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Explicit and implicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi-A sociolinguistic investigation of linguistic attitudes and the Punjabi language's vitality in Punjab, Pakistan

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Abstract

Language is an important symbol of status and class differentiation in Pakistan. Punjabi, the mother-tongue of majority of the people in Pakistan, is considered to have an association with the uneducated working class of the country. Extant research on attitudes towards Punjabi has revealed the neglected status of Punjabi in Pakistan (Akram and Yasmeen, 2011; Rahman, 2007 & 1999; Gilani, 2014; Nazir et. Al, 2013; Sani, 2014). Language shift concerns have been reported in the majority of the previous studies and ascribed to parents' negative disposition towards Punjabi (Shackle,1970; Baart, 2003; Zaidi, 2001; Mansoor, 1993 & 2004). However, the focus of research in Pakistan, to date, has been on identifying the attitudes of urban and educated Punjabi youth only (Abbas et al., 2019; Abbas and Iqbal, 2018; Shah and Anwar, 2015; Mansoor, 1993; Riaz, 2011; Kazim and Shah, 2015; Akram and Yasmeen, 2011 and Gilani, 2014). No previous study has investigated the linguistic attitudes of less-educated Punjabis in rural and informal settings where Punjabi is most commonly spoken. The extant literature on language attitude studies in Pakistan has also paid scant attention to the notion of implicit and explicit attitudes. The present study understands 'implicit' attitude as the result of directly expressed (rather than necessarily unconscious) attitude and investigates the directly and indirectly expressed language attitudes of less-educated Pakistani Punjabis towards Punjabi in rural and informal settings. The study also aims to explore the differences/similarities between directly expressed (explicit) and indirectly expressed (implicit) attitudes. Questionnaires are employed (as a direct method) to measure the explicit attitudes of the participants, and semi-structured interviews are employed (as an indirect method) to measure respondents' implicit attitudes. 106 participants took part in the language attitude survey. 102 respondents participated in the subjective vitality survey and 31 participants were interviewed for qualitative study.

The findings show that participants' explicitly expressed (explicit) attitudes are more positively inclined towards Punjabi than their indirectly expressed (implicit) attitudes towards the language, which appear to be negative. The participants seem to acknowledge the fact that Punjabi is their mother-tongue and is part of their identity, but the data indicates a lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi. Punjabis are not teaching their language to their children which not only suggests their negative

implicitly expressed attitudes towards Punjabi, but also signals a language shift from Punjabi to Urdu. Similarly, despite explicitly reporting that Punjabi is important for maintaining a high social status, participants seem to associate Punjabi with low social status, illiteracy and backwardness. These results, therefore, indicate that there is a divergence between the explicitly and implicitly expressed attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi. This investigation enables the researcher to obtain a clear understanding of participants' social perceptions, language preferences and the status, value and importance (i.e. the vitality) of Punjabi in Pakistan. The thesis makes a significant contribution to the study of language attitude and is methodologically innovative in distinguishing between explicitly and implicitly expressed attitude.

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List of Abbreviations

APNS	All Pakistan Newspaper Society
ABC	Audit Bureau of Statistics
PBS	Pakistan Bureau of Statistics
PEMRA	Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority
EVM	Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model
OEV	Objective Ethnolinguistic Vitality
SEV	Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality
EV	Ethnolinguistic Vitality
IAT	Implicit Association Test
AMP	Affect Misattribution Procedure
MGT	Matched-Guise Technique
VGT	Verbal-Guise Technique
LAQ	Language Attitude Questionnaire
SVQ	Subjective Vitality Questionnaire
TA	Thematic Analysis
SD	Standard Deviation
CAT	Communication Accommodation Theory

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The study of language attitudes is essential to understanding a speech community's language ideologies, the values they attach to their languages, their beliefs, language preferences and choices. Language attitudes can also reveal the status, value and importance of a language within a speech community as well as outside that speech community.

In this dissertation, I explore the explicit and implicit language attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi. I also investigate how people within the Punjabi community perceive the status of the Punjabi language and culture, and how they value their language. The study examines the ethnolinguistic vitality (both subjective and objective) of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan along the parameters of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model (EVM).

This introductory chapter begins with a brief sociolinguistic overview of Pakistan with particular emphasis on Punjabi, the language under study. Once geographical and sociolinguistic contexts are set, the research aims are discussed in relation to the gaps in previous studies. Next, the research questions formulated for this study are presented. The chapter then concludes with a summary of the thesis structure.

1.1. The languages of Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual country. It is rich in its linguistic heritage with 74 estimated total languages (see Appendix A, Figure 1 - Language Map of Pakistan) out of which 66 are indigenous and 8 are non-indigenous (Ethnologue, 2019). These languages are further classified as: 7 institutional[1], 17 are developing, 37 as vigorous, 10 are in trouble and 3 languages as dying.

There are five most commonly spoken languages in Pakistan. (Table 1.1: Languages of Pakistan). The national language of Pakistan is Urdu. It is the official language along with English. It is spoken as a second language by approximately 105 million people worldwide and over 48 million people in the world speak it as their mother-tongue (Grimes 2000). Urdu is the mother-tongue of only 7.5% of the

[1] Please refer to Table 2 in Appendix A for the definition of these terms by Ethnologue, 2016.

population of Pakistan (as per Pakistan's 1998 census data). However, according to the recent figures reported in Ethnologue (2019), it appears that the number of Urdu speakers is increasing in the country. It appears to be the most widely spoken language in Pakistan now as 49.75% of the population speaks Urdu as a second language (Lewis et al., 2016). It is also considered a *lingua franca* in Pakistan (Appendix A, Figure 2 - Major languages in Pakistan).

