PUNJABI LANGUAGE: A STUDY OF LANGUAGE DESERTION

By

Fakhira Riaz

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By
Fakhira Riaz

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Submitted By: Fakhira Riaz
Name of Student

Registration #: 186-MPhil/Eng/2005 (Jan)

Doctor of Philosophy
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Name of Discipline

Prof. Dr. Samina Amin Qadir
Name of Research Supervisor
Signature of Research Supervisor

Prof. Dr. Shazra Munnawer
Name of Dean (FAISR)
Signature of Dean (FAISR)

Maj. Gen. Masood Hassan (Rtd)
Name of Rector
Signature of Rector

December 2011
Date
CANDIDATE DECLARATION FORM

I Fakhira Riaz

Daughter of M. B. Riaz Chaudhry

Registration # 186-Mphil/Eng/2005 (Jan)

Discipline English (Linguistics)

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\text{Signature of Candidate:}
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ABSTRACT

Thesis Title: Punjabi Language: A Study of Language Desertion

Pakistan is a land of linguistic diversity having more than sixty languages. Punjabi, along with its numerous mutually intelligible dialects, is an ancient language. It is mainly spoken in the Pakistani province of Punjab and Indian Punjab in the subcontinent. It is a member of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-European language family. The aim of this ethnographic study is to explore the status of Punjabi language in our society by looking at the language usage and linguistic practices of Punjabi native speakers residing in selected urban and rural areas. Ten families, five from urban area and five from rural area, participated in the study. The participants were selected on the basis of their educational level, marital status, monthly income, occupation, family background and the size of land owned by them. The theoretical framework which informs this research is the constructivist qualitative paradigm. The tools of data collection include semi-structured interviews and recordings of informal conversation of the research participants. The analysis of the collected data reveals that in the urban areas, Punjabi language is not the dominant medium of communication among the research participants. The participants do not consider it important and worthwhile to maintain Punjabi language, as they do not see it as economically advantageous and profitable to them. It is just a part of their cultural heritage, but they do not use it for communicative purposes. In the rural areas, however, the research participants expressed a strong sense of association and affiliation with Punjabi language; Punjabi language is their dominant medium of communication with others; they consider Punjabi an inevitable part of their cultural heritage and identity; they support the idea of learning English and Urdu languages but not at the cost of Punjabi language. These findings suggest that language desertion is an urban phenomenon, as Punjabi language is not maintained by the urban research participants due to certain wider socio-political factors which have disrupted and distorted the status of Punjabi language while consolidating the role of English and Urdu in the society.
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DEDICATION

To my Parents for their everlasting love which kept me going…
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview of the Chapter

In this chapter, the background of the study is thoroughly explained. The significance of the study is discussed in detail. The research questions are formulated which the study seeks to answer and the methodology of the research is described. The chapter concludes with the definitions of important conceptual terms and an outline of the content of the upcoming chapters.

1.2 Background of the Study

Language is a distinct attribute of human beings which differentiates them from the animal kingdom. It is used for the purpose of communication and it helps in establishing and strengthening the bonds of co-operation among the members of the society as well (Barber, 1965). Linguistics is defined as the scientific study of language (Yule, 1996). Under the umbrella of linguistics, sociolinguistics is a major sub-field which is defined by Baker (2001: 44) as “the study of language in relation to social groups, social class, ethnicity and other interpersonal factors in communication.” The field of sociolinguistics is not limited to the study of language as a phonetic, morphological and syntactic system aimed at expressing one’s thoughts and opinions; rather, it studies the connections between language and society and views language as a
repository of culture and a marker of social and ethnic identity. Sociolinguistics enables us to view language as an instrument which has a close link with the ethnic and cultural identities of its speakers (Brubaker, 2003).

Although it is difficult to come up with an exact number of languages spoken in the world, but it is estimated that there are 6,000 to 7,000 languages in the world (Crystal, 2002). But, languages keep on disappearing from the face of the earth. This phenomenon has attracted the attention of various philosophers and scholars in the second half of the twentieth century. Various languages like Tongan (Aipolo, 1989), Greek (Verivaki, 1990), Polish (Neazor, 1991), Dutch (Hulsen, 2000), Navajo (Schaenglod, 2004), Italian (Finocchiaro, 2004) and Siraiki (Asif, 2005) have been studied from the perspective of language desertion and language shift. Due to language desertion and language shift, the last 500 years have witnessed the death of about half of the known languages of the world (Nettle and Romaine, 2000: 2) and it is estimated that 90 percent of the world languages will die in this century since only 600 out of 6,000 languages are considered safe and protected from the threat of extinction (Crystal, 2002).

1.3 What is Language Shift?

Joshua Fishman (1964) is the pioneer of the terms ‘language shift’ and ‘language maintenance.’ Since then, various studies on different languages have been conducted from the perspective of language shift, language loss and language death as compared to language maintenance as the number of dying language is increasing with the passage of time (Fase et al., 1992: 397). Language shift refers to a situation where a community as a
whole gradually gives up its native language in favour of another language which is dominant in the society. The culmination of language shift is the death of the abandoned language (Trudgill, 2003). Language maintenance, as opposed to language shift, refers to a situation where a community maintains its original language, instead of adopting another language, even if it is suppressed in different domains of the society. In such communities, people retain their native language through various activities such as making it their home language, ensuring its transmission to the younger generation and by considering it as a strong symbol of their unique cultural and ethnic identity (Batibo, 2005).

Holmes (1992) identifies two major forms of language shift. The first form of language shift is that in which the indigenous societies abandon their native language altogether in favour of the dominant group’s language. An example of this kind of language shift is the Maori in New Zealand and some North American Indian tribes. Because of shifting to another language, the native language of these people dies out. The second form of language shift is the one in which people of a certain group are required to have a good command of the language used by the dominant group, but they do not have to desert their own language in the process. It has been observed that in most cases, the dominant group imposes this situation. The term ‘diglossia’ is used to describe such a situation where two languages are required to cover all the community’s domains (Holmes, 1992).
Apart from natural calamities and military conquests which result in the death of a speech community, the process of language shift occurs due to certain socio-political, socio-economic, socio-psychological and socio-cultural reasons. It is the outcome of a conscious and continuous pattern of language choices and preferences in certain situations and domains by the speakers of a language (Fasold, 1984). De Klerk (2000: 88) explains this fact in the following words:

“Language shift occurs when linguistic communities find themselves in contact with a language that offers greater practical and economic rewards or carries higher prestige.”

Baker (2001) highlights various factors which play a pivotal role in language shift. These factors include the international standing of a language, demographic factors, the number of speakers of the native or dominant language, the official status of a language, the role and presence of a language in the educational institutions of the country, widespread migration as a result of urbanization and industrialization and the attitude of the native speakers towards their language. Apart from these factors, the concept of standard or prestigious language is very important in the maintenance or desertion of any language as Hoffmann (1991: 191) mentions that,

“In many bilingual communities personal wealth, professional standing and general technological advance are seen as attributes of the high-status group, so that if members of the minority language group wish for upward mobility, improved living standards and/or a share of power, they relate these feelings to the need to change one’s language.”
Thus, language shift results in language loss and language loss is, “part of the more
general loss being suffered by the world, the loss of diversity in all things.” (Hale, 1992: 3).

1.4 Pakistan – A Multilingual Country

Pakistan is a multilingual country having more than sixty languages (Ethnologue, 2003). Punjabi language, ranked in the top twenty of the world’s largest languages (Matthews, 2003), is the mother tongue of 54.6 % of the population of Pakistan (Census, 2001). There are various dialects of Punjabi language in Pakistan which include Shahpuri, Pothohari, Hindko, Malwi, Jangli and Majhi (Government of Pakistan, 2009; Masica, 1991). Punjabi language is a rich and diverse language. It possesses a vast corpus of literature in terms of poetry and prose. The works of Waris Shah, Sultan Bahu and Bulle Shah are an asset of Punjabi language in which these great poets have conveyed the message of religious tolerance, mutual harmony, love, peace and dignity with the aim of enlightening the hearts and minds of the people. Apart from the works of famous poets and writers, the proverbs of Punjabi language are an indication of the richness of this language. The interesting and pithy maxims of Punjabi language deal with almost every aspect of human life. But, despite its richness, beauty and charm, Punjabi is an unfortunate language because it lacks the status and prestige which it deserves. Punjabi language is the mother tongue of the majority of the population; Urdu is the national language of Pakistan which is the mother tongue of only seven percent of the population (Census, 2001). English is the official language of the country which is understood by five percent of the population or even less than that (Rahman, 2005). Because of the
dominant place of English and Urdu in the society, it has been observed that the native speakers of Punjabi language, specially living in urban areas, are consciously moving away from the language as it is not the medium of communication even among the family members. People are learning and adopting English and Urdu which are considered to be the languages of educated and refined people. Instead of Punjabi language, English and Urdu are the languages which are in the limelight as they are the languages of formal domains which include government, media and education because these two languages are supported by the government. Because of the state’s overt and covert policies, English has become the symbol of upper and upper-middle class; Urdu is the symbol of middle and lower-middle class, whereas, Punjabi language has become the symbol of unskilled workers and those rustic, uneducated people who live in villages. The ideas of cultural shame and backwardness are associated with it (Rahman, 2002). Because of the low status of Punjabi language in the society, native speakers, especially those who are living in the urban areas, are abandoning their native language. The aim of this ethnographic study is to unravel the truth behind language desertion by looking at the everyday linguistic practices and attitude of the native speakers of Punjabi language and to explore the usage of this language in the family domain.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The research aims to make an ethnographic study of language desertion and language attitude of the native speakers towards Punjabi language. During the course of this study, everyday linguistic practices of Punjabi native speakers will be observed. The purpose of this study is to investigate whether Punjabi native speakers, in the urban and
rural areas, are deserting their native language. In this study, the usage of Punjabi language will be observed in the urban and rural areas. The selected urban areas are Rawalpindi and Islamabad, whereas, the selected rural areas include a village near Gojra, a tehsil of Toba Tek Singh. This village will be used as a research site to explore the language usage among Punjabi native speakers in rural areas. Since the language has no official status, the use of Punjabi language in informal domain will be analyzed. The informal domains include family, friendship and neighborhood (Fishman, 1972), but the usage of Punjabi language in the family domain only will be observed. The outcome of the study will help us to gain an insight into the why and how of language desertion by looking at the usage of the language in urban and rural settings. In the past, the researchers have investigated Punjabi language from a historical, educational and political perspective (Rahman, 1996; Mansoor, 1993). The uniqueness of this study lies in the fact that Punjabi language will be explored from the perspective of language desertion by looking at its use in the informal domain. In the process, various sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors will be highlighted and discussed in order to determine whether the language is deserted.

1.6 Research Questions

In the course of this thesis, I will seek answers to the following research questions:

1. What is the current situation of Punjabi language in Pakistan as compared to English and Urdu?

2. What is the attitude of Punjabi native speakers in the urban and rural areas towards Punjabi, English and Urdu?
3. What is the dominant medium of communication among the Punjabi native speakers in the family domain?
4. Is Punjabi language maintained or deserted by its native speakers in the urban and rural areas?

1.7 Research Methodology

The current research is going to be an ethnographic study of the linguistic practices and preferences of Punjabi native speakers in their everyday life. A popular definition of ethnography is found in Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 1), who write of ethnography,

“...We see the term as referring primarily to a particular method or sets of methods. In its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people’s lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens; listening to what is said, asking questions — in fact, collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research.”

An analysis of the above mentioned definition highlights certain characteristics of ethnographic research. It is a data rich research. It is a qualitative approach to the investigation of a particular phenomenon which involves continuous record keeping, extensive participatory involvement of the researcher in the research setting and careful interpretation of the collected data. The research takes place in context, with an attempt to minimize the disruption caused by the researcher’s intrusion. The researcher makes no attempt to control or manipulate the phenomenon under investigation. The focus is to understand the phenomenon from a participant-observer perspective that takes into
account the insider’s and the outsider’s perspective. The ethnographic research is relatively long-term. It is collaborative in nature, involving the extensive interaction of researcher and the research participants. Finally, it is organic i.e. the generalizations and hypothesis emerge during the course of the data collection and interpretation, rather than being predetermined or imposed by the researcher.

In this study, the tools for data collection include semi-structured interviews and recordings of informal conversations in the family domain. The data collecting tools will investigate the dominant medium of communication among the research participants living in the urban and rural areas. Ten families will participate in this research in which five families will be selected from Rawalpindi/Islamabad as a representation of urban area and five families will participate in this research from the selected village that will represent the rural area. The total number of research participants who will participate in the study is sixty-seven out of which thirty-two will participate from the urban area and thirty-seven will participate from the rural area.

In the course of data collection, the medium of communication among the parents, siblings and family members during their informal conversations will be observed. Purposive sampling will be used as opposed to random sampling because the emphasis is on quality rather than quantity (Palys, 1997). After data collection, the data will be qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed, in the light of the research questions, in order to come up with a conclusion which is firmly grounded in evidence.
1.8 Conceptual Framework for the Study

The conceptual framework which will inform this research will be the constructivist qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research is defined as, “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss and Corbin, 1990: 17). Jupp (2006: 248) mentions that qualitative research “…investigates aspects of social life which are not amenable to quantitative measurement. Associated with a variety of theoretical perspectives, qualitative research uses a range of methods to focus on the meanings and interpretation of social phenomenon and social processes in the particular contexts in which they occur.” It seeks to study a phenomenon in its natural setting such as “real world setting [where] the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest” (Patton, 2002: 39) and where it “unfold (s) naturally” (Ibid: 39). The aim of qualitative research is not to come up with generalizable findings; rather, it is based on a detailed and in depth exploration and description of the phenomenon in the light of the social processes and contexts in which they occur (Jupp, 2006). Thus, qualitative research is “pragmatic, interpretive, and grounded in the lived experiences of people” (Marshall and Rossman, 1999: 2).

According to Guba and Lincoln (1989: 83), constructivist paradigm is also known as, “naturalistic, hermeneutic, or interpretive.” Constructivism emerged as a research paradigm which challenged the fundamental beliefs of objectivism which is also known as traditional, positivist and conventional. The purpose of this paradigm is to view and understand the world from the perspective of the research participants. It allows the
researcher, “to get inside people’s heads” (Palys, 1997: 422) in order to understand how they perceive and interpret the world. It propagates the idea that the relationship between the researcher and the research participant is subjective and interactive in nature since it is impossible for the researcher to study and investigate the experiences and views of the research participants while remaining aloof and distant from them. This paradigm revolves around the collection, analysis and interpretation of data in order to discover the truth behind a particular phenomenon (Carr and Kemmis, 1986; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Lewins, 1992; Babbie, 1995).

The beliefs of constructivist qualitative research paradigm will serve as a sound foundation and basis for this study since the aim of this research is to understand and describe a particular phenomenon, language desertion, in the light of the beliefs and actions of the research participants.

1.9 Definition of Important Terms

Language Desertion

Although the term language desertion is self explanatory in nature, but it has been defined in order to avert any possible confusion. Language desertion refers to a slow, gradual, deliberate and conscious movement of the native speakers away from their native language to another language which is powerful and dominant in the society. The process of language desertion is triggered due to certain political, social, economic and cultural reasons (Asif, 2005).
**Attitude**

It is very important to define the term attitude since it plays a very important role in the maintenance or desertion of any language. Attitude is defined as, “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event.” (Ajzen, 1988: 4). Baker (1992: 10) defines attitude as “a hypothetical construct used to explain the direction and persistence of human behaviour.” Eagly and Chaiken (2005 as quoted in Gustav, 2007: 14) define the concept of attitude as a “psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavor.” (Albarracín et al., 2005: 4). Attitude represents internal thoughts, feelings and tendencies in behaviour across a variety of contexts.

**Language Attitude**

In the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1992: 199) ‘language attitudes’ are defined as follows:

“The attitude which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each others’ languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language.”

Language attitudes are formed on the basis of beliefs and perceptions about the language, culture, identity and history of native speakers of a particular language. Positive linguistic attitudes motivate people to maintain and learn a particular language, whereas, negative linguistic attitude results in deserting a language (Marti, 2005). So, in the words of Baker
(1992: 9), language attitudes are considered “to be important in language restoration, preservation, decay or death.”

**Language Domains**

The concept of language domains refers to the use of a language or dialect in different settings (Fishman, 1972; Eastman, 1983). In the words of Trudgill (2003: 41), “[Domain is]… a concept employed particularly in … multilingual contexts and in the study of other situations where different languages, dialects or styles are used in different social contexts. A domain is a combination of factors which are believed to influence choice of code (language, dialect or style) by speakers.”

The concept of language domain is used to establish, “a general pattern of language use” (Mesthrie et al., 2000: 154). The two main domains are formal and informal domains. Formal domain includes government, media and education, and, informal domain includes family, friends and neighbourhood.

**Domain Analysis**

Domain analysis describes the use of language/s in various settings in a multilingual society. Fishman suggests that one language is considered more appropriate and prestigious in certain specific contexts and settings as compared to another language in a multilingual society (Fasold, 1984: 183).

1.10 Outline of the Dissertation

The dissertation is arranged in seven chapters. A brief description of the chapters is given below.
Chapter 1, the introductory chapter, will discuss the significance of the research. It will outline the main research questions. It will also provide background information pertaining to the research, contextual information regarding the setting in which the research will take place, and a brief summary of how the research will be performed. It will conclude with the definitions of important terms and an outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 will provide a foundation for the research based on the review of the relevant literature concerning language shift, language desertion and language attitudes. It will include a comprehensive discussion of the phenomenon of language desertion. It will also comprise of an examination of the nature and significance of language attitude and the domains in which a language is used in the process of maintaining or deserting a language.

Chapter 3 will provide a detailed description of the research methodology of the study. It will include a description of the methods and procedures which will be used to investigate linguistic practices of the research participants. It will give a detailed overview of the sample employed in the study. The chapter will provide an account of and rationale for each of the research instruments employed.

Chapter 4 will highlight the process of data collection. Demographic information of the research sites will be a part of this chapter. It will also include a thorough discussion of the visits to the research sites.
Chapter 5 will deal with the categorization of data. The data collected from semi-structured interviews and informal recordings will be categorized in broad categories for further in-depth analysis of it.

Chapter 6 will include a critical analysis and interpretation of the data which will emerge as a result of semi-structured interviews, recordings of informal conversations and observation of everyday linguistic practices of the research participants.

In Chapter 7, the last chapter of the dissertation, final conclusion will be presented on the basis of data analysis. The limitations of the thesis and suggestions for future research will be a part of this chapter.

1.11 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to introduce the research. In this chapter, a general introduction to the research as a whole is briefly discussed based on the key aspects of the study. After underlining the significance, I listed four research questions for the present study. The conceptual framework for the study is highlighted along with the methodological aspects of the research. In addition, the key terms of the thesis were defined.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter contains a comprehensive discussion of the previous research carried out in the field of language shift, language desertion and language attitudes. It contains a detailed account of the status of Punjabi language in Pakistan. A number of sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors related to language desertion, with special reference to Punjabi language, will be thoroughly discussed here.

2.2 What is Language?

Language is considered to be a unique attribute of human beings. It is part and parcel of our existence. It is found in every corner of the world. It is an important element of human activities. Language is a multi-purpose instrument, which is used for communication, expression and creating and strengthening co-operation between the members of a society. The fact that language serves as a mark of distinction between animals and human beings clearly shows its significance (Lieberman, 1998). But, here, the question arises as to how does language set human beings apart from animal kingdom? Communication is not a distinctive quality of human beings since all creatures and even plants communicate with the members of their species (Yule, 1996). The
answer lies in the fact that it is the properties and characteristics of human language which differentiate it from the communication system adopted by animals. Human language is a symbolic communication system which is learned and not inherited, whereas, animal communication system is essentially inherited and not learned. In the words of Sapir (1921: 8), “Language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols.”

Human language has several unique properties which differentiates it from the animal communication system (Yule, 1996). Human language is flexible as productivity, creativity and open-endedness are important features of human language, whereas, animal communication system seems to lack flexibility. Through displacement, human language enables us to talk about past, present and future and even of those things which do no exist in the world; whereas, this feature is missing in animal communication system (O’Neil, 2006). Arbitrariness refers to the fact that there is no natural connection and relationship between the linguistic signs and the objects of the real world. The term, cultural transmission, highlights the fact that we do not inherit language from our parents. Rather, it is acquired with other speakers and is passed on from one generation to the next. Another interesting property of human language is the fact that the sounds/phonemes in a language are meaningfully distinct, thus, changing a single sound/phoneme leads to a difference in meaning. Duality, another property of human language, shows that it is organized on two levels: physical level, that is, where we can produce individual sounds, and meaning level, that is, where we can produce sounds in
combination. So, it is not the ability to communicate but the distinctive properties of
human language which set human beings apart from animals.

2.3 Why languages are important?

Each and every language has a unique importance and value in the world. Michael
Krauss (1996) has highlighted the aesthetic, scientific and ethical significance of each
language in the world. He believes that linguistic diversity adds charm and beauty to this
world because each language is a representative of the knowledge of the world as it is a
storehouse of traditional and conventional wisdom, which take centuries to evolve. Each
language empowers its speakers to view the world from a different perspective by
incorporating the knowledge and values of a particular speech community since language
is a vital part of culture and the most important means of expressing and communicating
culture to others (Reyhner, 1996). In the words of Hamers and Blanc (1989: 115-116)

“All definitions of culture agree that language is an important part of culture.
There is a consensus that culture is a complex entity which comprises a set of symbolic
systems, including knowledge, norms, values, beliefs, language, art and customs, as well
as habits and skills learned by individuals as members of a given society . … Language is
a component of culture along with other entities like, for example, values, beliefs and
norms; language is a product of culture, transmitted from one generation to the next in the
socialization process; it also moulds culture, that is to say, our cultural representations are
shaped by language. But, unlike other components of culture, language interacts with it in
specific ways; for language is a transmitter of culture; furthermore, it is the main tool for
the internalization of culture by the individual.”
Thus, each and every language of the world is a bearer of the norms, values and ideologies of a speech community, as language cannot be separated from the culture and identity of its speakers. This shows the universal significance and uniqueness of each and every language in this world because it is a repository of a particular culture and serves as a window through which we can peep into and learn the cultural, historical and environmental knowledge (Hunn, 1990).

Another interesting fact about language is that it is not just an objective and neutral means of communication; it is closely associated with the social, ethnic and cultural identities of its speakers (Appel and Muysken, 1987; Liebkind, 1999). When an individual selects a language as his/her medium of communication, he/she identifies him/herself with a particular culture and a group of people with different traditions, norms and values. The identity of people is deeply rooted in the language they speak, thus, commenting on a particular language is actually commenting on individual identities. The interplay of language choice and identity formation is studied by most of the scholars from the social constructivist perspective (Eckert, 2000; Kroskrity, 2000b; Mendoza-Denton, 2002; Bucholtz and Hall, 2003; 2005) according to which identity is in a state of flux highlighting that individuals are always in the process of constructing and reconstructing their social identities through the use of different linguistic varieties (Rampton, 1995; Lo, 1999; Bailey, 2001, 2002; Blackledge and Pavlenko, 2001; Cashman, 2005). Thus, language is a bearer of the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world (Wa Thiong’a, 1986: 15).
2.4 What is Language Desertion?

According to Crystal (2002), it is generally estimated that there are 6,000 to 7,000 languages in the world. Since times immemorial, history has witnessed the birth and death of languages as an inevitable part of human existence (Clark, 1995; Mufwene, 2001; Thomason, 2001). According to Sasse (in Janse 2000: ix), the last five hundred years have seen the disappearance of more than half of the world’s languages.

The world saw the emergence of the terms ‘language shift’ and ‘language maintenance’ during the decade of 1960s. The term language shift refers to a condition where a community gives up its native language and adopts another language which is usually strong and dominant in the society (Fasold, 1984; Hoffman, 1991). Since then, many researchers have explored various minority languages from the perspective of language shift and language maintenance which include Cook Island Maori (Davis, 1998), Gujarati and Samoan (Roberts, 1999) Dutch (Hulsen, 2000), Japanese (Nakanishi, 2000), Romanian (Borbely, 2000), Navajo (Schaenglod, 2004) and Italian (Finocchiaro, 2004). These researchers have analyzed these languages and highlighted a range of factors, which lead to the adoption of one language and desertion and abandonment of another, which is usually the native language. But, a close analysis of the concept of language shift reveals that it does not take into account the role of native speakers of a particular language in maintaining or discarding their native language. It does not clearly address the reasons of language shift as to whether the speakers left their language due to political, social, economic, and psychological reasons or physical coercions and threats (Asif, 2005). Saiqa Asif (2005), a linguist, is the pioneer of the term, ‘language
desertion.’ She conducted a sociolinguistic study on Siraiki language from the perspective of language desertion. She introduced this term in order to highlight the role of the native speakers as active beings in the process of maintaining or deserting their native language. She says (2005: 341), ‘The term language desertion highlights the role of speakers as language deserters who despite having the ability to resist external pressures give in to them and desert their mother tongues. In many cases, they desert their mother tongue for affective reasons like shame or desire to identify with the dominant group. It is also observed that some adults do not desert their mother tongues themselves but make sure that their children or grandchildren grow up without this language. This also comes in the act of language desertion because adults here serve the role of active agents in language decline.’

So, the concept of language desertion refers to a slow, conscious and gradual movement of the native speakers away from their native language to another language which is more powerful and dominant in the society. It takes into account various factors which include the political, social, and economic factors as the main reasons for deserting a language. People desert their language in favour of a more powerful language which has a lot to offer in terms of money, power, status, prestige and access to lucrative jobs (Holmes, 1992). Dorian (1982: 47) expresses this idea in the following words: ‘Language loyalty persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to other language begins.’

Due to language desertion, it is estimated that 90% of the world languages will die in this century since only 600 out of 6,000 languages are considered safe from the threat of extinction (Crystal, 2002).
2.5 Effects of Language Desertion

There are numerous destructive effects of language desertion but the most drastic and the ultimate effect of language desertion is that the deserted language disappears from the face of the earth. Language death has been a reality all over the world and throughout history. For example, Gothic, Etruscan, Iberian, Sumerian, Hittite and Egyptian are all languages that are now extinct (Sasse, 1992). On the continent of Africa, there are countless cases of language shift and death. Some cases in East Africa alone include Akie, Sonjo, Kwasi and Asax - all languages that shifted to Maasai; Kimbu, Konongo, Tongwe - which shifted to Nyamwezi; Mwera and Machinga - which shifted to Makonde; and Ongamo and Arusha - which shifted to Chagga (Batibo, 1992). For some people, the languages of those speech communities die which fail to keep pace with the world as, according to Dixon (1997: 117), people believe that the minority languages, “are insignificant languages spoken by insignificant peoples, odd tribes and minority groups that will disappear simply because of the relentless advancement of the great civilized nations of the world towards a global community.” But, losing a language represents a loss of a perspective of viewing the world from a different angle because each language is a reflection of the culture, traditions, norms and values of those who speak it. Each and every language of this world is a storehouse of knowledge. Reyhner (1996: 2) elaborates this fact and states: “Many of the keys to the psychological, social, and physical survival of humankind may well be held by the smaller speech communities of the world. These keys will be lost as languages and cultures die. Our languages are joint creative productions that each generation adds to. Languages contain generations of wisdom going back into antiquity. Our languages contain a significant part of the world’s
knowledge and wisdom. When a language is lost, much of the knowledge that language represents is also gone. Our words, our ways of saying things are different ways of being, thinking, seeing and acting.”

This shows the universal importance of maintaining each and every language in this world. Shorris (2000: 43) talks about the importance of linguistic diversity in the world by sharing his wonderful experience of looking at a blue butterfly in a forest of Southern Mexico and says,

“There are nine different words in Maya for the color blue in the comprehensive Porrúa Spanish-Maya Dictionary but just three Spanish translations, leaving six butterflies that can only be seen by the Maya, proving beyond doubt that when a language dies six butterflies disappear from the consciousness of the earth.”

There are various factors which work as a stimulus in maintaining a particular language. Out of all the factors, the significance of attitude in retaining a language cannot be denied. The following section contains a detailed discussion of language attitude and its importance in maintaining or deserting a language.

2.6 Definition of Attitude

The term ‘attitude’ was first used by Spencer in 1892. It originally meant posture or pose. In 1935, Allport breathed a new life in the concept of attitude by stating that it is distinctively human and social in nature (Ammon, 2004). From then onwards, attitude is indeed the focus of research in the realm of social sciences where it is studied by
psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists and language learning researchers (Garrett et al., 1999).

Although the term ‘attitude’ originally meant a pose or a posture, but there are various definitions of attitude which are as follows:

Gardner (1985: 91-93) claims that attitude is an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual’s beliefs or opinions about the referent. Attitudes are, “learned predispositions, not inherited or genetically endowed, and ... likely to be relatively stable over time” (Baker, 1988: 114).

Brown (1994: 168) adds: “Attitudes, like all aspects of the development of cognition and affect in human beings, develop early in childhood and are the result of parents’ and peers’ attitudes, contact with people who are different in any number of ways, and interacting affective factors in the human experience.” This definition clearly states the role of many factors which are responsible for the development of one’s positive or negative attitude.

Eveyik (1999: 21) agrees with most scholars on the definition of ‘attitude’ that it is the state of readiness to respond to a situation and an inclination to behave in a consistent manner toward an object.

An analysis of the above mentioned definitions reveals the fact that attitude represents internal thought patterns, feelings and tendencies in human behaviour towards an object across a variety of contexts. It is a psychological construct and is believed to influence behaviour (Perloff, 2003: 41). Attitude is a complex of three components which are affective, cognitive and behavioural. The affective component is related to the feelings
towards a specific object, individual or situation. The cognitive component deals with the beliefs and thoughts. The behavioural component is defined in terms of actual actions and deeds. The three components are graphically represented by Spooncer (1992) as follows:

**Affective**
(feelings)
component

**Cognitive**
(beliefs)
component

**Behavioural**
(actual actions)
component

2.7 Language Attitude

The decade of 1960 saw an increasing interest in studying attitudes about language (Schiffman, 1997: 2). The language attitude research attracted the attention of various scholars and researchers especially in the last three decades of the twentieth century, thus, making itself an important area of research in the realm of sociolinguistics. In the beginning, language attitude studies were mostly conducted in North America and Europe in which the researchers focused on selected languages which included French, English and Spanish (Ammon, 2004). But, with the passage of time, researchers in Asia, Africa and Middle East started exploring various languages from the perspective of language attitude. The following list is just to mention a few names in the field (Mansoor, 1993; Brubaker, 2003; Laubach, 1998; Dyers, 2000; Baart, 2001; Coady, 2001; Fink, 2005; Kristiansen, 2003; Mahboob, 2003; Ting, 2003; Hendricks, 2004; Kuncha and Bathula, 2004; McKenzie, 2006; Ihemere, 2006; Gustav, 2007; Karahan, 2007).

Various scholars have defined the term ‘language attitude.’ Some of the popular definitions are as follows:

Language attitude is the, “study of what people think about different linguistic varieties and how those perceptions about language relate to perception of attitudes about different users of language.” (Meyerhoff, 2008: 292)

Language attitude is the, “study of how people judge and evaluate themselves and others based upon usage of different varieties.” (Llamas, Mullany and Stockwell, 2007: 219).
Language attitudes, according to Bradley and Bradley, involve “the group’s attitude about itself and its language, [and] equally crucial is whether language is regarded as a core cultural value — whether a group sees their language and its maintenance as a key aspect of the group’s identity” (2002: 1). It refers to the attitude people have towards their own and different languages which may range from favourable to unfavourable. Language attitudes are manifested in the form of linguistic choices and preferences. It is interesting to note that language attitudes are social in nature and they reflect the feelings of people towards a particular language (Crystal, 1992; Trudgill, 2003).

Baker (1992: 29-30) looks at the term ‘language attitudes’ as a broad term which takes into consideration a wide range of empirical studies in which the researchers are concerned with studying a number of specific attitudes. He identifies the following major areas in the study of ‘language attitudes’:

i. Attitude to language variation, dialect and speech style

ii. Attitude to learning a new language

iii. Attitude to a specific minority language

iv. Attitude to language groups, communities and minorities

v. Attitude to language lessons

vi. Attitude of parents to language lessons

vii. Attitude to the uses of a specific language

viii. Attitude to language preference
According to Schiffman (1997: 1), language attitude studies are conducted to explore people’s attitudes about:

i. Language in general;

ii. Motivation towards the learning of a first or second language;

iii. The status of a language, or the status of its speakers, or the status of the variety (standard/ non-standard) of the language, or its use in certain domains

iv. Language shift within a particular community or in general

v. Loyalty towards their own language or own non-standard dialect.

An analysis of the above-mentioned definitions clearly reveals that language attitudes are of vital importance in the growth or decay of a language as language use and language loss are strongly guided and influenced by the attitude of the speakers towards a particular language (Schmid, 2002). Since attitudes are the product of life experiences, they are relatively stable; however, they are not static. Language attitudes are dynamic in nature. They are bound to change with the passage of time under the influence of various political, social and environmental factors (Burns, Matthews and Nolan-Conroy, 2001; Ammon, 2004).

2.8 Language Attitude Studies

In the past, language attitude studies have explored the attitude of various speech communities regarding the language itself, the status of a particular language or the status of the speakers of that language, the domains in which a language is used and the feelings
of native speakers towards their native language (Schiffman, 1997: 1). Agheyisi and Fishman (1970: 142-3) have summarized the language attitude studies conducted from 1947 to 1969 in the light of the types of language studies and the techniques which were used for data collection. Their findings reveal that the highest number of language attitude studies revolve around the importance of various language varieties, the usage of a particular language and the linguistic choices and preference of the speakers of a language. According to their findings, questionnaire was used in most of the studies as a tool for data collection which consisted of open-ended and close-ended questions.

Apart from studying language varieties, the usage and choice of a language, the relevance and importance of language attitude studies cannot be denied in the fields of second language learning, language planning and language policy and language growth, maintenance and death (Dyers, 2000). A large corpus of existing literature reveals the fact that positive language attitude towards a particular language motivates people to learn that language. Bosch and de Klerk (1994: 50) observe that language attitude studies serve as a valuable source of information for language planners which helps them in devising language policies which are a true reflection of the wishes and aspirations of the people. But, as a matter of fact, the language policy makers usually do not take into account the wishes of the people (Tollefson, 1992; Smit, 1994; Hartshorne, 1995; Luckett, 1992; Peirce and Ridge, 1997; Rahman, 2002); rather, the language policies are devised to protect and promote the vested interests of, “a tiny English-speaking elite” (Tollefson, 1992: 201).
Language attitude studies have an inevitable role in determining the growth, maintenance and death of a language. In the words of Baker (1988: 112), “In the life history of a language, attitude may be crucial. In language growth or decay, restoration or destruction, attitude may be central. The status and importance of a language in society and within an individual derives in a major way from adopted or learnt attitudes.”

A language grows and develops when people have positive attitudes towards it and when it is allowed to function as a medium of communication in various settings, contexts and domains in a multilingual society (Cooper, 1982). In a multilingual society, the choice of the domain in which a particular language will function reveals the attitude of people towards that language. People tend to have a positive attitude towards a language which is used in the formal domains as compared to a language which is only restricted to informal domains and folk festivals. The concept of ‘language maintenance’ refers to the practice of maintaining one’s native language even in the presence of other powerful languages. There are various speech communities in which the speakers are maintaining their traditional language despite the presence of a dominant language. The example of Spanish in Miami in United States of America is a true reflection of language maintenance where its native speakers are speaking and maintaining Spanish. French language is experiencing the same situation in Canada where it is spoken by its native speakers (Dyers, 2000). But, on the other hand, negative attitude towards a language motivates people to move away from that language and they do not consider it worthwhile to maintain it. In short, the significance of language attitude studies in different spheres of life cannot be denied as they highlight the value of the feelings and attitude of the native speakers in the development or destruction of a language.
2.9 Theoretical Approaches in Language Attitude Studies

There are two theoretical approaches in language attitude studies, a mentalist approach and a behaviorist approach. Although their basic premise is completely different, the theorists of both the approaches agree on the fact that attitudes are learned and not inherited by human beings. The mentalists consider attitude to be a, “state of readiness … an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person’s response … A person’s attitude, in this view, prepares her to react to a given stimulus in one way rather than another” (Fasold, 1984: 147). They are of the view that attitudes cannot be observed directly; rather, they have to be deduced from a close inspection of the feelings and behaviour of the research respondents in specific and natural settings (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970: 138). This approach has been criticized on the basis of the fact that attitudes are studied from observable behaviour or from self-reporting and the validity of the data collected from these two sources can easily be questioned and challenged.

