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Ethnolinguistic Ideologies in Newspaper Editorials: A Critical Discourse Analysis

Saqib Aziz
Lecturer
COMSATS Institute of Information Technology Vehari, Pakistan
Saqibaziz2010@yahoo.com

Saiqa Imtiaz Asif
Professor
Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, Pakistan
Saiqaasif@yahoo.com

Abstract
This paper aims to explore the ethnolinguistic identities and ideologies presented in Saraiki newspaper editorials. For this purpose, we have collected data from a major Saraiki daily being published from Multan, Pakistan. The study has followed the qualitative method of research, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used to analyze data. The editorials published from January to December 2013 were selected for the text analysis.. The findings of the study reveal that the editorials of Saraiki newspapers particularly portray the ideologies of Saraiki ethnic group, and they try to emphasize the political and historical role of Saraiki community in different matters. Furthermore, Saraiki newspaper editorials repeatedly describe Saraiki community as the victim of discriminatory policies in Pakistan. It is important to note that in most of the editorials the word Saraiki has been frequently used as an adjective to keep Saraiki readers conscious of their Saraiki identity. These editorials also emphasize the importance of Saraiki language to preserve Saraiki culture and Saraiki identity. So, this study concludes that Saraiki newspaper editorials are actively creating and representing certain ethnolinguistic identities of Saraiki community.

Key Words: Ethnolinguistic identities, Saraiki newspaper editorials, Critical Discourse Analysis

1. Introduction

Saraiki community in Pakistan has started to assert its identity through various means and at different levels (Asif, 2011). The parliament and media have also played a significant role in the revival of Saraiki ethnolinguistic identity. The general elections of 2008 in Pakistan brought a Saraiki Prime Minister, Yousaf Raza Gellani, in the parliament, which was of great symbolic importance for the Saraiki language and Saraiki people in the country. The current research underscores the important role of media, in general and newspapers in particular, in presenting and reinforcing particular ethnolinguistic identities to the masses. The editorials reflect the policies and ideologies of a newspaper. So, it was considered appropriate to focus on the Saraiki newspaper editorials in this research. For this purpose, the research has used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine the Saraiki newspaper editorials. Before proceeding further it is appropriate to comprehend the underlying reasons behind the creation of Saraiki ethnolinguistic identity and its relation to the current study.

Background

In the backdrop of the Saraiki movement (Rahman 2003) and consequently the emergence of Saraiki media, the current research has been chosen. In this context, it is important to understand the genesis of Saraiki movement. Historically, the genesis of Saraiki movement can be divided into following periods (Asif, 2011):

- 1886 massive mobilization in central Punjab at the time of construction of canals. During this period large number of Punjabis migrated from central Punjab to western Parts of Punjab province which is modern day Southern Punjab.
- 1947 partition had disharmonizing effect in the Saraiki region linguistically as the non Saraiki speaking population replaced the Saraiki speaking population.
- Post 1947 internal migration: Linguistic and Cultural upheaval of Saraiki speaking population.
- 1950, Thal irrigation scheme, under which hundreds of thousands of acres of barren land were allotted to Punjabi speaking migrants for cultivation.

Apart from these historical reasons, there are some socio-political factors as well that forced the Saraiki community to stand for its identity. These socio-political factors are given below:

Large Saraiki Population

Saraiki is a language that is spoken by a large number of people. Shackle (1977) estimated that Siraiki is the language of approximately 25-40 million people and is predominately spoken in the South Western Punjab. Saraiki nationalists however, believe that the actual number of Saraikis is far higher. Apart from this, it is spoken in the adjacent districts of Sindh, Baluchistan and Khyber pakhtunkhwah. So, it is natural that such a large community wants to have its own identity.

Poverty in Southern Punjab

Another key factor that compels the Saraiki people to assert their own identity is the prevailing poverty in Southern Punjab. According to Asian Development Bank report most of the cotton-growing districts in Punjab including Lodhran, Bahawalpur and Rahim Yar Khan are classified as 'highly deprived overall' and have low employment rankings, while Muzaffargarh, Bahawalpur and Rahim Yar Khan fall in the category of "high deprivation" (Asif 2011).