Table 1.1 - Languages of Pakistan			
Rank (as per numerical distribution)	**Language**	**No. of Speakers**	**Status**
1	Urdu	L1 users: 15,100,000 L2 users: 94,000,000 All users: 109,100,000	National Language
2	Punjabi	90,700,000	Provincial language
3	Sindhi	22,700,000	Provincial language
4	Pushto	18,700,000	Provincial language
5	English	L1 users: 14,500 L2 users: 17,000,000 All users: 17,014,500	National Language
6	Balochi	7,740,000	Provincial language
Source: Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Twenty-second edition, 2019			

When Pakistan came into existence in 1947, it was declared that the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements were made for its replacement by Urdu (Subject to Clause (1). Recently, in 2015, the Supreme court of Pakistan directed provincial and federal government to adopt Urdu as the official language of the country and abrogate English as the official language. The underlying reason for the judgment was that in 1973 a clause[2] was included in the constitution of

[2] Article: 251
National language: (1) The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.
(2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
(3) Without prejudice to the status of the National Language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measure for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.
Source: https://pakistanconstitutionlaw.com/article-251-national-language/

Pakistan stipulating that the government would make arrangements for Urdu to be the national language of Pakistan within the next 15 years. However, until the passing of the court order in 2015 this legislation did not materialize and after more than two and a half decades since the deadline, the government on the supreme court orders finally implemented that clause. However, English has not been removed from the status of official language yet. Ahsan Iqbal, Pakistan's Minister of Planning, National Reforms, and Development said, “Urdu will be a second medium of language and all official business will be bilingual. The country will not abandon English, which will still be taught alongside Urdu in schools.”

English is becoming increasingly popular in Punjab. Despite Urdu being declared the official language of the country, English still enjoys dominance over all other languages. This is because in Pakistan, as in many other places, the language hierarchy is determined by power and English (the co-official language of Pakistan) is widely used in different domains of power such as government, courts, media, research, universities and corporate sector. Furthermore, English is widespread in schools, colleges and universities and as the medium of instruction in most of the educational institutes. Education and proficiency in the English language is viewed as a passport to upward social and economic mobility (Mansoor 2005) and as a conduit to privilege (Rahman, 2005). Urdu stands second after English in the hierarchy of language and functions as the most widely spoken language in the urban areas of the country. It is widely used in various domains like education, literature, media, universities, offices and courts while “the remaining major provincial and minor languages stand at the lowest rung in the language hierarchy ladder” (Manan, 2016).

Out of the 67 languages spoken by minorities in Pakistan, 63 comprise of speakers ranging from a few hundred to tens of thousands. These have been tabulated in Appendix A (as Table 1 - Minor Languages of Pakistan). The status of each language (as per Ethnologue 2016) is also provided in the same table (Table 1 in Appendix A), which indicates that a few of these languages are under tremendous pressure and they might very soon become extinct. It should be noted that six languages have been intentionally removed from the list because they were considered dialects of other major languages and were, therefore, already been counted under their respective macro-language category.

1.2. The Punjabi language in Pakistan: an overview

Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan language. It is spoken by 130 million native speakers worldwide which makes it the 10th most widely spoken language (2015) in the world. It is the native language of the Punjabi people inhabitants of the Punjab province of Pakistan and India. It is worth noting that, in England and Wales it is the fourth most widely spoken language of immigrants and the third most spoken native language in Canada.

Both Urdu and Punjabi share mutually readable Arabic scripts. Urdu is written in a modified form of Arabic script - *Nastaliq* and western Punjabi is written in *Shahmukhi* script. Both languages are written from right to left. Examples of the written text from both languages are given in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 - Examples of written script of Urdu and Punjabi

English	Urdu	Punjabi
Urdu is our national language	اردو ہماری قومی زبان ہے۔	اردو ساڈی قومی زبان اے۔
We are going to the school.	ہم اسکول جا رہے ہیں	اسی اسکول چلے ٓاں

Although Urdu and Punjabi share some grammatical features, both languages significantly vary at the lexical level so much so that in actual practice and usage each has developed into a separate language. As can be seen in the above examples, both sentences share the same grammatical structure (SOV), but the Punjabi pronouns (ساڈی , اسی) and verbs (چلے ٓاں , اے) are different from the Urdu pronouns (ہماری , ہم) and verbs (جا رہے ہیں, ہے). Also, both Urdu and Punjabi are free order languages. Therefore, at the syntax level, the second example in Table 1.2 could also be structured in the following two ways in both languages:

Table 1.3 - Syntactical similarities between Urdu and Punjabi	
Urdu	Punjabi
اسکول جا رہے ہیں ہم OVS	سکول چلے ٓاں اسی OVS
ہم جا رہے ہیں اسکول SVO	اسی چلے ٓاں سکول SVO

Ethnologue (2016) lists two different varieties of "Punjabi"- Eastern Punjabi and Western Punjabi and hence reports 90,512,900 total users of Punjabi worldwide. In Pakistan, Western Punjabi is most prevalent with a total of 88,500,000 speakers. It

encompasses the Hindko dialects found in the regions of Peshawar, Attock, Kohat, Hazara, and the Kashmir as well as Mirpuri in the Kashmir region and the Pahari of the Murree hills. In addition to the aforementioned varieties, Western Punjabi also comprises of the different Punjabi varieties indigenous to central Punjab as well as the Potohari spoken in the plains around Rawalpindi and the different forms of Saraiki to the West and South of these plains (see Figure 1.1: Punjabi Language Map). Eastern Punjabi is prevalent in Indian Punjab with 28,200,000 speakers. It is written in Gurumukhi script and spoken in different dialects like Majhi, Doab, Bhatyiana, Powadhi, Malwa and Bathi. A more detailed profile of both Western and Eastern Punjabi is provided in Table 1.4.