According to the behaviorist approach, “attitudes are to be found simply in the responses people make to social situations” (Fasold, 1984: 147). The proponents of behaviorist approach to language attitude believe that the only way to define and determine attitude is to observe it in social situations. Research conducted under this approach requires no self-reporting from the research participants. However, this approach has been criticized for considering attitude as the only dependent variable, which serves as the determinant of the overall behaviour of an individual.
A quick glance at history reveals that most of the researchers have widely adopted the mentalist approach in studying language attitudes (Appel and Muysken, 1987; Hussein and El-Ali, 1989; Moreau, 1990; Woolard and Gahng, 1990; Baker, 1992; Bosch and De-Klerk, 1996; Cargile and Giles, 1998; Long, 1999; Thibault and Sankoff, 1999; Zhou, 1999; Hoare and Coveney, 2000; Gao, Su and Zhou, 2000; Payne, Downing and Fleming, 2000; Pieras, 2000; El-Dash and Busnardo, 2001; Hoare, 2001). The researchers using this approach for language attitude studies adopt the triangulation approach by using questionnaires, interviews and matched-guise technique for data collection. In the course of my research, I will conduct in-depth semi-structured interviews with the research participants in addition to recording their informal conversation in natural setting in order to collect rich and meaningful data.

2.10 Measuring Language Attitudes

Although it is a difficult and complex task to measure language attitudes, but, there are certain quantitative and qualitative methods and techniques which are employed to measure language attitudes (Henerson, Morris, & Fitz-Gibbon, 1987; Baker, 1992; Fowler, 1993). Generally speaking, the methods of measuring attitudes include content analysis, direct measurement and indirect measurement (Burns, Matthews and Nolan-Conroy, 2001).

Content analysis involves using techniques of case study and participant observation as methods of studying language attitudes. The researcher portrays him/herself as a friend of the research participants whose language attitude is being explored. The active involvement of the researcher results in generating naturalistic data.
which is considered a merit of content analysis (Milroy, 1987). But, the fact that the researcher has to infer the data on the basis his/her observation is being considered as a demerit of content analysis. Therefore, it has been criticized for its subjectivity.

Direct measurement involves recording and observing the actual behaviour of people with the help of questionnaires, surveys, polls, interviews and perceptual dialectology. In direct observation, the research respondents answer various questions regarding their language choice, motivation towards learning a particular language, language preference in different situations and their views about language policies. Perceptual dialectology is a recent type of direct measurement technique which is used to measure language attitudes. It is developed by Preston (1989) in which he aims to study the development and persistence of language attitudes by studying anecdotal accounts of the research participants.

The major techniques, which are involved in direct measurement of attitudes, are questionnaires and oral interviews which have their own strengths and weaknesses. There are a number of reasons why researchers use questionnaires to collect the data. Questionnaires can be anonymous which increase the chances of getting data in which the respondents express their genuine attitudes and feelings. It is a good way of generating a lot of data in a short period of time. It is relatively inexpensive as compared to interviews. Structured questionnaires result in data, which are easy to codify and compile and interpret. But, there are various limitations of questionnaires as well. The research respondents have to be literate in order to complete the questionnaire. The
wording of the questions should be clear and appropriate as there is always a chance of misinterpretation of questions on the part of research participants which might result in collecting false data. The response rate is usually low in questionnaires. Last but not the least, the researcher cannot tell whether the questionnaire is completed by the intended respondent or not (Palys, 1997).

The second major technique of obtaining data in direct measurement is by using interviews which are not without their merits and demerits. Interviews are beneficial for an in-depth investigation of the feelings, perceptions and opinions of the research participants. They are flexible in nature where the researcher is present and he/she has the opportunity to clarify the ambiguities, if any. The response rate is much higher in interviews as compared to the questionnaires. The fact that people are good at expressing their feelings and opinions verbally is another reason for using interviews. But, there are a number of disadvantages of interviews as well. They can be very time-consuming, thus, can be costly as well. The researcher’s presence might influence the responses of the research participants which raises serious concerns regarding the reliability and validity of the obtained data (Palys, 1997).

In indirect language attitude measurement, the research respondents are unaware of the fact that their language attitudes are being observed and investigated. The researcher observes their behaviour in different settings and situations and takes notes. Matched-Guise Test comes under the umbrella of indirect measurement in which the research respondents have to evaluate different varieties of a language spoken by the
same speaker when they are not aware of the purpose of the study (Ryan et al., 1982; Hohenthal, 1998). Matched-Guise technique generates data which can be analyzed statistically. Although the data generated through indirect measurement is naturalistic in nature, a major disadvantage of indirect measurement revolves around the ethical issues of the whole endeavour where the research participants are unaware of what the researcher is investigating.

2.11 An Integrated Approach

The selection of the tools to collect data depends on the topic of the research, research questions and research methodology. But many researchers are of the view that a combination of different types of data collection techniques should be employed to ensure the objectivity, reliability and neutrality of the collected data. Edwards (1985: 150) uses the term, “eclectic, triangulation approach” to refer to the idea of using multiple techniques in order to collect the data. Carranza (1982: 81) describes triangulation as, “the process by which a social phenomenon is observed and measured by various techniques.” Data collected through different techniques, when viewed together, are likely to produce more valid and reliable findings than data collected from one source only.

The above discussion reveals the fact that the methods of measuring language attitudes have certain merits and demerits; so, relying on a single data collection tool can result in false and unreliable data generation. Therefore, it is feasible to choose a research design which encompasses both the direct and indirect techniques of language attitude
measurement. The proponents of this approach are of the view that a combination of these methods should be used in order to generate data which is contextually specified and firmly grounded in evidence (Ladegaard, 2000: 230; Garrett et al., 2003: 220). Preston (1999: xxxviii) uses the term, ‘interdisciplinary poaching’ and maintains that both the direct and indirect methods should be used in conjunction so that it can result in enriching and meaningful data. Recently, Hoare (2001) successfully used both the direct method (questionnaire) and indirect method (Matched-Guise Test) in her study of language attitudes of school aged children and young people towards three language varieties in Brittany.

In this research, an integrated approach towards data collection will be adopted in an attempt to collect significant, relevant and meaningful data.

2.12 Language Domains

Language use is usually measured by investigating its use and function in different domains (Fishman, 1966, 1985; Clyne, 1992). Fishman (1972: 19) gives a comprehensive definition of the term domain and says: “Domains are defined in terms of institutional contexts or socio-ecological co-occurrences. They attempt to designate the major clusters of interaction situations that occur in particular multilingual settings. Domains enable us to understand that language choice and topic … are … related to widespread socio-cultural norms and expectations.” Fishman has introduced the term, ‘domain analysis’ as well which describes the use of languages in various social and institutional contexts in a multilingual society. Fishman
suggests that one language is more likely to be appropriate in some specific contexts as compared to another which encourages people to adopt a certain language (Fasold, 1984: 183):

“Proper usage indicates that only one of the theoretically co-available languages or varieties will be chosen by particular classes or interlocutors on particular kinds of occasions to discuss particular kinds of topics.” (Fishman, 1972: 15)

Coulmas (2005) is of the view that ‘domain’ is a theoretical concept that refers to communication in a setting where a particular language is required, e.g. the neighbourhood, the school etc.

The above definitions bring to light the fact that domains are areas in which the language is used, such as home, work, religion, mechanics, government, and education. The number of domains is a controversial issue among the researchers. Schmidt-Rohr (1932) conducted a research on German language. He explored the use of German in the nine domains which include family, street, school, church, literature, press, military, courts and government administration. Frey (1945 as mentioned by Fishman 1972) used only three domains including home, school and church. But, now, the concept of formal and informal domains is well established. Formal domains include government, media and education, whereas, informal domains include family, friends and neighbourhood. In a multilingual society, the languages are used to perform different functions; and, in the process, they are allotted different domains. The formal domains are usually conquered by the dominating and powerful language while the dominated language is allocated the more informal and domestic domains. The examples of
Netherlands and Sweden support this assertion where the more colloquial and informal domains are still permeated by Dutch and Swedish respectively whereas, English is establishing its control by being the language of the formal domains (Mesthrie et al, 2000). The same situation can be witnessed in Pakistan where the informal domains are reserved for regional languages, whereas, the formal domains are kept for English and Urdu therefore reducing the functional range of regional languages. Edward (1994) points out that once a language ceases to function in formal domains, it is pushed in the background, and, as a result, people speaking that language desert it and adopt the language which is used in the formal domains. He states, “People will not indefinitely maintain two languages when one will serve across all domains.” (Edwards, 1994: 110).

After a detailed explanation of language attitudes and the concept of domains, the following section consists of a comprehensive account of Punjabi language, the status of Punjabi language in the sub-continent during British colonization and its current status in Pakistan.

2.13 Punjabi Language

Punjabi – along with its numerous mutually intelligible dialects – is an ancient language. It is believed that Punjabi evolved from Sanskrit through Prakrit which was a large group of ancient Indic languages spoken some time between the sixth and the thirteenth centuries AD. It was known as Sanskrit in Vaid-period (ca 4000 B.C.), Pali, Prakart and Upbharnash in Ashok-period (273-32 B.C.) and Hindvi, Lahori and Multani under Muslim period (711-1857). It is a member of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-
European language family. It is ranked among the top twenty spoken languages of the world (Matthews, 2003; Ethnologue, 2005). The following table highlights the top twenty languages of the world according to the number of their mother tongue speakers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>Number of Mother Tongue Speakers (millions)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Page No.</td>
<td>Difficulty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihari</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: Top 20 Languages by Number of Mother Tongue Speakers

Source: Matthews (2003:19)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Punjabi language is widely spoken in the Pakistani province of Punjab and in the Indian Punjab as well. In Pakistan, there are 30,000,000 to 45,000,000 speakers mainly in Punjab area (Baart, 2001), whereas, in India, it is said to be the first language of 27,000,000 people. There are ten vowels in Punjabi language in addition to numerous diphthongs. Stress is also an important feature of Punjabi language. In the course of its development, Punjabi language has borrowed words from English, Hindi, Urdu and Persian (Ethnologue, 2008).

Map 1: Map of Punjabi Speaking Area in Pakistan and India
2.14 Dialects of Punjabi Language

There are various dialects of Punjabi language which are as follows:

- **Majhi**

  This dialect is “the standard Punjabi language” and spoken in the heart of Punjab where most of the Punjabi population lives. The main districts are Lahore, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Sialkot in Pakistani Punjab and Gurdaspur and Amritsar in Indian Punjab.

- **Jhangvi or Jangli**

  This dialect is spoken in the central Pakistani Punjab, stretches from districts Khanewal to Jhang and includes Faisalabad and Chiniot.

- **Shahpuri**

  This dialect is spoken in Sargodha, Khushab and Mandi Bahauddin districts.

- **Potohari**

  The area where Potohari is spoken extends in the North from Azad Kashmir (Mirpur) to as far South as Jhelum, Gujar Khan, Chakwal and Rawalpindi.

- **Hindko**

  This dialect is spoken in districts of Peshawar, Attock, Nowshera, Mansehra, Abbotabad and Murree.
- **Malwi**

  It is spoken in the Eastern part of Indian Punjab. Main districts are Ludhiana, Ambala, Bathinda, Ganganagar, Maleerkotla Fazilka, Ferozepur. Malwa is the Southern and central part of present day Indian Punjab. Also includes the Punjabi speaking northern areas of Haryana, viz. Ambala, Hissar, Sirsa, Kurukhetra etc.

- **Doabi**

  The word “Do Aabi” means “the land between two rivers” and this dialect is spoken between the rivers of Beas and Satluj. It includes Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur districts.

### 2.15 Scripts of Punjabi Language

At present, there are several scripts which are used for writing Punjabi language. In the past, the Perso-Arabic script was used to write this language. It has been claimed that even the Sikh rulers in the early part of Sikh history used the Perso-Arabic script to write this language. But, now a days, the selection of a specific script primarily depends on the region and the religion of the speaker. This explains the fact that Sikhs and others in the Indian state of Punjab tend to use the Gurumukhi or Gurmukhi script. Hindus, and those living in neighboring states such as Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi, sometimes, use the Devanagari script. Muslims and Pakistani Punjabis use a modified Arabic script called Shahmukhi. All of the three scripts are widely used to write Punjabi language.
2.16 Status of Punjabi Language in Pakistan

The current status of Punjabi language in Pakistan is closely linked with its role and function in the Indian sub-continent during the British colonization. In order to investigate its current status, it is imperative to examine its status and role in a historical perspective.

2.16.1 Language and Colonization

Since time immemorial, humankind has experienced a painful phenomenon known as colonization. The major imperial powers include Britain, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy. During the colonial era, the colonizers used brutal force to control the colonized people. In addition to the physical force, they imposed their own language onto the people they colonized in an attempt to destroy their culture, identity and language in order to replace it with their own. In certain cases, the native people were not even allowed to learn and speak their mother tongue. Colonialism is regarded as one of the major factors in the spread of English language (Brutt-Griffler, 2002). At its height the British Empire covered a huge area, a factor which was an important step in making it a global language: “The sun never set on the British Empire, and the English language was naturally basking in the global sunshine” (Kachru, 1983: 5).

History tells us that most of the colonized nations, even after gaining independence, adopted the language of the colonizers as their official languages. A quick review of the situation in Africa will confirm the fact where English is serving as the sole official language in sixteen African countries which include Botswana, Gambia, Ghana,
Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Malawi, Mauritius, Namibia, Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa, Sierra-Leone, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. French is serving as an official language in seventeen African countries which include Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Gabon, Guinea, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo, Rwanda, Senegal, Chad, and Togo. Portuguese is the official language of five African countries which include Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe. All these languages became part of Africa as a result of colonization. In order to understand the current status and role of Punjabi language in Pakistan, a quick summary of the status of Punjabi language in the sub-continent during British colonization is provided.

2.16.2 Punjabi Language in the Sub-continent during British Colonization

In 1498, Vasco da Gama discovered a link between Europe and East which was later on used by the Europeans for the purpose of trade. In 1595, the Dutch were the first ones to arrive with the aim of trading. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, East India Company was formed with the aim of creating a monopoly on trade with India. The Mughal rulers granted the British the right to trade and establish factories.

Before the arrival of British colonizers, Muslims ruled over India. Persian was the official language which was used in the administrative and judicial domains. It is interesting to note that Punjabi language, along with other local languages of India, was developing steadily as it was the medium of instruction. Court orders were published in Punjabi even after the arrival of British colonizers. It was widely used as a medium of
communication among the masses as well. But, after the arrival of the British in the Indian subcontinent in the form of traders, they started establishing their domination over India. In the eighteenth century, pro-English Hindus, especially Raja Rammohan Roy and Rajunath Hari Navalkar raised their voice in favour of English language by asserting that the local people of India were willing to learn English language as compared to Sanskrit, Persian or Arabic. In the nineteenth century, their claims started a heated discussion over the educational policy of India which resulted in declaring English as the medium of instruction, administration and government. They replaced Persian with English as the official language of India and made it the language of the higher courts of law. In the following years, English became accepted as the language of the elite. English newspapers had an influential reading public (Kachru, 1983: 69).

On March 29, 1849, the British conquered the province of Punjab. Soon after conquering it, they started the debate of the whether Punjabi or Urdu should be declared as the official language of Punjab. After debating the issue, they ultimately decided in favour of Urdu which was already being used as the official language in Northern India which was under the British control. This is how the British disregarded Punjabi language and introduced Urdu as the official language in the province of Punjab.

A profound analysis of this decision reveals that it was a conscious effort on the part of the British to consolidate their position by destroying the indigenous language of the people. The speakers of Punjabi language did not enjoy the positions of power and prestige, as Urdu was the language of judiciary, administration and education. The British
did not consider it a well-established and independent language; rather, they looked at it as a language which was a mixture of various dialects. In response to this claim, Grierson conducted a research which is mentioned in Masica (1991: 20) in which Grierson explained that Punjabi is a distinct language with both a standard literary form and a number of dialectical and sub-dialectal varieties. It has its own grammatical system and a large vocabulary which makes it a separate and independent language. But, Punjabi was neither standardized nor was it used as the medium of instruction at any level of education. As a result, the colonizers attempted to destroy the culture of the people by pushing Punjabi language in the background, thus, tarnishing the unique identity of its speakers. In the words of Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986: 287):

“The bullet was the means of the physical subjugation. Language was the means of the spiritual subjugation.”

After replacing Punjabi with Urdu, Thomas Babington Macaulay (later Lord Macaulay) turned the tide in favour of teaching English language in the public schools, and the government funded the whole enterprise. The premise behind teaching English language was to establish the superiority of English language and culture over the indigenous languages and culture of India. Macaulay, in his famous Minute, favoured and justified the teaching of English language, science and technology in the following words:

“I am quite ready to take the Oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves; I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia… We have to educate a people who cannot at present be educated by means of their mother tongue. We must teach them some foreign language.” (Hay and Quereshi, 1958: 46-48).
He declared English to be the language of the higher, elite and ruling class. He voted in favour of teaching English to a selected group of people, as compared to Sanskrit and Arabic, believing that English would serve as the language of power in the subcontinent. He concluded his arguments by saying:

“I feel … that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and color, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population” (Hay and Quereshi, 1958: 49).

Later on, the Urdu-Hindi controversy started in which Urdu, in the Perso-Arabic script, served as a marker of Muslim identity, whereas, Hindi, in the Devanagari script, became the symbol of Hindus identity and Punjabi language, in the Gurmukhi Script, was reserved for the Sikhs. As a result, Muslims deliberately pushed their native languages in the background. Therefore, the Sikhs started promoting Punjabi language and literature and were successful in introducing Punjabi language in Gurmukhi script in the oriental colleges. They started publishing the first daily newspaper in Punjabi. This is how Urdu language became the symbol of Muslims and their identity during the Pakistan movement.
2.16.3 Punjabi Language after the Creation of Pakistan

After the creation of Pakistan, the ruling elite intentionally sent Punjabi language in the background. A number of activists, including Taseer and Faqir (1948) formed various organizations and started a rigorous movement for the promotion of Punjabi language and literature as it was not given an official and prestigious status even at the provincial level. Punjabi language was an unfortunate language which was deprived of the government’s support which is considered vital for the growth of any language. During Ayub Khan’s regime, organizations, which were formed for the development of Punjabi language, were labeled as political parties and were banned. In the words of Mirza (1985: 43), a Punjabi activist, “To support Punjabi language and literature was labeled an anti-state act. In 1959, under Ayub Khan’s martial law, the Punjabi Majlis, a Lahore based literary organization was declared a political party and banned so much so that from 1959 to 1962, no one dared to form a literary organization in Lahore lest it be declared a political organization.”

But, after 1962, the government’s stance towards Punjabi language underwent a slight change in which the rulers took several steps for the promotion of Punjabi language. The number of publications in Punjabi language increased. It was decided that in Lahore Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Punjabi would be taught to the students from sixth class to twelfth class. Radio Pakistan started broadcasting various programs in Punjabi language. Several organization including Punjabi Adabi League, Punjabi Durbar, Majlis Shah Hussain, Punjabi Society, Majlis Mian Muhammad, Majlis-e-Bahu, Majlis Waris Shah, Majlis Shah Murad, and Rahs Rang were established.
The decade of 1970 witnessed the opening of the Department of Punjabi in Punjab University. Later on, the Holy Quran was translated in Punjabi language as well. From that point onwards, the members of these organizations are continuously working for uplifting the status of Punjabi language. Their aim is to motivate the native speakers of Punjabi to own their language and to take pride in their language by maintaining it in different domains of life.

In the next section, I will talk about the status of Punjabi language in the light of various factors which, in turn, motivate people either to maintain the language or to desert it.

2.17 Why Do The Native Speakers Desert Their Native Language

There are multifarious factors which play an important role in the desertion of a particular language. We can categorize these factors as internal (psycholinguistic) and external (sociolinguistic) factors. Internal factors include the attitude and behaviour of the native speakers which serve as a stimulus for deserting a language. External factors include the social, political and economic conditions which force the people to desert their language.

The process of deserting a language is usually nonlinguistic in nature (Janse, 2000). The major factors which play a key role in either maintaining or deserting a language include the status of a language, the role of language in the academic circles, economic strength of a language, the use of a language in the domains of power, the
attitude towards a language, the language of media and the intergenerational transmission of a language and the international standing of a language (Ammon, 2003; Marti, 2005). These factors are discussed in detail where the status of Punjabi language will be analyzed in the light of the above-mentioned factors.

### 2.17.1 Punjabi language vis-à-vis English and Urdu

Pakistan is situated in a linguistically rich and diverse region of the world which contains 33% of the world’s languages. The following table shows the distribution of the world’s languages according to different regions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical Region</th>
<th>Language Families Represented</th>
<th>Percentage of Languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>Afro-Asiatic, Nilo-Saharan, Niger-Congo, Khosian, Austronesian, Indo-European</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>Altaic, Afro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, Miao-Yao, Tai-Kadai, Austronesian, Indo-European, isolates Korean and Japanese</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Pakistan is a multilingual country having more than sixty languages. The following table gives us a clear picture of the major languages of Pakistan and the percentage of their speakers according to the census which was conducted in 2001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Percentage of the Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>44.15 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Distribution of the World’s Languages

Source: Davis (1994: 30-1); Lyovin (1997) and Ethnologue (2000)
Table 3: Languages of Pakistan and the percentage of the speakers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pashto</td>
<td>15.42 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sindhi</td>
<td>14.10 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siraiki</td>
<td>10.53 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>7.57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balochi</td>
<td>3.57 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>4.66 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census (2001: 107)

2.17.2 Punjabi Language and Official Support

Governments have the power to shape the destiny of a language. They have the power to raise the status of one language and lower that of another. In the words of Dorian (1999: 30), “Lack of official standing for a language always puts its speakers at a disadvantage in purely practical terms.”

The importance of the government’s support in the development and growth of a language cannot be denied. The official attitudes towards a language are reflected in
language policies and language planning in the domains of administration, medium of instruction and national media. In multilingual countries, the governments select one or two languages as the official languages of the country in order to foster the feelings of unity and harmony among the people. The process of selecting a language as a national or official language of a country is not neutral in nature. It is always a conscious and political act since it aims to promote a particular language for particular purposes (Ricento, 2006). May (2005:) notes that: “The unavoidable historical and contemporary fact that the establishment of state-mandated or national languages is, in almost all cases, an inherently deliberate (and deliberative) political act and one, moreover, that clearly advantages some individuals and groups at the expense of others.”

In some countries, researches are conducted at the national level in order to select a language as the official or national language of the country which is acceptable to the majority of the people. But, in certain cases, governments impose a foreign language on the people for their own vested interests. Such a decision usually triggers negative feelings among the people. The government, then, adopts a policy in order to determine the implementation of its decisions. Policy may be defined as a course of action adopted by government, “… Which is laid down in legislation, ordinances and regulations, and implemented through control measures such as financing and administration and inspection, with the general implication that such a course for action is advantageous or expedient for the state. Behind the adoption of a policy is the assumption of power and authority necessary to carry it out” (Hartshome, 1987: 62).
According to Appel and Mysken (1987), language planning is in fact, part of, or the factual realization of a language policy: a government adopts a certain policy with regard to the languages spoken in the country and will try to carry it out in a form of language planning. Any case of language planning is based on a certain language policy, and this will reflect a more general government policy. In order to elaborate the concept, Appel and Mysken (1987) give the Spanish example of language policy and language planning. The Spanish dictator, Franco, viewed the Catalan section of the Spanish society with suspicion. The Catalans, like most societal groups, took pride in their language. So, Franco imposed Spanish on them through a language policy that was directed at the strengthening of a unitary state. In this case, as it is in most instances, language was used as a tool to suppress for purely political and ideological reasons. Language planning can also be directed towards the further development of languages. Official or government language planning takes place via language agencies, academics or government departments. The task of such a department might be to devise orthography for an unwritten language, to revise a spelling system or to coin new words, etc. (1987: 47). This shows that the governments have the power to accord any status to any language by exercising language policy and language planning.

As pointed out by Ryan et al., “An important source of information about the relative status and worth of language varieties lies in their public treatment” (1988: 1068). This treatment can be studied in many societal domains and institutions — in schools, in the media, in various organizations, in the world of business, etc. A close analysis of Punjabi language in these domains reveal that it has a low status, in spite of
the fact that it is the native language of the majority of the population. It is a language which is under extreme pressure in our society now-a-days (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 2002). An observation of the current situation reveals that the government does not support Punjabi language. As a result of official neglect, it has been deprived of an indispensable source of support, which is required for the growth and development of any language. The irony of the current situation is that English and Urdu are promoted at the expense of Punjabi language. Urdu has been declared as the national language of the country ignoring the fact that it is the mother tongue of only seven percent of the population. The first educational conference held at Karachi (November 27 to December 1, 1947) gave a language policy which is followed by the government even today. The fundamental points of that policy were to make Urdu, “the lingua franca of Pakistan”, and to teach it, “as a compulsory language” (Pakistan Educational Conference, 1948: 34). Urdu language has been adopted as the medium of instruction, “to strengthen ideological foundations of the nation and to foster unity of thought, brotherhood and patriotism.” (Ibid: 2).

So, Punjabi language was neglected and the government convinced its speakers and supporters that they have sacrificed their mother tongue for the sake of Pakistani nationalism thus, proving themselves to be patriotic citizens (Mirza, 1994). The fact of the matter is that in an attempt to unite the nation with the help of a national language, the leaders of this country have created differences among the people since most of them resent the selection of Urdu as the national language of Pakistan because it is not the language of the majority of the population. A sense of deprivation has been created among the speakers of other regional languages. In addition, English, Urdu and Punjabi
languages have become a symbol of different classes in the society because of the government’s policies. English is the symbol of privileged educated elite class; Urdu is the symbol of average hard-working middle class; whereas, Punjabi language is the symbol of uneducated, rustic and backward people who live in villages (Rahman, 2002). The phenomenon of a language representing a social class popped up during the British colonization of the continent where English was the language of the ruling elite, whereas Urdu and other regional languages represented the powerless and suppressed inhabitants of the sub-continent. The same situation can be witnessed in China as reported in People’s Daily Online in 2003 where English language is dominating the linguistic scene:

“At present, people who cannot speak English are considered second-class talents; people who cannot write in English are third-class talents; and those who know nothing about English are not talents at all. People who know neither English nor computer are simply blockheads.”

Asif reported the same fact while conducting research on Siraiki language. In her words (2005: 337): “The Pakistani governments’ policies of promoting Urdu as the sole national language and as the medium of instruction in state schools have resulted in an unquestioned assumption of the inherent superiority of Urdu. The discriminatory government policies towards the regional languages have created a hierarchy of prestige among these languages. Siraiki … is at a very low position in this hierarchy. This lack of prestige of Siraiki language, therefore, directly influences the usage of Siraiki language in home domain.”
English is the official language of Pakistan although it is understood by less than five percent of the population. It is the language of formal and elite domains. Formal, elite domains are considered to be the domains of high status and prestige, with highly competitive entry and which are lucratively well paid and rewarded (Berg et al., 2001). Formal, elite domains include government, media and education.

English language performs various functions in Pakistan which is categorized as follows by Talaat (2002) in the light of the model which was proposed by Kachru (1982):

1. Regulatory Function
2. Instrumental Function
3. Interpersonal Function
4. Creative Function

The regulatory function refers to the use of a language, “… in those contexts in which language is used to regulate conduct; for example, the legal system and administration” (Kachru, 1983: 42). The situation in Pakistan reveals that English is used in the domain of administration. It is the language of courts, civil and military bureaucracy. Although all proceedings in the courts are conducted in Urdu, but judges are bound to write their decisions in English. In the words of Haq (1983: 14-15):

“The anchorage of English in Pakistan is that the constitution of Pakistan is codified in English. As a consequence, judgment and precedence, rules and regulations, orders and instructions, standing procedures and mechanisms of the functioning of the
state and major policy documents of the federal and provincial governments are in English; information, technological, economic, sociological and statistical, is also largely available in English.”

Instrumental function of a language refers to its use and presence “… as a medium of learning at various stages in the educational system of the country” (Kachru, 1983: 42). The strong presence and hold of English language in the educational system of Pakistan needs no explanation. In Pakistan, there are thousands of English medium schools. It is taught as a compulsory subject at all levels of education.

Inter-personal refers to the use of the language for personal communication. With the passage of time, an increase in the use of English for personal communication has been observed. The young generation love to communicate in English. This trend is on the rise with the advent of Internet and mobile as well because the dominant language of the Internet is English.

The creative function refers to the emergence of Pakistani English literature. The last two decades of the twentieth century witnessed various famous Pakistani English writers. The pioneer of Pakistani English literature is Bapsi Sidhwa with her famous novels, *The Crow Eaters* (1980) and *Cracking India* (1988). In 1989, Sara Suleri published her famous novel, *Meatless Days*. In 1990, Hanif Kureshi, an enthusiastic novelist, came up with a groundbreaking and an award winning-novel, *The Buddha of Suburbia*. Over the next few years, the number of Pakistani English language writers

A critical review of the functions of English in Pakistan brings to light the fact that English is much more than a language; it is a symbol of status, authority, strength and ability in our society. People are eager to learn English because it is considered necessary for a prosperous and successful future. Those people are considered intelligent and are respected in our society who have a good command over English. It is a very popular subject among the students’ at all educational levels. It shows that English is a token of social prestige in our society. So, Pakistani parents and students learn English, at the cost of their mother tongue, in order to acquire power and prestige in the society. In the words of Rahman (2001: 243): “English is still the key for a good future – a future with human dignity if not public deference; a future with material comfort if not prosperity; a future with that modicum of security, human rights and recognition which all human beings desire. So, irrespective of what the state provides, parents are willing to part with scarce cash to buy their children such a future.”

Thus, the influence of English is creating an asymmetrical situation in the society where it is increasing its power by conquering the formal domains, and, Punjabi language, on
the other hand, has been pushed in the background by reducing its functions and limiting it to the informal domains. The same situation can be observed in Sweden where English has occupied the formal and elite domains of the country and it is now the language of academia and research, thus, causing serious problems for the promotion and development of Swedish (Gustav, 2007). According to Guo and Huang (2002: 218-9), China is experiencing the same situation where, “Although it is far from a lingua franca even in urban China, English is the dominant staple in progressive education, a necessary qualification for many respectable jobs, a required skill for exposure to the influx of English audio and visual material, and a stepping-stone to an education abroad. For many people, proficiency in English is synonymous with the promise of well-being. A zealous public quest for the command of English has made the language so commercially viable that several Chinese media have recently launched English editions, supplements, or subsidiaries with an eye on competing for domestic audiences.”

The situation in which English is used as an official language and Urdu as the national language and how both of these languages are preferred over the regional languages on the claims of national harmony and unity is not uniquely associated with Pakistan. The same situation can be witnessed in Kenya. Mugambi (1999) conducted a research in which he looked at the role of English, the official language, Kiswahili, the national language, and the role and status of regional languages in Kenya. Kenya is a multilingual country having more than forty languages. But, English is the official language and Kiswahili is the national language. Both these languages enjoy a written tradition, whereas, the regional languages are devoid of it. It is said that the languages,
which have a written tradition, are likely to survive as compared to the languages which rely on oral tradition for its survival. The hierarchy, according to which English and Kiswahili are placed at the top of the society, is the aftermath of their colonial experience. During the British colonial rule, the ruling party announced Kiswahili to be used as a lingua franca, whereas, English was selected to perform the administrative functions. It was announced as the language of higher education as well. The same phenomenon can be witnessed in Singapore where under the influence of the colonizers, the local people lost their native languages and adopted the language of the colonizers (Altehenger–Smith, 1989). So, after independence, the policy of having Kiswahili as the national language of the country continued as it was considered to be a language which can foster the feelings of unity and harmony among the nation. At present, according to Mugambi (1999: 15), “Kiswahili is used along with English in Parliament, churches, education, radio, television, public service, and inter-ethnic communication … English is used as the medium of instruction in education … English is the language in which the law is written, making it the language of the high court … English is the language in which written records are kept. Government officials, serving in the public sector are required to be proficient in English, while in the private sector, the law requires that company’s legal documents and books of accounts are kept in English.”

This shows that English is reserved to the formal domains; Kiswahili is used as a common medium of communication across the country, whereas, the local languages are only used in the informal domain. So, the local languages are continuously suffering at the hands of English and Kiswahili. Due to urbanization, the rate of the local language
loss is increasing as people are adopting English and Kiswahili which are the languages of government, education, administration and media.

The above discussion shows that the overt and covert policy of the government of Pakistan is to support English and Urdu at the expense of Punjabi language. As a result, this stance has created a sense of inferiority among the speakers of the local languages. Due to the governments’ policies, social hierarchy has been created on the basis of language in which English is at the top; Urdu has the middle position and the regional languages are at the bottom of the hierarchy (Asif, 2005).

2.17.3 Medium of Instruction

Another fact highlighting the status of Punjabi language is that it is not the medium of instruction in schools and colleges as there is not even a single Punjabi medium school in Pakistan, whereas, there are 102,556 Urdu-medium schools, 36,750 Sindhi-medium schools, 10,731 Pashto-medium schools and 33,893 English-medium schools in Pakistan (Rahman, 1996). Although it is an established fact that the best medium of instruction is the native language of a student, as according to UNESCO, 1953,

“It is axiomatic that the best medium of teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind work automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is the means of identification among members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium.”
But, steps were not taken to establish Punjabi medium schools or to teach Punjabi as a compulsory subject/language at different educational levels as it is not taught as a compulsory or optional subject at any level of education (Shackle, 1970). It is also seen that Punjabi language is discouraged in schools and colleges. When Punjabi students go to school, they are bound to learn Urdu and English rather than Punjabi because both of these languages are used as the mediums of instruction. The notion of Urdu being the language of refined and educated people and English as the gateway to success and worthwhile jobs is promoted in the educational institutions. As a result, they discard their mother tongue. The prevalent negative attitude towards Punjabi language in schools and colleges forces the Punjabi students to discard their native language as language has a psychological role in the shaping of an individual’s personality. A number of psychologists and linguists have argued that if one’s language is devalued and discouraged, one feels as if one’s self is degraded and humiliated and this may create a negative self-image. Ball and Lardner (1997: 472) observed that a lack of respect for the native language of students in educational institutions leads to, “negative attitudes toward the children who spoke it, that in effect, their attitudes constituted a language barrier impeding students’ educational progress.” John Edward, a psychologist who writes on languages, argues that children whose language is seen as sub-standard may be classified unfairly as being academically incompetent (Edward, 1994). An important fact to note is that although there are thousands of Urdu medium schools in Pakistan, but the real knowledge generating institutions are English medium. As a result, students have positive attitudes towards English and they are eager to learn English as Gardner (1985: 10) sees positive attitudes as components of motivation in second language learning. According to
him, “Motivation ... refers to the combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favorable attitudes toward learning the language.”

Hendricks (2004) conducted a research in South Africa to explore the parents, teachers and learners’ attitude towards English and Afrikaans. She also tried to work out why parents are sending their children to English medium schools and what is the implication of their decision on the academic performance of their children. The native language of her research participants was Afrikaans and English. She conducted a case study in which her sample consisted of learners of Grade 4 English medium class. In the class, half of the students’ native language was Afrikaans, whereas, the rest of the students’ native language was English. She concluded that Afrikaans language is discouraged in schools where English is the medium of instruction. The students, whose native language is Afrikaans, do not participate in the class as they are not proficient in English and they do not want to be ridiculed by their class fellows and humiliated and insulted by their teachers. The parents clearly support the idea of sending their children in English medium schools. However, the learners are the ones who are suffering the results of their parents’ decision as they were unable to perform well only because the medium of instruction was a foreign language in which they were not proficient.

Rubagumya (2003: 153) conducted a research in Tanzania in which he explored the reasons behind the establishment and success of English medium schools. His research revealed that parents send their children to English medium schools because they want to secure the future of their children as English is the language of money-
spinning jobs and higher education. This shows that the concept of linguistic capital is at play behind this decision of the parents because they view English as a useful and powerful key which can unlock the doors of a prosperous future for their children. For them, successful future is related with English and not Kiswahili, their native language. The findings of the research of De Wet (2002) also verified the assertions of Rubagumya who conducted a research on the language preferences of the students of B. Ed in Free State University. Her research respondents clearly favoured English language as compared to the local languages. Although the native language of the learners is viewed as the best medium of instruction and learning (Phillipson, 1992; De Klerk, 2002), but English is adopted due to its dominant role in politics, education, media, science and technology. Although there are eleven official languages in South Africa, but English is ruling the scene at present as De Wet (2002: 121) states,

“English is the home language of only 9.01 % of the South African population, yet it is LoLT (Language of Learning and Teaching) of more than 90 % of South African learners.”