Saraiki Punjabi controversy

The Saraiki and Punjabi controversy is also responsible for the creation of Siraiki identity. Siraikis feel antagonized when their language is taken as a dialect of Punjabi. Punjabis on their part see the activities of the Siraikis as a threat to the integrity of the Punjab province (Shackle, 1977). Similarly, Saraikis feel that the Punjabis have intruded upon the poetry, folk music and linguistics of the rich saraiki culture. They have ill feelings about the inclusion of the poetry of Sufi poet, Khawja Farid, in the M.A syllabus of Punjabi. Saraikis believe that Khawja Farid is a Siraiki poet, and they have the same claims about the Sufi poets like Shah Hussain and Sultan Bahu (Asif, 2011).

2. Literature Review

Ethnic identity is an "innate sense" through which people identify themselves with an ethnic group (Park, 2007; p 54). It is ethnic identity which helps the social members of a group 'to make sense of the world around them and to find pride in who they are' (Chavez & Di-Brito, 2002; p 41). In other words, social members of a group see and understand the worlds from the prism of their cultural ethos. As a result of this, it is a social or ethnic group that determines the personality of its members who take their culture and identity as natural. Bu, importantly, development of an ethnic identity is not a natural phenomenon; rather it is a social construct (Chavez et al., 2002). Society plays a key role in construction of an ethnic identity, and determines the values, norms, ideology and everything related to its members. Similarly, discourses play an important role in the creation of personal or ethnic identity, because identity is constructed out of the discourses culturally available in a society (Burr, 2000). Consequently, 'construction of identity in discourse is also the construction of meaning and relationships' (Gergen 2001 as cited in Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004; p 237).

3. Methodology

This study has followed the qualitative method of research, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) has been used as a tool in this research. According to Baker & Ellece (2011, p 26), CDA is "an approach to the analysis of discourse which views language as a social practice and is interested in the ways that ideologies and power relations are expressed through language." During the last few years, critical discourse analysis (CDA) has developed into "an established academic tradition" (Forchtner, 2011; p1). CDA has been used for this research as it 'explores the discursive construction of identity of marginalized groups' (Ainsworth & Hardy,

2004; p 239). Furthermore, CDA 'offers a more comprehensive and cohesive theoretical framework as well as a set of conceptual tools that integrates the analysis of ideology and news discourses' (Chan, 2012; p 63). This approach helps in understanding 'the ways by which a discourse reproduces social and political inequality, abuses of power and domination' (Chilton, 2004; Fairclough, 1995 cited in Gavriely-Nuri, 2012)**.** Various approaches are adopted for the critical analysis of a discourse. But the most frequently used method for discourse analysis is 'ethnographically oriented text analyses' that is based on 'lexico-syntactic analyses' (Gal, 1989 as cited in McKenna, 2004; p15). The same method has been applied to the current study. For the application of CDA, the data was collected from daily Saraiki newspaper, Jhoke, published in Multan, Dera Ismail Khan and Rahim Yar Khan.

Overarching Research Question

- How do the Saraiki newspaper editorials create and reinforce Saraiki ethnolinguistic identities and ideologies?

4. Analysis

In the following section, we would describe the analysis of the editorials of Daily Jhoke in detail. This analysis is based on the editorials published from January to December 2013.

1. Repetition

Repetition of some ethnic and ideological words is quite obvious in the editorials of daily Jhoke. For instance, Saraiki terms like Saraiki Waseb and Saraikistan have been repeatedly used in the content and titles of the editorials of the newspaper. It is important to note that repetition of particular words in journalism is not a coincidence. As Stubbs (2001 as cited in Baker, 2010) observes that the phenomenon of repetition is quite significant in journalism as the repletion of a word of pattern can be used for making readers conscious of certain cultural ideologies. The technique is significantly important in a newspaper like Jhoke, because through this technique the editor emphasize the problems of Saraiki community and Saraiki region. Similarly, by doing this the editor wants his audience realize the significance of Saraiki community. Additionally, the editor also wants his readers to be conscious of their ethnic and linguistic identity. Therefore, most of the editorials of daily Jhoke begin with the word Saraiki or Sariki waseb. In the following line, some of the titles have been given that published in the year 2013:

سرائیکی وسیب دی محرومی

Saraiki waseb di mehromi **(September 17, 2013)**
The deprivation of Saraiki region

In the above title, the editor wants to highlight the prevailing sense of deprivation caused by poverty and lack of facilities in the Saraiki region. The use of

word ''محرومی'' "deprivation" connotes to social as well as psychological stigma rampant in Saraiki community.