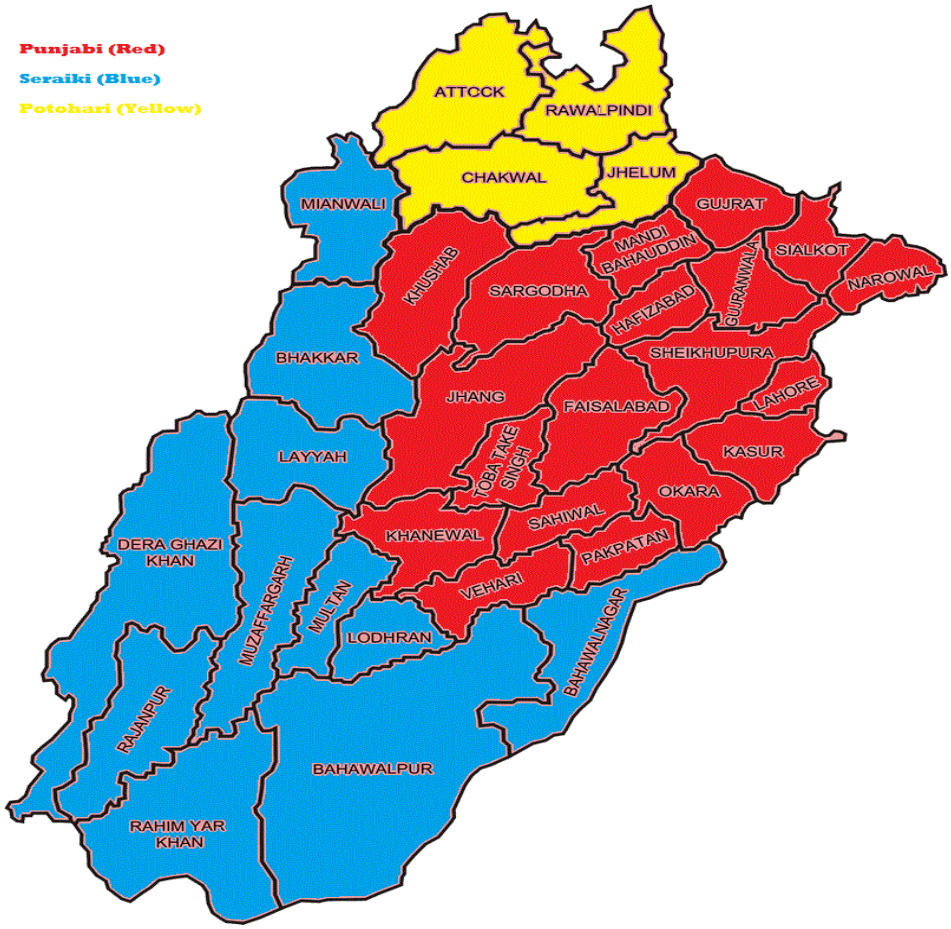


Figure 1.1. Punjabi Language Map

Source: Wikimedia Commons

Table 1.4 - Western and Eastern Punjabi		
	Western Punjabi (Pakistan)	**Eastern Punjabi (India)**
Alternative Names	Lahanda, Lahnda, Lahndi, Panjabi, Panjabi Proper, Punjabi, Punjapi, Shahmukhi	Eastern Panjabi, Gurmukhi, Gurumukhi, Punjabi
Population	88,500,000	28,200,000
Location	Punjab province: Lahore, Kasur, Shekhupura, Nankana, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Sialkot, and Narowal districts.	Punjab; Rajasthan: north Ganganagar district; Himachal Pradesh: Kangra and Una districts; Jammu and Kashmir: Kathua, Samba, and Jambu districts; Haryana state: Ambala and Pauchkula districts; Chhandigarh state; Majhi dialect in Punjab state: Gurdaspur and Amritsar districts
Language Status	Developing.	Provincial. Statutory provincial language in Punjab, West Bengal states; union territories Delhi, Chandigarh (1950, Constitution, Schedule VIII).
Classification	Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Panjabi, Western Panjabi	Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Intermediate Divisions, Western, Panjabi
Dialects	Bathi, Bhatyiana (Bhatneri, Bhatti), Doab, Majhi, Malwa, Powadhi, Lahori, Punjabi Proper.	Punjabi Proper (Panjabi Proper), Majhi, Doab, Bhatyiana (Bhatneri, Bhatti), Powadhi (Puadi), Malwa, Bathi.
Writing	Naskh variant (Arabic script), Nastaliq variant, Shahmukhi Example: لاهور پاکستانی پنجاب دا دارالحکومت اے Translation: Lahore is the capital city of the Pakistani Punjab.	Naskh variant (Arabic script). Gurmukhi script Example: ਲਹੌਰ ਪਾਕਿਸਤਾਨੀ ਪੰਜਾਬ ਦੀ ਰਾਜਧਾਨੀ ਹੈ Translation: Lahore is the capital city of the Pakistani Punjab.
Total users in all countries	90,512,900.	29,258,970

Adapted from Lewis et al. 2016/ Ethnologue, 2016

As mentioned earlier, the Punjabi spoken in Pakistan is referred to as Western Punjabi by Ethnologue (2016). It is known by several alternate names in Pakistan such as Lahanda, Lahnda, Lahndi, Panjabi, Panjabi Proper, Punjabi, Punjapi and Shahmukhi. The Punjabi language map (Figure 1.1) illustrates the fact that Punjabi is spoken in Lahore, Kasur, Sheikhupura, Nankana, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Sialkot, and the Narowal districts of Pakistan. The map also illustrates that Punjabi is spoken in three

major dialects (Punjabi, Seraiki and Potohari) in Pakistan. Other dialects currently being spoken in Pakistan (Ethnologue, 2016) are Bathi, Bhatyiana (Bhatneri, Bhatti), Doab, Majhi, Malwa, Powadhi, Lahori and Punjabi Proper. Furthermore, the number of Punjabi speakers in each major division of Pakistan is demonstrated in Table 1.5. These numbers were obtained by taking into consideration the figures from the 1998 census[3] i.e. the respective population of each region and the percentage of individuals with Punjabi as their mother tongue residing in those regions.