In Pakistan, even after independence, we are maintaining the legacy of the British colonizers by maintaining English as the official language of the country and by strengthening it through English language teaching (ELT). There are various scholars (Crystal, (1997; 2000); Fishman (1991; 2000); Graddol (1996); Kachru (1983a; 1983b; 1988; 1990; 1992); Pennycook (1994; 2001a; 2001b) and Phillipson (1992a; 1992b; 2002; 2003) who have investigated, questioned and challenged the status of English as a universal language. Phillipson (1992) looks at the promotion of English language as a
means of perpetuating Western domination over developing countries. According to Phillipson (1992: 47),

“The dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages.”

The proponents of the spread of English language, on the other hand, have come up with various arguments in favour of English language which are as follows:

- English extrinsic arguments point out that English is well established. There are trained teachers and a multitude of teaching material. There are also abundant immaterial resources like knowledge of the language.
- English functional arguments emphasize the usefulness of English as a gateway to the world.
- Its economic-reproductive function: it enables people to operate technology.
- Its ideological function: it stands for modernity.
- It is a symbol for material advance and efficiency. (Phillipson, 1992: 68-69)

But, English’s strong hold is causing problems for regional and less powerful languages of the world. The importance of English in most of the African and Asian periphery-English countries is twofold. English has a dominant role internally, occupying space that other languages could possibly fill. English is also the key external link, in politics, commerce, science, technology, military alliances, entertainment and tourism. The relationship between English and other languages is unequal and asymmetrical in
nature, and this has important consequences in almost all spheres of life (Phillipson, 1992: 30; Pennycook, 2001: 81). Yano (2001: 120) points out:

“On the one hand, English has the essential value of being a means of global communication, that is an unprecedented resource for mutual understanding in this time when we live in multilateral rather than bilateral relations. On the other hand, the global spread of such a powerful and convenient common language is driving minor languages to extinction, thus depriving us of the privilege to understand different beliefs, values, and views which help us to develop insight into the human mind and spirit, and the precious opportunities to liberate us from the monolingual and monocultural perspectives.”

Phillipson gives a list of terms that have been used to promote English and devaluate other languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glorifying English</th>
<th>Devaluating other languages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World language</td>
<td>Localized language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional language</td>
<td>Incomplete language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Link language</td>
<td>Confining language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Window onto the world</td>
<td>Closed language</td>
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</table>
Boyle (1997: 169) agrees with Phillipson and says,

“English, under the innocuous guise of a helpful language for business and travel, has become a potent weapon for cultural and economic domination.”

Phillipson (1992) is the pioneer of the concept of linguistic imperialism which, according to him, occurs when,

“The lives of the speakers of a language are dominated by another language to the point where they believe that they can and should use only that foreign language when it comes to transactions dealing with the more advanced aspects of life” (Ansre, 1979: 12-13 as quoted in Phillipson, 1992: 56).

Phillipson (1998: 104) further develops his notion of linguistic imperialism by using Skutnabb-Kangas’ definition of linguicism as, “ideologies and practices which legitimate and reproduce asymmetries of power and resources (physical and immaterial) between groups ‘which are defined on the basis of language’” and says that the domination of English is a form of linguicism. He goes to the extent of viewing ELT as a tool which is used to favour and strengthen linguistic imperialism. He talks about the tenets of ELT and regards them as fallacies. The first tenet of ELT states that, English is best taught monolingually. Phillipson calls it (“the monolingual fallacy” (1992: 185-193). Kachru

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neutral language</th>
<th>Biased language</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 4: Terms which are used to promote English and devalue other languages</td>
<td>Source: Phillipson (1992: 282).</td>
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</table>
(1996) agrees with Phillipson by questioning the need of applying a monolingual approach in a rich multilingual setting in, for example, Asia or Africa. The second tenet holds that the ideal teacher is a native speaker (“the native speaker fallacy” Phillipson (1992: 193-199). Scholars like Alptekin and Alptekin (1990), Kershaw (1996) and Widdowson (1994) support Phillipson by voicing their reservations regarding this principle of ELT. The third tenet is that “the earlier English is taught, the better the results” (“the early start fallacy” Phillipson (1992: 199-209). The fourth tenet declares “the more English is thought, the better the results” (“the maximum exposure fallacy” Phillipson (1992: 209-212). The last tenet emphasizes that “if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop” (“the subtractive fallacy” Phillipson (1992: 212-215). But, our policy-makers do not have the insight to comprehend the real motives behind ELT. Instead of promoting the local languages of Pakistan, they have established the supremacy of English by making it the dominant language of academic circles in Pakistan. So, the students, whose native language is Punjabi, are leaving their language since it is not considered a prestigious language in the educational institutions at all levels and they are adopting Urdu and English in the hope of a flourishing and prosperous future.

2.17.4 Attitude of Punjabi Native Speakers

The role of attitudes in language maintenance and language shift has been recognized by a number of scholars (Adegbija, 1994; Batibo, 1992, 1997, 1998, 2003; Chebanne & Nthapelelang, 2000; Smieja, 1999, 2003). The negative attitude of the native speakers towards their own language proves disastrous for the growth, development and
survival of the language. Punjabi language is an unfortunate language because it is, “poorly evaluated even by its users” (Mobbs, 1991: 245). It is a language which is not considered respectable enough to be used on any formal occasion even by its own users (Rahman, 2002). People, whose mother tongue is Punjabi, tend to regard English speakers more sophisticated, refined, cultured, civilized and intelligent than the speakers of Urdu, while Urdu speakers, in their turn, rank higher than Punjabi speakers on this scale (Mansoor, 1993). It has been observed that a negative attitude towards Punjabi language prevails in almost all sections of the society. Mahboob (2003) conducted a survey in which an overwhelming majority of the students (98.82%) expressed their willingness to study English. 76% of the respondents believed that English should be the medium of instruction at the primary level, and, 94.35% believed that it should be the medium of instruction at the secondary level, and, 94.4% of the respondents supported the idea of English being the medium of instruction at the university level. On the other hand, Mansoor (1993) conducted a survey to find out the attitude of students towards learning and studying Punjabi language and stated her conclusion in the following words:

“The majority of Punjabi students (59%) display negative attitudes to Punjabi. They generally do not approve of studying Punjabi and there is no commitment to practice. It is also considered economically unimportant” (Mansoor, 1993: 119)

This shows that English language is the most popular language among the students to learn.

It has been observed that the native speakers of Punjabi languages are developing negative attitude towards their own native language because of the supremacy of English
in almost all domains of life at the international level as well. In Africa, most of the
native speakers of local languages look down upon their own languages. They do not
consider their own languages suitable for official domains. They believe that the local
languages lack the required vocabulary which is required for proper functioning in the
official and formal domains. As a result, the local languages are excluded from the
official scene (Adegbija, 1994).

There is a close link between attitude and the socioeconomic status of a language.
People do not want to maintain and speak a socio-economically weak language, thus,
revealing negative attitude towards the language. They want to speak a language which is
economically strong and dominant in the society. Asif (2005), while studying Siraiki
language took into account the attitude of the native speakers towards Siraiki. Her sample
consisted of eight families. Four families were selected from the urban setting and four
families were selected from the rural area. She collected the data through case studies,
interviews and matched-guise test. The findings of her research reveal that the native and
non-native speakers of Siraiki language, living in the urban areas, have negative attitude
towards Siraiki as compared to English and Urdu. She states (2005: 326),

“… A large number of Siraikis, especially rural Siraikis, hold positive attitudes
towards Siraiki while many Siraikis are loyal to their mother tongue despite holding some
negative attitudes towards it. However, almost all Siraikis consider Siraiki to be inferior
to Urdu and English. It should be noted that loyalty to Siraiki or positive attitudes
towards it are no guarantee for its maintenance and transmission.”
They do not view it as a language which can bring economic benefits for them. In her words (2005: 327),

“Survival, for the ordinary Siraiki means economic survival which compels the Siraikis to give up their language... the Siraikis perceive their mother tongue as ‘ghettoizing’ because it confines its users to low powered status and occupation and restricts upward social mobility.”

There is a paradox between the beliefs and actions of the Siraiki people. On the one hand, they are proud of their ethnic identity and cultural heritage, but they are not in favor of speaking, using and maintaining Siraiki language although language serves as a mark of distinction between different speech communities.

Many studies are being conducted in South Africa in which the attitude of people towards English and the local languages has been explored. Dyers (2002) conducted a study in which she examined the attitude of her research respondents to different languages from the perspective of the national status, sentimental and instrumental value of a language in South Africa, their motivation to learn a particular language and their preference to use a certain language in certain situations. She also focused on the use of a language in specific domains which, in turn, highlights the status of the language. The focus of this study was the members of the Xhosa speech community at the University of the Western Cape. Xhosa is the second most spoken language in South African followed by Zulu. She employed quantitative and qualitative means of data collection which included surveys, interviews and written data. The findings of the study reveal that English is a strong language at the national level. The local languages of South Africa are
devalued and ignored, as they are not the languages of formal domains. Although the research respondents view Xhosa as the symbol of their cultural and ethnic identity, but English is placed on a high pedestal as compared to Xhosa. The positive attitude of the respondents towards English motivates them to learn it and use it in their everyday lives. Their preference for English is a clear indication of their positive attitude towards it as Webb (1992: 438) states that there is a direct link between language preferences and language attitudes:

“It is generally accepted that one’s choice of sociolinguistic variants, varieties and languages is conditioned by one’s attitude to individual speakers and groups, by one’s personal goals, ideals, social ambitions, and by one’s knowledge of the conditions of social intercourse. Language preferences can therefore be an indicator of language attitudes.”

Similar to Dyers findings, Webb (1999) shows that English is highly valued in the South African society. He gives various examples to prove his point; English is the language of the private sector; it is the language of the parliamentary business; parents and their children are eager to learn English language at the cost of the other South African languages and people are not in favour of using the local languages in the formal domains. But, examples of language maintenance and positive attitude towards the native languages are always there. Zulus of South Africa present a pertinent example of positive attitude and loyalty towards their native language. They are proud of their language to such an extent that they have developed negative attitude towards other South African languages. They are not willing to give up their language even to get a good job. In
certain cases, it is reported that the employer learned their language in order to communicate with them. But, on the whole, the findings of majority of the studies conducted in South Africa reveal the strong presence of positive attitude towards English and negative attitudes towards the local languages of South Africa among the people.

Hohenthal (1998) conducted a study in which she analyzed the attitude of Indians towards English and the use of English in different domains in India. There are more than one thousand languages in India. There are fifteen national languages in India and the states are established along linguistic lines. But, English has a strong hold in the social and administrative domains of the society as Hohenthal mentions (1998: 8),

“India is the third largest English-using population in the world, after the USA and the UK.”

She argues that the study of language attitudes and domain analysis are closely linked. The attitudes of people towards a particular language determine the domains in which it is used. If it is highly valued by the people, it will be used in the formal domains, whereas, if it is considered to be a less prestigious language, it will be reserved to the informal domains. English is widely used in the formal and informal domains and its functions “extend far beyond those normally associated with an outside language, including the instrumental, the regulative, the interpersonal and the innovative, self-expressive function” (Kachru, 1986: 37). It is the language of print and electronic media. The number of English newspapers, journals and magazines is increasing with the passage of time. According to Kachru (1986: 12), at present there are 3,582 Indian newspapers in English. English-language newspapers are published in practically all
states of the country. A large number of books are published in English, and as a result, Indian English literature has emerged which is a reflection of the Indian society. It is taught at all stages of education as a second language. This shows that although English is a remembrance of British colonization, but it has deeply permeated in the Indian society. Because of the gradual and continuous penetration of English in Indian society, the local languages are in danger of being ignored. In the end, Hohenthal concluded that English is not limited to the formal domains; it has entered the realms of informal domains as well such as family and friendship. Its use in the formal and informal domains is increasing with the passage of time. It is the most commonly used language in the domains of government, education and media. Since English is the language of the educated elite, it is not commonly used at the market place and in the shops. Because of people’s positive attitude towards English language as compared to Hindi and other regional languages, it is enjoying a prestigious status in the Indian society. Although the research respondents express their love for their native language and look at it as a symbol of their ethnic and cultural identity, but its use is limited to the informal domains only. They do not consider it appropriate enough to be used in formal situations and contexts.

Language attitude and language maintenance are interrelated. Mugaddam (2006) conducted a study in which he looked at language attitude and language shift and maintenance among the ethnic migrants living in Khartoum. He concluded that there is a close and direct link between language attitudes and language maintenance. The younger generation is more in favour of Arabic as compared to their native language, whereas, the
older generation was observed to be more conscious about their native languages. However, an interesting finding of the research was that both the generations were in favour of learning Arabic language for educational, economic and social reasons. On the other hand, they expressed their appreciation towards their native language only for sentimental and symbolic reasons. The parents want their children to learn Arabic in order to secure their future in terms of good job and a high status in the society. So, there was a clear contradiction between what people said and what they actually did. All of them cherished their native language, but no one was actually interested in using the language as a medium of communication. They did not transform their beliefs and attitudes into practical actions thus ensuring the decay of their native language.

Kuncha and Bathula (2004) conducted a study to see the role of attitude in language shift among the speakers of Telugu who have migrated to New Zealand. Telugu is the second most spoken language in India where it is the native language of more than eighty million people. It is one of the fifteen most spoken languages in the world. In this study, they aimed to find out whether the speakers of Telugu are maintaining their native language in a society where English is a dominant language or not, and what is the role of attitude in language shift and language maintenance. Their sample consisted of mothers and their children who were mostly of school going age. They collected the data through structured interviews and self-reporting questionnaires. The findings of the study reveal that language shift is taking place in Telugu speaking community. They want to relate to English language in order to perform better in New Zealand. Telugu is no more in the good books of its speakers as they are adopting English language. Telugu speaking
parents find themselves facing a dilemma as to maintain their native language or to encourage their children to learn English which is necessary for their secure future. In short, the cited studies clearly reveal the strong relationship between language attitude and language desertion as language attitudes play a vital role in maintaining or deserting a language. The negative attitude of the native speakers towards Punjabi language highlights the precarious situation of the language in the society.

2.17.5 Mass Media

The twentieth century was termed as a revolutionary century because of different inventions and developments in almost every aspect of life. Along with the developments in the fields of science, medicine, economic productivity and living standards, it is the century which witnessed an unprecedented growth in the field of mass media. In the past, the media industry was bound by the territorial limits of the nation state. Today, it is an international and global industry reaching audiences in every part of the world. With the passage of time, electronic media has become a source for promoting a particular language because, according to the working group in Irish language television broadcasting, the importance of a language depends on its use and presence on television. Those languages are likely to suffer which do not have a significant television service. Electronic media has undergone a rigorous process of change where the traditional television has changed to cable which, in turn, promotes English language because the majority of the programs which are shown on the cable are in English. There are scores of English language channels on the cable, while on the other hand, there are only six channels of Punjabi language on the cable telecasted from Pakistan. Out of the six
channels, one is currently off air. The names of the six Punjabi TV channels are as follows:

- Apna Channel
- Apna News
- Dharti TV
- Punjab TV
- Ravi TV
- Waaj TV

This shows that Punjabi language does not have a considerable service of its own. In relation to the presence of both these languages on the cable, it is important to analyze what kinds of programs are broadcast in both the languages. As far as English is concerned, scientific and informative shows are presented on virtually every topic of the world which includes politics, government, business, entertainment, education, religion, sports, food, weather and music. The programs presented in these categories are rich in content and serve as a food for thought. While, on the other hand, there are no Punjabi language programs, movies or plays which can be compared with English language programs in terms of imparting information and knowledge in the field of science, technology and medicine. Punjabi language is only famous when it comes to songs. Punjabi language programs are severely lacking in substance. As a result, the amount and kind of presence of English and Punjabi language on the cable is a strong indicator of the status of both the languages in the local and international scenarios.
The same story is repeated in the print media where English is the language of the top five newspapers of the world. The prevalence of English language in the print media of Pakistan can be observed by looking at the fact that there are fifteen English language newspapers published in Pakistan from all the major cities which include Karachi, Lahore, Islamabad, Peshawar, Quetta and Rawalpindi. While, the newspapers published in Punjabi language are only four which include Sajjan, Waaj, Khabran and Bhulekha. All these newspapers are published from Lahore. According to Pakistan Statistical Year Book (2007), if we include the number of periodicals published in English and Punjabi, we notice that only in the year 2005, there were 290 periodicals published in English, whereas, only 8 periodicals were published in Punjabi (2007: 416). The average circulation of newspapers and periodicals on daily basis in English language in 2005 was 8,73,844, whereas, in Punjabi language, it was 28,750. As far as the monthly circulation in 2005 is concerned, there were 21,725 periodicals in English, whereas, there were 6,700 periodicals in Punjabi language (2007: 420). This shows the strong presence of English language and the virtual absence of Punjabi language in the electronic and print media in Pakistan.

2.17.6 Economic Standing

It is a recognized fact that the status of a language in any society is determined by the financial and economic opportunities it has to offer to its speakers. People usually adopt a language which is economically strong and financially viable in the society. Bentahila and Davies (1992) describe how Berber parents actively encouraged their children to use Arabic, the official language, in preference to Berber, their native
language, with remarks such as, “Berber won’t help you to earn your daily bread” (199) and Arabic “gives an opening to the outside world” and “allows communication with everyone” (201). Bentahila and Davies (1992) note that some Berbers “appear to look upon languages as being rather like clothes, things for which one may feel a certain affection, but which are to be maintained only as long as they are of use.” (204). The same fact is reiterated by Abrams, a famous researcher, who explained that, in Wales, for example,

“Parents want their kids to speak English for the opportunity. If they only speak Welsh, they’re not going to be able to move to London and get a good job.” (qtd. in Steele, 2003).

The same line of thought can be witnessed in Punjabi speaking community where people are deserting their language for economic reasons because it is not the language which can help an individual to get a lucrative and rewarding job. Jobs are not available to those who are skilled or competent in Punjabi language because it is not used in the administrative and judicial domains. It is not the language of power and fame. The rule which is governing the society of Pakistan is that in order to get a middle level job, one has to be proficient in spoken and written Urdu, and, to get a high level job, one has to be fluent and proficient in all the four skills of English language. A quick glance of the job advertisements published in the newspapers reveals the fact that proficiency in English language is required for the majority of well-paid jobs. So, this situation impels the Punjabi speaking people to desert their language in favour of Urdu and English in the hope of a prosperous future.
2.17.7 Intergenerational Language Transmission

Intergenerational transmission of a language is vital for its survival as Nettle and Romaine (2000: 5) argue: “A language is not a self-sustaining entity. It can only exist where there is a community to speak and transmit it.”

But, languages experience the painful phenomenon of language desertion when the speakers, especially the parents, cease to transmit their native language to their children. The children, in turn, develop less favourable attitudes towards their native language, as they become a part of the society by using its dominant language. Talbot et al. (2003: 264) argue: “Languages disappear because their speakers take a decision to stop using them. They may do so in situations of extreme cultural or even physical coercion but the final nail in the coffin of a given language remains the point at which intergenerational transmission of a language by parents to their children ceases.”

A shock for Punjabi language is the fact that most of the educated parents living in the urban areas of the country do not transmit the language to their children although intergenerational transmission of a language is considered to be the most important factor in evaluating the strength and vitality of a language (Fishman, 1991). He states:

“The road to societal death is paved by language activity that is not focused on intergenerational continuity.” (91)

As far as intergenerational language transmission is concerned, Asif’s (2005: 331) research on Siraiki language reveals that, “the Siraiki is being transmitted to the children in the rural families but not in all urban families.” The parents living in villages want their children to learn Siraiki and Urdu at the same time. They do not want to sacrifice
their native language for Urdu. While, on the other hand, educated parents living in the urban areas are not transmitting Siraiki language to their children because they do not want to relate to the language of backward, rustic and illiterate villagers. The parents also responded that they do not want to over burden their children by forcing them to learn many languages. They are satisfied with the fact that their children are learning English and Urdu, which is important for their future. For them, learning Siraiki language will not enable their children to get a white-collar job. So, the parents are consciously not transmitting the language to their children and above all, they do not regret their decision. In the words of Asif (2005: 333)

“It is presented as a matter of pride that their child does not know much Siraiki.”

This factor is also highlighted by Denison (1977) when he says:

“… Languages die; not from loss of rules, but from the loss of speakers … the direct cause of language death is seen to be social and psychological: parents cease transmitting the language in question to their offspring.” (21-22)

Denison further explains:

“… There comes a point when multilingual parents no longer consider it necessary or worthwhile for the future of their children to communicate with them in a low-prestige language variety, and when children are no longer motivated to acquire active competence in a language which is lacking in positive connotations such as youth, modernity, technical skills, material success, education. The languages at the lower end of the prestige scale retreat from ever increasing areas of their earlier functional domains, displaced by higher prestige languages, until there is nothing left for them appropriately to be used about.” (21)
The same factor has been observed in a survey carried out by the USAID on primary education in 1986 which revealed that about 65% of the interviewees in the Punjab and urban areas of the country were against the teaching of Punjabi language saying that the language has nothing to offer. So, the lack of inter-generational transmission of Punjabi language is causing serious problems for the language as according to Fishman (1991: 113),

“Intergenerational mother tongue transmission and language maintenance are not one and the same, related though they are in the total RLS enterprise. Without intergenerational mother tongue transmission … no language maintenance is possible. That which is not transmitted cannot be maintained.”

2.17.8 Language Desertion and The Role of Parents

The role of parents in the maintenance or desertion of a language cannot be denied. In the words of Clyne & Kipp (1999: 47),

“The home has often been cited as a key element in language maintenance – if a language is not maintained in the home domain, then it cannot be maintained elsewhere.”

Fishman (1965: 76) states,

“In many studies of multilingual behavior the family domain has proved to be a very crucial one. Multilingualism often begins in the family and depends upon it for encouragement if not for protection. In other cases, multilingualism withdraws into the family domain after it has been displaced from other domains in which it was previously encountered.”
The parents have the choice to encourage the use of their native language in the home by creating an environment where the language is used as a medium of communication among the family members. They can arrange activities where the children can have the maximum exposure to the native language. Asif (2005), while working on Siraiki language, noticed that the parents go to the extent of sacrificing their own language, culture, heritage and identity in the hope for the better future of their children by raising their children as bilingual rather than multilingual. Most of the parents do not believe in the worth of trilingualism. They consider trilingualism as a liability and not an asset as they do not want to over burden the children by forcing them to learn so many languages. She says (2005: 343),

“What these parents fail to see is that they felt shame or the feeling of inadequacy because of knowing ‘only’ Siraiki. Solely blaming the Siraiki language for this and deserting it … is an irrational behaviour. These parents are the custodians of their centuries old language heritage and it is they who should not only teach Siraiki to their children but should also argue with the school authorities not to transmit the feeling of shame among children in relation to the Siraiki language.”

So, because of the negative role played by the parents, the younger generation is not interested in Siraiki language. As a result, its use in the urban areas is declining with the passage of time. Punjabi speaking parents have the same mindset where they are bringing up their children in a linguistic environment which favours learning English and Urdu languages at the expense of Punjabi in hope of their prosperous future. As a result, they are turning their children into subtractive bilinguals rather than additive bilinguals as the
attitudes of parents and children play a very important role in language learning. Dorian (1998: 3) clearly states how bilingualism takes place:

“It’s fairly common for a language to become so exclusively associated with low-prestige people and their socially disfavored identities that its own potential speakers prefer to distance themselves from it and adopt some other language. Parents in these circumstances will make a conscious or unconscious decision not to transmit the ancestral language to their children, and yet another language will be lost.”

The following table clearly shows the link between attitude and language learning from the perspective of additive bilingualism and subtractive bilingualism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Bilingualism</th>
<th>Attitudes towards Native Culture</th>
<th>Attitudes towards Target Language Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Additive Bilingualism</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtractive Bilingualism</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Attitudes and Language Learning

Source: Ellis (1994: 208)
Rohani et al. (n.d.) conducted a very interesting study in which they investigated the role of the family in the native language maintenance or desertion of immigrant families living in New York City from five language groups which include Cantonese, Persian, Japanese, Spanish, and Urdu. They conducted an exploratory research to see the language trend among the families which settle in the United States in the light of their exposure to the native language and their common everyday linguistic practices. After their arrival, they face the dilemma of maintaining or abandoning their native languages in an English-dominant country. They find their native languages threatened in an environment where English is the language of government, media, educational institutions (Fishman, 1991) and multilingual broadcasting (Mackey, 2004). They collected the data by conducting in depth interviews with six members belonging to each language group. The duration of each interview was sixty minutes. The analysis of the data enabled them to come up with the categories of “implicit and explicit actions.” Implicit actions are defined in the words of Rohani et al. (90) as,

“Implicit actions are unforced and can be described as the environment the family creates for their children … Implicit actions present an individual with the opportunity to use the mother tongue, but the person may choose to not take advantage.”

Explicit actions are defined as

“… Those where the person was in a situation where they were forced to speak … [their native language]. Examples of explicit actions are parents punishing children for not speaking in the mother tongue …” (90).

Persian is the main language of Iran. While exploring Persian language, the results of the study reveal that, in the Persian speaking family, explicit actions such as
speaking Persian in home, sending children to Persian language schools and frequent visits to the homeland were not taken although these steps are necessary for the maintenance of a language (Hinton, 1999). Although the parents expressed their willingness for their children to learn Persian, but the willingness was not translated into overt solid actions. The parents reasoned that they were concerned about the future of their children, so they encouraged them to adopt English at the expense of Persian. They did not even send their children to Persian language schools. As a result, the children could not read and write in Persian. They did not visit Iran frequently which also resulted in the lack of native language maintenance. Although they had positive attitudes towards their language and looked at it as a symbol of their cultural and ethnic identity, but maintaining Persian language was a daunting task for them as they were living in a society which was dominated by English. In most of the families, the children used to speak Persian with their relatives who could not understand English. However, it was not the medium of communication among the family members. So, looking at the trends of language maintenance among the Persian speaking families, Rohani et al. (23) concluded that,

“The Persian language amongst Persian Bahá’ís in America will be lost within one or two generations,” and the major reason being the fact that it is not the home language and there is lack of intergenerational language transmission.

The second language in their study is Cantonese. Cantonese is mostly spoken in the southeastern part of China, but due to Chinese immigrants, it has spread to different cities all over the world. The second half of the twentieth century saw thousands of
Chinese immigrants settling in California and New York in the hope of, “a new home” with “greater economic opportunities for themselves and educational advantages for their children” (Takaki, 1998: 423). According to Pan (2002), Chinese community is well established in New York, as there are twenty Chinese language schools in New York. Fifty-six periodicals are published in Cantonese. It has its own television and radio stations. During the interviews, the participants stated that Cantonese is the language in which they communicate with their family members. The children are encouraged by their parents to speak Cantonese in the home because the parents think that their children have a lot of opportunities to speak English at school. So, Cantonese is not only the dominant medium of communication among the family members but it is also used to communicate with distant relatives as well. However, since the children are being educated in English, they are becoming a source of introducing and promoting English in the home domain, thus, resulting in a state of bilingualism where both the languages co-exist. Except of one respondent, all the research participants attended Cantonese language school in order to be skilled in their native language.

As far as implicit actions of language maintenance are concerned, all the research respondents stated that they have an access to Cantonese newspapers, magazines in the home. They also watched Cantonese TV programs and listened to the radio as well. The exposure to the written material helped them in developing their reading and writing skills, and watching TV programs and listening to radio improved their speaking and listening skills. The parents used to arrange a lot of activities in which their children interact with the people of their community and Cantonese is the language which is used
for communication in all such social gatherings. All these explicit and implicit actions for the maintenance of Cantonese clearly depict the positive attitudes of the respondents towards their native language. The use of Cantonese in different and varying contexts highlights the will of the participants to maintain their native language as they see it as an indispensable part of their cultural and ethnic identity as Hinton (1999: 2) writes that a key to mother tongue retention is that the,

“Language is used in multiple contexts, which not only allows for sufficient input for continued language development but also helps the child realize the usefulness of the language and provides motivation.”

Urdu is the third language they explored. Urdu is the national language of Pakistan which served as a symbol of Muslim identity during the pre-partition era. The arrival of Urdu speaking immigrants in the United States is a recent phenomenon. Rohani et al., after conducting interviews with the research participants, reached the conclusion that explicit actions were not taken to maintain Urdu language in the family. The only explicit action taken by the parents was to communicate in Urdu with the children. However, implicit actions which include frequent visits to the homeland, exposure to the print and electronic media actually resulted in maintaining the language. The parents in all the families which were interviewed for the research expressed their wish for their children to learn and maintain Urdu language. Hence, they used Urdu as a language of communication among the family members realizing the fact that the children would have no exposure to the language outside the home domain. They used to talk in Urdu to their housekeepers as well since they had no other option because the housekeepers could
only understand Urdu. The most crucial role in maintaining Urdu language was played by
the visits of the research participants to their homeland where they used Urdu to
communicate with their grandparents and relatives. In addition to the visits, Urdu songs
and movies also helped them in sustaining their connection with the language. So,
continuing the use of Urdu language was deemed as something important to do by almost
all of the research participants. For all the research respondents, the strongest impulse
behind maintaining their native language was to uphold their unique cultural identity in a
multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society (Schecter & Bayley, 1997; Guardado, 2002).

The strong presence of Spanish language in the United States cannot be denied. Rohani et al. observed that the Spanish speaking families made conscious and determined
efforts to maintain their native language. The parents ensured the survival of Spanish by
using it as a home language, by visiting the Spanish community, by accessing the media
and by sending their children to schools where Spanish was taught. They did not want
their native language, at any cost, to be replaced by English. They even decided to reside
in an area where high population of Spanish speaking people was already settled. This
decision helped their children in interacting with Spanish speaking people beyond their
home domain. Except one research participant, Spanish was the language of
communication among the family members. The children visited their grandparents on
regular basis which also contributed in Spanish language maintenance. Watching Spanish
movies and listening to Spanish songs served not only as a means of uniting the family,
but also, became a source of preserving their native language and culture. The efforts of
the parents show that they provided their children with an environment which clearly
motivated their children to learn and speak Spanish. As a result, the children have a strong affiliation with and appreciation for Spanish. They are proud of their native language. They own their language and view it as an asset rather than a liability. Such a positive attitude of the speakers towards their language is a clear indicator of the bright future of Spanish language.

Last but not the least, Rohani et al. also included Japanese language in their research. Japanese is the official language of Japan. The results of the study reveal that Japanese was the language of communication among the families who settled in New York. The parents took this decision deliberately in an effort to maintain their native language. But, they did not have negative attitudes towards English as well. They raised their children to be bilinguals rather than monolinguals. They sent their children to Japanese language teaching schools where they developed and sharpened their skills in their native language. Japanese was used to teach mathematics, science and humanities. In the home domain, the parents exposed their children to Japanese by watching movies, listening to songs, reading books and newspapers in their native language. The motivation behind all these actions was the positive attitude of the native speakers towards their language. So, Japanese is strongly and consciously transmitted to the children by the parents, thus, ensuring its survival in an English-dominated society. In a nutshell, Rohani et al. concluded that except Persian speaking parents, all the parents belonging to other languages encouraged their children to learn their native languages by creating a favorable language-learning environment and by providing the children an access and exposure to their native language through print and electronic media. Due to
the positive contribution of the parents, the languages are maintained and promoted as the common medium of communication among the family members.

2.17.9 English -- An International Language

The role and place of a language at the international level is an important indicator in determining whether the language will be maintained or not. There are diverse factors which serve as indicators that a particular language has an international standing. These might include a language serving as a widespread medium of communication at the international level, the worldwide status of the native speakers of a particular language and the number of scientific publications in a particular language.

A close observation of the international scenario reveals the fact that English is a global and universal language. According to Ethnologue (2005), there are over 508 million speakers of English as a first or second language as of 1999. It is now also the first language of an additional 228 million people in the United States; 16.5 million in Canada; 17 million in Australia; 3 million in New Zealand and a number of Pacific islands; and approximately 15 million others in different parts of the Western Hemisphere, Africa, and Asia. It enjoys the status of official language of more than forty-five nations. English is not only used as an official language in United Nations but also as one of its two working languages. The world has witnessed a tremendous change and uplift in the status and use of English. According to Cheshire (1991:1):

“Only a few centuries ago, the English language consisted of a collection of dialects spoken mainly by monolinguals and only within the shores of a small island.
Now it includes such typologically distinct varieties as pidgins and creoles, ‘new’ Englishes, and a range of differing standard and non-standard varieties that are spoken on a regular basis in more than 60 countries around the world. English is also, of course, the main language used for communication at an international level.”

English is the language of science, technology, computing, diplomacy and international communication (Kachru, 1997). It empowers its speakers by equipping them with a tool which they use to have a direct and rapid access to the most important scientific and technological domains of knowledge as two thirds of all scientific and technological papers are written in English. Half of all business deals are conducted in English as over 70% of all post/mail is written and addressed in English. Most international tourism, aviation and diplomacy are conducted in English. English has the largest vocabulary. It has been estimated that the present English vocabulary consists of more than one million words. The current status and scope which English language is enjoying is unprecedented as McArthur (1998) aptly summarizes:

“For good or ill, at the end of the second millennium AD and the fifth full millennium since recorded history began, English is unique. No language has ever before been put to so many uses so massively by so many people in so many places-on every continent and in every sea; in the air and in space; in thought, speech, and writing; in print on paper and screen; in sound on tape and film; by radio, television, and telephone; and via electronic networks and multimedia. It is also used as mother tongue or other tongue – fluently, adequately, or haltingly; constantly, intermittently, or seldom; happily, unhappily, or ambivalently – by over a billion people, perhaps a fifth of the human race” (30).
In addition to science, the twentieth century witnessed another technological revolution in the form of Internet, and English is the dominant language of Internet as 60% of web pages today are in English and the greatest numbers of Internet users are either native speakers or non-native speakers of English language. Currently 84.3% of all servers are in English. According to Graddol, the Internet is not simply encouraging the use of English but it is creating another kind of the language by transforming it into “Net-English” (1997: 51). The following analysis clearly reveals the percentage of English language speakers on the Internet:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Languages</th>
<th>Percentage of Online Language Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>35.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>13.7 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>9.0 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>8.4 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>6.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>4.2 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>3.9 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>3.8 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>3.1 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>1.7 %</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Percentage of Online Language Population

Besides these facts and figures, it is an acknowledged fact that in this modern 21st century mutually interdependent world, English is much more than a language. It is a strong symbol of liberalism, status, prestige and progressivism. It has become a powerful tool for economic empowerment, mobility, modernity, westernization, youth and material success. In the words of Kachru (1995: 291)

“The English language is a tool of power, domination and elitist identity and of communication across continents.”

The worldwide status of the native speakers of a particular language is a strong indicator of the status of the language as a whole. Native English language speakers are
mostly preferred in multinational companies all over the world. The dominance of English language can easily be felt after going through an eye opening incident which is narrated by Boon (2005) as follows:

“A German executive in a British multinational firm was part of a 10-person European task force. The language of the meetings was English, and discussions were invariably dominated by the two-team members from the United Kingdom (the group’s only native English speakers). When she asked one of them to speak a little more slowly, she was told: ‘It is assumed if you are at this meeting that you have a language level sufficient to follow the discussions. If not, perhaps you should not be here.’”

In Europe, in the year 2004-2005, one thousand lucrative and white-collar jobs were reserved for English native speakers. Similarly, the hosts of international conferences are usually English native speakers. This shows the importance of native English language speakers at the international level revealing the fact that, at present, English is enjoying the status of an international and universal language since the territory of English, as a global language, is no longer a set of countries; it is communication itself (Kayman, 2004).

Although Punjabi language is ranked among the top twenty spoken languages of the world (Ethnologue, 2005), it cannot compete with English because it is not a language of power at the international level. It does not function as a medium of communication and interaction across continents. People are eager to learn and adopt a language which is important at the international level, thus they desert their native language and move onto the dominant language.
All the above mentioned facts strongly support the assertion that English is a well established language in the world since it is performing multifarious purposes in this 21st century multipolar and mutually interdependent world. It is viewed as a window to the world which empowers the people of different countries to compete at the international level (Truchot, 1997: 73). In a nutshell, English is the global language of the world. The concept of a particular language belonging to a particular nation state is irrelevant in today’s world as Fischer (1999: 205) states:

“Though Earth’s surviving languages will continue to change in familiar ways, a traditional linguistic dimension has been altered forever. Language throughout history has meant geographical territory—land. Now, the linguistic atlas has become all but meaningless. Language primarily means technology and wealth, a new borderless world with the only directions up and down, separating the haves and the have-nots. Proficiency in the planet’s ‘corporate language’ – perhaps ultimately English – will soon define each person’s place on Earth . . . and beyond.”