سرائیکی وسیب وچ زراعت دی بربادی تے کساناں دا استحصال

Saraiki waseb wich ghurbat te majbur awam di be basi (May 14, 2013)
Poverty in Saraiki region and the helplessness of oppressed people

In the sentence above, the editor precisely describes the state of Saraiki people. By using the linking word 'and' the editor attaches poverty to the helplessness of the oppressed people of Saraiki region. By using this technique, the editor shows that poverty is the reason of the helplessness of the Saraikis.

2. Linguistic connectors

Various linguistic connectors have been used in the editorials of the daily Jhoke. The Saraiki region is very rich in historic and archeological places, especially Multan and Bahawalpur divisions. The history of these two major cities of Southern Punjab dates back to thousand years. Hence, to underline the historic and archeological importance of Saraiki region, the editor uses the word 'Saraiki waseb' in these titles to show that these artifacts and places belong to Saraiki region. So, in this way, he attaches these places with Saraiki identiy, and they become a source of Saraiki identity.

سرائیکی وسیب تے قلعہ دراوڑ

Saraiki waseb te qila derawar (September 23, 2013)
Saraiki waseb and Derawar fort

In the above title, the editor mentions a historical place, fort derawar, which is present in Bahawalpur. The editor used a particular linguistic technique to show the relationship between Saraiki region and derawar fort. The linking word 'and' is important between the two clauses as it shows an essential relationship between the fort derawar and Saraiki region.

قلعہ دراوڑ سرائیکی وسیب دی نشانیاں وچوں ہک وڈی نشانی ہے

Kila derawar saraiki waseb de nishanya wicho hik waddi nishani he
Derawar fort is one of the most significant monuments of the Saraiki region

In this sentence again, the editor mentions the importance of historic place of Darawar fort that is located in Bahawalpur. The editor presents this fort as one of the most important symbol of Saraiki identity. Furthermore, he uses the expression 'one of' with this fort, which signifies the point that there are so many other such

symbols of Saraiki identity. In this way, the editor emphasizes the importance of Saraiki region and Saraiki identity.

This theme in the analysis of the editorials shows that the editor has used some linguistic connectors that make things appear natural and fixed. Similarly, the editorials of daily *Jhoke* start with words that are loaded with ethnolinguistic ideologies. Most of the editorials start with the words Saraiki waseb.

3. Use of adjectives

The editorials of Daily Jhoke show that the word Saraiki has been used as an adjective in the editorials. Importantly, the word 'Saraiki' is not only used for the language Saraiki but also for the Saraiki ethnicity. Henceforth, the use of word Saraiki, as an adjective, gives special meanings to the noun that it qualifies. It means that the word Saraiki represents the ethnolinguistic identity of the Saraiki community. For example in an editorial published in January 2013, the word Saraiki has been used as an adjective with the State Bahawalpur. It is important to note that normally the regions, cities and states are not known by their language or ethnicity, but in this case the word Saraiki has been used to show that Bahawalpur belongs to Saraiki community. Some other nouns were also found in the editorials of Daily Jhoke, with which the word Saraiki has been used to create a special impact on the readers. The list of those nouns is given below:

1.	***Saraiki Ilake***	(Saraiki regions)	سرائیکی علاقے
2.	***Saraiki dharti***	*(Saraiki land)*	سرائیکی دھرتی
3.	***Saraiki awaam***	*(Saraiki people)*	سرائیکی عوام
4.	***Saraiki Lisaniat***	*(Saraiki linguistics)*	سرائیکی لسانیت
5.	***Saraiki soba***	*(Saraiki Province)*	سرائیکی صوبہ
6.	***Saraiki waseeb***	*(Saraiki region)*	سرائیکی وسیب
7.	***Saraiki qaum***	*(Saraiki nation)*	سرائیکی قوم
8.	***Saraiki Zaban***	*(Saraiki language)*	سرائیکی زبان
9.	***Saraiki dushmane***	*(Saraiki enemies)*	سرائیکی دشمنیں
10.	***Saraiki Asbiyat***	*(Saraiki prejudice)*	سرائیکی عصبیت

The use of nouns "*dushmane*" enemies, and "*asbiyat*" prejudice in the above list at number 8 and 9, with the adjective Saraiki, is significant as it points towards the "other" in the editorials. These derogatory words signify that there are

people that are against Saraikis and they dislike Saraikis. Similarly, the adjective at number 15, Saraiki cause, is very important and full of ideological meanings. The use of word Saraiki with the word cause, points towards the Saraiki movement for the uplift of Sariki culture and Saraiki language. Importantly, in the all the above nouns, the usage of word Saraiki as a direct adjective attaches particular meanings with these nouns. For example, the adjective at number 15, could have been used as 'conference on Saraiki language' Instead, the editor uses the expression 'Saraiki conference' and makes the word Saraiki direct adjective in this case. This direct adjective fully attaches the conference with the word Saraiki so, this is how, thorough adjectives the editor continuously presents the Saraiki ethnolinguistic identity and keeps the Saraiki readers conscious of their ethnolinguistic identity.

4. Binaries

Yet another important point in the editorials of Daily Jhoke is the creation of binaries. The analysis of the editorials shows that binaries are created between the Saraiki and non-Saraiki community by using certain words and expressions. In fact, 'the discursive demarcation of 'us' versus 'them' is useful because it helps to uncover ideologies that serve as the basis of shared group identity and perceptions of intergroup differences' (Van Dijik, 2009, as cited in Chan, 2012; p 363)

سرائیکی صوبہ تے بے حس حکمران

Saraiki soba te be hiss hukmaran
Saraiki province ***and*** *insensitive rulers*

In this sentence, the editor has created a binary between Saraikis and the rulers who are exploiting them and do not give Saraikis their due rights. By using this expression for the rulers, the editor wants to show that the rulers of the country are so insensitive they do not see or they do not address the issues and problems of the Saraiki region. Then again, the editor has linked the Saraiki province and rulers with the word 'and'. Through this link, the editor wants to describe the insensitivity of rulers towards the demand and the creation of Saraiki province. Further, this construction of sentence by the editor makes insensitivity an attribute of the rulers because they are not listening to the demands of Saraiki province.

سرائیکی صوبے دی مخالفت کرنڑ آلیاں کوں اساں اپنڑے علاقے وچ کوئیا وڑنڑ ڈیسوں

Saraiki soba di mukhalfat karanr aaliya ko asaan apne elake wich koi na wanranr deso (Feb 18, 2013*)*
We will not allow the people who are against a Saraiki province to enter in our area.

In this line, the editor warns the people who are against the Saraiki province, and uses the word '*asaan*' "we" The use of "we" again creates a binary of "we" versus "them"'. The word "we" obviously means Saraikis. The same binary "we" has been used in the following sentence. This sentence also creates a binary

between the people who are in favour of Saraiki provice and the people who are against the establishment of new Saraiki province. In the above sentence, the editor adopts a very threatening style, which is against the usual suggestive and logical style of editorial writing. It again describes the general emotional and expressive style of the editorial of daily Jhoke. Further, it also reinforces the point that the editor is emotionally attached with the demand of Saraiki province and with the Saraiki ethnolinguistic identiy. So, through these type of expressions the editor not only expresses his feelings but also wants the Saraiki readers to become emotional about the Saraiki movement and Saraiki ethnolinguistic identity.

5. Use of Punctuation marks

The analysis of some of the editorials of the daily *Jhoke* shows that in these editorials the editor deliberately used the punctuation marks in a unique style. This technique also has a great impact on the reader. Through this technique, the editor allows the readers to interpret the meanings on their own. So, the readers can interpret the results or the meanings on their own.