Table 1.5 - Provinces of Pakistan by Punjabi speakers (1998)

Division	Population		Percentagen (by Mother-tongue)		Punjabi Speakers	
PAKISTAN	132,352,279		44.15		58,433,531	
	Rural	89,315,875	Rural	42.51	Rural	37,968,178
	Urban	43,036,404	Urban	47.56	Urban	20,468,113
Punjab	73621290		75.23		55,385,296	
	Rural	50,602,265	Rural	73.63	Rural	37,258,447
	Urban	23,019,025	Urban	78.75	Urban	18,127,482
Islamabad	805235		71.66		577,031	
	Rural	276,055	Rural	83.74	Rural	231,168
	Urban	529,180	Urban	65.36	Urban	345,872
Sindh	30439893		6.99		2,127,748	
	Rural	15,600,031	Rural	2.68	Rural	418,080
	Urban	14,839,862	Urban	11.52	Urban	1,709,552
Balochistan	6565885		2.52		165,460	
	Rural	4,997,105	Rural	0.43	Rural	21,487
	Urban	1,568,780	Urban	9.16	Urban	143,700
Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	17743645		0.97		172,113	
	Rural	14,749,561	Rural	0.24	Rural	35,398
	Urban	2,994,084	Urban	4.58	Urban	137,129
Fata	3176331		0.23		7305	
	Rural	3,090,858	Rural	0.18	Rural	5,563
	Urban	85,473	Urban	1.85	Urban	1581

Adapted from Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Govt. of Pakistan, 1998 Census Data

[3] Pakistan conducted its last census in 1998. After 1998, no authentic figures have been reported regarding total number of languages being spoken in Pakistan and their users. The researcher had to rely on the last census data on Punjabi for the sake of this research. The figures reported in Table 1.1 have been taken from Ethnologue (2019). The exact population figures were not reported in the Ethnologue, so the current percentage of each language's speakers is unknown.

As table 1.5 indicates, Punjabi is the most widely spoken language in Pakistan by being the mother-tongue of 44% of the population of Pakistan. Since it is the provincial language of Punjab, it is also the largest spoken language in the Punjab province with 75% of the total population of Punjab as native Punjabi. It is also the largest spoken language in the capital city, Islamabad, of Pakistan, with 71% of native Punjabis. However, despite being de-facto, if not officially, a majority language, Punjabi is considered as less prestigious than the other majority languages because it is associated with the uneducated working class of the country (Zaidi, 2001; Rahman, 2007). Language is considered an important symbol of status and class differentiation in Pakistan. The existing language hierarchy in Pakistan ranks three languages in the order: English, Urdu and Punjabi, which have also been equated with three broader classes of society: elite, middle-class and lower class respectively.

Recently, a few Pakistani researchers have turned their attention towards the present sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in Pakistan, examining the prevailing attitude towards Punjabi and the reasons for its low prestige. Extant research on attitudes towards Punjabi in the urban settings has revealed the neglected status of Punjabi in Pakistan (Akram and Yasmeen, 2011; Rahman, 2007 & 1999; Gilani, 2014; Nazir et. Al, 2013; Sani, 2014, see chapter 2 for details). Language shift concerns have been reported in the majority of the previous studies and attributed to the parents' negative disposition regarding Punjabi (Shackle, 1970; Baart, 2003; Zaidi, 2001; Mansoor, 1993 & 2004). In addition to this, the studies have also indicated a loss of linguistic identity among Punjabis, which poses a threat to the sustainability of Punjabi in Pakistan (Mansoor, 2004; Zaidi, 2001). The focus of research in Pakistan, to date, has been solely on identifying the attitudes of urban and educated youth, either at university or college level. There is a need, therefore, to widen our understanding of the sociolinguistic position of Punjabi by investigating the attitudes of rural and uneducated Punjabis, which as per researcher's knowledge has not been attempted yet. This is particularly desirable in view of the fact that Punjabi is more commonly spoken in rural, non-educational and informal settings in comparison to urban, educational and formal settings. Thus, this study intends to fill this gap and explore the language attitudes of Pakistani Punjabis in rural and non-educational settings.

In addition, despite an increasing body of literature confirming the prevalence of a negative attitude towards Punjabi, no study has examined the possibility of existence of dual attitudes (both explicit and implicit) among Punjabis and whether

they might differ from each other. It is very much possible, for example, that Punjabi speakers' covert attitude to Punjabi may be more positive than their overt attitude or vice versa. In contemporary attitude research in sociolinguistics, attitudes have been categorized into two different types i.e. Explicit and Implicit attitudes (sometimes referred to as overt and covert attitudes)[4]. Explicit attitudes are conscious and deliberate, which implies that such attitudes are formulated through the 'individual's conscious awareness and acknowledgment of the attitude object (Ottaway et al., 2001; McKenzie, 2015). Explicit attitudes are consciously accessible and can be freely reported by the individual who holds them (Pantos, 2010). In contrast, implicit attitudes are initial, unconscious, automatic and immediate responses to an attitude object (Pantos, 2010). These attitudes are consciously inaccessible and, therefore, cannot be reported directly (Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). The study aspires to increase our understanding of the attitude of Pakistanis towards Punjabi by considering both implicit and explicit dimensions, a distinction that has been completely overlooked in previous studies on language attitudes in Pakistan (Abbas et al., 2019; Abbas and Iqbal, 2018; Shah and Anwar, 2015; John, 2018; Mansoor, 1993; Riaz, 2011; Kazim and Shah, 2015; Akram and Yasmeen, 2011 and Gilani, 2014). Implicit attitudes, in particular, seem to be under researched and offer fertile avenues for further explorations. The study, therefore, aims to highlight any similarities and differences between participants' overt and covert attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi. In addition to enhancing our understanding of participants' attitudes towards Punjabi, the study aims to determine the status, value and importance (i.e. the vitality) of Punjabi in Pakistan.