Thus, English language is cruising in the world with the reputation of being the best language to learn and adopt as 1,000 million people worldwide are learning English which makes its future all the more bright as compared to any other language of the world. As Honey (1997: 249) puts it:

“English is the world language – at least for the next five hundred years, or until the Martians arrive. Something like a quarter of the total population of the globe now speak, or are trying to learn, English – a proportion without precedent in the history of the world.”
This shows that learning English language is not a matter of choice in the modern world; rather, it is question of survival and competition (Crystal, 1997: 103). In the words of Johnson (2001: 5),

“It is not in fact difficult to understand the importance of foreign-language learning in today’s world. As the planet becomes smaller, and the means for moving around it easier, so it has become more multicultural and multilingual. Not so long ago we used to be able to talk of nation states which could be associated with single languages – in France they spoke French, in Germany German, and so on. But it is no longer like that.”

In words of Talbot et al. (2003: 257),

“By any standards, English currently holds a uniquely influential position in the world.”

**2.18 Conclusion**

The review of the existing literature clearly reveals the plight of Punjabi language in Pakistan. Due to the government’s policies, English and Urdu are dominating the country. The number of English and Urdu medium schools is far greater than the schools in any other regional language. The print and electronic media are also used by the government to strengthen Urdu and English, as these two languages are the dominant languages of the mass media in Pakistan. The above discussion highlights the fact that we, as a nation, are still mentally and spiritually colonized. We are devoid of the true taste of independence and freedom because we have not learned the art of respecting our indigenous culture and languages. After a comprehensive review of different studies at
the national and international level, I move onto the next chapter which will provide a
detailed account of the theoretical framework and the research methodology of the study.
CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview of the Chapter

After giving a detailed introduction and background to the study in the previous two chapters, the purpose of this chapter is to describe the research methodology, explain the tools which are used for data collection and the method which is used to analyze the data.

3.2 Definition of Ethnography

Lodica, Spaulding and Voegtle (2006: 267-268) define ethnography in the following words: “The word ethnography is derived from the Greek words ethos (“tribe”) and graphos (“something that is written”). Literally, then, ethnography is the science of writing about tribes or, to use more contemporary language, writing about cultural groups. Ethnographic researchers hope to provide rich narratives or descriptions of the communities or cultures under investigation… It is a research method chosen when questions or topics are embedded in cultural complexities and the researcher wants to come to understand cultural reality from the perspectives of the participants.”
Ethnography has emerged from qualitative research paradigm as opposed to quantitative research tradition. According to Miller and Brewer (2007: 99-100): “Ethnography can be defined as the study of people in naturally occurring settings or fields by means of methods which capture their social meaning and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting (if not always the activities) in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally… Several methods of data collection tend to be used in ethnography such as unstructured interviewing, participant observation, personal documents, vignettes and discourse analysis. In this way, ethnography tends routinely to involve triangulation of methods.”

3.3 Characteristics of Ethnographic Research

The characteristics of ethnographic research are numerous. Ethnography is a data rich research as it involves the study of human behaviour and thought patterns in a natural setting while focusing on the cultural interpretation of human behaviour. It provides thick description of what people do in natural setting and how they understand what they are doing (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). It is organic in nature as the, “phenomenon is largely unpredictable in advance” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 41). Cummings (1994) believes that ethnography draws a comparison and contrast between the thoughts and actions of people in order to represent what actually happens in the real world. The goal of ethnography is to get to the bottom of the community or group under study by providing rich narratives and descriptions about its culture and traditions. Good ethnographies enable the readers to actually feel and live the experiences of the
community under investigation and make it possible for the readers to see the world through the eyes of the research participants (Lodica, Spaulding and Voegtle, 2006: 268).

Fieldwork is at the heart of ethnography as ethnographers are required to spend a considerable amount of time in the field to observe and describe the everyday life of the participants in the midst of the research setting (Duranti, 1997). Ethnography is famous for its robustness as, “representing range of possible techniques, levels of analysis, and domains of inquiry; ethnography offers a holistic, grounded and participant-informed perspective …” (Duff, 1995: 507). Ethnography enables the researcher to present a phenomenon from an emic and etic perspective. Etic framework or perspective focuses on the researcher’s interpretations and impressions about the setting and phenomenon under study; whereas, emic perspective brings to light the perspective and understanding of the research participants. In ethnography, emic perspective is highlighted, as the aim of the researcher is to view the reality from the participants’ view and perspective (Watson-Gegeo, 1988). In my research, I have used both the frameworks as I have used my own perception and understanding of the common linguistic practices of the research participants (an etic perspective) and I have considered and objectively presented the participants’ perspective and interpretation of the phenomenon as well (an emic framework).

3.4 Limitations of Ethnography

Apart from its merits and strengths, ethnographic research has its own limitations. First of all, ethnographic research is extremely time consuming and laborious in nature.
The researcher has to spend a long period of time in the field in order to study the phenomenon under investigation (Spindler and Spindler, 1992). Secondly, the results of an ethnographic study cannot be generalized as the results are related and limited to the particular group or community which has been studied by the researcher (Bell, 1993). Thirdly, participant observation in natural setting is at the heart of ethnographic research but it raises serious concerns regarding ethical issues during the phase of data collection. In addition, it is observed that human beings do not act in their natural manner when they know that they are being observed. As a result, the data collected through participant observation has to be authenticated. The critics also raise the question of the researcher going native during the process of data collection which raises the possibility of generating data which is subjective, personal and biased in nature (Cumming 1994; Creswell, 1998). But, irrespective of its limitations, the importance of ethnography in qualitative research cannot be denied. In order to meet these challenges, I used multiple techniques for data collection which increased the validity and reliability of this research. Being aware of my own personal notions, biases and assumptions, I consciously tried to be as neutral in my research as possible with the aim of presenting the reality as it was experienced and recorded.

3.5 Theoretical Framework of Research

A research is always guided by a broad set of concepts which is known as a framework (Willis, 2007). Research moves in a linear fashion as it stems from a particular paradigm which informs a particular theoretical perspective which, in turn, enables the researcher to select a particular methodology.
A paradigm is defined by (Guba, 1990: 17) as, “A basic set of beliefs that guide action, whether of the everyday garden variety or action taken in connection with a disciplined inquiry.”

Theoretical perspectives are “the philosophical stance informing the methodology and thus providing a context for the process and grounding its logic and criteria” (Crotty, 1998: 3). Walter (2006: 35) argues that methodology provides the frame of reference for the research under the influence of the “paradigm in which our theoretical perspective is placed or developed.”

The theoretical framework which informs this research is the constructivist qualitative paradigm. According to Guba and Lincoln (1989: 83), constructivist paradigm is also known as, “naturalistic, hermeneutic, or interpretive.” Constructivism emerged as a research paradigm which challenged the fundamental beliefs of objectivism which is also known as traditional, positivist and conventional.

Positivism is sometimes referred to as ‘scientific method’ or ‘science research’, which is “based on the rationalistic, empiricist philosophy that originated with Aristotle, Francis Bacon, John Locke, August Comte, and Emmanuel Kant” (Mertens, 2005: 8) and “reflects a deterministic philosophy in which causes probably determine effects or outcomes” (Creswell, 2003: 7). Positivism rests on the assumption that all knowledge stems from an interaction and experience with a coherent, fixed reality. According to Crotty (1998: 5) Positivism is,
“The epistemological view that things exist as meaningful entities independently of consciousness and experience, that they have truth and meaning residing in them as objects.”

The Positivists believe that “the social world can be studied in the same way as the natural world, that there is a method for studying the social world that is value free, and that explanations of a causal nature can be provided” (Mertens, 2005: 8). They are of the view that the aim of research is theory testing rather than theory generating, “through observation and measurement in order to predict and control forces that surround us” (O’Leary, 2004: 5). Positivists strongly hold the belief that it is possible for a researcher to formulate research questions and conduct research in order to examine a phenomenon while remaining aloof and detached from the research participants (Lather 1990; Leedy, 1993; Sarantakos, 1995; Al Zeera, 2001).

In contrast to Positivism, Constructivism conveys an epistemology according to which our knowledge is based on our values, beliefs and subjective perceptions (Chappell, Gonczi and Hager, 1995). They strongly support the idea that knowledge is not neutral; it is value-laden. There exist multiple realities in the outside world which are constructed by human beings while they are experiencing a phenomenon of interest. In terms of interpretations, there are multiple interpretations of these realities which are closely embedded in contexts (Krauss, 2005). Crotty (1998: 42) defines Constructivism as,

“The view that all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between
human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.”

Interpretivist/Constructivists believe that the aim of research is to understand “the world of human experience” (Cohen and Manion, 1994: 36) underlining the fact that, “reality is socially constructed” (Mertens, 2005: 12). Merriam (2002: 4) stated that “learning how individuals experience and interact with their social world, and the meaning it has for them, is considered an interpretive qualitative approach.” The interpretive approach argues that the aim of research should be to explore and investigate,

“…Socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understandings and interpretations of how people create and maintain their social worlds” (Neuman, 1997: 68).

According to Constructivism, the process of knowledge creation and construction is collective in nature as both the researcher and the participants are co-players in the process of producing knowledge. Constructivists believe in the existence of multiple realities of a phenomenon, thus, revealing that it is highly subjective in nature. According to Mcqueen (2002: 55):

“Interpretivist researchers seek methods that enable them to understand in depth the relationship of human beings to their environment and the part those people play in creating the social fabric of which they are a part. They are not searching for an objective, external answer to their questions, because they view the world through a series of individuals’ eyes. In fact, methods that purport to offer objective or ‘correct’ information are contrary to the interpretivist position of subjectivity. People have their own
interpretations of reality, and interpretivists choose methods that encompass this worldview.”

The Interpretivist/Constructivist theorists are interested in relying upon the “participants’ views of the situation being studied” (Creswell, 2003: 8). They believe that the aim of research lies in theory generating as they “generate or inductively develop a theory or pattern of meanings” (Creswell, 2003: 9) during the process of research. In the words of McQueen (2002: 55-56)

“Interpretivists have as their main goal to describe a phenomenon, not to prescribe a solution to a problem. They are interested in using methods that allow them to reflect on an individual’s experience in a social context. Ethnography, which uses the anthropological methods of participant observation and unstructured interviews matches the interpretivist assumptions precisely…Interpretivist do not see themselves separate from the process of research. Participant observation embraces this standpoint and enhances a researcher's ability to probe deeply into the phenomenon under study.”

The purpose of Constructivist paradigm is to view and understand the world from the perspective of the participants. It allows the researcher, “to get inside people’s heads” (Palys, 1997: 422) in order to understand how they perceive and interpret the world. It propagates the idea that the relationship between the researcher and the respondent is subjective and interactive in nature since it is impossible for the researcher to study and investigate the experiences and views of the research participants while remaining aloof and distant from them. According to McQueen (2002: 56)
“The researcher in an interpretivist paradigm is fully integrated into the research setting. This means that it may be difficult and undesirable to assume any sense of value-neutrality.”

Duranti supports this assertion when he says (1997: 89),

“The observation of a particular community is not attained from a distant and safe point but by being in the middle of things, that is, by participating in as many social events as possible.”

This paradigm revolves around the collection, analysis and interpretation of data in order to discover meaning (Carr and Kemmis, 1986; Strauss and Corbin, 1990; Lewins, 1992; Babbie, 1995).

Under the guidance of Constructivist paradigm, the researchers concentrate on understanding reality in a more subjective and intersubjective fashion. In the process of studying a phenomenon by observing human behaviour and actions, it allows the researcher to submerge in the socio-cultural context to gain a complete picture from the participants’ perspective. Thus, it allows the researchers to interact with the participants during the study in an attempt to construct meaning. The researchers adopt a hermeneutical and dialectical approach where the researcher and the participants are co-players in the journey and endeavour of constructing meaning which is closely embedded in the context. It shows that research is value laden and subjective in nature. Thus, the criteria for validity are not the same as in Positivism. The validity depends on credibility, dependability, conformability, transferability and fairness which is closely adopted and followed in the course of this research (Taylor, 2007). So, Constructivism remains a
dominant theoretical paradigm when it comes to study a phenomenon in the light of the participants perspective. The terms which are commonly associated with both the paradigms are given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positivist/ Postpositivist</th>
<th>Interpretivist/ Constructivist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Experimental</td>
<td>Naturalistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-experimental</td>
<td>Phenomenological</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correlational</td>
<td>Hermeneutic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reductionism</td>
<td>Interpretivist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory verification</td>
<td>Ethnographic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal comparative</td>
<td>Multiple participant meanings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determination</td>
<td>Social and historical construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normative</td>
<td>Theory generation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Terms associated with Positivist and Constructivist Paradigm

Source: Mackenzie and Knipe (2006: 5)

The tools which are used for data collection are different in Positivist paradigm and Constructivist paradigm. The following table gives a detailed account of the data collection tools which are used in both these paradigms:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Paradigm</th>
<th>Methods (Primarily)</th>
<th>Data Collection Tools (Examples)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positivist/ Postpositivist</td>
<td>Quantitative. “Although qualitative methods can be used within this paradigm, quantitative methods tend to be predominant.” (Mertens, 2005: 12)</td>
<td>Experiments Quasi-experiments Tests Scales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interpretivist/ Constructivist</td>
<td>Qualitative methods predominate although quantitative methods may also be utilized.</td>
<td>Interviews Observations Document reviews Visual Data Analysis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Tools of Data Collection in Positivist and Constructivist Paradigm

Source: Mackenzie and Knipe (2006: 5)

Constructivist/ Interpretivist qualitative paradigm has numerous strengths and merits. Firstly, it gives the researcher a “strong handle on what ‘real-life’ is like” because
it focuses on naturally occurring events which are deeply rooted in the natural setting and context in which they take place (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 10). Secondly, because the local context is taken into account in Constructivist paradigm, the researcher has a better chance of observing and exploring different issues which are usually hidden and cannot be studied through other means. Thirdly, the data generated through Constructivist qualitative paradigm is rich, holistic and flexible in nature illustrating the fact that the researcher has actually understood what is going on (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

The major limitation of Constructivist qualitative paradigm as a whole lies in its subjective and complex nature (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Janse van Rensburg, 2001). As research in Constructivist qualitative paradigm relies on words, the researcher has to be aware of the fact that the “words we attach to fieldwork experiences are inevitably framed by our implicit concepts” (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 9). In this way, data analysis in Constructivist qualitative paradigm has the risk of being influenced by the researcher’s personal values and biases, thus showing that this kind of research is not completely objective and value-free.

But, the Constructivist qualitative paradigm was adopted for this research because its merits overshadowed its demerits. The beliefs of Constructivist qualitative paradigm serve as a sound foundation and basis for this study since the aim of this research is to understand and describe a particular phenomenon, language desertion, in the light of the behaviour and opinion of the research participants.
3.6 Sampling and Participant Selection

The participants for the study were selected through purposive sampling. Palys (1997: 137) states that,

“All sampling is purposive to some degree, since identifying a target population invariably expresses the researcher’s interests and objectives.”

Purposive sampling is the process of selecting participants who are likely to have rich, meaningful and relevant information with respect to the subject of the study. They are in the best position to share their knowledge and to help the researcher in understanding the phenomenon – they represent those “from which the most can be learned” (Merriam, 2002: 12). The responses of such participants generate data with significant and insightful descriptions of the whole situation. According to Maxwell (1996: 70), purposive sampling is:

“…A strategy in which particular settings, persons, or events are selected deliberately in order to provide important information that can’t be gotten as well from other choices … Selecting those times, settings, and individuals that can provide researchers with the information they need in order to answer their research questions is the most important consideration in qualitative sampling decisions.”

Lincoln and Guba (1985: 40) further explain that, purposive sampling is more effective than “random or representative” sampling which “suppress (es)...deviant cases.”

On the whole, ten families participated in the study: five from the urban areas and five from the rural areas. The reason of selecting a small sample size was to focus on
quality rather than quantity. The aim was to have an in depth understanding of the language practices of the selected research participants.

While selecting participants, I was aware of the risk of selecting a biased sample. Being conscious of this risk, I knowingly tried to include participants who, I believed, would to be able to offer diverse views in the light of their educational background and varied life experiences.

### 3.7 Tools of Data Collection

This section provides a detailed account of the tools which I used to collect data for my research. It includes the timeline for data collection, the selected method for conducting participant observations and the process of interviewing the research participants, transcribing the interviews and the procedures which were adopted for data analysis.

#### 3.7.1 Duration of Data Collection

The process of data collection started in September 2008 and ended in February 2009. During this period, I conducted interviews of ten families in all from the urban and rural areas. In addition to the interviews, I recorded the informal conversation of the participants in different settings of the family domain.
3.7.2 Participant Observation

Observations simply involve “watching what people do; listening to what they say; and sometimes asking them clarifying questions” (Gillham, 2000: 45). Participant observations refer to gaining actual and meaningful information through seeing and hearing what happens in natural settings (Wolcott, 1999: 46). It involves immersion in the setting in order to observe daily patterns of behaviour, ideas and beliefs of the research participants (Fetterman, 1998: 35).

I was interested in studying the language practices and choices of the native speakers of Punjabi language in their everyday lives to observe their dominant and common medium of communication in different contexts. I wanted to explore their language practices, “even as they [were] involved in the most mundane activities, for example, washing the dishes or getting ready for bed” (Zamel, 1982: 200). Two major types of observation can be distinguished as the participant observation and non-participant observation (Lacey cited in Wisker 2001).

There are many advantages of participant observation which includes an in depth understanding of what is happening in the target setting; it gives a good chance for the participants to become familiar with the researcher and enables the researcher to experience and explore those aspects of the research site which are very difficult to observe through other means (Schensul et al, 1999: 91-2). Duranti says (1997: 89)
“The observation of a particular community is not attained from a distant and safe point but by being in the middle of things, that is, by participating in as many social events as possible.”

Although participant observation is very effective in terms of collecting authentic data deeply rooted in natural setting, it has its own problems and limitations. First of all, the issue of time is a serious problem as effective participant observation requires a lot of time and it cannot be carried out easily and quickly (Brewer, 2000: 61). Secondly, it is observed that people do not behave or act normally in the presence of a researcher. Thirdly, inept participant observation raises the issues of quality and representativeness, so, the researcher has to be vigilant and alert while observing as it is not possible to record everything (Brewer, 2000: 59-61). Fourthly, the chances of the researcher’s observations being heavily influenced by the culture, values, and traditions of the research participants are also crucial. (Schensul et al, 1999: 92-4). Last but not the least, the observations are likely to be influenced by the researcher’s subjective ideas and biases (Brewer, 2000: 59).

In order to address all these concerns, I have not used participant observation as a sole and primary tool of data collection. As many scholars have highlighted (Fetterman, 1998; Schensul et al, 1999; Wolcott, 1999; Brewer, 2000), that the participant observation is beneficial and useful when it is used in conjunction with other data collecting tools and techniques as it is done in this research. Semi-structured interviews, recording the informal conversations of my research participants and direct participant
observations enabled me to collect highly meaningful and significant data which clearly highlighted their linguistic practices. Relying solely on participant observations would have eliminated many contextual factors that influence the language usage of the research participants. Observation, in addition to the interview data, is important in this research in order to unravel the common discrepancy between what people say about Punjabi language and what they actually do in their everyday life (Gillham, 2000). Thus, I decided to conduct research in the ethnographic tradition utilizing semi-structured interviews, recording informal conversations and participant observations.

3.7.3 Interviews

Interview is an umbrella term which ranges from casual, informal conversations to highly structured and formal interviews (Wolcott, 1999: 52-8). Interviewing is considered to be the best research tool which helps a researcher to understand the experiences and cultures of community members as Seidman (1991: 3) clearly mentions that,

“At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience.”

Interview is the mostly commonly used tool of data collection in qualitative research (Rogers and Bouey, 1996). Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996: 232) describe an interview as,
“A face-to-face, interpersonal role situation in which an interviewer asks respondents questions designed to elicit answers pertinent to the research hypotheses. The questions, their wording, and their sequence define the structure of the interview.”

Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) have made a distinction between schedule-structured, focused and non-directive interviews which partly overlaps with the distinction made by Fontana and Frey (1994) between structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. In schedule-structured interviews, which roughly relates to the structured interview, the researcher does not have the liberty to make any kind of change either in the wording of a question or in the order in which questions are asked. He/she has to maintain a neutral and balanced approach, as he/she is not allowed to provide any kind of clarification, explanation, suggestion and rephrasing (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). In the focused interview, which roughly corresponds to the semi-structured interview, the research participants are not controlled by a rigid interview schedule, as they are encouraged and are free to express their experiences regarding the phenomenon under study. The researcher gives them enough time and chance to voice their opinions and points of view although he/she keeps an interview guide to keep the interview in the right direction. This type of interview is famous among researchers because it gives the participants an opportunity to speak out their personal emotions and reactions about the subject of the study. In the non-directive interview, which corresponds to the unstructured interview, the researcher has no interview guide or schedule; rather, he/she introduces certain themes in front of the respondents and asks
them to comment on it. The interview is guided by the interviewee and not by the interviewer as he/she has no restrictions of asking precise questions.

In accordance with an ethnographic approach, this research sought to determine how Punjabi language is perceived, experienced and used by its native speakers in different domains and in different situations. According to Wisker (2001), interviews are used if one is looking for information based on emotions, feelings and experiences, information on potentially sensitive issues, and information based on insider experience, privileged insights and experiences. As a result, semi-structured interview became a primary method of data collection.

The semi-structured interview was deemed most suitable for the purpose of this study as it produces, “a qualitative understanding of the topic under study” (Allison et al., 1996: 117). Semi-structured interviews, “respond to the situation at hand, to the emerging worldview of the respondents, and to new ideas on the topic” (Merriam, 1991: 74). It is also used to gain an insight into the meanings, interpretations, values and experiences of the interviewee and their environment (Allison et al. 1996; Morse and Richards, 2002). The semi-structured interview enabled me to represent the “world of interviewees accurately, vividly and convincingly (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 261). It resulted in huge amount of data so that I could “select from many quotes, examples and illustrations that make [my] case most convincing” (ibid: 261). It was, thus, well suited to explain and describe the phenomenon of language desertion with the additional tools which include recording the informal conversation of the research participants and participant
observations. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview was ideal because the questions were open–ended and allowed room for in depth discussion of their language practices and language usage (Wisker, 2001).

Although a worthwhile research tool, it is not without its problems and demerits. As Wolcott (1999: 54) points out,

“Interviewing seldom happens in quite the way we hope and intend or as glamorized in a few widely circulated photographs of ethnographers in action.”

Its disadvantages include determining the accuracy of interview data; establishing a good rapport with the research participants (Brewer, 2000: 65); the complexity of the collected data in the process of analyzing it; the gender of the interviewer which can influence the responses of the participants; the quality and quantity of the collected data as it may turn out to be either too little or too much (Wolcott, 1999: 54); and the likelihood that the interviewer’s personal beliefs and biases might interfere during data analysis (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996). In order to address these concerns and issues, I made sure that I spent enough time in the field in order to have numerous interactions with my research respondents. Even after analyzing the data, I have presented my findings in such a manner as to enable the reader to make his/her own decisions. As with this methodology, the aim of my research is not to generalize the findings as it represents a part of the whole, but it clearly depicts the dominant linguistic practices and trends which are prevalent in the selected research sites.
After conducting the interviews, I transcribed the interviews and transformed the verbal responses of the research participants into written texts as according to Seidman (1991: 87):

“The primary method of creating text from interviews is to tape-record the interviews and to transcribe them.”

Written data was stored according to urban and rural families, after which it was read and analyzed. The process of data analysis was guided by the research questions which ensured a systematic and organized analysis as according to Seliger and Shohamy (1992: 205) qualitative researchers look for, “commonalities, regularities, or patterns across the various data texts” which allow them to come up with an organizing scheme.

3.7.4 Recording Informal Conversation

The third tool which is used for data collection is to record the informal conversation of the research participants. The advantages and disadvantages of collecting naturally occurring data is summarized by Cohen (1996: 391-2) as follows:

1. The data are spontaneous
2. The data reflect what the speakers say rather than what they think they would say.
3. The speakers are reacting to a natural situation rather than to a contrived and possibly unfamiliar situation.
4. The communicative event has real-world consequences.

The disadvantages are:

1. The speech act being studied may not occur naturally very often.
2. Proficiency and gender may be difficult to control.
3. Collecting and analyzing the data are time-consuming.

4. The data may not yield enough or any examples of target items.

5. The use of recording equipment may be intrusive.

6. The use of note taking as a complement to or in lieu of taping relies on memory.

I took permission from the participants to observe and tape record their informal conversation. Their conversation was recorded in order to see the actual language practices of the research participants in the natural setting. Their conversation was recorded in different settings and during different activities to see whether they use Punjabi language in their everyday life. These recordings were used to illustrate their attitudes and behaviour towards Punjabi language which cannot be observed through interviews and direct observations (Brewer, 2000; Wolcott, 1999).

3.7.5 Notes

Notes were taken during the study to ensure trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). During the interview and immediately following each of the interviews, I wrote notes, trying to capture the numerous minor details and the exact reality of the interview session as clearly as possible. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995: 40) stress the importance of completing the notes immediately after interviews in order to capture the important nuances and events through detail:

“Over time, people forget and simplify experience; notes composed several days after observation tend to be summarized and stripped of rich, nuanced detail.”
In order to ensure accuracy and detail in my notes, I worked diligently to complete them immediately following each of my interviews. The notes contained the reaction of the participants to various questions and my own interpretation of the whole situation as well (Creswell, 1998). During the phase of data collection and data analysis, I felt the importance of the collected notes as they helped me in looking for multifarious patterns and themes in my work which were supported by major and minor details which were recorded in the notes. In addition to participant observations, semi-structured interviews and recordings of informal conversation, these notes helped me to record my personal experiences, understanding and reactions to different situations and linguistic events. These notes were collected and updated on regular basis which proved a great help in the stage of data analysis and interpretation as Spradley (1980: 71) aptly mentions it as a representation of the, “personal side of the fieldwork.”

3.8 Profiles of Selected Families and Participants

On the whole, ten families, five from the urban and five from the rural area, participated in the study. Ten participants, five representing the urban and five representing the rural area, were interviewed. The participants were selected on the basis of their educational level, marital status, monthly income, occupation, family background and the size of land owned by them. The age of the participants ranged from 33 to 52 years old. All of the participants were married and they had diverse educational background as all of them were graduates having a bachelor’s degree. It is interesting to note that the range of monthly income varies between the urban and rural families. However, the monthly income of the rural research participants, which is mentioned here,
only corresponds to their occupation which is not the only source of their income. Since they are involved in agriculture, the rural research participants earn their living through the cultivated land as well.

The total number of participants who were observed in this research was sixty-seven: thirty-two from the urban area and thirty-seven from the rural area. As mentioned above, the two main data collection tools were observations and semi-structured interviews. The everyday linguistic preferences and choices of all the research participants were observed during teatime setting and dinner setting; whereas, ten participants, one from each family, were interviewed. The observations and interviews were conducted in an attempt to determine whether a discrepancy in perceptions and actions about Punjabi language exists in the minds of the participants.

I have included four tables below having a detailed profile of the urban and rural families and participants which can be used as a reference while reading the study’s analysis and interpretation section:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Urban Family (UF)</th>
<th>Monthly Income</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>No. of Family members</th>
<th>Length of Residence</th>
<th>Size of Land Owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>UF 1</td>
<td>Rs. 80,000</td>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17 years</td>
<td>3 Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. No.</td>
<td>UF 2</td>
<td>Rs. 45,000</td>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>2 Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>UF 3</td>
<td>Rs. 60,000</td>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25 years</td>
<td>2 Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>UF 4</td>
<td>Rs. 65,000</td>
<td>Islamabad</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20 years</td>
<td>1 Canal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>UF 5</td>
<td>Rs. 70,000</td>
<td>Rawalpindi</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>23 years</td>
<td>2 Canal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Profile of Urban Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Rural Family (RF)</th>
<th>Monthly Income</th>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>No. of Family members</th>
<th>Size of Land Owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>RF 1</td>
<td>Rs. 20,000</td>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 Acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. No.</td>
<td>Participant’s Pseudonym</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Profession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Bilal (UF 1)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35 years</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hira (UF 2)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37 years</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 11: Profile of Urban Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Participant’s</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Umar (RF 1)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Atif (RF 2)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Jawad (RF 3)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Fatima (RF 4)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Shahid (RF 5)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Shopkeeper</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 12: Profile of Rural Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Participant’s</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Marital</th>
<th>Profession</th>
<th>Level of Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Maha (UF 3)</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Qasim (UF 4)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Engineer</td>
<td>Bachelor’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Wasim (UF 5)</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>Banker</td>
<td>Master’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.9 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Blaxter et al. (1996: 197) argues:

“Interpretation is the process by which you put your own meaning on the data you have collected and analyzed, and compare that meaning with those advanced by others.” Qualitative research is inductive in nature in which the themes and categories appear from the data rather than being predetermined before data collection (Lofland and Lofland, 1996). Data analysis is a continuous process which takes place simultaneously with data collection (Merriam, 2002). According to Palys (1997: 298), qualitative research is iterative in nature.

“An iterative process is one that is cyclical, but not merely repetitive.”

So, in qualitative research, data analysis is creative as it is derived from the data highlighting and separating specific and significant statements which result in the appearance of dominant, relevant and meaningful themes (Creswell, 1998).

During the process of data analysis, I remembered the four questions that Hollway and Jefferson (2000: 55) asked when analyzing any qualitative data. The questions are as follows:

1) What do I notice?

2) Why do I notice what I notice?

3) How can I interpret what I notice?

4) How can I know that my interpretation is the ‘right’ one?
3.9.1 Thematic Analysis

A thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews, the primary source of data collection, was carried out focusing on the ideas and perceptions of the research participants. Braun and Clarke (2006: 79) define thematic analysis as follows:

“Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998).”

Thematic analysis is an umbrella term, which refers to several approaches which are used in qualitative data analysis. As noted by Braun and Clarke,

“There is no clear agreement about what thematic analysis is and how you go about doing it” (2006: 79).

In simple terms, thematic analysis aims to explore themes which emerge as being significant, relevant and crucial to the description of the phenomenon (Daly, Kellehear and Gliksman, 1997). It involves the identification of themes through “careful reading and re-reading of the data” (Rice and Ezzy, 1999: 258). Thematic analysis is not just based on a mere description of the themes; rather, it involves a critical and reflexive analysis and interpretation of these themes while relating them to the existing knowledge (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006: 82) define a theme in the following words:

“A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.”

Boyatzis (1998: 161) defines a theme as
“A pattern in the information that at minimum describes and organizes the possible observations and at maximum interprets aspects of the phenomenon.”

Thematic analysis is based on identifying and recognizing relevant and repeated patterns within the data resulting in the emergence of themes which eventually are categorized for further analysis and interpretation. It is widely used in the realm of qualitative research. It is not embedded in any particular conceptual and epistemological framework. It is flexible in nature and can be applied across a wide range of qualitative research approaches (Braun and Clark, 2006). Its association with varied ontological and epistemological perspectives and theoretical frameworks yield in an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon which is being studied. Braun and Clarke (2006: 81) clearly states this point in the following words:

“Thematic analysis can be an essentialist or realist method, which reports experiences, meanings and the reality of participants, or it can be a constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society.”

For the purpose of this study, a thematic analysis was conducted within the Constructivist paradigm in an attempt to identify and unravel the pattern within the interviews of the research participants to gain a better and clear understanding of their associations with and perceptions about Punjabi language. This is in accordance with Braun and Clarke’s account of thematic analysis as a method which is used to analyze data by looking at the underlying meaning of the data and not just restricting oneself to
the content in an attempt, “to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations — and ideologies — that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data.” (2006: 84)

This clearly highlights the thoughtfulness and recursive nature of thematic analysis as in thematic analysis,

“…Analysis is not a linear process of simply moving from one phase to the next. Instead, it is (a) more recursive process, where movement is back and forth as needed, throughout the phases.” (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 86; italics in original)

In the process of thematic analysis, the researcher adopts either an inductive approach in which the patterns and themes are essentially derived from the data and they are not based on the researcher’s prior subjective assumptions and concepts (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998) or the researcher can take up a deductive approach which derives themes from the existing literature and the researcher’s preconceived notions (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Boyatzis, 1998). Throughout the process of data analysis in the course of this study, inductive approach was used in which the themes emerge from the data and the researcher does not impose them. This approach was adopted in an attempt to dig deeper in order to give voice to the participants’ subjective experiences which they expressed during the interviews.
3.9.2 Why Thematic Analysis?

I selected thematic analysis because it is flexible in nature and it can be used to analyze data collected from a variety of sources. Since my aim was to look for patterns within the interviews of the research participants, I believed that thematic analysis would yield deep insights in understanding the wider social and cultural context which is associated with the linguistic and social practices of the research participants. In the words of Braun and Clarke (2006, 84):

“Ideally, the analytic process involves a progression from description, where the data have simply been organized to show patterns in semantic content, and summarized, to interpretation, where there is an attempt to theorize the significance of the patterns and their broader meanings and implications (Patton, 1990), often in relation to previous literature.”

Thus, I attempted to, “theorize the significance of the patterns and their broader meanings and implications.” (Braun and Clark, 2006: 84)

3.9.3 Steps in Conducting Thematic Analysis

Braun and Clark (2006: 87) pointed out six steps in conducting a thematic analysis which are as follows:

1. Becoming familiar with the data.
2. Generating initial codes.
4. Reviewing themes.
5. Defining and naming themes.

6. Producing the report.

All these steps were closely followed in the phase of data analysis. A detailed description of these steps and their application in my research are as follows:

3.9.3.1 Becoming Familiar With The Data

Semi-structured interview was the primary tool of data collection. The interviews were audio taped since all the participants gave me their consent to record their interviews. After conducting the interviews, the recordings were transcribed verbatim (Lacey and Luff, 2001). The purpose behind verbatim transcription was to reduce the risk on my part as a researcher for transcribing and ultimately including only those sections in the analysis which seemed interesting to me. Although time consuming and labour intensive in nature, transcription is regarded as “a key phase of data analysis within interpretative qualitative methodology” (Bird, 2005: 227). Throughout the process of transcribing, the researcher interacts with the data which ultimately results in thorough familiarization with the data (Riessman, 1993).

3.9.3.2 Generating Initial Codes

After transcribing, reading and re-reading the interview transcripts for several times, I made a list of ideas regarding, “what is in the data and what is interesting about them” (Braun and Clark, 2006: 88). This step revolves around the generation of initial
The term, code is defined by Braun and Clark (2006: 88) as follows:

“Codes identify a feature of the data (semantic content or latent) that appears interesting to the analyst, and refer to, ‘the most basic segment, or element, of the raw data or information that can be assessed in a meaningful way regarding the phenomenon’” (Boyatzis, 1998: 63).

I coded interviews “for themes, concepts and ideas...”(Rubin and Rubin, 2004: 241). Coding enabled me to look at “each detail, each quote, to see what it adds to [my] understanding” (ibid: 251). It helped me in systematically organizing the data as I did not restrict myself to developing a limited number of codes. I developed extensive codes for potential themes making a conscious and deliberate effort not to leave anything considering it unimportant or trivial. After a rigorous process of creating codes, I moved onto the next step which is searching for themes.

3.9.3.3 Searching For Themes

Braun and Clark (2006: 88) claim,

“Coded data differ from the units of analysis (your themes), which are (often) broader.”

This is the stage in which I moved from description to critical analysis and interpretation of the data. At this stage, I began to identify emergent and dominant themes by analyzing the codes which were created in the previous stage. Themes are identified by, “bringing together components or fragments of ideas or experiences, which often are meaningless when viewed alone” (Leininger, 1985: 60). At the end of this stage, I came up with a
number of major themes, along with various sub themes. I used tentative titles for these themes and also highlighted different extracts from the data supporting these themes (Lacey and Luff, 2001).

3.9.3.4 Reviewing Themes

This stage, “involves the refinement of those themes” (Braun and Clark, 2006: 91) which have been identified in the previous stage. This is a crucial stage as it involves the processes of refinement, combination or separation of themes. In this stage, I thoroughly reviewed the themes in line with the supporting data and my research questions. As a result, a few sub themes were merged to form a major theme. After a detailed procedure of combining and discarding, I ended up with eight dominant themes which will be discussed in the next chapter in an attempt to explain the phenomenon of language desertion.

3.9.3.5 Defining and Naming Themes

This is the stage where the themes are defined, refined and named. “By ‘define and refine’, we mean identifying the ‘essence’ of what each theme is about (as well as the themes overall), and determining what aspect of the data each theme captures.” (Ibid: 92). I went through the selected eight themes and read the extracts, which I would use in order to support these themes. I paid special attention as to how these themes reflected the social, linguistics practices of the research participants at the micro level; and, how these themes serve to unravel the wider socio-economic factors at the macro level which play a
pivotal role in determining the language practices of the participants in their everyday life.