سرائیکی وسیب تے پاکستان۔۔۔۔۔۔۔!

Saraiki waseb te Pakistan*……..!* (Jan 11, 2013)
Saraiki region and Pakistan

Saraiki region has been linked, in this line, with the name of the country (Saraiki region and Pakistan), which means that Saraiki community and Pakistan are combined together. It can also be interpreted as if the Saraiki community is an essential and integral part of Pakistan and both cannot be separated from each other. The use of dots and sign of exclamation in the title is also very significant as it shows the emotional intent of the editor, and it is an effort to put the reader into a subjective position to understand and interpret the text of the editorial.

ایم کیو ایم تے سرائیکی صوبہ۔۔۔۔۔۔۔۔؟

MQM[1] te Saraiki Soba……? (March 4, 2013)
MQM and Saraiki Soba……?

MQM is one of the political parties in Pakistan that has fully supported the demand of Saraikistan province. So, the editor brings the word MQM and *Saraiki soba* (Province) together and shows agreement between them. Through the use of dots and a question mark at the end of the title, editor questions the readers that how this support will be beneficial for the Saraikis and how can their demand for a Saraiki province be realized.

[1] Muttahida Qaumi Movement is a political party that considers itself to be the representative of Urdu speaking population in Pakistan

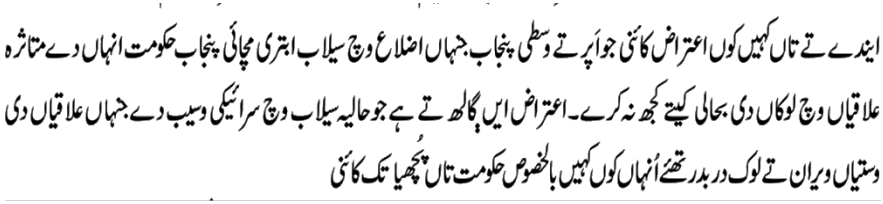
سرائیکی صوبے دا قیام کیوں ضروری ہے؟

Saraiki sobe da kyam ku zaruri he? (May 30, 2013)
Why a Saraiki province essential?

In the above sentence, the editor asks the question about the necessity of a Saraiki province, and prepares the readers about his arguments regarding the establishment of Saraiki provice.

6. Metaphors and analogies

Another important feature in the editorials of Daily Jhoke is the use of metaphors by the writer. These metaphors are very significant as they are commonly used in the daily conversation of the common people. In this way, the editorials of the daily Jhoke are an effort to convey the Saraiki ideologies to the common members of Saraiki ethnicity. The sentences in the following examples have been written in a speech style, as if the writer is addressing some people through the editorials. Obviously, the writer is addressing the Saraiki people in these editorials, but it also appears as if the writer is addressing the opponents of Saraiki movement, Saraiki identity and Saraiki province.


ایندے تے تاں کہیں کوں اعتراض کائنی جو اُپر تے وسطی پنجاب جنہاں اضلاع وچ سیلاب ابتری مچائی پنجاب حکومت انہاں دے متاثرہ علاقیاں وچ لوکاں دی بحالی کیتے کجھ نہ کرے۔ اعتراض ایں گالھ تے ہے جو حالیہ سیلاب وچ سرائیکی وسیب دے جنہاں علاقیاں دی وستیاں ویران تے لوک دربدر تھئے اُنہاں کوں کہیں بالخصوص حکومت تاں پُچھیا تک کائنی

Inde te taan kahi ko aetraz kaini jo upper te wasti Punjab de jinha izla wich selab abtari machai Punjab hakumat unha de mutasra ilakya wich loka di bahali waste kujh na kare. Aitraz iin gahl te he jo halya selab wich saraiki waseb de jinha ilakya di wastiya weran te lok darbadar thae unha ko kahen bilkhasus hakumat taan puchya tak kaini. (September 4, 2013)
No one can contest that the government should do something for the rehabilitation of people in flood stricken districts of upper and central Punjab. But the problem is that in the recent floods which have devastated the towns in Sarariki region and have left people homeless; nobody in general and the government in particular has not even looked towards the areas of Saraiki region.