The study employs direct and indirect attitude measurement techniques to identify participants' overt and covert language ideologies, respectively. Recently, there has been an increasing interest in the use of implicit measurement techniques, in particular, in language attitude studies. Despite their increased use overall, they have been little used with less educated rural populations. Current implicit measures (such as Implicit Association Test, Priming procedure, Affect Misattribution Procedure etc.) are computationally demanding, often impractical in non-educational and rural settings. It is difficult to design and utilise advanced implicit measures to test the

[4] In this research, the terms explicit attitudes and overt attitudes will be used interchangeably. Likewise, implicit attitudes and covert attitudes will be used interchangeably.

implicit attitudes of those who cannot read/write and are unfamiliar with computers and technology. More research studies are needed that investigate alternative implicit approaches, particularly those that are practical, economical and convenient in non-educational rural settings. This study suggests that, and demonstrates how, interviews may be applied as an indirect method to investigate uneducated rural Punjabis implicit attitudes towards Punjabi, thereby making a significant methodological contribution to the investigation of implicit language attitudes.

In order to fulfil the second aim of the research, that is determining the ethnolinguistic vitality (status and prestige) of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan, the study employs the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model by Bourhis et al. (1981).

1.3. Research Questions

In the light of these aims, this research seeks to address the following research questions:

1) What are the implicit and explicit linguistic attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi?

2) Do implicit and explicit attitudes of participants towards Punjabi diverge (indicating that these are different attitude constructs)?

3) What is the (subjective and objective) vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan?

The aim is to provide richer insights into rural Punjabis' linguistic orientations towards their mother-tongue by exploring the reasons/factors underlying their attitudes. I would like to emphasise here that the main objective is to explore the linguistic attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi rather than identifying Punjabi language use in different domains. The study of language attitudes is significant because people's reaction to languages reveals much of their perceptions about the speakers of these languages/varieties (Ryan and Giles, 1982:20). These attitudes or perceptions influence people's language choices or preferences. Ferrer (2010) professed the significance of language attitude studies by stating:

> …attitudes contain important information for evaluating how speakers' prejudices and predispositions delimit the social domains in which a language is used. The study of linguistic attitudes … is essential to understanding the negative (e.g. impoverished, rural or uncultured) associations of dominated languages (Ferrer, 2010:477-478).

The exploration of linguistic attitudes is vital for language restoration, preservation, decay or death (Baker, 1992). Language attitudes may be a good source for exploring several sociolinguistic aspects such as language loyalty, pride and rejection, language prestige and awareness of the norms (Ryan and Giles, 1982). The study not only adds to the scholarly research and literature in the field of language attitudes in Pakistan, but also highlights the sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan, specifically its subjective and objective ethnolinguistic vitality. The findings from this study may additionally provide the basis for activities aimed at enhancing the status of Punjabi in Pakistan, should this be considered desirable at a political level.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

The overall structure of the dissertation takes the form of seven chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 begins by giving a brief overview of the historical and political events related to Punjabi in the Indian subcontinent before and after the independence of Pakistan in 1947. Discussion of these historical and political events will aid our understanding of how these events have played a role in developing the linguistic attitudes of Pakistani Punjabis towards Punjabi, Urdu and English. The next section includes an analysis of the degree of institutional support that Punjabi gets in contemporary Pakistan, along the parameters of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model (EVM). Section 2.4 lays out the theoretical dimensions of the research. It supplies the conceptual framework of the study and clarifies the sociolinguistic dimensions that pertain to the study of attitude, including a brief overview of dual attitude model, overt and covert prestige, diglossia and language standardization. Subsequently, a review of previous language attitude studies in Pakistan is presented. The chapter concludes by revisiting /reiterating the research questions under investigation in detail.

The third chapter is concerned with the methodology used for this study. Following a review of the theoretical foundations of attitude measurement, it is explained how semi-structured interviews were employed as an innovative indirect method to measure the implicit attitudes of the participants and how participants' explicit attitudes were identified by employing questionnaires as a direct method. The chapter then explains how questionnaires and interviews were designed, translated and administered, and provides the rationale behind these choices and for the mixed-method design. The next section deals with the data collection methods for surveys and interviews (research fieldwork procedure, research site, sampling procedure and

sample size). The chapter concludes with a discussion of the data analysis procedures that were employed for both quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The fourth chapter presents the quantitative findings of the study in two parts. The chapter first presents the findings from the statistical analysis of participants' questionnaire responses. The findings are presented in three parts. The first part reports findings from the language attitude survey, focusing on exploring the explicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards the Punjabi language. This part examines the reported attitudes towards Punjabi, English and Urdu as well as towards various aspects of language use, and participants' language choices/preferences in formal and informal domains. The second part reports findings from the Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Survey (SVQ), determining the subjective vitality of Punjabi in Punjab. In this part, participants' assumptions regarding the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi are presented based on the three vitality factors (status, institutional support and demography) suggested by Bourhis et al (1981). The third and final part presents the results of analysis of variance tests (ANOVA) and highlights the variables that appear to be significant in determining the language attitudes of the respondents.

Chapter 5 presents the qualitative findings from the analysis of the interviews undertaken during the fieldwork in the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages of Punjab and includes the overall discussion of the results from both the quantitative and the qualitative analyses. It was considered more appropriate to include the presentation of the qualitative findings in the discussion rather than in the findings chapter because their presentation may not be easily separated from the discussion. This chapter analyses and discusses the results of the interviews. It revolves around the discussion of the themes related to the implicit language attitudes of the rural participants towards Punjabi.