3.9.3.6 Producing the Report

After identifying the themes, this step includes the final write up in which the researcher narrates the whole story of his/her research talking about the themes and supporting these themes with enough and relevant data extracts. So, in the next chapter, I will be talking about the dominant themes with reference to my research. I do not aim to come up with mere description as I am working within the realm of constructivist paradigm and thematic analysis conducted under this paradigm focuses on the latent themes as compared to semantic themes as Braun and Clark (2006: 84) argues:

“For latent thematic analysis, the development of the themes themselves involves interpretative work, and the analysis that is produced is not just description, but is already theorized.”

Thus, I seek to interpret the data and relate the individual (micro) with the societal (macro) in an attempt to paint a wider social scenario in the hope of finding answers to my research questions.

3.10 Triangulation and Researcher’s Bias

Qualitative research is not completely objective and value-free in nature and nor is the qualitative researcher. One of the most common criticisms on ethnography is related with the researcher’s subjective bias while analyzing the data. It is assumed that what the researcher has observed will have the flavour of his/her own subjective ideas,
values, opinions and attitudes, thus, resulting in presenting a biased and distorted view of
the social reality. In order to reduce the risk of the researcher’s bias, triangulation was
used in order to ensure the objectivity and internal validity of the study. Carranza (1982:
81) describes triangulation as,

“The process by which a social phenomenon is observed and measured by various
techniques.”

Thus, it refers to analyzing a situation or data from multifarious angles (Denzin, 1978;
Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Data collected through different techniques result in valid and
reliable findings as compared to data collected from a single source only. Denzin (1978)
outlines four types of triangulation which includes data triangulation, investigator
triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. I used
methodological triangulation which is defined by Mathison (1988: 14) as, “the use of
multiple methods in the examination of a social phenomenon.”

In this study, various methods of collecting data such as participant observations,
recording informal conversations, semi-structured interviews, field notes, demographic
information and research electronic file resulted in building a “system of interconnected
data” which enabled me to “triangulate between various aspects of the same thing”
(Holliday, 2002: 75). During data analysis, extracts from the interviews, excerpts from
the informal conversation of the research participants were used so that the readers could
discover and experience the phenomenon under study. Thus, triangulation reduces the
chances of interpreting the data in the light of the researcher’s own interests and
assumptions as Eisner (1991: 111) argues that in research,
“It is especially important not only to use multiple types of data, but also to consider disconfirming evidence and contradictory interpretations or appraisals.”

Pitman and Maxwell (1992: 763) further highlight the importance of triangulation by saying that “triangulation is an essential validation technique for conclusions and recommendations.” The diverse realities which emerged as a result of triangulation enabled me to view the phenomenon from different perspectives resulting in an in depth understanding of the phenomenon. Thus, triangulation serves to be very helpful in eliminating researcher’s bias (Campbell & Fiske, 1959; Denzin, 1978; Webb, Campbell, Schwarts & Sechrest, 1966).

3.11 Ethical Issues

Fetterman (1989: 129-136) outlines five basic ethical principles to be taken into consideration while conducting an ethnographic research. These principles include permission, honesty and trust, anonymity, reciprocity and rigorous work. First of all, permission was taken from the concerned University Department to carry out this research which involves human beings. Secondly, after identifying the prospective research participants, I visited their homes and described the study in detail. I clearly mentioned that their participation was voluntary. It was not a compulsion for them to be a part of this research. I encouraged them to ask questions so that I could address their concerns and queries before beginning the phase of data collection. Thirdly, a good relationship based on trust was established with the research participants as it is very important if a researcher wants his/her participants to express their views openly and freely. Lincoln and Guba (1985: 105) argue that “the relationship between the
investigator and other respondents . . . must be authentic.” Furthermore, Glesne and Peshkin (1992: 73) point out that “…trust is the foundation for acquiring the fullest, most accurate disclosure a respondent is able to make.” Last but not the least, as far as the results are concerned, the participants were told that the results would be used in my doctoral research dissertation and it might be published as well. But, I made every effort to hide their identities in the final thesis thus ensuring them that their actual names would not be mentioned in my research. In short, I tried to communicate a sense of trust and openness through my actions, in specific, and helpful, constructive behaviour, in general.

3.12 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed, in detail, the methodology used in this research. The tools which are used for data collection namely participant observations, recordings of informal conversations and interviews are described in detail. The strengths and weaknesses of ethnographic research and various ethical issues were mentioned.

After mentioning the research methodology, I will now talk about the process of conducting research and my visit to the research sites in urban and rural areas. The aim of the next chapter is to paint a detailed picture of the urban and rural research sites and the procedures which were carried out in this study.
CHAPTER 4

PROCESS OF RESEARCH

4.1 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter begins with a detailed account of the demographic information of the urban and rural research sites. It also reports my visit to the research sites in which I will narrate my experience of interacting with my research participants and becoming a member of their family for a limited period of time. It aims to paint a true and vivid picture of the whole process of conducting research.

4.2 Demographic Information

The following section contains the basic demographic information about Islamabad, the urban research site, and of the selected village located in the district of Toba Tek Singh which is representing the rural side.

4.2.1 Islamabad
Islamabad is the capital of Pakistan. It is situated in the Capital Territory on the Potwar Plateau. In 1959, the government decided to replace Karachi as the capital city and the site of Islamabad was selected for the development of the new capital. The construction began in 1961 and it was completed in the middle of 1970. The task of building a new capital was given to Doxiadis, a Greek firm. Islamabad was officially declared as the capital of Pakistan in 1967.

Islamabad is spread over an area of 909 square meters. As it is a carefully planned and developed city, it is divided into eight basic zones: administrative, diplomatic enclave, residential areas, educational sectors, industrial sectors, commercial areas, and rural and green areas. Being the capital, it is the hub of government and bureaucracy. The famous buildings include The Presidency, the Prime Minister’s House, the Diplomatic Enclave, the Supreme Court, the Shariat Court and many other important government
buildings. According to Gamma World City 2008, Islamabad has been ranked as a global city.

According to 1998 census, the population of Islamabad is 901,137. It is a cosmopolitan city and people have settle here from different parts of Pakistan. 65% of the population belongs to the Punjabi community, which is followed by the Urdu Speaking Muhajirs at around 14%, people belonging to Pashto speaking community account for 10.51%, and others (Sindhi, Balochi, Kashmiri) are 7%.

Islamabad is surrounded by various cities, districts and towns from different directions. In the East, there are Kotli Sattian and Murree; in the northeast, there is Kahuta; in its northwest, there are Taxila, Wah Cantt and Attock District; in its southeast, there are Gujar Khan, Kallar Syedian, Rawat and Mandrah; in its southwest, it has the city of Rawalpindi; and in its west, there is North-West Frontier Province. Islamabad has a connection to the major cities of the world through its international airport. In addition to it, it has road and air links to all the main cities and towns through the airport and motorways.

Islamabad is known for its modern architecture, moderate climate, avenues, well designed buildings, shopping malls, aesthetics and natural beauty. It has a lot to offer to its residents and tourists in the form of Faisal Mosque, Lake View Park, Shakar Parian, Pakistan National Monument, Daman-e-Koh, and Pir Sohawa. In addition to these beautiful sites, the majestic Margalla Hills give the city a fascinating look. It has a moderate climate with temperature ranging from 45°C in summer to –1°C in winter. The
pictures of Islamabad, The Beautiful, (See Appendix C) are self explanatory in nature of the wonderful places in Islamabad.

Islamabad has a high literacy rate which is 72.38%. It is the center of a number of renowned and prestigious educational institutions. According to Academy of Educational Planning and Managements Report in 2006, the details of schools and colleges are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Schools and Colleges</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Pre-primary Schools</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Primary Schools</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Middle Schools</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>High Schools</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Intermediate Colleges</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Degree Colleges</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Number of Educational Institutions in Islamabad

Source: Government of Pakistan (2009)

Islamabad was selected as a research site representing the urban side in this research because of its cosmopolitan nature. Five families residing in Islamabad were selected for the research purposes.
4.2.2 Demographic Information of the Rural Research Site

A village located in the district of Toba Tek Singh, Punjab was selected as a research site in order to represent the rural side. A detailed description of the province, district and the selected village is as follows:

4.2.2.1 Punjab

Punjab, the land of five rivers having a rich socio-cultural and historical background, is situated in the heart of Pakistan. The major five rivers of the country namely Indus, Jhelum, Chanab, Ravi, and Sutlaj originate from Himalayas and pass through Punjab. Although, the extreme northeastern Punjab lies in the Himalayas, but, it is mainly on level plain. The major cities of Punjab include Lahore, Faisalabad, Multan, Sialkot and Gujranwala. Agriculture serves as the backbone of Punjab economy as it is famous for its fertile soil. It is famous as a wheat-growing region as it is the source of 68% of the annual food grain production in the country. Cotton and rice are the main crops. The climate of Punjab is hot, humid and dry especially between April and September with temperature reaching up to 50°C. The monsoon season starts in July and the annual rainfall ranges from about 915 mm (about 36 inches) in the north to 102 mm (4 inches) in the south.

Punjab has a well-established industry as well having more than 48,000 industrial units. The talented people of Punjab are known in the world for making products which include handmade carpets, embroidered shawls and bed covers, and beautifully made pottery. It has beautiful parks, mosques and forts which remind us of
the glorious past of Muslim rule, culture and civilization. Punjab has a rich folk heritage having various unforgettable folk tales and music.

The province of Punjab is divided into 36 districts. Toba Tek Singh is one of the district of Punjab and now I will give a detailed description of this district as the village, which was selected for the research purposes, comes under the district of Toba Tek Singh.

4.2.2.2 Toba Tek Singh

The name, Toba Tek Singh, has its own historical background and significance. The Punjabi word ‘Toba’ literally means pond and Tek Singh was the name of a kind-hearted and generous Sikh who used to provide water to the travelers. Therefore, this place was named as Toba Tek Singh in order to acknowledge his social service and to pay tribute to the Sikh.

During the British colonial rule, Toba Tek Singh was established as an outcome of developing a canal system towards the end of 18th century. People from different parts of the country settled there as farmers after the allotment of land. After independence in 1947, it became a part of Pakistan. It is one of the few cities in Pakistan which retained its original name after gaining independence. Toba Tek Singh was declared as a separate district from Faisalabad in 1982.
The district of Toba Tek Singh is situated in the center of Punjab province. It is surrounded by Faisalabad, Jhang, Sahiwal and River Ravi. The district is spread over an area of 3,259 square kilometers. The major towns of the district include Pirmahal, Rajana and Sandhilianwali. According to 2004 census, it is a densely populated district with a population of 17,62,157. According to 1998 census, the literacy rate in the district is 50.5 percent. It is higher in males (61.3 percent) as compared to females which is 39.1 percent. It is further divided into three tehsils namely Toba Tek Singh, Kamalia and Gojra including 539 villages and 82 union councils. The area of each tehsil along with the number of union councils is presented in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>Area (Square Kilometers)</th>
<th>Union Councils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Toba Tek Singh</td>
<td>1,293</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Kamalia</td>
<td>1,115</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Gojra</td>
<td>851</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14: Area of Each Tehsil and Number of Union Councils

Source: Government of Punjab (2009)

Toba Tek Singh has road and rail links with Faisalabad, Jhang and Khanewal. Telephone facilities are being provided to the residents of the district having 39 telephone exchanges operating in the district. As for power supply, there are twelve grid stations in
the district. The details of educational institutions, hospitals, railway stations, police stations, post offices and banks are given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Colleges</th>
<th>Hospitals</th>
<th>Police Stations</th>
<th>Railway Stations</th>
<th>Post Office</th>
<th>Banks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Toba Tek Singh</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Gojra</td>
<td>379</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Kamalia</td>
<td>405</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 15: Number of educational institutions, hospitals, railway stations, police stations, post offices and banks in each Tehsil

Source: Government of Punjab (2009)

Toba Tek Singh is known for its fertile and productive land. The main crops which are grown in the district include Sugarcane, Wheat, Cotton, Maize, Jawar, Bajra, Moong, Mash, Masoor, Gram and Oil Seed. In addition to these crops, it has lush fruit gardens and is renowned for Citrus, Guavas, Mangoes and Pomegranate. The vegetables which are grown in the district include potatoes, onion, cauliflower, ladyfinger, turnip,
carrot, peas, chillies, tomato and garlic. Besides an economy which is largely based on agriculture, the industrial sector makes a huge contribution to the local economy. The description and pattern of existing industrial units are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Number of Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Cotton ginning and pressing</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Drugs and pharmaceuticals</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Flour mills</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Oil mills</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Poultry feed</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sizing of yarn</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Textile spinning</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Textile weaving</td>
<td>1007</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16: Description and Pattern of Industrial Units in Toba Tek Singh

Source: Government of Punjab (2009)

After a detailed description of the district, I will move on to describe the village which was selected for this research.
4.2.2.3 Village

The village, which was selected for this research, is located in Tehsil Gojra in the district of Toba Tek Singh. The population of the village is six thousand approximately and 415 families live in this village. The residents of the village are provided with the facilities of electricity, telephone, water supply and roads. But, they are devoid of the facility of gas. In addition, there is no hospital in the village. The sources of income of the people are agriculture and jobs. The famous crops of the village include wheat, cotton and sugarcane. The weather remains extremely warm from February to October whereas the winter months and mornings are mostly foggy with low rainfall. In terms of local industry, there are many villagers who have involved themselves in the art of making carpets which are sold in various cities of Pakistan.

The literacy rate of the village is 45 % including males and females. There are four schools in the village: two government schools namely ‘Community Model Girls School’ and ‘Government Boys Primary School’; and two private schools namely ‘Paradise English Medium School’ and ‘Faria Academy.’ Both the government schools are Urdu medium whereas the private schools are English medium. It was interesting to note the level of discrepancy in terms of school fees and uniforms in the government and private schools. In the government schools, the monthly fee of one student is Rs. 1 and the books are provided to the students by the government. On the other hand, the monthly fee of one student in both the private schools is Rs. 150 and the students have to buy the books as well. The uniform code in both the schools is different as well, as the students in
the private schools are supposed to wear black pant and white shirt, and the students in
the government school are asked to wear ‘shalwar kameez’ in the school.

An interesting thing to observe was the fact that one could see various official and
commercial signs written in English and Urdu, but there was not even a single signboard
or wall chalking which was written in Punjabi language (See Appendix C).

4.3 Selection of the Research Participants

The purpose of this research was to look at the language practices and language
usage of the native speakers of Punjabi language living in two diverse settings, which
include the urban and rural areas. Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, was selected as a
representative of the urban area, and, a village in the district of Toba Tek Singh was
selected as a research site in order to explore the language usage of Punjabi native
speakers in the rural areas. The language practices and the language attitude of the native
speakers were explored in the domain of family conversations. The language of
communication among the family members was carefully observed by recording the
informal conversation of the research participants. Later on, the participants were
interviewed for an in depth study of their linguistic choices and preferences.

4.4 Pilot Study

Before carrying out the main study, I conducted a pilot study. The purpose of the
pilot study was to determine the accuracy, validity and reliability of data collection
methods and review the process of data analysis, as the aim of pilot study is not data
collection but to learn and experience the research process as a whole (Glesne, 1999). During the course of this pilot study, I learned the art of interviewing research participants as part of real-life research studies (Roulston, deMarrais and Lewis, 2003) by carefully positioning myself as an explorer and not an imposer, and by providing them with the maximum time and freedom to express their own ideas and opinions (Wolfersberger, 2007). It also enabled me to find out the possible loopholes in the wording, format and content of the interview guide, which increased the reliability and validity of the tools which were employed for data collection (Oppenheim, 1966; Glesne, 1999).

Three families participated in the pilot study. It was similar to the main study as I visited the people who took part in the pilot study and recorded their informal conversations and interviews. It gave me an opportunity to interview the participants in a natural setting and in a manner in which I made them the focus of the interview. It also helped me to assess the accuracy of the interview guide in terms of wording and content. The result of the pilot study gave me a better and realistic understanding of the research process which includes the time required for data collection and techniques which are used in data collection and data analysis.

4.5 Visiting the Participants

The fieldwork for data collection started in September 2008 and ended in February 2009, which comprised of a number of visits to the research sites. During the
fieldwork, I frequently visited the families to observe their language usage and practices in the domain of family conversations.

The first visit was informal in nature where I introduced myself and I encouraged the family members to talk about themselves and their life in general. Later on, I explained to them the topic and purpose of my study and their role in it. After discussing the research, I asked them whether they were willing to participate. After seeking their approval, I ensured them that they would be treated with respect and dignity. They would be allowed to express their ideas freely. The interviews would be conducted in a very friendly and cordial atmosphere. Pseudonyms would be used to protect their identity. I sought their permission to record their interviews and informal conversation for my research purposes and all of them willingly agreed. At the end of this initial meeting, I finalized the time to visit their place to observe their language practices and to conduct semi-structured interviews. I selected the venue of the interview after consulting my research participants giving priority to their comfort and ease. All the participants agreed on giving interviews in their homes although the “informal ethnographic interview”, as Agar (1980: 90) terms it, can be held anywhere, as there is no restriction on the setting. In the words of Agar (1980: 90), “You might ask informal questions while working with an informant on a harvest; you might ask during a group conversation over coffee; or you might ask while watching a ceremony. If used with tact, the strategies [….] can add to your ability to give accounts while doing minimal harm to the natural flow of events into which your questions intrude.”
The cooperative behaviour of the families, both in the urban and rural setting, enabled me to collect enriching data from a variety of situations and settings. The following tables give a comprehensive picture of the number of meetings held for interviews and recordings of the informal conversation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Participant’s Pseudonym</th>
<th>No. of meetings for interview</th>
<th>Venue of Interview</th>
<th>Duration of each meeting</th>
<th>No. of meetings for recording the informal conversation</th>
<th>Duration of each visit for recording the informal conversation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Bilal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>90 minutes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Hira</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Home and Office</td>
<td>25 minutes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Maha</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>100 minutes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>60 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Qasim</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>50 minutes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. No.</td>
<td>Participant’s Pseudonym</td>
<td>No. of meetings for interview</td>
<td>Venue of Interview</td>
<td>Duration of each meeting</td>
<td>No. of meetings for recording the informal conversation</td>
<td>Duration of each visit for recording the informal conversation</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Umar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Atif</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>40 minutes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>45 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Jawad</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>65 minutes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Fatima</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>25 minutes</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30 minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Shahid</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>20 minutes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25 minutes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Visiting the Urban Participants

Table 18: Visiting the Rural Participants
4.6 Participant Activities

The nature of the research demanded me to visit and spend considerable time with the families who were participating in this research. Visiting the research sites personally allowed me to collect data which was firmly grounded in natural environment and context. It also familiarized me with the setting and background of the families. In addition, it provided me with an opportunity to communicate and interact with the people of the community who were not a part of this research. At times, the families also invited me as a guest in their family functions and gatherings. In this way, observing my participants in diverse natural settings of their everyday life provided me a chance to study the language practices of families especially in the rural areas.

When I visited the homes of the research participants for the first time, the parents introduced me as a close family friend to their children. They told their children that I would be a part of their family for some time. Their trust allowed me to be a participant in the whole process rather than just a formal, neutral and objective observer.

During the first phase of data collection, I decided to start with observing the participants in natural setting because I wanted to look at their language usage, choices and preferences before conducting the interviews. Observations are either structured according to a predetermined pattern or they are usually open and informal. In informal and open observation, the researcher, first of all, starts with a detailed and comprehensive discussion of the setting, people, events and incidents, thus, he/she paints a general picture of the research site. After painting a general picture, he/she moves on to particular
events, actions and behaviours which are closely related with the phenomenon under investigation (Gillham, 2000). I started with informal and open observations in which I noted all the major and minor details about the people and their lifestyle. I observed the language which the family members used to communicate with one another. I, particularly, observed the language which parents used to talk to their children. I observed and audio recorded their language usage in the dinnertime and teatime setting.

The importance of accurately recording the verbal interactions of the participants cannot be denied. Johnson (1992) highlighted three main methods: note-taking, audio recording and video recording. In the course of my research, I relied on audio recording as a method of recording the utterances of my research participants. Tape recorder was used to record their responses. I took my research diary with me as well in order to note down the details of their conversations and my personal feelings and reactions to various situations. The themes and insights, which emerged as a result of participant observation, helped me in an in-depth understanding of the language practices of my participants. Observations also proved helpful in verifying the data which generated as a result of the interviews because it clearly revealed what people said and what people actually did. In short, observations helped in highlighting the discrepancy, if it existed, between actions and thoughts of the research participants (Gillham, 2000).

After recording the informal conversation, I conducted interviews which lasted from quarter of an hour to one and a half hour. I made a semi-structured interview guide which was in front of me while interviewing. Although the interviews were semi-
structured, but I developed an interview guide which aimed at gathering answers to the major questions and concerns of this research. These questions helped me in gaining a better understanding of particular speech events. Furthermore, this approach enabled me to represent, “the world of [my] interviewees accurately, vividly and convincingly” (Rubin and Rubin, 1995: 261) and to collect the data from which I could, “select … many quotes, examples and illustrations that make [my] case most convincing” (ibid: 261). These interviews allowed the, “respondent(s) to move back and forth in time—to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 273). However, I was flexible enough to allow the participants to freely share their emotions and experiences, if required. But, the interview guide served as a regular reminder during the interview so that I could not miss important points.

In each family, the parents were interviewed. The interview questions were open ended so that the respondents had the freedom to express their ideas and feelings. The interviews focused on the everyday language practices of the research participants in different settings and contexts. Since the interviews were semi-structured, I gave them enough time to share their personal experiences with me. The participants were encouraged to respond in the language with which they were most comfortable. But, almost all of them responded either in English or Urdu in urban setting; while, all the participants, except one, from the rural area responded in Urdu. The language which I used during the interview was Urdu. I audio recorded the interviews. After each interview, I wrote notes with the aim of capturing the minutest details of the interview. Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (1995: 40) highlighted the importance of writing notes
immediately after each interview saying that doing so results in enriching data. In their words,

“Over time, people forget and simplify experience; notes composed several days after observation tend to be summarized and stripped of rich, nuanced detail.”

I made an extra effort to include all the relevant details in writing notes. Later on, I transcribed the interviews for the purpose of analysis.

4.7 Issues of Selection and Access

Selection of participants is always a daunting task in any research. But I did not face any difficulty in the selection process as I contacted my friends and colleagues who identified suitable participants for the study. Later on, I contacted the identified participants and explained the nature and purpose of the study after which they expressed their willingness to take part in the research. Selecting the participants through contacts helped me in recording their informal conversation as a certain level of trust and confidence was established between the researcher and the participants.

Interviewing, particularly in the rural area, was challenging for me as a researcher as the people had conventional lifestyle having a limited access to education and modern technology. The urban participants were eager to share their views at length, whereas, the participants from the rural area were doubtful about the significance and relevance of their answers. They kept on asking whether their answers were correct. They were hesitant to open up during the interview as well. As a result, the number of meetings I
had with the rural participants for interview is much higher than those which I arranged with the urban participants. But after my explanation of the purpose of the study, they willingly expressed their views.

Recording the informal conversation of participants in the rural area was rather complicated due to privacy concerns of the participants. But, once I assured them that the recording would be used for research purposes only, they allowed me to take the recordings.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented detailed demographic information of the research studies. I have narrated the process of visiting my research participants in order to collect data. In addition, I have outlined the methods and tools which I used for data collection. After data collection, the phase of data analysis begins in which I categorize the data so as to draw themes from it, and this is the topic of the next chapter.
CHAPTER 5

CATEGORIZATION OF DATA

5.1 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter describes the significance of categorization which is at the heart of qualitative data analysis. The process of categorization enables a researcher to adopt a systematic approach in which he/she gives order to raw data which helps him/her in identifying meaningful themes and patterns. In this chapter, I will present the categories, along with their subcategories, which emerged as a result of categorization and which will be used to carry out a critical analysis of the data.

5.2 Background

After collecting and transcribing the data, I read the interview transcripts again and again. During these readings, I recorded my initial impressions in the light of various aspects which I wanted to explore.

In the next phase, I moved on to categorize the data in order to systematically organize it into coherent categories and identify dominant themes and patterns. In the words of Taylor- Powell and Renner (2003: 2):

“This [categorization] is the crux of qualitative analysis.”
There are two ways to categorize data: preset categories and emergent categories (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003). In preset categories, a researcher starts the process of categorization by developing a list of possible categories in the light of his/her research questions and the review of the relevant literature. In this type of categorization, the categories are predetermined and the researcher looks for relevant extracts in the data to support these categories. In emergent categories, the categories are not developed beforehand. Rather, the categories emerge as a result of constant interaction with the data (Taylor-Powell and Renner, 2003).

During the process of categorization, I used both these methods as I started with a few preconceived categories, but the list expanded as a number of main categories and subcategories emerged as a result of my constant and continuous engagement with the data.

5.3 Categories

The main categories, along with their subcategories, are as follows:

1. Status of Punjabi language
   1.1 Official status
      1.1.1 Language policy and language planning
      1.1.2 Education
      1.1.3 Media
   1.2 Provincial status
2. Attitude towards Punjabi, English and Urdu
2.1 Language preference in different situations
2.2 Learning Punjabi, English and Urdu
2.3 Medium of instruction
2.4 Multilingualism, bilingualism, trilingualism
2.5 Additive bilingualism or subtractive bilingualism
3. Usage of Punjabi language
   3.1 Formal
   3.2 Informal
   3.3 Socializing
4. Purposes for which Punjabi is used
   4.1 Expressing happiness
   4.2 Catharsis
   4.3 Telling jokes
   4.4 Songs
5. Intergenerational language transmission
   5.1 Home language
   5.2 Encouragement from the parents
   5.3 Language of everyday life
   5.4 Language used outside home
6. Language and prestige
7. Language and power
8. Language ideologies
9. Language and identity
10. Linguistic imperialism

11. Language proficiency
   11.1 Oracy skills
   11.2 Literacy skills

12. Language and economic opportunities
   12.1 National level
   12.2 International level
   12.3 Professional demands

13. Punjabi language and mass media

14. Future of the languages
   14.1 Punjabi
   14.2 English
   14.3 Urdu

15. Family History
   15.1 Background
   15.2 Education
   15.3 Monthly income
   15.4 Place/ Location

16. Personal affiliation/association

17. Code switching

18. Punjabi language: who are the Interlocutors?

19. Conscious desertion or just a matter of common sense

20. Language desertion or language evolution
5.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief but comprehensive description of the process of categorization. The aim of this chapter was to highlight the main categories and the subcategories which emerged as a result of numerous readings of the interview transcripts. In the next chapter, I will analyze and interpret the data in the light of these categories which serve to indicate the dominant and recurrent themes and patterns.
CHAPTER 6

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

6.1 Overview of the Chapter

In this chapter, a detailed analysis and interpretation of the language practices and language attitudes of the research participants residing in the urban and rural areas will be carried out. A close analysis of these micro level everyday language practices becomes a major source for revealing the attitude and perceptions of the participants towards Punjabi language. The dominant themes which emerged as result of extensive engagement with the data are discussed in this chapter.

6.2 Background

As the review of the literature reveals that Punjabi language has no official or provincial status in Pakistan; it is not taught in schools but it is offered only as an optional subject at the tertiary level, therefore, the use of this language was explored only in the domain of family conversations. In addition, looking at the usage of Punjabi language in the family domain was interesting as no one explored its use in this domain before.
6.3 Data Analysis – Urban Areas

The following section contains a thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews of the urban research participants. The participants were selected on the basis of their educational level, marital status, monthly income, occupation, family background and the size of land owned by them. The age of the participants ranged from 33 to 42 years old. All of the participants were married and they had diverse educational background as all of them were graduates having a bachelor’s degree. The themes which emerged after the categorization of the data are as follows:

6.3.1 Home Language

Fishman (1965) suggests that studying a language in the family domain help us to understand language choices and preferences of its native speakers which ultimately reveal whether a language is maintained or deserted. Family domain is important as it provides actual life context and motivation for a particular language to be used. It also plays a pivotal role in predicting the future of a language. If a language is maintained in the home and it is a medium of communication among the family members, then, it is likely to move on to the next generation as well. Speaking one’s native language in the family domain serves as the last defense against the influence of a dominating and powerful language. Research from the United States, Australia and Canada proves that the languages which are spoken in the family domain are likely to be maintained and transmitted to the next generation (Portes & Schauffler, 1994; Portes & Hao, 1998; Schrauf, 1999; Clyne, 2001).
The most important and dominant theme regarding home language reveals that apart from one, all of the research participants from the urban research site speak Urdu language in their homes. Punjabi is only used when communicating with the people belonging to the lower strata of life. A close analysis of the responses of the participants reveals that Punjabi is not the medium of communication in their homes. In the words of Bilal, a research participant,

“I am a proud Punjabi...laikin mein [ghar main] Urdu main baat karta huun.” ¹

[I am a proud Punjabi but I speak Urdu language at home.]

His reply was amazing when he talked about his native language. He said,

“I am a Punjabi kiyun keh mera taaluk Punjab say hay laikin yeh kehna kay Punjabi is my native language ... Punjabi is my native language because I belong to Punjab but actually Punjabi language meri native language nahi hay. Meri first language to Urdu hay. Second language Punjabi ho gai. But, Punjabi is something of which I am proud of.”

[I am a Punjabi because I belong to Punjab. Punjabi is my native language because I belong to the province of Punjab but actually Punjabi language is not my native language. My first language is Urdu. My second language is Punjabi. But, Punjabi is something which I am proud of.]

He calls himself a Punjabi by linking himself to the province of Punjab. He does not associate himself with Punjabi language as he did not speak it in his childhood. Even if

¹ The transcriptions have been mentioned in an attempt to make the voices of the research participants audible. The transcriptions have been italicized in order to distinguish the words of the participants from the surrounding text. As the voices are filtered through the researcher’s lens, therefore, it is an attempt to make it more objective and authentic.
he gets a chance to speak Punjabi, it is when he is talking to the people who belong to the lower strata of life. In his words,

“Bilkul mein Punjabi language bolta huun jab mein office main apnay office boy say baat karta huun... jab mein taxi driver say baat karta huun to Punjabi language main baat karta huun.”

[Sure. I speak Punjabi language in my office whenever I talk to my office boy. Outside my office, I talk to the taxi drivers in Punjabi language.]

Hira, another research participant, remembers speaking Punjabi with her mother because her mother’s first language is Punjabi. In her interview, she mentions that her mother spent a very restricted and domestic life with no opportunity of socialization outside her family circle. But, with her cousins and friends, Hira communicates primarily in Urdu and English with a few phrases of Punjabi in a very casual and informal setting. She categorically mentions that whenever she is with her cousins and relatives, she communicates in English and Urdu with a few phrases of Punjabi in a very informal setting.

“Bilkul bolti huun but not with everyone laikin yeh hai kay apni mother kay saath kiyun kay right from the very beginning meri mother nay meray saath kabhi Urdu nahi boli hy ... Punjabi hi un ki first language of expression hai...laikin cousins kay saath wo aik equality ka relationship hai in terms of education ...to we communicate in English watsay cousins kay saath ... main medium Urdu hi rehta hai biich biich main thoray bohat expressions Punjabi kay bhi aa jaatay hain aur wo bhi gap shap kay liay.”
I do speak Punjabi language but not with everyone. I speak Punjabi language with my mother because, right from the very beginning, my mother never communicated with me in Urdu language. Punjabi is her first language of expression. We communicate in English and Urdu with our cousins as we have an equal relationship on the basis of our education. But, sometimes, we do use Punjabi but for the sake of a light chit chat.

Maha, another research participant, is one of those who do not speak Punjabi language in her home as she confirms by saying:

“Ziaada tar Urdu laikin English bhi use kartay hain. Bachon kay saath English kay words bhi use kartay.”

[At home, most of the time we use Urdu but we speak English as well. We use English to communicate with our children.]

Because of her severe dissociation with Punjabi language, she does not know how to speak it.

“No. Mujhay Punjabi aati hi nahi hai. Mein nay suni hui hai jaisay hamaaray naana naanni aapas main baat kartay thay laikin unhon nay hum say kabhi nahi boli jis tarah meray parents ko bhi aati thi laikin wo bhi aapas main hi baat kartay thay laikin ab to bilkul hi kam ho gai hai.”

[No. I cannot speak Punjabi language at all. I have heard my grandparents and parents communicating and talking to one another in Punjabi language but they never used it as a medium of communication with us. So, its usage has decreased now.]
She categorically mentions that her maid knows how to speak Punjabi but she even talks to her in Urdu although she can understand Punjabi language. She says:

“Meri kaam waali ko Punjabi aati hai laikin mein uss say bhi Urdu main baat karti hoon aur wo bhi. Wo aksar Punjabi ka y words use kar jaati hai aur mujhay samajh aa jaati hai laikin mein nay kabhi uss say boli nahi hai.”

[My maid knows Punjabi language but I talk to her in Urdu language. At times, she uses certain Punjabi words which I somehow manage to understand, but I never communicate with her in Punjabi language.]

Another research participant, Qasim is the one who usually, but not always, speaks Punjabi in his home with his family members. He says,

“I usually speak Punjabi language at my home, and I prefer to communicate with my parents in this language and with my relatives and with my brother as well.”

Wasim also speaks Punjabi in his home but it was interesting to note that his medium of communication, during the interview, was English. He says,

“I use Punjabi language at my home.”

The above views of the research participants, which are strongly affirmed by their informal and naturally occurring conversation which was audio recorded, clearly reveal the trend of moving away from Punjabi language and the movement is towards adopting English and Urdu as the medium of communication even in the family domain. This trend, which is quite visible, is not a positive indicator for Punjabi’s future as all efforts to preserve and maintain one’s native language depends on the language practices in the family domain because the language which is maintained in family is safe even if it is
threatened by the powerful languages and suppressed in other social institutions. Canagarajah (2008) conducted a study to explore the role of family in language shift and language maintenance by looking at the Sri Lankan Tamil communities residing in America, England and Canada. He noticed a clear shift from Tamil to English in these families. He believed that the parents and children are responsible for this shift because they have stopped speaking Tamil in home due to various socioeconomic factors. He concluded from his study that all efforts to promote Tamil would be useless if it is not spoken in the family domain. Maya (1991) came up with the same findings when she conducted a study in which she observed the pattern of language shift and maintenance among Sindhis living in Kuala Lumpur. Her focus was to see the language which is used in the home domain. She collected the data through observations and questionnaires. She observed a clear shift from Sindhi to English among the selected families, as Sindhi is no more the medium of communication among the family members. For the research participants, Sindhi language is not important to be maintained, as it has no place in the host society. So, Sindhi is in a great danger to be lost in Kuala Lumpur as English has replaced it and the parents are consciously raising their children as proficient English monolinguals. English has become a preferred mode of communication in their personal and professional lives.

Huang’s (1988) study of Taiwan also show that Mandarin, the national language, is replacing various indigenous languages such as Minnanyu and Hakka in the home domain as more and more people have started using it in their homes as well. Yeh, Chan and Chang (2004) conducted a study to examine the trend of language shift and
maintenance among three non-Mainlander groups including Minnanyu, Hakka and Polynesian languages in Taiwan. Their study confirmed that there is a clear shift in these groups from their native languages to Mandarin, the national language. Although the language shift pattern varies with each language, but Mandarin has replaced the use of these languages even in the informal domain which include family, friends and neighbourhood, thus, clearly depicting a shift from the native languages to the national language. Chan (1994) also verified the same finding in his study. Skutnabb-Kangas (2001 as cited in Hiebert, 2005: 12) mentions,

“A language is threatened if it has few users and a weak political status and especially if children are no longer learning it i.e. when the language is no longer transmitted to the next generation.”

Similarly, in Pakistan, English and Urdu have taken the place of Punjabi in the family domain as the children have stopped learning it as their native language. The current situation has given rise to a lot of concerns and uncertainties regarding the future of Punjabi language.

6.3.2 Socioeconomic Status of Punjabi Language and Intergenerational Language Transmission

The repeated responses of all the research participants reveal that Punjabi is viewed and known as an economically weak language especially as compared to English. Due to the weak economic standing of Punjabi, the participants are reluctant to transfer it to the next generation. So, in essence, they strongly support the idea of English as the only medium of instruction in schools and colleges.
This theme is very crucial as it brings to light the true standing and value of Punjabi language in the society. Punjabi language has been stigmatized as the language of backward, rustic, poor, ignorant, socially disadvantaged and illiterate people, so the research participants do not want to be associated with a powerless language by maintaining it. Gal (1979) in her study also highlighted the same factors as the major cause of language shift from Hungarian to German in a rural village in eastern Austria bordering on Hungary. Hungarian was viewed as the language of old, rural people, whereas, German was seen as the symbol of economic progress and modern lifestyle. The research participants, in my study, do not want their children to learn Punjabi because it is not the medium of instruction. They do not see Punjabi as a valued and an esteemed language, and this perception motivates them not to transfer it to their next generation. As an expected outcome, they are strong supporters of English, as they believe that associating with English by learning and speaking it holds a great promise for the future of their children. This observation clearly shows that the emergence of English as a global and universal language of communication and the storehouse of scientific knowledge is accelerating the process of language desertion where the native speakers of less powerful languages are adopting English language. For that matter, they strongly believe in transmitting English, and to some extent Urdu, to their children. This is what Bilal has to say in this respect:

“Agar bohat hii hard line choice hii karni ho to from an economic point of view, mein English hii kahuun ga ... taa kay un ko monetary problems naa rahain, Punjabi kahuun ga to phir kaya ho ga rikshaw chalaay ga...English bolay ga to
haan bureaucrat bhi ban sakta hay. Urdu is just in between. So on the basis of
that, if I really have to select one language, I will select English.”