The above lines again show the emotional intent of the editor towards Saraiki people and Saraiki region. The editor complains about the attitude of the rulers towards the poor people of the Southern Punjab who were affected by the floods in 2010. But before complaining about the attitude of the rulers, the editor clarifies his position towards the people who were affected by the same floods in the central and upper Punjab. The editor says that there is no point in arguing that the

people affected by the floods in central and upper Punjab should be rehabilitated by the government. But he says that the point is that the people affected by the floods in Southern Punjab were not even asked after by the rulers. Here, the editor highlights the partial and biased approach of the government towards the people of Southern Punjab. However, the first sentence, in which the editor clarifies his position, also shows the defensive approach of the editor. As it might be seen as a prejudice by the people of upper and central Punjab, so it is very difficult to complain about the problems and issues of the Southern Punjab by comparing it with the situation in central and upper Punjab. But the editor has no other option to expose the partial and unjust attitude towards the people of Southern Punjab. Therefore, the editor uses long sentences to convey his emotions to the Saraiki people and to the people in power. Additionally, in these sentences, he compares the Saraiki region with the Central and upper Punjab. So, this approach also reflects the binaries between Southern and upper Punjab.

سرائیکی نے اپنڑی فضاواں کوں انہاں جادو اثریں نال بھریا ہویا ہے جیڑھا جتھاں وچ اُگے ہوئے صحرائی پھُل پیش کریندن۔ اینجھے پھُل جنہاں دا سادہ تے پاکیزہ سُنڑپ بناوٹی گل دستیاں دی سجھ دھج کنوں زیادہ من بھاونڑ ہوندے

Saraiki zaban ne apne fizawan ko inha jadu asreen nal bharya hoe jerhe jatha wich ugge hoe sehrai phul pesh karenden. Aenjhe phul jinha da sada te pakeza sunrhap bnawti gul dastya di saj dhaj kanu ziada man bhanwra honed. (September 12, 2013)

The Saraiki language has filled its environment with those mesmerizing affects which are displayed by the flowers of desert in the group of plants. These are the type of flowers whose simple and pure beauty touches the heart more than it does with the apparent charm of artificial bunch of flowers

In the above lines, the editor describes the characteristic beauty of Saraiki language, and he uses very interesting similes and metaphors to describe the beauty of Saraiki language. Importantly, he takes those similes and metaphors which represent the geography of Saraiki region. For example, the word 'jtha' is used for the bunch of flowers that grow in the desert, which is common geographical feature of Saraiki region. There are two main deserts in the Saraiki region, namely, Thal and Rohi. Then, the editor uses the simile of flower and uses word like 'sada te pakeza sunrhap' "simple and pure beauty". Through this simile, the editor presents the Saraiki language as the language that is simple and pure in its characteristic. Further, the editor creates a binary by comparing the features of Saraiki language with other languages. And Furthermore, he uses the word 'banawti' "artificial" for the other languages. Importantly, the editor does not mention the name of any language, but he presents Saraiki language as a naturally beautiful language whose features are simple and purifying. The simile of desert is also important because the desert is a remote area where the objects do not usually remain secret. So, the simile of desert for Saraiki language also signifies that the simple and pure beauty of Saraiki language is

like the beautiful flowers in the deset that may not be noticed by the majority of people but their beauty fills the environment and it has a mesmerizing effect. Similarly, the Saraiki language is a languae that is beautiful and pure and it beautifies the Saraiki community.

ماءبولی دی اہمیت

Maa boli di ehmiyat (November 1, 2013)
The importance of mother tongue

In the above line, the editor has used the metaphor of "maa boli" "mother tongue". This metaphor has been used by the writer for Saraiki language. The use of this metaphor is very important here because this metaphor attaches some emotional connotative meanings. So, the editor here tries to appeal the emotional feelings of the readers. It also signifies the importance of Saraiki language by using the metaphor of mother tongue. Through this title, the editor highlights the importance of mother tongue and pointing towards the importance of Saraiki language as well.