Chapter 6 ties up the entire set of findings and presents a comparison between the quantitative and qualitative findings. In other words, chapter 6 draws a comparison between the explicit and implicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi by discussing the similarities and differences between the participants' overt and covert linguistic orientations towards Punjabi. Section 6.5 presents a comparison between the objective and subjective vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan.

Finally, chapter 7 provides a summary and conclusion. It begins with a brief summary of the findings and then highlights the significant contributions of this study.

The chapter also includes a discussion of the implication of the findings in relation to language revitalization and outlines some recommendations as to how Punjabi might be revitalised in the region. It concludes with a consideration of the limitations of this study and possible areas for further research.

Chapter 2

A Historical and Sociolinguistic Overview of Punjabi in Pakistan

2.1. Introduction

This thesis focuses on the linguistic attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi and the vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan. A growing body of literature on language attitude studies in Pakistan (Mansoor 1993 & 2004; Abbas, 2018; Shah & Anwar, 2015; Baart, 2003; Rukh et. al and Arshad, 2016) has indicated negative attitudes of Punjabi speakers towards Punjabi. Previous studies have reported several stereotypical notions being attached to Punjabi. Punjabi is considered a language of cultural shame (Rahman, 2003) - a *Paindu* (backward) language for poor and illiterate people (Abbas et al., 2019 and Shafi, 2013). Punjabi is associated with low social status and negative prestige (Abbas et al., 2019; Karim and Kanwal, 2013). Much of the current literature on Punjabi paid particular attention to exploring the overt linguistic attitudes of urban and educated Punjabi speakers. There has been little research on identifying the implicit and explicit language attitudes of rural and less educated Punjabis. Furthermore, insufficient attention has been paid to assessing the vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan. The research aims of this study are twofold i.e. identification of implicit and explicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi, and assessment of subjective and objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan.

As a study of language attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi, this thesis relates to a number of different research fields within sociolinguistics: particularly language attitude, identity and vitality, and the related aspects of multilingualism, diglossia, language maintenance and shift as well as the notions of language standardization, prestige and power. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the extent to which the aforementioned research fields are relevant to this study. The chapter first provides a brief historical and political overview of Punjabi in Pakistan to throw light on how the notions of identity, ethnicity and power relate to language and language attitudes in the Pakistani context. In particular, discussion of these historical and political events will aid our understanding of how these events have contributed to the development of linguistic attitudes of Pakistani Punjabis towards

Punjabi, how Punjabi has been treated politically in the past, the role played by religion in shaping the identities of the nations and how the symbolic power acquired by one variety is considered a threat by other language communities in a multilingual country. Furthermore, in order to explore the current attitudes of Punjabis towards Punjabi, this chapter will subsequently turn towards a discussion of the present sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan. In section 2.3, the current challenges faced by Punjabi in print and electronic media are highlighted. The next sections (2.4 and 2.5) lay out the theoretical dimensions of the research with reference to the concepts of language attitudes and vitality. Next, the discussion on the historically shaped attitudes of Punjabis towards Punjabi is complemented by a review of previous studies on Punjabi language attitudes in contemporary Pakistan with particular reference to key sociolinguistic concepts such as language shift and maintenance, language prestige, standardization and language vitality. Finally, the conclusion gives a summary of the chapter and outlines the contributions of this study in relation to the gap in previous research. Overall, this chapter provides a background to the analysis of attitudes toward Punjabi and its level of vitality undertaken in this thesis, by explaining i) how national and social identities and language ideologies have shaped these attitudes and vitality overtime, ii) how and to what extent attitudes towards Punjabi and its vitality have been studied in previous research and iii) what is missing from the existing research and how this thesis contributes to filling this gap.

2.2. Historical and political overview of Punjabi language

In 1849, the British invaded the Indian sub-continent. During that period, the Indian subcontinent was linguistically rich with many different languages like Persian, Punjabi in Gurumukhi and Arabic script, Urdu, Sanskrit and Bengali. As a result of the range of languages spoken, the British administration began facing problems particularly related to judicial and criminal work while recording witnesses in court proceedings. Most of the vernacular terms and phrases appeared virtually untranslatable and consequently, a great deal of ambiguity turned up in most of the case proceedings. Thus, the unintelligibility of many vernacular terms used by the lower official members raised the question of a language policy. The British officials urgently needed a language in which the official business could be facilitated. Therefore, in 1851, after protracted correspondence with district officers, the British government proclaimed Urdu as the local language to be used in the lower domains of

power - administration, judiciary, education and commerce (Rahman, 1996 and 2002) and English to be used in the elitist/high domains of power - high and supreme courts, the central civil services, the officer corps of the armed forces (military) and high offices of the government (bureaucracy), (Kamran, 2008; Rahman, 2019).

It is worth considering, however, why the British did not recognise Punjabi as the vernacular language of the Punjab even though Punjabi was the language predominantly spoken in the region (Kamran, 2008). Why was Urdu opted for instead? According to Rahman, (1996), one reason could be that when the local government administrators were asked about the language to be used in the lower domains of power, only a few of them favoured Punjabi, in fact most of them gave prejudiced comments against Punjabi as mentioned by Chaudhry (1977: 208), "Punjabi is a rustic dialect not fit for serious business". They argued that Urdu was a modern and sophisticated language which could be easily understood in the Punjab, in comparison to Punjabi.