[If I really have to make a hard line choice, then, from an economic point of view,
I will select English so that they do not face monetary problems. If I select
Punjabi language, then, he will become a rickshaw driver in future; but, if I select
English, he can be a future bureaucrat. Urdu is just in between. So on the basis of
that, if I really have to select one language, I will select English.]

He believes that the economically weak status and the lack of scientific literature is the
main reason for moving away from Punjabi.

“... Baat wohi aati hay kay jab tak aap iss kay andar scientific literature nahi
dalain gay aur aap iss language ko logon kay liay economically attractive nahi
banain gay uss waqat tak yeh kabhi bhi nahi grow karay gi. Aik language ko
zinda rakhnay kay liay economics aur uss kay andar scientific literature ki bohat
value hay.”

[As a matter of fact, a language only grows when you make it economically
attractive for its speakers and when you create scientific literature in that
language. Economics and the availability of scientific literature are vital for the
survival of any language.]

The same ideas echoed in the responses of Qasim who believes:

“I will definitely transmit Urdu and English to my children... I encourage my
children to at least speak and understand Punjabi but at home and not in their
schools and with their friends.”
Maha shares her thoughts about selecting a language for her children and says:

“Mein to Urdu hi select karun gi. Dekhain English sahi hai laikin ab hamaari madri zubaan to urdu hai...Urdu select karun gi kay yeh apni asal roots kay nazdiik rahain. Baaki yeh hai kay English secondary hai; wo bhi aani chaahiay. Ab jahan tak Punjabi ki baat hai... ab to wo past ka hisa hain aur unhon nay apnay bachon say nahi boli. Bachpan main ham nay hamesha Urdu hi boli hai. Mein to Yahan tak sochti huun kay agar yeh Punjabi bolain to in kay muun say kitni ajeeb lagay gi.”

[I will select Urdu. English is fine but Urdu is our mother tongue. I will select Urdu so that they remain close to their roots. English is secondary but they should learn it. As far as Punjabi is concerned, it is the story of past as our parents have not communicated with us in Punjabi language. We spoke Urdu in our childhood. I think that if my children speak Punjabi, they will look so odd.]

She categorically mentions that she will not encourage her children to learn Punjabi. She says:

“Urdu bhi in ko sahi aani chaahiay, English bhi sahi aani chaahiay... Haan yeh hai kay Punjabi (transfer, encourage) to nahi karuun gi.”

[They should know Urdu well and they should know English well. But, I will not transfer or encourage Punjabi language.]

Hira shares her thoughts about transmitting Punjabi to her children in the following words:

“In that case if it has to be only one of these languages, then, it will be English because as far as the career and professional demands are concerned, English is
so much in use and so much in demand that its not possible to use another language where English is required. So, for that matter I feel that Punjabi and Urdu both can be taken for granted. The career and professional matters come first. We have kept it as priority in our lives and I want my child to keep her education and profession the first priority and for that matter, if it has to be one language, then, it should be English.”

With reference to intergenerational language transmission, Wasim votes in favour of Punjabi:

“I think I will go for Punjabi because it is my mother tongue that’s why.”

6.3.3 Medium of Instruction

The language which is used as a medium of instruction in the educational institutions plays a very important role in the maintenance and survival of a language and in the extinction of another. As Skutnabb-Kangas (2001 as cited in Hiebert, 2005: 3) clearly states,

“Languages are today being murdered faster than ever before in human history … the media and the educational systems are the most important direct agents in language murder.”

Since the participants are so ambitious about equipping their children with English for a better future, they are in favour of English as a medium of instruction across Pakistan. In the words of Bilal:

“Punjabi as a medium of instruction ... To jazbaati point of view say haan hona chahiay laikin practically aap kya kar sakain gain uss say, we do not have the
material to back it up. ... And agar aaj Punjabi language ki wajah say doo laakh wali job milna shuru w aaj ya sab parents Punjabi parhaa rahay hon gay. Mera nahi khyaal kay aisii koi job hay. To sirf economic reasons hain aur kya hay.”

[Punjabi as a medium of instruction, yes from an emotional point of view but from a practical point of view, we do not have the material of back it up. If today you can get a Rs. 200,000 job because of Punjabi language, then, parents will start teaching this language to their children. But, I do not think that such job exists. So, it all revolves around economic reasons, nothing else.]

He further says:

“Har jaga English medium schools hain, log prefer kartay hain English medium schools ko jabkay Urdu medium pay log hanstay bhi hain, Punjabi medium to mein nay kabhi dekha hi nahi hay.”

[Everywhere there are English medium schools and people prefer English medium schools whereas people laugh at Urdu medium schools and I have never seen a Punjabi medium school in my life.]

Qasim also supports the idea of having English as the medium of instruction as he mentions:

“I do not think that Punjabi should be the medium of instruction in the educational system of Pakistan because it is not a global language. It is just a regional language. It can be taught as a regional language in the institutions in the regions where it is spoken. But, it should not be the medium of instruction...Most of the parents prefer English medium schools for their children...
because they want to prepare their children for a global world as they might have a chance to study abroad and for that they have to be familiar with English language and now English is a part of our everyday lives as well.”

In selecting educational institutions for her children, Maha has no doubt in her mind as she goes for English medium school which is in line with the demands of the society. In her words:

“English medium school, zaahri si baat hai. To jis taraf society jaa rahi hai aur aagay jobs kay liyay to uss kay lihaaz say hi decision kruun gi taa kay wo confident feel karain.”

[Obviously, I prefer English medium school because it has become a trend in our society and keeping in mind their future job requirements, I will select English medium school so that they feel confident.]

Hira is a strong supporter of English as a medium of instruction, but at the same time, she wants to see Punjabi being offered and taught as an optional subject or language in the educational institutions. She says:

“Meray khyaal main medium of instruction to, keeping in mind the national demands, English hi hona chahiay. Unanimously, sab provinces main English hi medium of instruction hona chahiay. In these optional subjects there should be more variety of languages and Punjabi should be included kay as it is not necessary that no one will be interested in studying Punjabi as an optional language or as a subject as there might be students who are more inclined to
Punjabi so the option should be given but the medium of instruction should be English everywhere.”

[I think, keeping in mind the national demands, the medium of instruction should be English unanimously in all provinces. In optional subjects, there should be more variety of language and Punjabi should be included as it is not necessary that no one will be interested in studying Punjabi as an optional language or as a subject as there might be students who are more inclined to Punjabi so the option should be given but the medium of instruction should be English everywhere.]

Wasim emerges as an avid supporter of Punjabi as he wants to see it as the medium of instruction at the provincial level but not at the national level. He says,

“I think in Punjab we can make it must that all education would be in Punjabi.”

6.3.4 Role of English and the Professional Demands

The research participants also talk about the role and influence of English on their professional lives and career selection. Bilal categorically mentions that Punjabi language has not influenced his career choice as he says:

“Punjabi language nay koi as such khaas influence nahi kiya. Haan aik influence kiya hay kay Punjabi language say zara duur raho kyun kay engineering kay andar hamaaray paas jitna bhi material hay yaa literature hay wo saaray ka saara English main hay. Main English kay nazdeek raha as English is a more powerful language.”
[Punjabi language has not influenced my career as I stayed away from it as all the material and literature, which is available in engineering, is in English. I stayed close to English as it is a more powerful language.]

The same string can be felt in the responses of Qasim when he says:

“There is no influence of Punjabi language on my choice of career because there is no involvement of this language in my career or in my job related functions… Learning English is important because it is a part of most of the job related functions and the people who can speak and write English are highly paid as well.”

Hira highlights the strong presence of English in her professional and personal life by saying,

“English is an important part of my life primarily because my profession is oriented in this manner that I have to use English. As far as personal life is concerned, since me and my husband share the same profession, we both have an equal level of comfort and both of us have an equally good expression in English, so we feel comfortable talking about many issues in English. So, at home also, this language (English) is pretty much at use.”

She also underlines the significance and role of English for a prosperous and rewarding future by saying:

“Yes, it [being fluent in English] is very important. I am in a good job already but I feel that if I want to aspire for a better position at some place in my professional life, I must be very good in English.”
Maha, being a housewife, talks about the widespread demand of being fluent in English for getting a good job in the following manner:

“Iss kai liay to aap ki English high profile honi chahiay. Jahan high profile pay milay wahan English hi chalti hai. Ab jaisay universities ho gaiin wahan depend karta hai laikin wahan bhi saaray interviews English hi main hotay hain.”

[For that matter, your English should be high profile. Wherever the pays are good, English is in demand. If we look at the universities, interviews are conducted in English and it is commonly used over there.]

Wasim underlines the importance of being fluent English speaker if one is aspiring for a highly paid job as he says,

“I think it is important for you to speak good English because if you can’t speak good English you will not be able to get a good job so it is important.”

A careful analysis of the above ideas reveal that English is seen by the participants as an indispensable resource and linguistic capital which many post-colonial people and governments seek for themselves and their younger generations. They consider it necessary for an access to the modern technology and the global world market as it is the most important language for socioeconomic progress and development and for an access to latest and higher professional education and knowledge in an attempt to equip themselves and their children for worldwide job market (Lin and Martin, 2005: 3).

Punjabi holds a weak position as compared to English and Urdu in the national linguistic economy and hierarchy as well. For the research participants, Punjabi is not a scientific language. It is not the language of computers and information technology. Most of the
scientific research papers are written in English not only at the international but also at the national level. English is a must in order to communicate with people in the cyber world. In the light of the whole scenario at the national and international level, Punjabi emerges as a weak and ineffective language as it has nothing significant to offer to its speakers in terms of knowledge, prestige and power.

The current situation which paints English as a dominant language can be traced back to the context of colonialism. During the colonial period, English dominated almost all the domains of life as it was used as a tool of civilization, modernity and intellect. As a natural outcome, the ideas of power and domination were associated with it. Even after independence, English has continued to be the language of power and authority. English has become a powerful language because it is a symbol of great political, social, cultural and economic strength. Bourdieu (1991) clearly describes, through his concept of linguistic capital, how a particular language serves as a tool of empowering those who belong to the already empowered and privileged section of the society. He states that social and linguistic marginalization takes place due to the linguistic habitus and practices of people. His theory is very effective in bringing to light the political nature of the phenomenon where a particular dominant language is projected as the standardized language and other local, regional languages are brought to the level of non-standard varieties.

In Pakistan, English is much more than a language; it is used as a tool to create asymmetrical power structures in the society. Post structuralists theorists do not view
language as an object or system, which has an independent existence. Rather, “this position sees language as an emergent, contingent or performative expression and languages as particular political effects that regulate power in society. In this way, languages are the effects of communication, not the privileged vehicles” (Nevez, 2006: 69). When they talk about language and power, they take into account the role of dominant language ideologies and discourse. Most of the theorists who belong to the post structuralist tradition believe in the fact that language is not a neutral tool of communicating ideas, feelings and emotions; it is used for creating realities and power relations between the speakers of different language. In the words of Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 134)

“Language is not, and cannot, by definition, be a neutral, objective disencumbered tool. It is always imperative and subjective, regardless whether those using it admit or not.”

The issue of power is critical in the study of language desertion as people do not want to be associated with a seemingly powerless language.

Bourdieu (1991) has been a very influential figure who has studied the role of language in creating and maintaining power structures in the society. He thinks about language as, “an instrument of action and power” (Bourdieu, 1991: 37). He believes that language is used as an instrument to create power in the society and this is achieved through a careful procedure of promoting the notion of a prestigious, standardized language. He does not believe in the neutrality and objectivity of language. In the words of Bourdieu (1991: 154-155):
“Utterances are not only (save in exceptional circumstances) signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also signs of wealth intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and sings of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed.”

Thus, English, the prestigious language, serves as a magical wand to fulfill the dreams of those who are fluent in it. English is considered to be a prestigious language not because of its inherent, superior qualities; rather it is prestigious because of the prestigious and superior status of its speakers in the society who use English as a tool to create an empire of privileges and benefits. As a matter of fact, the dichotomy between prestigious and less prestigious language is ideological in nature as it is socially constructed. So, the ideology, which dictates that proficiency in English is necessary for a prosperous future is taken an accepted as common sense knowledge. The notion of common sense entails that everyone should accept it and it is useless to challenge something which is considered common sense. But, such commons sense notions are always ideology led and value laden in nature (Milroy, 2001).

The same practice can be witnessed in many countries where the language of the colonial masters continue to play an important role in the name of national harmony and unity (Blommaert, 1996; 2005). South Africa serves to be a good example which is moving towards becoming a monolingual country because of the powerful role and presence of English. It is the language of parliamentary business and it is increasingly used in the education and telecom sector as well. It is preferred among the students as it is the medium of instruction. As compared to English, the local and indigenous languages
of South Africa are undervalued and underrated (Mawasha, 1996; Barkhuizen, 1996; Webb, 1999).

Although it is interesting to note the firm conviction of the research participants in supporting English as the medium of instruction, the fact is that the importance of one’s native language in the process of learning is undeniable. In the words of (Dutcher and Tucker, 1996: 36)

“The most important conclusion from the research and experience … is that when learning is the goal, including that of learning a second language, the child’s first language (i.e. his or her mother tongue) should be used as the medium of instruction in the early years of schooling. ... The first language is essential for the initial teaching of reading, and for comprehension of subject matter. It is the necessary foundation for the cognitive development upon which acquisition of the second language is based.”

UNICEF’s Annual Report 1999 takes a similar position:

“There is ample research showing that students are quicker to learn to read and acquire other academic skills when first taught in their mother tongue. They also learn a second language more quickly than those initially taught to read in an unfamiliar language. ... Early mother-tongue instruction is a key strategy to reach the more than 130 million children not in school – and help them succeed.” (UNICEF, 1999: 41, 45)

Williams’ (1998) study in two African countries provides credible evidence for the benefits of using learners’ first language in early literacy and primary education. This study compared students after four years of schooling. The students in Malawi had received education through the medium of their home language, whereas the students in
Zambia were taught through the medium of English, a common medium of instruction in many African countries, but not the mother tongue of most children. Both groups of students were mother tongue speakers of basically the same language.

The results of the study reveal that the level of English reading proficiency was found to be about the same in both groups, but the reading skills in the mother tongue were much better among Malawian students who received education in their mother tongue. The use of the mother tongue also decreased gender and rural-urban disparities among the students.

“The moral of the Malawian achievement would appear to be that if resources are scarce, there is a greater likelihood of success in attempting to teach pupils a known local language, rather than an unknown one… It is difficult to see how the majority of pupils in Zambia and Malawi could learn other subjects successfully through reading in English.” (Williams, 1998: 59-60)

The study shows that using English – a language in which students are not proficient – as the medium of instruction in primary education provides weaker learning results than the use of the mother tongue. Furthermore, the study concludes that competence in the mother tongue does not impede learning a second language.

But, in Pakistan, English is being religiously followed as a medium of instruction and by focusing on one language and neglecting other regional languages, the schools are responsible for creating a generation of subtractive bilinguals rather than additive bilinguals. According to Li Wei (2000: 22-24), additive bilinguals enjoy different
benefits ranging from communicative, cultural and cognitive. Communicative benefits allow him/her to communicate with a wider variety of people. Cultural benefits empower him/her to experience and view the world from the perspective of different cultures. Cognitive benefits give him/her an elaboration in thinking.

If we look at the strategy of promoting English as a medium of instruction in a wider sociopolitical and socio-cultural context, the role of educational institutions and media will become evident in the construction, reconstruction and deconstruction of social structures, including the structures of power and dominance in the society (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). Bourdieu emphasizes the role of educational institutions in creating linguistic discrimination by promoting a certain language and disempowering others. He says,

“…The educational market is strictly dominated by the linguistic products of the dominant class…” (Bourdieu, 1991: 62).

In Pakistan, there are many private schools where it is prohibited by their rules to speak any other language except English, whereas, in the government English medium schools, the students are seen speaking Urdu language but Punjabi is seen nowhere. Wedin (2004) also talks about such schools in Tanzania where by rule, the students are supposed to communicate in Swahili and English and not in their native languages. According to the rule, the students would be punished if they were seen speaking any other language except these two. Rhydwen (1999) describes in his study that Welsh speaking students were punished in Wales if they were found speaking their native language in schools where they were asked to speak English. In Kenya, the Gikuyu speaking students were
forced to wear derogatory signs if they dared to speak their native language instead of English. Anzaldúa (1987:53) narrates her personal experience when speaking Spanish was actually banned in her school in Texas in the decade of 1960. The students were threatened to be beaten with a sharp stick if they were found speaking Spanish. Macgregor-Mendoza (2000) also mentions a list of severe punishments for students for speaking Spanish in the schools in the US Southwest. But, in certain cases, the tactics which are used to coerce a language are hidden, covert and subtle. In order to suppress a particular, most commonly regional language, a belief is propagated that adopting the dominant language is a key to prosperous future and upward social mobility. In this way, learning the dominant language is equated with having a better and privileged lifestyle. Those who seek to climb the ladder adopt the dominant language. Punjabi is treated in the same manner in our country as the people who want to lead a successful life are indirectly told that they should go for English. Such a treatment has a severe negative psychological and demoralizing effect on the native speakers who ultimately decide to give up their linguistic and, ultimately, cultural heritage. Such practices contribute to shaping the peoples’ ideologies about the value of their own language and culture. All such actions serve to reinforce the hegemony of English. Due to these ideologies, they are reluctant to speak, study and learn Punjabi language.

Linda (2005) conducted a research to see whether there is a situation of language shift and language desertion among Mennonites in Paraguay. She looked at the role of schools and parents in the process of language shift. Her research shows that there is a high tendency among Mennonite parents to raise their children in Spanish because for
them, Plattdeutsch, their native language, is of no value and importance. As compared to Plattdeutsch, Spanish is the medium of instruction in the educational institutions and they do not want their children to suffer only because they do not know German. But, she cautions that as the younger generation is moving away from Plattdeutsch, they are moving away from their Mennonite history, values and traditions. In order to remain close to their culture and traditions, they have to remain close to their native language (Hume, 1998).

In addition to the educational institutions, the mass media is an undeniable reality in today’s world. It has the power to encourage the use of a specific language by showing different programmes in that language. It, if used properly, can slow down and even stop the process of language desertion. The pace of language desertion can be controlled if the information is broadcasted in Punjabi language. In Ecuador, the regional languages such as Quichua and Shuar are maintained and preserved by providing education in these languages through radio (Iñiguez and Guerrero (1993) as mentioned in Lenk, 2007).

The use of Punjabi language in the entertainment domain is not impressive. My research participants do not know even the name of a single Punjabi TV channel. They thought that Punjabi TV channels do not exist. They watch English movies and Urdu plays for entertainment. For them, watching a Punjabi movie or a play is a complete wastage of time and money. Most of them have not seen even a single Punjabi movie in their lives. But, when it comes to listening to songs, most of them listen to Punjabi songs
which are played on different music channels. The following quotes from their interviews are interesting. In the words of Bilal:

“Mein nay aaj tak koi Punjabi movie waisay hi nahi dekhi aur cinema main jaa kay Punjabi movie dekhna to paisay zaaya karnay wali baat hay... [Reading Punjabi newspaper and magazines] nahi [No]...Jii nahi [No]...[Punjabi TV channels] kabhi bhi nahi...Agar songs ki category main dekhain to Punjabi songs are on the top of the list. Punjabi songs to definitely sunta huun.”

[I have never seen a Punjabi movie in my life and to go to cinema to watch a Punjabi movie is wastage of money… if we look at songs, then, Punjabi songs are at the top of the list. I listen to Punjabi songs.]

In the words of Qasim

“I rarely watch Punjabi TV channels. But, sometimes, I watch the APNA channel... I have never watched a Punjabi movie in cinema... I have never read a Punjabi newspaper and magazines...I am fond of listening to Punjabi songs and mystic music also.”

Maha says,

“Jaisay hum log Punjabi language samajh saktay hain to agar koi show aa jaeay to shoak say dekh letay hain magar ziaada tar yeh hai kay English movies kay channels ho gaeay yaa yeh star plus ho gaya jis tarah ARY par dramay hotay hain wo dekh letay hain... Bas aik hi punjabi movie saari zindagi main dekhi hai.”
[As we can understand Punjabi language so we do watch a show but mostly we watch English movies and Urdu plays which are aired on ARY or Star Plus. I have watched one Punjabi movie in my life.]

She further adds that she likes to listening Punjabi bhangra and wedding songs:

“Ab jaisay yeh shaadi biah main hotay hain wo suntay hain. Iss kay ilaawa ibrar-ul-haq kay aik do sunay hain. Baaki yeh jaisay bhangray walay songs hotay hain yeh shoak say sunti huun.”

[I listen to songs which are sung in wedding ceremonies. And I have listened to a couple of songs by Ibrar-ul-Haq as well. I really like to listen to bhangra songs.]

Hira has nothing different to say:

“Meri professional requirement kay lihaaz say whether I am watching a sitcom or a drama or a series or a movie, it is mostly in English. Laikin kabhi kabhi for fun Punjabi theater or drama dekh laytay hain laikin kabhi kabhi, bohat rare hai”...

[Looking at my professional requirements, whether I am watching a news channel or whether I am watching a sitcom or a drama or a series or a movie, it is mostly in English. But I do watch Punjabi theater or drama for fun sake but it is very rare.]

She further adds:

“I don’t listen to music particularly but these days there are a lot of hip hops songs in Punjabi and I enjoy listening to them... I think that it’s not just that I haven’t watched a Punjabi movie in cinema; in fact I have never been to cinema. I have never watched a movie in cinema.”

Wasim’s choices include Punjabi and English as he says,
“I have watched many Punjabi movies in cinema...I love Punjabi songs and I love mystic music and I call it Sufi music as well. I just really love it... but I watch English channels as well.”

So, their responses clearly indicate that English and Urdu dominate their entertainment circles as well as all of them like to watch English movies and Urdu plays. Punjabi is only appreciated in the form of songs.

In short, almost all the research participants prefer English and Urdu to Punjabi in different domains which clearly shows a movement away from their native language, as a language which is not preferred by its native speakers is engaged in a war for its survival.

### 6.3.5 Linguistic Choices in Formal and Informal Settings

Another dominant theme which emerged revolves around the linguistic choices and preferences in formal and informal settings. The responses of the research participants reveal that Punjabi is not considered an appropriate language to be used on formal occasions. Instead, English or Urdu is seen as the definite choice for formal occasions. Punjabi is rarely used in informal settings and used either for humour or it is used for the purpose of catharsis.

My research participants excessively use either English or Urdu on formal occasions since they do not consider Punjabi language a suitable and appropriate choice for formal occasions. The following quotes, again, are interesting and surprising at the
same time. This is what Bilal has to say about the usage of Punjabi on formal occasions and gatherings:

“Mein ziaada tar logon say communicate karta huun in the written form to there is only one language and that is English ... laikin jab hum boltay hain to sab Urdu main baat kartay hain to iss situation main I prefer Urdu language. ... Formal gatherings main kiyuun keh English aik standard ban chuki hay iss liay sab log English bolnay ki koshish kartay hain. Aap dekh lain kay mein aap kay interview main Punjabi nahi bol raha; yaa English bol raha huun yaa Urdu bol raha huun... English, honestly speaking, jab mein nay kisi pay impression daalna ho to English main baat karta huun... to jab aap nay impression daalna ho to English language bolain aur agar impression khraab karna hay to formal jagah main Punjabi bol lain.”

[Whenever I communicate with people in the written form, it is in English. Whenever I talk to people, then, I prefer Urdu language. English language has become a standard in formal gatherings that’s why people try to speak English in formal gatherings. You can see that I am not speaking Punjabi in your interview; either it is English or Urdu. Honestly speaking, I use English whenever I want to create a good impression on others and I think that if you want to ruin your impression, you should speak Punjabi in formal gatherings.]

Qasim shares his thoughts in the following words:

“I don’t think that Punjabi language is as much appropriate to be used on formal occasions because in Islamabad, when I meet formally with may friends, most of them belong to Islamabad or to those regions where Punjabi is not spoken that
much, I communicate in Urdu. But, when I meet with friends who know Punjabi language, I enjoy using Punjabi with them, but not in formal situations... Well, Punjabi language is not that much important to be promoted in different domains as it is just a regional language.”

He further adds:

“In my office, I use Urdu language. [In addition] I use English at my workplace. I use English whenever I have to communicate with someone outside Pakistan.”

Maha is not in favour of using Punjabi language on formal occasions because of the following reason:

“Mein aap ko aik choti si baat bataati huun. Aik din meri kaam waali aai apnay saath apna beta bhi lay aai.... Ab jis tarah wo Punjabi main apnay betay say baat kar rahi thi to mujhay itna awkward lag raha tha. Aik ajiib sa uneducated honay ka khayaal aa raha tha.”

[Let me tell you something. One day, my maid brought her son with her. The way she was talking to her son in Punjabi language, it was all feeling very awkward. She was creating a very strange and uneducated impression.]

Hira also comes up with the same opinion in the following response:

“...Of course different situations have different demands, it is not just a matter of your choice and preference, it is also the demand of the situation or the kind of people you are surrounded by and there are certain professional requirement when you are in a professional environment you have to stick to a language most probably English language but if you are with students and you are in a very comfortable environment then using a phrase of Punjabi here and there for the
sake of reference or for the sake of example especially if you are teaching linguistics then there is no harm in that. [For her] Punjabi was never more than a language to be used with family, with intimate friends.”

Wasim also selected Urdu for formal occasion as he mentions:

“Well, you know, in formal, I think I will go for Urdu. If it’s not Punjabi then I’ll use Urdu.”

But Wasim switches to Punjabi in informal gatherings as he says:

“I don’t think so that there is any problem using it in informal gatherings and occasions and I have seen people using it in formal occasions and gatherings.”

It is interesting to note that my research participants use Punjabi either for humour or for expressing anger. They love telling jokes in Punjabi, as they believe that the true flavour of the joke is retained only when it is narrated in Punjabi. Bilal says,

“English to bilkul bhi use nahi karta. Punjabi is on top of the list as I prefer to tell jokes in Punjabi. Urdu main lateefay ... more or less. Laikin Punjabi ziaada use karta huun kay jab bhi aap kisi jagah Punjabi use kartay hain to logon kay chehron pay wasay hii muskurahat aa jaati hay and as the aim of the joke is to make people smile so why not in Punjabi... we prefer to speak Punjabi language on the fun side.”

[I never use English for telling jokes. Punjabi is on top of the list as I prefer to tell jokes in Punjabi. Jokes in Urdu ...more or less. But I mostly use Punjabi as when you use Punjabi in front of people, a smile appears on their face and as the aim of the joke is to make people smile so why not in Punjabi... we prefer to speak Punjabi language on the fun side.]
He also acknowledges the fact that whenever he is angry; he naturally switches to Punjabi language. He says,

“Jab thora ghusah aaya hota hay to Urdu hay. Jab bohat ziaada ghusah aata hay to phir mein Punjabi main switch kar jaata huun. Yeh aik natural instinct hay kay Punjabi main switch ho jaata hay. But then again, it is a mix of Punjabi and Urdu.”

[When I am slightly angry, I use Urdu but when I am extremely angry, I switch to Punjabi language. This is something which is natural. But then again, it is a mix of Punjabi and Urdu.]

In this respect, Qasim says,

“I use Punjabi and Urdu for telling jokes but no that much in English... Mostly when I am angry, I use Punjabi language because it is easy to express your emotions in Punjabi rather than in English or Urdu. When I am at my home, and I am angry, I use Punjabi language.”

Most of the time, Hira also narrates jokes in Punjabi language as she mentions,

“It depends on the nature of the joke... I mean... agar kisi Sikh ka ya Punjabi ka joke hai to uss ka taste aur flavour retain tabhi ho ga jab wo Punjabi main ho laikin agar koi ziaada formal joke hai something which is of a higher caliber and has a broader interest than just the Punjabi community then in order to appeal to the listeners it has to be in a language in which they can acknowledge better.”

[It depends on the nature of the joke. I mean... if it is about a Punjabi then the true flavour of the joke will be retained in Punjabi language. But if a joke is more formal and of a higher caliber and has a broader interest than just the Punjabi..."
community then in order to appeal to the listeners it has to be in a language in which they can acknowledge better.]

Punjabi is her favorite language when it comes to expressing her anger and she mostly uses it for the purpose of catharsis:

“Punjabi ... aik to reason yeh hai kay mein nay apnay ghar main ammi ko hamesha Punjabi main ghusah kartay dekha hai to iss liay Punjabi ghusah karnay kay liay most appropriate language hai aur Duusra yeh kay Urdu main bhi catharsis ho jaata hai laikin yeh hai kay if I start speaking Punjabi I feel kay mein ziaada fluently ghusah kar sakti huun.”

[Punjabi … one reason is that I have always seen my mother using Punjabi language while she was angry that’s why Punjabi language is appropriate to express your feelings when you are angry. Secondly, Urdu is fine for catharsis but I feel that if I start speaking Punjabi, I can fluently express my feelings of anger.]

Wasim has the same choice when it comes to telling jokes and expressing his anger as he mentions:

“There are a lot of situations when I prefer using Punjabi especially when I am angry and I have to shout at someone, I cannot do it English or Urdu. I always go for Punjabi because it’s something natural which comes out of me... Well, you know, when I am telling jokes I prefer Punjabi because most of the jokes are in Punjabi.”

But, Maha has a different story to tell:

“Ghusay main bhi Urdu bolti huun. ... Jokes bhi Urdu walay sunaati huun.”

[I speak Urdu while I am angry. I tell jokes in Urdu as well.]
So, when it comes to informal purposes, my participants switch to Punjabi but in a formal situation, they stick to either English or Urdu.

6.3.6 Language Choices and Language Ideologies

While analyzing the choice and usage of different languages in different domains and for different purposes, I feel that my participants’ linguistic choices and preferences are governed by larger ideological and sociopolitical factors. They seem to follow, unconsciously, the common sense and unquestioned notion of not using Punjabi on formal occasions considering it an inappropriate language, thus, restricting it to the informal purpose. Through their actions and responses, they are giving voice to the dominant and prevailing language ideology in the urban areas according to which Punjabi language is looked down upon as compared to English and Urdu.

It is very difficult to come up with an ultimate definition of the term, ideology. Blommaert (2005: 158 book) observes,

“Few terms are as badly served by scholarship as the term ideology, and as soon as anyone enters the field of ideology studies, he or she finds him/herself in a morass of contradictory definitions.”

Fairclough (2003: 218) believes that ideologies are,

“…Representations of the aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation.”

Wodak (1996: 18) is of the view that ideologies are, “often (though not necessarily) false or ungrounded constructions of society.” She further suggests in (2001: 10) that,
'ideology … is seen as an important aspect of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations.”

Ideology is concerned with a certain kind of rationalization, which builds and maintains particular ideas about social and power relations and structures in the society (Patrick, 2008). In the light of post structuralist and postmodern views, such ideas are not neutral and objective in nature; rather, they are guided and negotiated by value systems. Thus, “Ideologies are not only valuesystems, they also involve claims of fact.” (Register, 2001). So, it is through ideologies that social and political power structures are created and maintained.

In the last three decades, the concept of language ideology has grabbed the attention of various anthropologists, scholars and social scientists. Blommaert (1996; 1999; 2006) is a prominent name when it comes to studying and highlighting the ideological nature of language. By talking about language ideologies, he explores how certain languages are promoted as superior as compared to other languages which are believed to be inferior. He believes that language ideologies “stand for socially and culturally embedded metalinguistic conceptualizations of language and its forms of usage” (Blommaert, 2006: 241).

Watts (1999: 73) describes language ideologies as, “a set of communally shared beliefs about language.”
Jaffe (1999: 39) believes that language ideologies are, “dominant ideas about the connection between language, identity and power.”

Timm (2000: 147) defines language ideologies as, “notions regarding linguistic distinctiveness, value, purity and standardization, and the relation of those to the realities of language use …”

Thus, language ideologies are the “sites of power and authority” (Blommaert, 2006: 242) as they are the source from where our ideas about the value of a language is emerged and re-emerged. It is through these ideologies that certain beliefs and ideas, often political in nature, are disseminated in the society as beliefs, which, outwardly, appear to be natural, and common sense in nature. Fairclough defines ideological common sense when he says that it is, “commonsense in the service of sustaining unequal relations of power” (Fairclough, 1989: 84) and in “establishing and consolidating solidarity relations among members of a particular social groupings” (Fairclough, 2001: 70).

Language ideologies are dynamic in nature as they are continuously constructed and strengthened through social and political institutions which include government, media, and educational institutions. Thus, a careful and close study of language ideologies enables us to expose and challenge the commonly held beliefs about a language which are accepted by the people as natural. The study of language ideologies reveals how power relations at the macro level influence the language practices of individuals and groups at the micro level. Such studies often reveal the fact that dominant ideologies of standard language tend to undermine and devalue local and regional languages. The impact of language ideologies is clearly visible at the macro and micro
level. At the macro level, the government’s policies regarding different languages are guided by these language ideologies, and, at the micro level, these ideologies determine the language practices of different groups and individuals. Language ideologies are complete systems in themselves which are used to maintain and construct power relations in the society. Thus, language ideologies are “totalizing visions”, i.e. complete systems such that “elements that do not fit [their] interpretive structure – that cannot be seen to fit – must be either ignored or transformed”, especially if they fit “some alternative, threatening picture” instead (Irvine and Gal, 2000: 39-40). Thus, language ideologies systematically associate language choices and the speakers of a language with the powerful domains, which include the economic, political, and the moral. In the words of Cameron (1990:93):

“…A language is not an organism or a passive reflection, but a social institution, deeply implicated in culture, in society, in political relations at every level. What sociolinguistics needs is a concept of language in which this point is placed at the center rather than on the margins.”

It is interesting to note that people associate themselves with and act according to certain language ideologies even without consciously being aware of it. It is because once rooted in language, these ideologies do not remain visible to the speaker (Eastman, 1975; Kramarae, Schultz and O’Barr, 1984; Mehan, 1987; St. Clair and Giles, 1980; Tannen, 1990). These language ideologies are viewed as common sense beliefs which are difficult to question, change or challenge. Common sense is what everyone believes to be true and authentic. So, they support certain language ideologies and make linguistic choices
according to it, which often results in deserting their native language and adopting another language in the hope of a bright, prosperous future. Italian political theorist Antonio Gramsci developed the concept of hegemony explaining why people adopt the belief systems of dominant class when they know that they have to sacrifice a lot, which is close to their heart and soul. Thus, by accepting the ideology of the dominant group, they think about other beliefs as superficial and trivial in nature. In short, ideology is required to strengthen and legitimize the dominance of the ruling class. It is through ideology that opposing ideas and beliefs are transformed, distorted and even erased (Patrick, 2008).

Language ideologies are not neutral in nature, rather, they are constructed with an aim to protect and promote the interests of a particular socio-economic group creating a difference with another group on the basis of language (Kroskrity, 2000; Irvine and Gal, 2000). In the words of Kroskrity (2000: 8),

“Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social and cultural group.”

These language ideologies are closely embedded in the social, political and cultural context and belief system and they are articulated through discourse. The very act of thinking and selecting language is dominated and governed by various linguistic ideologies which are prevailing the society. In this way, they become a source for maintaining existing power structures and hierarchies which are developed on the basis of language. As Philips (1998: 8) points out, “ideologies are constituted and enacted in social practices” such as discourse, and ideological multiplicity can be studied through
the analysis of discourse that is “socially ordered by various kinds of power struggles between dominant and subordinate social forces.” This point is supported by Irvine (2001: 25) who believes:

“The investigation [of ideologies] will require moving beyond the mere recording of informants’ explicit statements of sociolinguistic norms, for beliefs and ideational schemes are not contained only in a person’s explicit assertions of them. Instead, some of the most important and interesting aspects of ideology lie behind the scenes, in assumptions that are taken for granted – that are never fully explicitly stated in any format that would permit them also to be denied.”

