
Balochi (Eastern), in northeastern Balochistan, northwestern Sindh, southwestern Punjab	1,800,000	Grimes 2000
Balochi (Southern), in southern Balochistan and southern Sindh	2,765,000	Grimes 2000
Balochi (Western), northwestern Balochistan	1,116,000	Grimes 2000
Balti, in Baltistan, Northern Areas	270,000	Grimes 2000
Bateri, in Batera village, Kohistan district, NWFP	30,000	Grimes 2000
Bhaya, in Sindh province in Kapri Goth, and near Khipro, Jamesabad, Mir ke Goth, Mirpur Khas, Phuladia	700	Grimes 2000
Brahui, in Balochistan and Sindh	2,000,000	Grimes 2000
Burushaski, in Hunza, Nagar, and Yasin valleys, Northern Areas	60,000	Grimes 2000
Chilisso, in Koli, Palas, and Jalkot areas in Kohistan district, NWFP *(possibly shifting to Kohistani Shina)*	3,000	Grimes 2000
Dameli, in Damel valley, Chitral district, NWFP	5,000	Grimes 2000
Dehwari, in Kalat and Mastung, Balochistan	13,000	Grimes 2000
Dhatki, in Tharparkar and Sanghar districts, lower Sindh	200,000	Grimes 2000
Domaaki, in Mominabad and a few other villages, Hunza valley, Gilgit district, Northern Areas *(possibly shifting to Burushaski)*	500	Grimes 2000
Gawar-Bati, in Arandu, Chitral district, NWFP	1,500	Grimes 2000
Gawri, in upper Swat Kohistan and Dir Kohistan, NWFP	60,000	Baart 1999
Ghera, in Hyderabad, Sindh	10,000	Grimes 2000
Goaria, in all towns of Sindh except Karachi	25,000	Grimes 2000
Gowro, in Mahrin village, Kohistan district, NWFP *(possibly shifting to Kohistani Shina)*	200	Grimes 2000
Gujarati, in lower Punjab and Sindh	100,000	Grimes 2000
Gujari, throughout northern Pakistan	300,000	Grimes 2000
Gurgula, in Karachi and other cities throughout Sindh	35,000	Grimes 2000
Hindko (Northern), in Hazara division, NWFP, and in Azad Kashmir	1,875,000	Grimes 2000
Hindko (Southern), in Attock district, Punjab province, and in Kohat and Peshawar districts, NWFP	625,000	Grimes 2000
Indus Kohistani, in Kohistan district, NWFP	220,000	Grimes 2000
Jadgali, in southeast Balochistan and southwest Sindh	100,000	Grimes 2000
Jandavra, in southern Sindh	5,000	Grimes 2000
Kabutra, in Sindh, concentrated around Umarkot, Kunri, and Nara Dhoro	1,000	Grimes 2000
Kachi Koli, in lower Sindh, concentrated especially in an area around Tando Allahyar and Tando Adam	170,000	Grimes 2000
Kalkoti, in Kalkot village, Dir Kohistan, NWFP	6,000	Zaman 2002a
Kalasha, in southern Chitral district, NWFP	5,700	Grimes 2000
Kamviri, in southern Chitral district, NWFP	2,000	Grimes 2000

Kashmiri, in various locations in Azad Kashmir	105,000	Grimes 2000
Kati, in Chitral district, NWFP	5,100	Grimes 2000
Khetrani, in northeast Balochistan	a few thousand	Grimes 2000
Khowar, in Chitral district, NWFP, and in Ghizr, Yasin and Ishkoman valleys in Northern Areas; also in Ushu village in Swat Kohistan, NWFP	222,800	Grimes 2000
Kundal Shahi, in Kundal Shahi village, Neelam valley, Azad Kashmir *(shifting to Hindko)*	500	Rehman & Baart 2003
Lasi, in Las Bela district in southeast Balochistan	15,000	Grimes 2000
Loarki, throughout Sindh province	25,000	Grimes 2000
Marwari, in Sindh and southern Punjab	220,000	Grimes 2000
Memoni, in Karachi	unknown	Grimes 2000
Odki, in Sindh and southern Punjab	50,000	Grimes 2000
Ormuri, in Kaniguram village, South Waziristan, NWFP	8,000	Rozi Khan Burki, p.c.
Pahari-Potohari, on Potohar plateau, Punjab; also in Azad Kashmir and in the Murree hills	3,800,000	Tabassum 1996, Michael Lothers, p.c.
Palula, in lower Chitral district, NWFP	8,600	Grimes 2000
Parkari, centered in Tharparkar district, especially the town of Nagar Parkar, southeastern Sindh	250,000	Grimes 2000
Pashto (Central or Mahsudi), in Waziristan, Bannu, and Karak, NWFP	not available	Grimes 2000
Pashto (Eastern), in NWFP	9,585,000	Grimes 2000
Pashto (Southern), in Balochistan	1,500,000	Grimes 2000
Punjabi (Western), in Punjab province	45,000,000	Grimes 2000
Sansi, in main towns of northern Sindh, and in Karachi	10,000	Grimes 2000
Shina, in Gilgit and Baltistan areas, Northern Areas	300,000	Grimes 2000
Shina (Kohistani), in Kohistan district, NWFP	200,000	Grimes 2000
Sindhi, in Sindh province	16,992,000	Grimes 2000
Sindhi Bhil, in Mohrano and Badin-Matli-Thatta areas of Sindh	50,000	Grimes 2000
Siraiki, in southern Punjab and northern Sindh provinces	30,000,000	Grimes 2000
Sochi, throughout Sindh	100,000	Grimes 2000
Torwali, in Swat Kohistan, NWFP	80,000	Lunsford 2001
Urdu	10,719,000	Grimes 2000
Ushojo, in Chail valley, Swat district, NWFP	1,000	Zaman 2002b
Vaghri, in many cities of Sindh	10,000	Grimes 2000
Wadiyara Koli, in lower Sindh in the area between Mirpur Khas and Matli	180,000	Grimes 2000
Wakhi, in northeastern Chitral district, NWFP; also in the Northern Areas	9,100	Grimes 2000
Waneci, in northeastern Balochistan province	90,000	Grimes 2000
Yidgha, in Lutkuh valley, Chitral district, NWFP *(possibly shifting to Khowar)*	6,000	Grimes 2000

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