Another reason for opting for Urdu instead of Punjabi could be inferred from the 1851 Administrative Report which states that Urdu had almost acquired the status of a *lingua franca,* therefore, it would be beneficial for Punjabis if education was imparted in Urdu instead of English which would be too difficult for them (Kamran, 2008). This reason could be further justified by the statement of the prominent British Imperial statesman John Lawrence, quoted by Kamran:

> It should be considered that Urdu is not the language of these Districts neither is Persian. But Urdu is well understood by the majority of our officers, whereas Persian is not. Of course, many more of the people understand Urdu even in these Districts than Persian. Urdu is the *lingua franca* of India and it is presumably but perceptibly becoming that of all the Districts in the Punjab, even in the Derajat and Peshawar it is spreading. It is familiar to the people in Hazara as well.
>
> (Kamran, 2008: 15)

This statement clearly reflects the British officers' confidence on the future of the Urdu language (Rahman, 1996). Right from the beginning, they started making efforts to make it acceptable to the people of the British India, mostly because it ensured administrative convenience for them. It was likely that the British officers, like their subordinate clerical staff, also had a smattering of Urdu and it was more convenient for them to administer their official tasks with their existing skills. From

the statement given above - i.e. 'Urdu is not the language of the Districts' and 'Urdu is understood by the majority of our officers' - it could also be inferred that the British wanted the official language to be the language of the lower domains of power which was not associated with any particular ethnic group, religion or nation – a language with no power at all. Since Urdu was the *lingua franca* in the region- a language not associated with any particular ethnic group or religion but a language of all- it was not a political threat for them. It seemed like a pragmatic and a rational decision at that time to choose a language which was understood by all. Also, there were greater chances to circumvent language disputes/conflicts between various ethnic and religious communities by choosing a language which was not associated with any religion or ethnic group. However, as will be discussed later in the chapter, little did the British know that this language would become the flag-bearer of the Islamic identity which subsequently would play significant role in their struggle for independence.

Another reason provided by the colonial administration for not giving preference to Punjabi was that "Punjabi, the language of the local populace residing in villages, is quickly losing its worth and it is giving way to the ascendant, Urdu" (Administrative Report, 1851). Moreover, since during that period Punjabi was spoken in so many different dialects, resulting in yet another impediment in the process of its standardization, the British government thought it would be really difficult for Punjabi villagers to understand the "indifferent Punjabi talked by foreigners" in comparison to understanding simple Urdu (Kamran, 2008). If we analyse all the motivations provided by the Colonial administrators in the historical context, these appear not to be taking into account the fact that Punjabi is a very ancient language. Its oral and written tradition goes back into 11th century when Amir Khusro wrote a war ballad in Punjabi (Rahman, 2007). In the 14th century, too, there is some evidence that this language was used in ordinary conversation by people (Rahman, 2007). This shows that Punjabi had deep roots in British India, especially among Punjabis, and that, even in 1880's, Punjabi was one of the predominant languages of the province. Therefore, it could fairly be argued that the adoption of Urdu, which barely existed in the province, led to the marginalization of Punjabi spoken by a large number of people, particularly the rural population of the province and that "they were reduced to ahistorical status by simply denying them the language of their very own", as stated by Kamran (2008: 16).

By 1854, Urdu became the dominant language in the lower domains of power in the whole province of the Punjab (including the present Khyber Pakhtunkhawa) because of the support by the British government. It became the language of administration, judiciary and education at lower levels. Hindus and Sikhs protested against this position of Urdu while Muslims started advocating it. It is worth noting here that the Muslim population was in ardent support of Urdu even though this was not the language of the majority of the Muslims; and this raises the issue as to why the Hindus and the Sikhs were against this position of Urdu. Joseph (2004) highlights the significant role of language in constructing identities. He argues that "language is so thoroughly and intricately bound up with human identity, on every level from the personal to the national and beyond, that, outside of trivial contexts, no real separation between them is possible" (Joseph, 2004:185-188). This is also echoed in Edward's (2009) statement who believes that language is inevitably intertwined with religion. The Muslims in the subcontinent started associating Urdu with their religious identity. According to Rahman (2012), one reason for such association could be that, since Urdu became the language of print media during the British rule, a larger number of religious material was published in Urdu. As a vast range of Islamic literature became available in Urdu, the association of this language with the Islamic identity in India grew stronger. The availability of Islamic literature raised awareness about religious identity among Muslims and then this increased religious identity and consciousness led to the extreme linguistic conflicts between Muslims and Hindus. Therefore, in 1867, Hindus and Muslims of the Punjab confronted the Urdu-Hindi Controversy in which Hindus advocated the use of Hindi language while Muslims supported Urdu in opposition to Hindi. The controversy also revealed the overt language ideologies of both Muslims and the Hindus. This linkage of religion to nation to language in a logical proposition is described by Alyssa (2009:27) as: "[If Muslim then language = Urdu]. The logical contraposition being, [If language ≠ Urdu, then not Muslim]."

Considering these circumstances, it is not surprising that Punjabi speaking Muslims opted to ignore their mother-tongue since Muslims already had associated their religious identity with Urdu. The Muslims, therefore, already had a language to fight for in their struggle for independence from the British. And since all their religious sentiments were attached to Urdu and Urdu had become not only a symbol of their religious identity but also a symbol of their national identity, they found no reason to fight for Punjabi. For Muslims, Punjabi didn't reflect their religious identity.

Rather Punjabi became associated with Sikhs, during this struggle for independence from the British rule in the Indian sub-continent, which further deterred the Muslims from associating with it. Therefore, only the Sikh community struggled for the Punjabi language and consequently, on 28th April 1882 (when the Hunter Commission was formed to recommend educational changes in India) the Sikh National Association of Lahore petitioned the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Charles Aitchison, to declare Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) the medium of instruction at least for their community. The governor replied to this petition (as quoted by Rahman, 1996) as follows:

> To exclude the children of the Sikhs from instruction in Urdu would be to place them under very serious disadvantages. Without a knowledge of Urdu, it would be impossible to advance beyond the most elementary education, and to continue their studies in the middle and high schools. They would be shut off from access to an excellent, large, and daily increasing literature, and they would be placed at a great disadvantage with their countrymen in the business of life (Edn Comm,1884: 106-7).