Within the field of discourse analysis, the interplay of language usage and language ideology is closely studied and observed (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000; Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Jaworski and Coupland, 1999; Ng and Bradac, 1993; Potter and Wetherell, 1987; van Dijk, 1998). The study of language practices and language ideologies are imperative for establishing a link between the micro and the macro level. Kroskrity showed the significance of studying both when he stated that:

“Language ideologies provided an additional tool or level of analysis (Silverstein, 1985) that permitted us to use the more traditional skills of linguistic anthropologists as a means of relating the models and practices shared by members of a speech community to their political economic positions and interests.” (2000: 3)

Language ideologies act as a “mediating link between social structures and forms of talk” (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994: 55). It is interesting to note that there are different ideologies about Punjabi language which prevail in both the urban and rural settings.
which dictate the individuals to select a language which is often influenced by the wider sociopolitical context. My research clearly shows that these ideologies are playing a major role in the process of language desertion. But, the dilemma which exists is that these language ideologies are considered as commonsense, neutral and impartial in nature, resulting in their continuity, as there is no one to question and ultimately challenge their legitimacy.

Language ideology is not just restricted to the study of ideas and beliefs about a language; it also related to the study of language usage and practices in different contexts (Woolard, 1998; Kroskrity, 2004). The French poststructuralists Bourdieu (1991) and the philosopher Foucault (1972, 1980) introduced the concepts of ‘symbolic domination’ and ‘linguistic markets’ highlighting the relationship between the societal ideologies, on the one hand, and, the linguistic practices, on the other. The ideas of symbolic power, legitimate language and symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) are also studied under the realm of language ideology in which symbolic power gives way to economic power because the use of a particular language is considered more acceptable as compared to the non-standard linguistic varieties. This practice results in creating hierarchical structures in the society on the basis of language. These linguistic hierarchies, thus, result in creating a privileged class which uses the dominant language while marginalizing those who speak the less-powerful languages.

This discussion leads one to question the origin of language ideologies; how language ideologies are created, maintained, and implemented by certain political and
social institutions? In order to answer this question, one has to keep in mind the socio-political factors, which are associated with language ideologies since there exists a dialectical relationship between the emergence and sustenance of language ideologies and the dominant socio-political conditions of the society (Spolsky, 2004). The role of government cannot be denied in the construction and implementation of language ideologies (Blommaert, 1999; 2005). He points out:

“…Ideologies do not win the day just like that, they are not simply picked up by popular wisdom and public opinion. They are being reproduced by means of a variety of institutional, semi-institutional and everyday practices: campaigns, regimentation in social reproduction systems such as schools, administration, army, advertisement, publications (the media, literature, art, music) and so on.” (Blommaert, 1999:10).

This shows that ideologies are produced in different ‘ideological sites’ (Silverstein 1998: 136) after which they acquire the status of ‘shared bodies of commonsense notions’ (Rumsey, 1990: 346).

The fact that Punjabi language is being replaced by Urdu and, to some extent, English in the formal and informal domains draws a link with the dominant language ideologies which view English and Urdu as sophisticated languages to be used on formal occasions as compared to Punjabi. The research participants are not willing to learn and speak Punjabi because they do not want to be associated with socially and politically marginalized group as languages are learned or acquired for functional and economic purposes otherwise they will not be used (De Bot, 2001). As a result, a situation of
sustained bi/trilingualism cannot be witnessed in the homes of urban research participants.

6.3.7 Punjabi Literacy Skills

During the interviews, the participants categorically mention that they can speak and understand Punjabi language, but they are seriously lacking in the literacy skills. None of the participants, except Wasim, could read Punjabi language. It was difficult for them to come up with the name of famous Punjabi writers. The participants cannot read anything which is written in Punjabi because they are not familiar with Punjabi script.

Bilal says,

“Punjabi literature parha to nahi hay. ... Mein nay aaj tak Punjabi language likhi hui nahi dekhi. Mujhay pata hi nahi hay kay Punjabi language likhi kaisay jaati hay iss liay mein parh nahi sakta.”

[I have never read Punjabi literature. I have not seen Punjabi language in the written form ever. I do not know how Punjabi language is written that’s why I cannot read it.]

Qasim says,

“I haven’t read any Punjabi literature...I have never read a Punjabi newspaper and magazines.”

Maha says:

“Kabhi likhi hui parhi nahi. ... Aisa kabhi nahi hua kay kisi Punjabi writer kaa kuch likha hua parha ho... Punjabi novels wagaira bilkul nahi parti... Magar Urdu magazines parh leti huun. Baaki ghar main English akhabr bhi aata hai.”
[I have never read Punjabi language in the written form. It never happened that I have read something written by a Punjabi writer. I do not read Punjabi novels. I read Urdu magazines and English newspaper.]

Hira argues:

“Nahi [No] and the reason being that I feel that reading Punjabi script is difficult. Otherwise, if someone recites anything from Punjabi literature I may listen because I have good listening in Punjabi but I have hardly read anything in Punjabi so I find Punjabi script difficult to read as I could not read Punjabi script very fluently iss liay [that’s why] I have not come across any Punjabi author.”

Wasim is the one, who can read Punjabi as he says,

“Yeah. I can read Punjabi.”

Since they cannot read Punjabi language, they are devoid of experiencing the richness, depth and beauty of Punjabi literature which it offers in the form of poetry, short stories, folk tales and proverbs.

6.3.8 Future of Punjabi Language

Another important theme which emerged from the interviews of the participants is related to the future of Punjabi language. The research participants are not optimistic about the future of Punjabi language as they do not see it as a developing and progressing language. The bleak future of Punjabi language also refrains them from adopting it as they are moving away from the language due to self-consciousness, social consciousness and status consciousness. This is what Bilal has to say regarding the future of Punjabi language,
“Punjabi language to bilkul bhi develop nahi kar rahi, haan. Development ka aik aspect hota hay kay media pay ziaada nazar aaen aur media pay to gaanay hiiaatay hain. To gaanon main hi progress kar rahi hay aur uss kay ilaawa iss mainscientific education nahi hay. So, in my books, yeh (Punjabi language) nahi progress kar rahi.”

[Punjabi language is not developing at all. One aspect of development lies in the fact that it is widely used in media which is not the case with Punjabi language. It is just developing in the villages. You cannot find scientific education in it as well. So, in my books, Punjabi language is not progressing.]

While drawing a comparison, he strongly believes that English is a developing language, not only in Pakistan but also in the whole world. He considers adopting English as of utmost importance for surviving in this 21st century mutually interdependent world. He says,

“English as a whole puuri dunya main develop kar rahi hay. Pakistan kay andar...English is certainly developing ... Ab to jo country English language say duur ho gi to uss ka actually matlab yeh hay kay wo apnay aap ko economic mainstream say duur kar rahi hay. Without English, aap kidhar hain. You are nowhere.”

[English, as a whole, is developing in the world. English is developing in Pakistan as well. Now-a-days, if a country is moving away from English, it means that it is moving away from the economic mainstream. Without English, where are you? You are nowhere.]
He also talks about the dominant ideology of English being a representative of elite class and educated, refined people. He says,

“Duusra yeh hay kay ab English status symbol hay aur logon ka apna inferiority complex bhi hay. Log complex ka bhi shikaar hain issi liay there is a limit to kay aap ko kitna adopt karna chahiay.”

[Secondly, English is a status symbol now which shows the inferiority complex of people as well. People have complexes so there is a limit to which you should adopt this language.]

Qasim is not optimistic about the future of Punjabi language as well and says,

“Punjabi is not a developing language in Pakistan. Urdu, to some extent is not developing also, English is progressing in Pakistan as in most of the schools, and children are taught in English from the very first class. The medium of education is English so English is progressing as compared to Urdu and Punjabi... I do not see a good future for Punjabi language in Pakistan. It is just spoken as a language. The literature in Punjabi language is not that much developed; so, I do not think that there is a good future of Punjabi language in Pakistan...At the moment I do not feel any kind of development of the language.”

Maha believes that Punjabi can be considered as developing in the rural areas, but not in the urban areas. She says,

“Jaisay pindi, Islamabad main to nahi kar rahi. High society main to bilkul ho nahi hai. Mediocre main bhi bohat kam reh gaii hai. Bas jo lower tabka hai ussi main ziaada hai aur gaaon main zaruur ho gi.”
It is not developing in Rawalpindi or Islamabad. It is not developing at all in the higher society. It is not developing in the middle class as well. It is only developing in the lower class and in villages.

As compared to Punjabi, she believes that English and Urdu are developing languages in Pakistan. She says,

“Haan Urdu to bohat common hai. Agar aap Yahan ki market main chalay jaaien, to app dekhin gi kay chotay chotay bachon ki maean un kay saath English main baat karti hui nazar aain gi. English to ab aik tarah ka fashion hi ban gai hai.”

[Yes, Urdu is very common. If you go to the local market you will see parents talking to their children in Urdu and English. And using English has become a fashion now a days.]

Thus, Punjabi has a very dark future as it is not the language of urban city centers:

“Meray khayaal main to bohat dark future hai. Gaanon wagaira main to log phir bhi bol lain gay laikin cities main to bilkul bhi nahi hai.”

[I think Punjabi language has a very dark future. People will speak it in villages perhaps but it will not be used in cities.]

Hira has nothing different to say when it comes to the future of Punjabi language. She says,

“No not very optimistic. I feel that this language will be used lesser and lesser in future because of the international influence and because of the thinking of its native speakers as they themselves look down upon the language. They themselves acknowledge that Punjabi ka to bara jaahilaana sa [an uneducated] expression
hai. So, as long as the native speakers themselves are looking down upon their language and different stereotypes are associated with this language and these thought patterns in may [are so] well-rooted hain kay wo change nahi ho saktay [that they cannot change]. There is a saying that no one can make you feel inferior without your consent. So, if you show your own consent that yes, this is a bad language, then, obviously the outsiders (will feel the same)… the more weaker you feel from your inside, the more inferior you feel about your own identity. Those who do not have this identity, they will have a greater chance of cornering you or pushing you against it....”

She does not consider Punjabi a developing language. She says,

“I feel kay nahi kar rahe [I do not think that it is developing]. Iss ka primary reason to yeh hai kay [the primary reason is that] I have come across many Punjabi speaking families where Punjabi is the first language but I have seen that mostly parents speaking it or the previous generation speaking it. Children have a good intelligibility of the language and they can understand the language but they have never tried to use it probably the influence of the friends, peer pressure and the influence of the environment in which the young generation spends most of its time, that compels them to behave in a certain manner, behave in a more fashionable and more stylized manner and for that matter they use English language more frequently and even when they are not using English language, they have this constant feeling that we are being judged so they avoid using their native language as they don’t want to be discriminated... they don’t want any labels attached to them ... I feel that the younger generation is getting farther and
farther away from Punjabi language because of their self-consciousness, social consciousness and because of status consciousness...”

She also feels that English is a growing language in the society as compared to Urdu and Punjabi. She says,

“I feel kay English of course ziaada develop kar rahi hai iss liay kay [I feel that English is of course developing in the society as] more and more schools are offering English as a medium of instruction now. More and more organizations are looking for candidates for a job who are more fluent in English whatever the job nature may be. Organizations are more keen on hiring those people who have a good proficiency of English and even for external communication or even if you are talking to a taxi driver and people belonging to a comparatively lower strata of life but even those people have a pretty good understanding of English language. So, I feel that obviously English is becoming more and more important as compared to Urdu as it has more chances of development in Pakistan.”

She sheds light on the importance of English for Pakistan in the modern era in the following words,

“Bohat important hai [it is very important]. I feel kay [that] in order to be a part of the global community, you must adapt yourself according to the demands of the new world and since English is an international language and if you want to reach out to the world, you have to use English and so for that matter, in the 21st century, Pakistan has to adopt English as a language of common use and as a language of professional and academic use also so that they can be rated higher
so that the world can know what talents we have and so that we can prosper better and attain a better position.”

Wasim comes up with a different point of view, as he believes that Punjabi languages is developing and has a bright future because of the expansion of Punjabi culture and music. He says,

“I think Punjabi has a bright future in Pakistan. I can’t see Punjabi going down. I can’t see any threat to Punjabi because if you look at Urdu a lot of people don’t prefer Urdu and they are going for English and English is not a direct threat to Punjabi. English is totally and entirely a different language. So, the major threat to Punjabi was from Urdu. But, nowadays Urdu is going down and Urdu is not that much getting popularity. Punjabi culture is dominating now a days. Punjabi music, Punjabi bhangra and Punjabi stage shows and Punjabi dramas so these things are getting popular and these things are getting famous so it will help Punjabi to grow in Pakistan.”

But, overall their fears about the dark and fading future of Punjabi language leaves them with no choice as their natural and common sense preference is English language because of its promising and bright future not only in the society of Pakistan but also at the global level.

The above themes and observations reveal the fact that there is ambivalence and dichotomy in the attitude of the research participants towards Punjabi language. On the one hand, they acknowledge that Punjabi is their native language and want to see it
promoted in different domains in Pakistan. But, on the other hand, it is not even the language of their everyday communication. Just to quote from their interviews, Bilal argues:

“Yeh to aik unfortunate baat hay kay iss ko develop nahi kiya gaya. Punjabi is a very beautiful and lovely language...Bilkul important hay. Yeh hamaari apni language hay. Iss ko khatam nahi hona chahiay.”

[It is quite unfortunate that this language was not developed. Punjabi is a very beautiful and lovely language. It is important. It is our own language. It should not die.]

In the words of Qasim,

“Yes, we should speak Punjabi language in order to keep it alive as it reveals our identity by showing the area from where we have come.”

The clash between thoughts and actions is clearly visible in the following response of Maha:

“Aisa kuch bura nahi aata kiyun kay yeh hamaari zubaan hai jis tarah Urdu zubaan hai. Aisi koi negative feelings nahi aatiin agar koi bol raha hai to theek hai uss ko shoak hai to wo bol sakta hai to koi negative feeling nahi... Leikin Aaj kal ka jis tarah ka mahoal hay, jis tarah ki environment hai, jis tarah sab kuch fast hai to iss main ziaada preference to English aur Urdu ko hi haasil hai.”

[Well, nothing bad comes to the mid. It is our language just as Urdu is our language. There are no negative feelings attached to it. If someone is speaking it, its fine and there is nothing bad or negative about it. But in today’s society and
environment where everything is so fast, I will give more preference to English and Urdu.]

This is what Hira has to say in this respect:

“Punjabi language gives me a very good feeling when I hear the word Punjabi language because my mother tongue is Punjabi...I feel the best thing about Punjabi language is that it’s a very comfortable and a very open language and for anyone who is an expressive person and who wants to speak out his heart, the language offers plenty and plenty of expressions. It caters to any kind of demand of expression. I feel that it has a very broad range of expressions...”

She further adds:

“I am a Punjabi speaker and I feel that I am a part of Punjabi speech community and being part of a community I should not only enjoy a certain status but there are certain responsibilities attached with it and we (the native speakers) should work for the development and for the sake of keeping our language alive and we should never be ashamed of using our language and we should use this language whenever the situation demands ... and ultimately if we ourselves look down upon our language and abandon it, it will never be able to be acknowledged by others.”

6.3.9 Analysis of Informal Conversation

In addition to semi-structured interviews, the informal conversations of the participants were recorded to observe their use of different languages in their everyday life in natural and different settings. The settings included dinnertime and teatime. The
The following table and its graphical representation paint a clear picture of the language usage, choices and preferences of my research participants in their homes. The following table shows the number of Punjabi words which were used as compared to English and Urdu words in their different conversations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Punjabi Words</th>
<th>Urdu Words</th>
<th>English Words</th>
<th>Total Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>UF 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1459</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>UF 2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>2159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>UF 3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1200</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>1405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>UF 4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>1430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>UF 5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1389</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1435</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Results of Informal Conversation according to Language Usage

The figures show that in their informal conversation with their family members, four words of Punjabi language were used in only one family, whereas, in the other four families, not even a single word of Punjabi language was used. The following graph represents language usage in informal conversation of the urban research participants:
Graph 1: Graphical Representation of language usage in informal conversation of the urban research participants

The following graph shows the usage of English, Urdu and Punjabi in the urban families who participated in this study:
Graph 2: Usage of English, Urdu and Punjabi in the urban families

This pie chart shows the percentage of the usage of English, Urdu and Punjabi in the urban research families. This chart clearly shows the absolute absence of Punjabi language in the urban families as Urdu emerged as the dominant medium of communication and English is also used.
The current dichotomous state reveals that the research participants are in a fix regarding two conflicting and paradoxical goals – either to maintain their native language to preserve their ethnic, cultural and linguistic identity and heritage or to move towards English in the hope of a dynamic and bright professional career for themselves and their children. Although they consider Punjabi an important symbol of their ethnic, social identity and cultural heritage, but these ideals are not supported by linguistic practices and actions as they speak Urdu and mostly English to their children and among themselves. They are not making any effort to incorporate Punjabi in their homes. As a result, they themselves and their children are proficient and comfortable in Urdu and English and Punjabi language is not even in the picture. Thus, the research participants have deliberately dissociated themselves with Punjabi under the immense pressure of the
demand of Urdu at the national and English at the international level. They are shifting primarily to English language because of the numerous benefits which they can enjoy from its usage as language choice is always profit driven. The whole situation shows that Punjabi language is segregated and marginalized as compared to English and Urdu even after being the language of the majority of the population. The same situation can be witnessed in Black South Africans who, on the one hand, value their native languages as marker of social and ethnic identity but, on the other hand, prefer to learn and speak English in multiple domains in the hope of a better future (Mwaniki, 2011).

In Pakistan, English is more than a language; it is an ideology which clearly states that if one wants to be known and acknowledged as someone who is educated and modern, one must speak English. English will enable him/her to enter and climb up the elite circle of the society. The role and use of English in the society is pervasive as it is used in academia and at the workplace as well. This widespread use of English both in the formal and informal domains is significant. The level of prestige which is attached with English has created a sense of inferiority among the Punjabi speech community persuading the native speakers to desert Punjabi language. Such widespread development of English is proving detrimental not only to Punjabi but also to the other regional languages of Pakistan.

One key observation during the interviews was that the participants were given the freedom to speak English, Urdu or Punjabi for answering the questions. But, they kept on using either English or Urdu. The following quotes are interesting:
“Punjabi language gives me a very good feeling... I am a Punjabi speaker and I feel that I am a part of Punjabi speech community and being part of a community I should not only enjoy a certain status but there are certain responsibilities attached with it and we (the native speakers) should work for the development and for the sake of keeping our language alive and we should never be ashamed of using our language and we should use this language whenever the situation demands.”

“I am a proud Punjabi.... Laikin mein [ghar main] Urdu main baat karta huun. [but I speak urdu language at home]”

“The best thing about Punjabi language is that it is very easy to express your emotions in Punjabi language as compared to other languages. So, it is an expressive language for me.”

6.3.10 Summary

The analysis of linguistic practices of the research participants in the urban area narrates the story of linguistic oppression and linguistic racism. It clearly depicts the marginalized status of Punjabi language in the society as compared to English and Urdu, thus, reducing it to the level of ‘other.’ The unfortunate language has been reduced to the personal folk festival because it failed to enter the social, political and institutional realms of power. The underlying role of linguistic ideologies and various social institutions have disrupted and distorted Punjabi language while consolidating the power and hegemonic rule of English and Urdu in the society. These forces have played a pivotal role in disrupting the perceptions about Punjabi language and culture by giving rise to false
perceptions, illusions, notions and consciousness, thus, associating it with the people belonging to the lower strata of life. With so many negative connotations associated with Punjabi language, the participants do not consider it worthwhile to maintain Punjabi language as they no longer see its use advantageous and profitable to them. For them, Punjabi is just a part of their cultural heritage, but they do not use it for communicative purposes. In this scenario, Punjabi is reduced to the status of a stigmatized, ignored and consciously deserted and abandoned language.

6.4 Data Analysis - Rural Families

This section presents a detailed description, analysis and interpretation of the linguistic practices of my research participants living in the rural areas. The participants were selected on the basis of their educational level, marital status, monthly income, occupation, family background and the size of land owned by them. The age of the participants ranged from 35 to 52 years old. All of the participants were married and they had diverse educational background as all of them were graduates having a bachelor’s degree. The themes, which will be discussed in this section, will highlight their attitude and belief towards Punjabi, English and Urdu language and their informal conversation will reveal their everyday language practices and patterns. The themes which emerged from the data analysis are as follows:

6.4.1 Home Language

The dominant theme which emerged is related to the home language of the research participants as Punjabi language is the medium of communication in their
homes. It is the language of their everyday life activities where the research participants use it to communicate with their family members, relatives, friends and neighbours and parents talk to their children in Punjabi and the children reply in the same language. The young children use Punjabi to communicate with their friends and cousins as well. So, it is a dominant language inside and outside their homes. My research participants like speaking Punjabi in the private and public domain, thus showing a positive attitude towards the language. Umar, a research participant, says:

“Bilkul. Punjabi bolta bhi huun, samajh bhi skata huun aur likh bhi sakta huun. Ghar main throughout Punjabi bolta huun. Yahan to one to all Punjabi hai.”

[Sure. I speak Punjabi language. I can understand and write Punjabi. I speak Punjabi language at home.]

Atif has the same response:


[I speak Punjabi language. I speak Punjabi language at home and outside the home as well.]

Jawad says,

“Gi ham Punjabi ghar main bhi boltay hain aur ghar say baahir bhi boltay hain aur jab takriir karni ho to tab bhi Punjabi main karta huun.”

[We speak Punjabi language at home and outside home as well. Whenever I have to deliver a speech, I do it in Punjabi language.]

Fatima asserts:
“Gi mein ghar main Punjabi bolti huun aur baron aur bachon sab kay saath Punjabi bolti huun.”

[Yes, I speak Punjabi language at home with the elder and younger ones as well.]

Shahid also communicates solely in Punjabi language when he is talking to his family members. He says,

“Haan gi, mein tay tuaaday samnay bhi bol raya aan aur har jagah Punjabi hi chal di aa har welay, Urdu wi nahi chaldi. Urdu bilkul wi nahi chaldi.”

[Yes, I am speaking Punjabi even in front of you. I use Punjabi everywhere and not Urdu. I do not use Urdu at all.]

Their practice of using Punjabi language not just in the family domain but also even outside the home reveals their positive attitude towards it. The same practice was observed in the Xokleng speech community where Xokleng speakers expressed their positive attitude towards their language by speaking it and preferring its use in different and multiple domains (Wiik, 1999; Anonby, 2004).

In addition to being the dominant medium of communication, I observed that all of the rural research participants strongly associate themselves with Punjabi language as they used the words, ‘native language’ and ‘mother tongue’ while referring to it. Umar believes:

“Gi bilkul. Iss main koi shak nahi hai kay jo log Punjab kay rehnay walay hain wahan historically Punjabi language sadion say chali aa rahi hai iss liay yeh hamaari identity ka hisa hai.”
[Yes, there is no doubt in the fact that it is a part of our identity as it is historically been used in the province of Punjab for centuries.]

Jawad says,

“Yeh [Punjabi] hamaari madri zubaan hai aur saanu aiday naal bara pyaar aa... bilkul gi Punjabi hamaari shanakht ka hisa hai.”

[Punjabi is our mother tongue and we love it a lot. Sure, Punjabi language is a part of our identity.]

Fatima says,

“Hamain to apni zubaan achi lagti hay aur yeh kay yeh hamaari madari zubaan hai.”

[We like our language because it is our mother tongue.]

Atif’s response is evident of his love for Punjabi language as he says,

“Pehli chiiiz yeh aati hai kay yeh hamaari mother language hai aur jab koi hamaari mother language bolta hai to hamain khushi hoti hai kay wo Punjabi bol raha hai. Ham to bohat proud [feel kartay] hain Punjabi honay pay.”

[The first thing is that it is our mother tongue and whenever someone speaks our mother tongue, we feel good. We are proud to be a Punjabi.]

He further adds:

“Haan ji bilkul. Wo [Punjabi language] to hamaara hisa hai.”

[Yes sure. Punjabi language is our part.]

Shahid also uses the expression of ‘mother tongue’ while referring to Punjabi language as he mentions:

“Yeh [Punjabi language] hamaari madari zubaan hai.”
The above responses clearly reveal the close affiliation of my research participants with Punjabi language. They are determined to keep it close to their hearts even if it has a weak status in the society and does not hold much importance for others. For them, Punjabi language plays an important role as a marker of distinct ethnic and cultural identity which differentiates them from others. Punjabi is viewed positively and admired because of its cultural affiliations. They are proud of their linguistic and cultural heritage and consider Punjabi language as a part of their identity and core values. The rural research participants, thus, maintain Punjabi language displaying a positive attitude towards it. In the words of May (2005: 330):

“While language may not be a determining feature of ethnic identity, it remains nonetheless a significant one in many instances… languages clearly are for many people an important and constitutive factor of their individual, and at times, collective identities. This is so, even when holding onto such languages has specific negative social and political consequences for their speakers, most often via active discrimination and/or oppression.”

Sakamoto (2001) conducted a study to observe the language practices and language maintenance of five Japanese families living in Toronto. He stated that the families’ positive attitude and the strong and close bonding with Japanese is the most important factor in maintaining the language. Fishman (1995) also supports the viewpoint that the native speakers only maintain their native language when they believe that it is
worth maintaining as a source of staying close to their cultural and ethnic identity. He (1995: 51) says,

“Languages are not merely innocent means of communication. They stand for or symbolize peoples, i.e., ethnocultures [...] Languages may very well all be equally valid and precious markers of cultural belonging, behavior and identity.”

Hungarians in Australia are the ones who maintain their native language irrespective of the fact that it is not a powerful and economically attractive language in the Australian society (Smolicz, 1999). For them, the maintenance of their language, “transcends any instrumental consideration, and represents a striving for self-fulfillment that makes the language a symbol of survival, and hence of autotelic significance” (Smolicz, 1999: 29). They do not desert their native language for, “pragmatic decisions in which another variety is seen as more important for the future” (Edwards, 1985: 71). The maintenance of Hungarian is solely dependent on the efforts of the native speakers since it lacks all kinds of support which is required for the development and growth of a language. Similarly, Welsh continue to be used as a medium of communication even in the face of extreme opposition from English (Lewis, 1980). In the same way, the Dutch native speakers who migrated to the United States, even under the extreme pressure to adopt the lifestyle and language of the host country, maintained the Pennsylvania Dutch (Gumperz, 1968; Fishman, 1969).
6.4.2 Intergenerational Language Transmission

Another theme is related to intergenerational language transmission as Punjabi language is transferred to the younger generation in the rural areas due to their strong affiliation with the language. A language is on its way to death and extinction if it is not passed on to the next generation as lack of intergenerational language transmission triggers and accelerates the process of language shift and language desertion. In the words of Fishman (1991: 113)

“Without intergenerational mother tongue transmission … no language maintenance is possible.”

Similarly, intergenerational language transmission is considered a major factor in language endangerment by UNESCO researchers and experts who highlighted nine factors which play a major role in language endangerment as mentioned by Brenzinger et al. (2003: 9-17).

1. Intergenerational language transmission
2. Absolute numbers of speakers
3. Proportion of speakers within the total population
4. Loss of existing language domains
5. Response to new domains and media
6. Materials for language education and literacy
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies
8. Community members’ attitudes towards their own language
9. Amount and quality of documentation

Furthermore, six categories are developed by the UNESCO experts which show the level of language endangerment according to intergenerational language transmission (Brenzinger et al., 2003: 8). The categories are mentioned in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of endangerment</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Speaker population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Safe</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>The language is used by all ages from children up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unsafe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definitively endangered</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Severely endangered</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 20: Intergenerational Language Transmission (Brenzinger et al., 2003: 8)

My research participants strongly voted in favour of Punjabi when it comes to transferring a language to the future generation as they do not want to leave their native language. Umar says:

“Ji yeh hamaari mother language hai to iss liay un ko kehtay hain kay iss ko bolain.”

[Yes, it is our mother language that is why we tell them to speak it.]

In terms of intergenerational language transmission, Atif says:

“Hamaaray ghar main Punjabi boltaa hain aur hamesha Punjabi boli jaati hai. Ham nay to kabhi nahi kaha kay Urdu bolo ya English bolo. Ham Punjabi bol rahay hain aur wo bhi boltaa hain bas thiik hai... Agar parhanay ki had tak ho to phir to Urdu aur agar bolnay ki haf tak ho to phir Punjabi.”
We speak Punjabi at home. We never told them to speak English or Urdu. We speak Punjabi and they speak Punjabi which is fine for us. If it comes to studying, then, it is Urdu and when it comes to speaking, then, it is Punjabi.

Jawad expresses his point of view in the following manner:

“kaumi zubaan day lihaaz naal asi urud karain gay tay maadri zubaan bhi karain gay to iss liay donon hi saath saath karain gay.”

We will transmit Urdu, from a national language’s perspective, and from the perspective of mother tongue, we will transmit Punjabi language. So, we will transmit both languages at the same time.

The same idea echoes in Fatima’s response:

“Urdu [bhi] sikhain gay laikin wo ghar main Punjabi bolain gay aur school main Urdu bolain gay. Ham to yeh hi chahain gay kay wo donon zubaanain bolain.”

We will teach Urdu as well but they will speak Punjabi language at home and they will speak Urdu language at school. We would like them to learn both these languages.

Shahid votes in favour of Punjabi when asked about intergenerational language transmission in the following words:

“Mein tay Punjabi hi karan ga jeri zubaan mein bolda aan. Meinu ay thiik lagdi aa.”

I will transmit Punjabi language, the language which I speak. For me, it is fine.

Schooling (1991) conducted a study, which spread over ten years, in Melanesia to observe the linguistic situation from the perspective of language maintenance since the
existing literature clearly highlighted a shift to French resulting in the ultimate death of the local languages. But the results of his study showed a different picture in which the local languages were maintained and transmitted to the younger generation. It was revealed that the local language was the dominant medium of communication among the rural Melanesians who used it excessively inside and outside of their homes. They considered their language an important marker of their socio-cultural identity showing their positive attitude towards it. But, French was also used in particular settings which include educational system and served as a means of wider communication. The rural Melanesians expressed their strong affiliation with and positive attitude towards the vernacular through their responses and language practices in everyday life. They were aware of the importance of their language and made a conscious effort to use it in their everyday life and to transmit it to the future generation. Schooling used the term “selective attitude” to show the attitude of rural Melanesians towards French as they used it in limited social contexts. The overall linguistic situation in Melanesian revealed a positive trend towards the maintenance of Melanesian vernacular, whereas French was used in the limited domains and for limited purposes.

Chakshuraksha (2003) studied the language practices and language attitude of a Black Tai minority community at Nongkhe village in Thailand in the family domain. She selected three Black Tai families and used interviews and recordings of informal conversations as the major tools of data collection. At the end of her study, she highlighted various factors which promoted the maintenance of Black Tai language in these families. The factors include home language, intergenerational language
transmission, rare code switching and positive attitudes towards the ethnic language (Baker and Prys Jones, 1998).

Her results revealed the strong presence of Black Tai in the home domain of these families as it is a common medium of communication among the family members irrespective of the age, gender and educational level of the family members. Black Tai is passed onto the younger generation, thus ensuring its survival and maintenance. Although the members of these families are exposed to the standard Thai through the electronic and print media, but Black Tai remains the language of their home. However, the recordings of their informal conversation reveal the effects of mass media as the phenomenon of inter-sentential and intra-sentential code switching between the Black Tai and Standard Thai was observed. But, such rare and minor level of code switching did not raise any concerns regarding the maintenance of Black Tai as a large number of code switching generally results in language shift (Crystal, 2000). In addition to home language and intergenerational language transmission, positive attitude of the research participants towards Black Tai played a significant role in its maintenance in the home domain. Their strong association with their culture and heritage resulted in the maintenance of their language. Due to the above-mentioned factors, Black Tai language is flourishing in these three families as it is the widespread medium of communication among the family members.

The language practices and language preferences of the rural research participants in terms of selecting their home language and intergenerational language transmission
clearly reveal their positive attitude towards and appreciation for Punjabi language. This theme is closely linked with the idea of additive bilingualism which is the next point of discussion.

6.4.3 Additive Bilingualism

Another interesting finding highlighted the fact that the research participants believe in the concept of additive bilingualism which “generally occurs where both languages continue to be useful and valued” (Edwards, 2004: 10) as opposed to subtractive bilingualism. The concept of subtractive bilingualism refers to,

“… A society in which one language is valued more than the other, where one dominates the other, where one is on the ascendant and the other is waning” (Edwards, 2004: 11).

My research participants encourage their children to learn English and Urdu but not at the cost of Punjabi. This again is a strong indicator of their positive attitude towards Punjabi language as they do not want to sacrifice their native language while learning a second language. Umar says,

“[wo] shuruu din say Punjabi to boltay hi boltay hain har waqat boltay hain laikin iss kay saath saath Urdu bhi bolain... koshish yeh hoti hai kay bachon ko Urdu sikhai jaey kiyun kay Urdu hamaari national language hai...Laikin Punjabi mother language hai iss liay iss ko bhi saath main promote karain gay.”

[They speak Punjabi language from the beginning but we would like them to learn and speak Urdu as well as it is our national language. But we will promote Punjabi language as well as it is our mother language.]
Atif says,

“Agar wo Urdu bolna chahtay hain to wo bhi thiik hai wo Urdu bhi bolain kiyuun kay wo bhi hamaari komi zubaan hai.”

[If they want to speak Urdu, it is fine as it is our national language.]

Atif says:

“Mera khyaal hai kay zubaanain banday ko jitni bhi aati hon wo bolni chahiay jaisay agar aap kisi duusray mulk jaatay hain aur aap ko is ki zubaan nahi aaeay gi to naa aap un ko samajh sakain gay aur na hi wahan koi kaam kar sakain gay. Iss liay zubaanain jitni bhi aati hain wo acha hi hai.”

[I think that one should speak as many languages as he/she knows. Just as if you go to a foreign country where you do not know the language, then, no one will understand you and you will not be able to understand anyone. That’s why it is good to know as many languages as you can.]

He underlines the importance of learning various regional languages in the following words:

“Zubaan to aani chahiay koi bhi zubaan ho jaisay ilaakai zubaanain jitni hain wo bhi aani chahian, angrezi bhi aani chahiay aur Urdu bhi aani chahiay.”

[It is good to know a language as there are many regional languages which you should know, you should know English and Urdu as well.]

Jawad believes that one should learn as many languages as possible. He says,

It is good to learn as many languages as possible. Hazrat Sheikh Saadi knew seven languages that is why one should learn English, Urdu and Punjabi.

Schooling (1991) observed the same concept of additive bilingualism in Melanesia. The Melanesians learned Melanesian vernacular as their first language. The second language which they learned was French as they believed in the concept of additive bilingualism and the parents encouraged their children to learn the local vernacular along with learning French. French was mainly learned because of the pragmatic and economic benefits it offered but adopting French culture through its language was not the priority of the Melanesians. This reveals their mixed attitude towards French which served as affirming the value and significance of the local vernaculars. So, the Melanesian vernacular dominates the everyday communication of the rural Melanesians but French was also learned by the Melanesians (Schooling, 1991). Thus, by believing in the concept of additive bilingualism, the rural research participants are in favour of learning other languages along with maintaining their mother language, Punjabi.

6.4.4 Punjabi – An Economically Weak Language

The belief that Punjabi is an economically weak language as compared to English and Urdu prevails in the rural areas as well. The rural research participants are aware of the fact that English is an international language and learning English can help them to make their lives better. They believe that English will enable them to have an access to the outside world, whereas, Punjabi language confines them to their villages. They
displayed positive attitude towards learning English because of its dominant position in the society and worldwide. English language is valued and aspired because of the social and economic benefits it has to offer to those who speak it, thus, it is linked to the capital domain. In addition, during the semi-structured interviews, they give voice to a number of deep-rooted language ideologies which view different languages from different perspectives. Umar says about the role of English in getting a lucrative job:

“Ji bilkul. Ab to yeh aik zarurat ban gai hai Pakistan main to. Yeh aik international language bhi hai. Iss liay yeh aik must hai. Aap jahan bhi job kay liay jaane gay sab say pehlay wo puuchtay hi yahi hain kay haan ji Urdu aati hai aur phir English aati aati hai. Agar aap ko English aati hai to aap ko prefer karain gay warna wo kahain gay kay iss ko kuch aata hi nahi hai.”

[Yes sure, English has become a requirement in our society now a days. It is an international language as well. That is why it is a must now. Whenever you go for a job, they ask you whether you know English or not. If you tell them that you know English, they will prefer you; otherwise, they will think that you know nothing.]

As compared to Punjabi and Urdu, he believes that English is progressing in Pakistan because it is an economically strong language.