Another title related to Saraiki language that published in the Daily Jhoke of October 10, 2013, is very important. The title goes,

سرائیکی وکھری زبان ہے

Saraiki wakhri zuban he (October 10, 2013)
Saraiki is a separate/different/unique language

The word 'wakhri' 'unique' is also one of the Saraiki metaphors that convey a lot of meanings. This word conveys the meanings of uniqueness, but it is also used for something that is different and beautiful. It conveys the meanings that some object is so beautiful and different that it stands out from the other things of the same nature. So, the editor here wants to say that Saraiki language is so beautiful and different that it is distinguished from the other languages. The context in which the editor has used this word, it also means a separate identity of something. So, through this word, the editor wants to show that the Saraiki language is beautitul and unique language that has an identity of its own. The emphasis on the separated identity of Saraiki language by the editor highlights a very critical issue that has already been discussed in the introductory chapter of the research. This issue is the grave misconception that Saraiki is a dialect of Punjabi language. It is important to mention that the very same misconception has been described as a major motivation behind Saraiki movement. So, through this title, the newspaper tries to shed any doubt about the independent status of Saraiki and establishes that Saraiki is an independent and separate language that has its own identity.

7. Tone of the editorials

The tone of the editorials of daily Jhoke is also very significant. It is different from the general practices of journalism. The editor in the editorials of daily Jhoke uses highly emotional language generally. At times, the editorials reflect dejection and despair. At the same time, the editor shows anger and his emotions for the problems of Sariaki community. So, the element of emotionalism is quite visible in the editorials of daily Jhoke. For example, in the following editorials the editor expresses his emotions.

غربت، مہانگ تے بُکھ عوام کیڈے ونجے

Ghurbat,mahang te bukh awam kidde wanje (May2, 2013)
Poverty, inflation and hunger: what can general public do

In the above sentence, the expression of the editor reflects extreme despair about the state of Saraiki people. The editor describes the extreme poverty and inflation that has badly affected the poor people of the Southern Punjab. The Saraiki expression 'awam kidde wanne' is used to express the emotions of a person who is in such a situation that there is no ray of hope and no solution of the problems for the Saraiki community. So, through this expression, the editor describes the extreme haplessness in which the people have found themselves.

By analyzing the above two statements, an interesting observation has been made about the usage of punctuation marks in the editorials of daily Jhoke. Interestingly, on the one hand, the editor did not use punctuation marks with some of the statements which were interrogative or exclamatory, because there was no mention of Saraikistan, Saraiki region and Saraiki people in these statements. On the other hand, in some statements, which were not interrogative or exclamatory, a punctuation mark was used with them, because there was a reference towards Saraikistan or Saraiki community. For example:

کیا سرائیکی وسیب وچ انسان نئیں راہندے؟

Kia Saraiki waseb wich insan nai rahnde? (March 1, 2013)
Are saraiki people not human beings?

The above sentence sums up the sense of deprivation, disgrace and degradation that the editor feels as a member of Saraiki community. In this sentence, the editor emotionally asks a question from Saraiki readers. But in fact, the editor says that the Sariki people are so deprived of their basic human rights that as a member of Saraiki community he feels that he is treated as animals. In this way, the editor refers towards the under development and lack of basic facilities in the Southern Punjab. He also invokes the emotional response of Saraiki readers and vents his feelings about the social injustice with Saraikis. The sentence also makes

Saraikis realize that they are purposefully being exploited and maltreated by the rulers.

8. Conclusion

This study concludes that Saraiki newspaper editorials represent Saraiki ethnolinguistic identities, which are especially created through the choice of words and stylistic devices. At the same time, it should be realized that after a long struggle Saraiki movement has reached a decisive stage and Saraiki media is playing significant role in raising the consciousness of Saraiki community.

Though there are very few Saraiki newspapers in Southern Punjab, yet Saraiki newspaper editorials are actively participating in creation and representation of Saraiki identity. So, they are playing an important role for the creation of Saraiki province.

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