“Ji bilkul kiyuun kay hamaara education system hi aisa hai. Har taraf English ko importance di jaa rahii hai. Chotay say chota bacha hai aur logon ki koshish hoti hai kay English medium school main jaey. To definitely English bohat develop kar rahi hai. Laikin mujhay lagta hai kay sab say ziaada Urdu develop kar rahi hai. Log all over Pakistan iss ko boltay bhi hain aur samajhtay bhi hain.”
[Yes sure because our education system is like that. English is being promoted everywhere. People want their children to go to English medium schools. So English is definitely developing. But I feel that Urdu language is more developing as people across Pakistan speak and understand it.]

Therefore, he is in favour of English medium schools for his children. He says,

“Aaj kal generally aik trend ban gaya hai kay English main parhain gay to har koi iss ko welcome karay ga aur Urdu medium ki itni ziaada kadar nahi kartay aur kehtay hain kay agar aap nay apni life main taraki Karni hai aur acha career chahiyay to app ko English aani chahiay. Urdu to sab ko aati hai laikin English aaeay gi to aap ziaada grow karo gay.”

[It has become a trend now a days that English medium schools are preferred everywhere. Urdu medium schools are not valued. It is believed that if you want to progress in your life and career, then, you should know English. Everyone knows Urdu but you will grow a lot if you know English.]

Atif believes that learning and speaking English language shows one’s competence and intellect. He says,

“English aani chahiay. Bilkul aap mother language bol rahay hain magar aap ko English aati hai to bohat hi achi baat hai aur wo aap ki kaabliat show karti hai. ... Aur khaas tor pay aaj kal kay dor main jo interview lenay walay hain wo English main hi baat kartay hain to English aani chahiay.”

[Yes, one should know English. It is good if you speak your mother language but if you know English, it is even better as it shows your competence. Especially now a days as most of the interviews are conducted in English.]
He talks about the significance of English language and considers it developing in terms of its vocabulary as it has a lot of terms, especially in the field of science, technology and medicine, which are not present in Punjabi language. He says,

“Agar aaj kal dekhain to English bohat hi ziaada zaruuri hai kiyuun aaj kal jitnay bhi technical words hain wo to saaray English hi main hain, Punjabi main nahi hain. Aap engineering main jaain ya kisi bhi shobay main jaain, medical main jaain to wahan saara kuch angrezi hi main ho ga to jis ko angrezi sahi aati hai wo banda sahi deal kar sakay ga.”

[Now a days English is very important as most of the technical words are in English and not in Punjabi. If you join engineering or any other profession, be it medical, everything is in English so if a person knows English, he will be in a better position to deal with things.]

Jawad also has the same opinion. He says,

“Iss kay liay [for getting a good job] English zaruuri hai.”

[English is important for getting a good job.]

He is in favour of English medium school for his children as he mentions that it has become a requirement now a days:

“Waqat day lihaaz naal tay ay hi aa kay English medium chay jaana chahi daa kiyuun kay chalda hi o aa.”

[Looking at the present time, it is appropriate to join English medium school as it is a common practice now a days.]
Fatima expresses the importance of English for a better future by asserting that English is necessary for one’s bright future and for that matter, she prefers English medium school for her children as she says:

“[For getting a good job] haan gi English bolna zaruri hai ... English medium school main bachon ko behjuun gi taa kay wo parhain aur taraki karain kiyun kay taraki karnay kay liay English bohat zaruuri hai.”

[Yes, speaking English is necessary for getting a good job. I will send my children to English medium schools so that they study and make progress in their lives as English is very necessary for making progress.]

Shahid categorically declares English an economically strong language in Pakistan as compared to Urdu and Punjabi. He goes to the extent of saying that one cannot survive without learning English. He says,

“Bohat zaruuri ay oday wastay tay bohat hi zaruuri ay. Aik banda normal zamindaara kar raya hay ga yaa dukaan kar raya hay ga oday wastay bhi English thori boti samjhna tay bolna zaruuri ay. Oton bagair guzaara nahi hay ga.”

[English is very important. If someone is working in the fields or he is a shopkeeper, it is even important for him to have know-how of English language. It is difficult of survive without it.]

Therefore, he makes the common sense choice of sending his children to English medium schools as he mentions,

“English medium school chay hi bhejaan ga.”

[I will send them to English medium schools].
6.4.5 Language Usage in Formal and Informal Settings

The results of the research participants’ interviews reveal that they use Punjabi language on formal and informal occasions. Whenever they go out shopping with friends and family members, their medium of communication remains Punjabi. Only one research participant mentions that if his interlocutor faces problem in understanding him, he switches to Urdu. But, on the whole, their use of Punjabi language is not situation-specific as they make excessive use of Punjabi language in formal and informal settings. Umar says,

“Mostly Punjabi hi boltay hain... Baaz jagah main log use kartay hain laikin yeh hai kay iss ki coverage itni ziaada nahi hai iss liay itna use nahi kar saktay.”

[Mostly, we use Punjabi. But there are times when Punjabi does not have coverage to a wider area, in that situation, we cannot use it there.]

But whenever he goes out shopping, he communicates in Urdu, but if the shopkeeper is Punjabi, he talks in Punjabi language:

“Phir Urdu bolta huun. Kiyuun kay iss kay liay shehar main jaatay hain aur shehar main log Urdu bol rahay hotay hain aur har koi samajhta bhi hai Urdu. Haan agar saamnay waala Punjabi bolay to uss say Punjabi boltay hain.”

[Then, I speak Urdu because for that, we have to go to the city and people speak and understand Urdu in the city. But, if the other person speaks Punjabi then I communicate with him in Punjabi.]

Atif uses Punjabi language whenever he goes shopping as he mentions:

“Aksar jo dukaandar hotay hain wo ziaada tar Punjabi hi hotay hain aur un kay saath Punjabi main hi baat ki jaati hai.”
Most of the shopkeepers are Punjabi and I talk to them in Punjabi.

He strongly supports the idea of using it in the formal domain. He says,

“Kam az kam Punjab level pay to iss ko zarur hona chahiay kiyuun kay yeh aisi zubaan hai jo bohat ziaada jagah pay boli jaati hai.”

[At least it should be used at the provincial level because it is widely understood in the province.]

Jawad believes that since Urdu is the national language and enjoys the status of lingua franca in Pakistan, it should be used in the formal domains. He says,

“Meray khayaal main jaisay hamaari kaumi zubaan Urdu hai aur Punjabi zubaan chuun kay madri zubaan hai Punjab waalon ki aur aay Punjab tak mehduud aa iss liay yeh ziaada daftaroon main nahi istamaal ho sakti. Urdu hamaari kaumi zubaan hai aur saaray Pakistan main boli aur suni jaati hai iss liay Urdu honi chahiay.”

[I think that as Urdu is our national language and Punjabi is our mother tongue which is restricted to the province of Punjabi so it cannot be used in offices. Since Urdu is our national language which is spoken and understood at the national level that is why Urdu should be used.]

But, he communicates in Punjabi wherever he goes as he says,

“Har jagah hi boltay hain. Kahin bhi jaain Punjabi hi bolday aan gi.”

[Wherever we go, we speak Punjabi language.]

Fatima has the same opinion as she says,

“...Urdu bolni chahiay kiyuun kay parhay likhay log Urdu boltay hain to iss lyaay Urdu bolni chahiay.”
[One should speak Urdu because educated people speak Urdu that is why Urdu should be used]

But she uses Punjabi in informal gatherings whenever she is with her friends and relatives as she mentions:

“Gi bilkul Punjabi bolti huun.”

[Yes sure I speak Punjabi language.]

Shahid also supports the idea of using Urdu in formal domains as he considers it the language of educated people. He does not consider Punjabi an appropriate language for formal domains as it does not look good to communicate in Punjabi. He says,

“Urdu chalni chahi di aa aisay mokay tay Punjabi nahi honi chahi di aa kiyuun kay ay othay achi nahi lagdi. Jidaan asi hon bethay hay gay aan aur mein Urdu bolan tay ziaada acha lagay iss liay Punjabi formal jagah tay achi nahi lagdi.”

[Urdu should be used at such occasions and not Punjabi because it does not look good. Just as we are sitting now and it will look good if I speak Urdu language that is why Punjabi does not look good at formal places.]

But, he always communicates in Punjabi inside and outside his home. He says,

“Punjabi jidaan hon bolda aan... har welay Punjabi boli di aa chahay ghar bethay hon yaa dukaan tay hon. Agar koi Urdu bolay tay mein kehnda aan kay yaar tu Urdu na bol Punjabi wech gal kar.”

[Punjabi as now I am speaking it. I always speak Punjabi whether I am at home or I am at the shop. If someone talks to me in Urdu, I tell him not so speak Urdu. I tell him to speak Punjabi.]
The usage of Punjabi language in both the formal and informal settings reveal the positive attitude of the rural research participants. I did not observe the usage of English or Urdu in the formal setting. But, most of them voted in favour of using Urdu in the formal domains while declaring it the language of educated and refined people. Following Fishman’s proposition, Greenfield (1972), who was among the first to implement domain analysis, reveals that in Puerto Rican community in New York City, Spanish language is used with family members in home and with friends whereas English is used in formal domains such as in educational institutions and workplaces. Parasher’s (1980) study of India verified the above assertions when he noticed that the native language of his subjects still dominate the home domain. But, his study yielded interesting result when he found English is widely used in the formal domains such as government, education and media while encroaching the informal domain of friendship and neighbourhood as well.

6.4.6 Language Proficiency

Most of the research participants, but not all, can read Punjabi language but they find its script difficult to read. They can easily write and read Punjabi. As readers of Punjabi literature, they mentioned the names of their favourite poets and writers. In the words of Umar:

“Ji parh sakta huun. Jaisay Urdu hoti hai iss say milti julti hi hotti hai Punjabi bhi. Itni mushkil nahi hai. Laikin baaz ilfaaz aisay hotay hain jo ham boltay nahi hain agar wo likhay huay hon to phir thora mushkil lagta hai. Otherwise likh bhi sakta huun aur parh bhi sakta huun.”
[Yes I can read it. It is quite similar to Urdu. It is not that difficult. But there are some words which we do not usually speak so it is difficult to read such words. Otherwise, I can read and write Punjabi language.]

Atif says,

“Punjabi bolni asaan hai laikin parna aur likhna kuch mushkil hi hai iss liay mein nay bakaida nahi parha hua.”

[It is easy to speak Punjabi language but it is a bit difficult to read and write it. That is why I have not read it.]

Jawad is proficient in all the four skills as he can speak, read, write and understand Punjabi language.

“Mein Punjabi zubaan parh sakta huun... abhi mein aap ko Punjabi bol kar dikhaata huun.”

[I can read Punjabi language. I can show you by speaking it now.]

Fatima cannot read or write Punjabi language as she finds its script difficult to understand but she can speak and understand Punjabi language. She says,

“Nahi. Likhi hui Punjabi nahi parh sakti bohat mushkil lagti hai. Laikin mein Punjabi bol bhi sakti huun aur samajh bhi sakti huun.”

[No, I cannot read it as I find it very difficult. But I can speak and understand Punjabi language.]

Shahid claims that he cannot read Punjabi language as he has never tried reading it. He further adds that he has not seen Punjabi in a written form. He says,
“Mein kadi wi Punjabi parn di wi koshish nahi kiti... mein tay kadi Punjabi kitaab nu dekhya wi nahi hai ga.”

[I never tried to read Punjabi language. I have never seen a Punjabi book in my life.]

The proficiency in the oracy and literacy skills in Punjabi language strongly highlight their positive attitude towards it.

6.4.7 Medium of Instruction

All of my research participants, except Fatima, support the idea of having either Punjabi or Urdu as the medium of instruction if not at the national but at the provincial level as they see it as a necessary and indispensable means for the development and growth of Punjabi language. Umar says:

“Urdu hona chahiay. Punjabi to nahi kiyuun kay yeh thori si mushkil bhi ho jaati hai. Mujhay to Urdu ziaada aasaan lagti hai aur mein nay throughout parha hi Urdu main hai. Punjabi bolany main aasaan hai laikin likhnay aur parnay main mushkil hai.”

[It should be Urdu. Punjabi should not be the medium of instruction as it is a bit difficult as well. I find Urdu quite easy as I have studied Urdu throughout. Punjabi language is easy to speak but it is difficult to write and read.]

Atif says,

“Bilkul hona chahiay. Yeh bhi aik zubaan hai aur duusray ilaakon kay log bhi agar iss ko samjhain to achi baat hai kiyuun.”
Yes Punjabi should be the medium of instruction. It is a language and it is good if people from different areas understand it.]

Jawad is in favour of teaching Punjabi as a subject in schools and colleges as he says,

“Hona chaiay laikin yeh aik mazmuun hona chahiay.”

[Punjabi should be a subject]

Shahid supports the idea of teaching Punjabi as a language or subject especially at the primary level. He says,

“Ainu [Punjabi Language] primary level tay parhana chahi da ay.”

[Punjabi language should be taught at the primary level.]

Fatima believes that since Punjabi language is restricted to the home domain as more and more people do not like to speak it outside their home, so it should not be the medium of instruction. She says,

“Mera khyaal hai parhaani nahi chahiay kiyuun kay log iss ko ziaada boltay nahi hain sirf gharon main hi boltay hain.”

[I think it should not be taught because people usually do not speak it outside their homes. It is just spoken at homes.]

Rubin (1968) conducted a study in Paraguay on the role of language and education. She came up with the findings that Guarani speaking children, belonging to the rural area, faced immense difficulty in learning in an educational system where Spanish was the medium of instruction. Spanish, as a medium of instruction, served as a barrier for them which was difficult to overcome. Most of them failed to proceed to the secondary level because they could not compete with the other urban students who were
proficient in Spanish. So, they were left behind in the mainstream of life as they paid the price of studying in an educational system where their native language was not the medium of instruction. As Lockheed and Verspoor (quoted in Brock-Utne (2000: 10) clearly mentions:

“Children who speak a language other than the language of instruction confront a substantial barrier to learning … not speaking the language of instruction can make the difference between succeeding and failing in school, between remaining in school and dropping out.”

Thus, the rural research participants favoured the idea of having Punjabi as a medium of instruction especially at the provincial level so that the students do not face problems in the learning process due to a language barrier.

6.4.8 Future of Punjabi Language

All of the rural research participants, except one, are not optimistic about the future of Punjabi language. But, all of them expressed their wish to see it being promoted in different domains of life for its bright future. They strongly underlined the importance of giving Punjabi an official status at the provincial level, if not in the center. In the decade of 1980s, in many West African countries, it was required for the government employees to be able to comprehend, read, speak and write at least one local language. The aim of this movement was to empower and raise the status of local languages by making them economically attractive (Karan, 2008).

Umar believes that it is imperative to promote Punjabi language in different domains for its survival. He says:
"Bilkul karna to chahiay laikin mostly yeh hai kay log parh nahi saktay laikin chand aik jagah pay mein nay dekha hai likha hua bohat acha lagta hai iss liay is ko promote karna chahiay taa kay yeh na ho kay yeh khatam ho jaeay."

[Yes it should be promoted. Most of the people cannot read it but I have seen it written at different places. That is why it should be promoted so that it does not die.]

But, he believes that the future of Punjabi is not very bright. He says,

"Punjabi main itna ziaada kaam to nahi ho raha hai bas yehi kay log abhi iss ko bol rahay hain aur to koi khaas nahi hai. Itna bright future nahi hai kiyun kay iss main development kay koi chances nahi hain, for example, jaisay aaj kal net pay koi Punjab software nahi hai, Urdu main hain, websites hain laikin Punjabi main as such aisa kuch nahi hai. Itna ziaada bright future nahi hai."

[Nothing much is done in Punjabi these days. It is just that people are speaking it. The future is not bright as there are less chances of development, for example, there is no Punjabi software available. There are sites in Urdu but not really in Punjabi. The future is not that bright.]

Atif says,

"Mera to khayaal hai kay bright hai aur iss ko college university level pay parhaan chahiay."

[I think the future is bright and it should be taught at the college and university level.]
Jawad is not also very optimist about the future of Punjabi language although he wants to see it as a flourishing and developing language. But, he believes that people have stopped working for its growth and development. He says,

“Punjabi zubaan da future jera hai na ji oo bara dark aa agay naalon kiyun k kay kaafi log pehlay research kar day si hon suna hay kay aik committee bani aay jery tehkiik kar rahi hai agar aay aidaan di committee bana dain tay bohat achi gaal aa. Aidi taraki honi chahi di aa agar naa hoi tay dunia English tay Urdu aal nathi jaandi aa aur Punjabi jaandi rahay gi jery kay jaani nahi chahi di.”

[The future of Punjabi language is very dark. In the past, there were committees where researches were conducted in the language. Such committees should be formed. Otherwise people will move to English and Urdu and Punjabi will move in the background.]

He believes that as compared to Urdu and English, Punjabi language is not developing in Pakistan.

“Pakistan wech Punjabi zubaan taraki kar rahi aa magar aini ziaada nahi kar rahi.”

[Punjabi language is developing in Pakistan but not that much.]

Fatima point of view is not different as she says,

“Mera khayaal hai kay itna acha nahi hai kiyun kay log Urdu bolna pasand kartay hain Punjabi ki nisbat. Urdu aur English ka mustakbil ziaada acha hai.”

[I think it is not that bright as people like to speak Urdu as compared to Punjabi. The future of Urdu and English is brighter.]

Fatima also does not consider Punjabi as a progressing language as she says,
“Punjabi to nahi, Urdu ziaada taraki kar rahe hai aur log ziaada Urdu boltay hain aur English bhi taraki kar rahe hai. Punjabi to log sirf gharon main boltay hain aur bas.”

[As compared to Punjabi, Urdu is progressing in the society as most of the people speak Urdu and English is developing as well. Punjabi is only spoken at home.]

Shahid has the same opinion which he expresses in the following words:

“meinu tay nahi lagda kay taraki kar rahe ay. Aidi wajah ay hai kay lokaan da rujhan aiday wal kat aa English di taraf ziaada aa.”

[I do not think that Punjabi language is progressing because people are more inclined towards English as compared to Punjabi.]

So, he is not hopeful about the future of Punjabi language, but he expresses his wish to see it as a developing language as he says,

“Agar aiday lai koi koshish kiti jaeay tay bohat acha hay ga jay na kuch kita tay fay ay khatam ho jay gi. Aiday wastay kuch na kuch zaruur karna chahi da ay.

[Efforts should be made for its progress otherwise it will die. Something must be done for its survival.]

6.4.9 Analysis of Informal Conversation

The audio recordings of the informal conversation of the participants reveal the strong presence of Punjabi language in the family domain. In the rural areas, English has a limited presence in the everyday life of the participants. People living in the rural areas are not proficient in English. But, they use a limited number of English words in their everyday communication. The most commonly used words include support, check,
tension, job, fine, okay although the alternative of these words is easily available in Punjabi language. Although they were not fluent in English, but most of them could communicate in Urdu. They were able to express their thoughts and ideas in Urdu although the flavour of their native language was felt when they were speaking Urdu. The results of the recorded data are presented in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Punjabi Words</th>
<th>Urdu Words</th>
<th>English Words</th>
<th>Total Words</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>RF 1</td>
<td>1400</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>RF 2</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>RF 3</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>RF 4</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>RF 5</td>
<td>1350</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Results of Informal Conversation according to Language Usage

The figures show that in their informal conversation with their family members, Punjabi language was widely used for communication purposes with all family members belonging to different age groups. The following graph represents language usage in informal conversation of the rural research participants:
Graph 3: Graphical Representation of language usage in informal conversation of the rural research participants

The following graph shows the usage of English, Urdu and Punjabi among the rural families who participated in this study.
Graph 4: Usage of English, Urdu and Punjabi in the rural families

The following pie chart shows the percentage of the usage of English, Urdu and Punjabi among the rural research families. This chart clearly shows the dominance of Punjabi language, while slight usage of Urdu and English was also observed.
6.4.10 Summary

The analysis of the linguistic practices of the rural research participants clearly shows Punjabi language maintenance as they revealed a strong sense of association and affiliation with Punjabi language. Punjabi language is a part and parcel of their everyday speech practices as they use it for communicating with people inside and outside of their homes. They consider Punjabi an inevitable part of their cultural heritage. They strongly believe in learning, speaking and maintaining Punjabi language as they consider it a tool of their ethnic identity. But, they also support the idea of learning the dominant languages in the society namely English and Urdu. So, the trend in the rural areas is towards maintaining Punjabi language along with adding other languages to one’s linguistic storehouse.
But, the influence of the dominant language ideologies and the act of associating different languages with different classes and type of people was felt in the responses of the research participants as they associated English and Urdu with educated people and Punjabi language was reserved for people living in villages. They consider English the language of power, knowledge and lucrative jobs. But, even in the presence of such negative linguistic ideologies, they turn out to be the lovers of their ‘mother tongue’ and believe in maintaining their language even if it is not acknowledged and supported in the corridors of those who hold the power and authority to decide the future of different languages.

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have carried out a detailed and in depth analysis of the linguistic practices of the urban and rural research participants. My aim was to provide a wide-ranging and comprehensive picture of the linguistic situation in both the selected urban and rural areas. The analysis was based on their responses to various open-ended questions and their everyday speech practices in the family domain. The analysis also revealed the attitude of the research participants not only towards Punjabi language but also towards English and Urdu. The next chapter will discuss the conclusion of this study in the light of the research questions and the data analysis along with some suggestions for the future researchers.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Overview of the Chapter

After carrying out a detailed analysis of the linguistic practices of the research participants in the family domain, the aim of this chapter is to answer the research questions by addressing the linguistic situation in the urban and rural areas and to determine whether a situation of language desertion exists. The limitations of the study along with future research dimensions and possibilities for other researchers are presented in this chapter.

7.2 Findings of the Study

The aim of this research was to look at the language usage of selected research participants in the urban and rural setting to determine whether a situation of language desertion exists. The data was gathered through semi-structured interviews and recordings of informal conversations. The findings of the study are guided by the research questions. The findings of this research cannot be generalized as they represent the linguistic practices, choices and preferences of selected families that participated in this study. A discussion of the findings of the study is as follows:
7.2.1 Punjabi language encouraged as means of communication by rural families only.

The most important finding of this research is related to the home language. Among almost all urban families, Urdu is used for communication purposes among all the family members. The research participants consciously made the decision of having Urdu as the home language. In addition to Urdu, English is also much in use as an extreme level of code switching was observed during their informal conversation. In the strong presence of English and Urdu even in the family domain, the absence of Punjabi language in the lives of the research participants clearly reveal their negative attitude towards it. It also raises serious concerns regarding the status, use and future Punjabi language in the urban areas.

On the contrary, in the rural areas, Punjabi is the medium of communication among all the rural families in the family domain. Parents communicate with their children in Punjabi. Young children also use it for communication purposes with their parents and siblings. It is widely used in different family gatherings and on different occasions. The participants categorically declared Punjabi language an integral part of their social, cultural identity and their sense of being as Thornborrow (2000: 136) clearly states: “Identifying yourself as belonging to a particular group or community often means adopting the linguistic conventions of that group.”

In the words of Dorain (1999: 31): “… Language serves its speakers as an identity marker.”
Their sense of pride was evident in their responses when they expressed their wish to see the language promoted in different domains at the provincial level, if not at the national level. In the words of (Anzaldúa, 1987: 59):

“I am my language. Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself.”

As native speakers, they were aware of their role and took practical actions such as speaking the language and passing it on to their future generations for its promotion and development as the future of a language is in the hands of its native speakers. In the words of de Swaan (2001b: 68),

“Language exists and endures in and through them; it is they who make, preserve and change it.”

Their close affiliation with Punjabi language strongly indicate their positive attitude towards it as they use in different contexts, situations and settings.

7.2.2 Punjabi is transferred to the younger generation in all rural families but not in the urban families.

Intergenerational language transmission plays a very important role in the desertion or maintenance of any language. It is closely linked with maintaining and strengthening one’s relationship with one’s heritage culture. The results of this study reveal that in all the urban families, Punjabi language is not transferred to the younger generation. The parents do not want their children to speak and learn Punjabi due to various reasons which include the poor social, political and economic status of the language at the national and international level. Punjabi has nothing to offer in terms of
monetary privileges and benefits. They see Urdu and English more powerful and dominant as compared to Punjabi. Thus, they end up raising their children as subtractive bilinguals as the children are fluent in both English and Urdu, but they cannot speak and understand their native language, Punjabi. Their decision of not transferring Punjabi language to their future generation reflects their negative attitude towards Punjabi as they do not want to associate with it.

Among the rural families, Punjabi language is willfully transferred to the younger generation. The rural parents strongly announced their preference of Punjabi language when asked about intergenerational language transmission. They did not want to sacrifice their language at any cost. The idea of additive bilingualism prevailed in the responses of the rural research participants as they mentioned that they would like their children to learn Urdu and English as they acknowledged its significance and demand at the national and international level. They wanted their children to learn as many languages as they can, as they viewed each language as a storehouse of knowledge and wisdom but not at the cost of Punjabi language. For them, Punjabi was the first and foremost language to learn. Thus, the fact that Punjabi language is transferred to the younger generation in the rural areas shows the positive attitude of the participants towards it.

7.2.3 Strong affiliation with Punjabi language by rural sample.

Another important finding of the research is related with the association of the research participants with Punjabi language. As far as the urban research participants were concerned, they did not have a close association with Punjabi language as they did
not consider it an important part of their identity. A couple of research participants went to the extent of calling themselves Punjabi not because of the language but due to the fact that they were born in the province of Punjab. When asked about their native language, they believed that Urdu was their native language whereas they relegated Punjabi as their second language. This shows the level of their extreme detachment and negative attitude towards Punjabi as they did not want to associate with it.

On the other hand, the rural research participants expressed their close affiliation with Punjabi language as they consider it an important part of their being. Through their everyday speech practices, they showed the strong presence of Punjabi language. During their interviews, they underlined the need of making Punjabi an economically attractive language for its speakers by promoting it in different domains for its promotion and growth. Their positive attitude and belief towards Punjabi language clearly illustrates their strong association with it.

7.2.4 Wider socio-political factors as markers of linguistic choices

The results of this study bring to light various socio-political factors, often covert and hidden in nature, which strongly influence the linguistic choices, selection and preference of the research participants. These socio-political factors include the role of government, educational institutions and media in the promotion of a certain language. During their interviews, the research participants, from the urban areas, talked about the marginalized status and role of Punjabi language in different domains. The government is not taking concrete steps for the promotion and development of Punjabi language. It is
not the medium of education in Pakistan at any level, thus its use is not considered appropriate in Urdu and English medium schools. Parents want their children to acquire skills in a language which would be beneficial for them in their future. According to Phillipson (1992: 57), there are “forces – economic, political, intellectual and social – which have propelled English forward.” He (Phillipson, 1992: 57) further states that “English has been successfully promoted and has been eagerly adopted in the global linguistic marketplace”, by cultural activities such as film, video, music and television. Similarly, the role of media in the promotion of Punjabi language is debatable as there is a dearth of informative programs in Punjabi language. As a result, various negative stereotypes emerge which are associated with Punjabi in terms of prestige, status, education, decency and modernity. In the light of these factors, the urban research participants do not want to maintain Punjabi language as it is devoid of the government’s support as Punjabi language has never been promoted to the level of official language in Punjab where it is traditionally spoken as a mother tongue. It lacks respect in the educational institutions and is not the favourite language of media thus validating Grenoble and Whaley (1998: 22) assertion that,

“Speakers abandon their native tongue in adaptation to an environment where use of that language is no longer advantageous to them.”

The rural research participants turned out to be the avid supporters and users of Punjabi language in different domains and settings. Their choice of language is determined by their social context in which Punjabi is a dominant language. It is widely used for socialization as it is the medium of communication among all the residents of the
village. The limited presence and usage of Urdu and English in the village creates a linguistic context in which everyone uses Punjabi language for communication purposes. An individual is not judged on the basis of his/her language. But, the research participants’ trend towards additive bilingualism reveals that they are aware of the importance of English and Urdu in today’s world and in order to remain a part of the mainstream, they encourage their children to learn English and Urdu along with Punjabi language.

7.3 Language Desertion – An Urban Phenomenon

The research was conducted in two diverse settings to determine whether a situation of language desertion occurs. The results and findings of the study reveal that Punjabi language is currently and commonly used in the rural areas where it is the dominant medium of communication among all family members in the home domain. It is even used in different settings outside the home. The research participants, as Punjabi native speakers, play an important role in its maintenance by speaking and transferring it to the younger generation. Punjabi is viewed and admired because of its cultural affiliations revealing the positive attitude of the speakers towards it. Thus, in the rural site, Punjabi is reserved to the cultural domain. As a result, a situation of language desertion does not exist in the rural research site.

On the contrary, Punjabi language is not used for communication purposes even in the family domain where it is threatened by the English and Urdu which are enjoying a higher status even in the informal conversation of the research participants. Among the
urban research participants, English language is valued and aspired because of the social and economic benefits it has to offer to those who speak it, thus, it is reserved to the capital domain. Punjabi is not considered to be a language of prestige and refinement. It is important to note that there is nothing inherent in a language which makes it more prestigious or less prestigious. In fact, the idea that a particular language is a prestigious one as compared to another language is based on the underlying stereotype towards the speech community (Edwards, 1994).

In the light of the above mentioned findings and observations, it can be concluded that Punjabi language is deserted in the urban families which participated in this study as it is not the home language, it is not transferred to the younger generation and the attitude of the research participants is negative as it is shaded by various negative stereotypes and ideologies.

7.4 Limitations

There were several limitations which became evident once I completed the phase of data analysis. First of all, the scope of this study was limited to the ten families which took part in this research since I did not aim to paint a comprehensive, general and complete picture of the language practices of Punjabi native speakers living in urban and rural areas. Due to time constraints, I selected only ten families for this study although it was my desire to include more families so that I could study the language usage and language practices at a wider scale.
The importance of demographic similarity among the participants cannot be denied. The individuals who participated in this study, in both the urban and the rural setting, were selected on the basis of their educational level, marital status, monthly income, occupation, family background and the size of land owned by them. All of them were educated. In terms of income sources, they were either employed or owned their personal business. The findings of the study would have been completely different in case of changing even a single factor.

In terms of sampling, I used purposive sampling for selecting the research participants which was not a representative of the entire population. It was impossible to observe the language usage trends and patterns among thousands of families residing in the urban and rural areas having millions of people who call themselves as Punjabi native speakers. Thus, the sample size of the study was small having a small number of participants who took part in the study.

Deeply rooted in qualitative and constructivist research paradigm, it was not the aim of this research to generalize its findings across varying contexts and situations. The findings of the study only accounts for the participants who were involved in this research as the aim of qualitative research is to explore and describe a phenomenon in the light of the participants’ perspective (Gall, Borg and Gall, 1996; Johnson and Christensen, 2004).
Two factors namely my role as the primary researcher in the process of data collection and the use of words in data analysis increased the possibility of bias in the research. In terms of data collection, I was the only investigator without having any co-investigator. In addition, I took an active part in the everyday life activities of my participants to develop the emic perspective which is not deemed as appropriate in a certain school of thought. Secondly, the semi-structured interview was the primary tool of data collection which did not result in statistical findings. Qualitative research yields in data analysis and research findings which are in the form of words rather than numbers and the words always contain the flavour of the researcher’s subjective ideas and concepts. In the words of Miles and Huberman (1994: 9):

“Words we attach to fieldwork experiences are inevitably framed by our implicit concepts.”

It was not an intergenerational study in which I could gain the perspectives of different family members belonging to different age groups as I conducted interviews with parents only. In addition, gender was not a variable in my research as my observations revolved around the language usage of the family members with one another as I did not focus on husband/wife or brother/sister conversation with an aim of making a distinction of gender.

7.5 Future Research Dimensions and Directions

Through out this research, I have woven a tapestry full of colours and threads representing the presence and role of different languages in the lives of the participants as
I embarked on an intellectual journey of studying and observing the linguistic practices of Punjabi native speakers living in two diverse settings. Each colour and thread offers a unique dimension of the topic of this research having a potential of further exploration and inquiry.

This research focused on the linguistic practices and preferences of Punjabi native speakers in the family domain. Future research in different settings outside the family domain might result in an insightful description of the usage of Punjabi in different contexts and situations.

In this research, the target sample for the interviews was the parents. Their children were not interviewed in this research. Similarly, in a couple of families, the grandparents were a part of the family but they were not included in this research. Future research highlighting an intergenerational language usage pattern with a focus on the language of grandparents, their children and their grandchildren might show the process of the slight and gradual movement of moving away from Punjabi language. At the same time, gender was not a variable in this research but studies that observe the language usage patterns of males and females might result in contributing another interesting dimension in the study of language desertion and language maintenance.

During the course of this study, various factors were highlighted which play an important role in language desertion. One of the major factors was the role of media. A study which examines the role and influence of media, with a special focus on Cable TV
and Internet, might work out the extent of their influence on the everyday language usage of the speakers.

The results of the study revealed the extensive level of code switching in the communication of research participants in the urban areas and a minor level of code switching among the rural research participants. A study observing the role of code switching in language desertion might yield in interesting insights of the ‘why’ and ‘how’ of the whole process.

7.6 Conclusion

The most important upshot that I have earned from this research is personal in nature. Before conducting this research, I was one of those who viewed Punjabi language with a special lens which was shaded by the dominant language ideologies which are prevalent in the society. After conducting this research, I became aware of how such ideologies work and change one’s perspective in order to serve the interests of an already privileged group in the society. This awareness led me to embark on another adventurous journey of learning Punjabi language which has resulted in the most important outcome of this research – the fact that I have regained Punjabi language.
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APPENDICES

Appendix A
Transcription Key
Consonants

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<th>Roman</th>
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Appendix B

Interview Questions

1. What comes in your mind when I say Punjabi language?
2. Do you speak Punjabi language?
3. With whom do you prefer to communicate in Punjabi language and why?
4. Do you think that Punjabi language is an important part of your identity, of your being, of who you are?
5. Which language do you use in your home?
6. Have you ever watched Punjabi TV channels?
7. Have you ever watched a Punjabi movie in cinema?
8. Have you ever read Punjabi literature?
9. Have you ever read a Punjabi newspaper or magazine?
10. Have you ever been to a Punjabi theatre?
11. Do you listen to Punjabi songs or mystic music?
12. Do you watch Punjabi plays?
13. Can you read Punjabi?
15. In what situations do you use Punjabi language? What are the reasons for such use?
16. Do you think that Punjabi language is appropriate to be used on formal occasions and gatherings?
17. Out of Punjabi, English and Urdu, which language do you prefer to use in informal gatherings? Why?

18. Can you easily understand Punjabi language?

19. Which language do you use when you are telling jokes?

20. Which language do you use when you are angry?

21. Which language do you use when you go out shopping?

22. Which language do you use when you are singing?

23. Which language do you use when you are happy?

24. Which language do you prefer to use when you are talking to your family members at dinner?

25. Which language do you select when you talk to your neighbours?

26. Which language do you use in your office?

27. Do you feel proud of Punjabi language when you hear a famous individual (politician, scientists, economist, singer etc) using it on a TV talk show or in a magazine interview?

28. Do you think that Punjabi language influenced your career choice?

29. Do you think that the language you use while communicating with others will determine their perception about you?

30. Do you encourage your children to learn and speak Punjabi language inside and outside of their homes?

31. If I ask you to select one language from English, Urdu and Punjabi language to speak and to transmit to your children, which language will you select and why?
32. Do you think that the native speakers of a language play an important role in the
development and growth of their native language?
33. Do you consider it important to maintain Punjabi language?
34. Do you mix Punjabi in your Urdu/ English with friends? Why?
35. Do you think Punjabi is developing as a language? Why?
36. Do you think Urdu is developing? Why?
37. Is English progressing in Pakistan? Why?
38. Do you think that English is important for the development of Pakistan in the 21st
century?
39. What is the role of English in your everyday life?
40. Do you enjoy reading English/ Urdu literature?
41. Who is your favorite English/Urdu poet, dramatist, short story writer, novelist etc?
42. Do you think that learning and, ultimately, speaking English is important for you
for getting a good job?
43. What was your medium of education?
44. Do you think Punjabi should be the medium of instruction in the educational
institutions of Pakistan or should it be taught as a subject only? Why?
45. Most of the parents prefer English medium schools for their children. Why do you
think parents prefer English medium schools? What do you feel about this
preference?
46. What is the best thing about Punjabi language?
47. Do you think that promoting Punjabi language in different domains of life is necessary for its development?

48. Do you consider it important to speak Punjabi language in order to keep the language alive?

49. What do you think about the future of Punjabi language in Pakistan?
Appendix C

Pictorial Representation of Selected Urban and Rural Areas

Islamabad – The Beautiful

Overview of Islamabad
Blue Area, Islamabad

Gardens in Islamabad
Avenues in Islamabad

Overview of the Village

Entrance to the Village
Fields

Livestock

Entrance to a Research Participant’s Home
Stove

‘Telenor Talkshawk Prepaid Package 1’