This response from the governor could be considered compelling, assuming that Urdu and Hindi had become the languages of power and prestige at that time and any attempt to assign power and prestige to Punjabi would have been shunned by the supporters of both Hindi and Urdu. Furthermore, since Urdu and Hindi were considered the language of power and prestige, all the developments in the field of science, education or literature were made in these two languages, which could have become a disadvantage for Sikh students who would have been deprived of all modern advancements in various fields of life.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier, Muslims supported Urdu as a symbol of their cultural identity at the expense of their mother-tongue and any attempt at supporting the cause of Punjabi was discouraged by the Muslims as they considered it as an attack upon their religious identity. Thus, in 1908, when a Bengali Hindu educationalist (Dr P. C. Chatterjee) supported Punjabi against Urdu, proposing that Punjabi should replace Urdu (since it was the vernacular of the people of Punjab) and at least one dialect of Punjabi should be used as a medium of instruction at primary level, the Muslims opposed him fervently. He was considered an enemy of the Muslims and it was specially mentioned that, since Chatterjee was a Bengali and not a Punjabi, his real interest was not promoting Punjabi but opposing Urdu which was

symbolic of Muslim identity (Barelvi 1988). Baker (2001) views language as a marker of collective identity. It is a symbol that represents group identification and distinctiveness. For Muslims, Urdu had become the marker of their identity and any effort in favour of other languages was bound to be considered an attack upon their identity.

Religion, language and culture then became the major identity markers in British India. Urdu became associated with the Muslims, Hindi with the Hindus and Punjabi with the Sikhs. Sikhs started advocating Punjabi probably because of the religious association of the Punjabi language with their holy book, the *Guru Granth Sahib.* As discussed earlier, language plays a significant role in the construction of religious identity. Punjabi was and still is associated with Sikhism just as Muslims, all around the world, have strong association with Arabic language. For Muslims all around the world, it is also considered a religious obligation to learn Arabic in order to be able to read their Holy book - the Qur'an. In Islam, the Qur'an (which is in Arabic) is the unmediated word of God. In the words of Akhtar (2007), "The Quran implies that, in its original Arabic, it is the literal, direct and immutable speech of God preserved in the book of God". Muhammad Marmaduke Pickthall, an eminent Islamic scholar, states in the foreword of his translation of Qur'an that the Qur'an cannot be translated (Jaspal, 2010). He further clarifies that a translation of Qur'an can never replace the original Quran in Arabic. Therefore, Muslims believe that any translation of Qur'an cannot accurately reflect its true essence. This implies that, in Islam, the word of God can only be transmitted in Arabic and that is why it is an obligation for Muslims to learn Arabic for their religious sermons and prayers. Therefore, as Rosowsky (2006) points out, Muslims' prayers are incomplete unless they read the opening chapter of the Qur'an, which is in Arabic. He further states that, in order to enable young Muslims to participate in religious activities by reciting Qur'anic Arabic, parents invest considerable amount of time and money. This means that young Muslims are "expected to memorise prodigious amounts of text in Classical Arabic as part of their religious training" (Rosowsky, 2007), irrespective of their understanding of the language.

Similarly, in Sikhism, the holy book, the '*Guru Granth Sahib'* is considered a divine entity. The holy book is attended to as royalty; it is placed on a throne and fanned while devotees bow down before it upon entry into and departure from the Sikh temple (Fowler, 1997). This indicates their immense respect for their holy book and

their religious association with Punjabi. As per the 'Official Sikh Code of Conduct'[5] (section 4, chapter 10), it is mandatory/essential for a Sikh to learn Gurmukhi (Punjabi in Gurmukhi script). According to Singh (2005), "the Sikh holy book is read aloud in its original language (Gurmukhi) in the Gurdwara (the Sikh place of worship)", which implies that, just like Muslim prayers, Sikhs' worship is also incomplete without reciting the Guru Granth Sahib in its original language. Nesbitt (2000) in her anthropological work on 'The Religious Lives of Sikh Children', throws light on the extent to which her subjects associate Punjabi language with Sikh self-identity. She has given a thorough account of the worship patterns (domestic and Gurdwara) in Sikhism. Her study suggests that recitation of the religious formulae, in most cases the *mul mantar*, the opening credal passage of both the *Guru Granth Sahib,* doing *'Path'(*reading of the *Guru Granth Sahib),* listening to the religious music *(sing shabad or Uchha tere Babe)* is considered a part of their worship routine. While expressing her views on worshipping in the Gurdwara, one of Jaspal's (2010) informants said that:

> I don't really know what they're on about in the Gurdwara so we're all a bit like 'Whatever you say...We just go along because we've done it since we were kids and mum likes us to... I just go along with whatever my mum says – bending down, bowing down (Jaspal, 2010: 29).

It could be inferred from the above statements that the religious sermons and teachings in Sikhism are also delivered in original Gurumukhi. Even though the participants are unable to understand the teachings and sermons of the Gurduwara, they bend down to worship. In other words, "the Punjabi language is generally perceived by Sikhs as essential to the perpetuation of both their faith tradition and their wider Punjabi cultural heritage" (Tatla 1992:26, quoted by Nesbitt, 2000-145).

The association of Punjabi with Sikhism is, therefore, similar to the association between Urdu and Islam. Even though Punjabi was equally spoken by the Muslims during the British rule in the Indian subcontinent, it was only supported by the Sikh community probably because their religious identity was intertwined with the

[5] Also known as 'The *Rehat Maryada'*. It is an official document which provides guidelines against which all Sikh individuals and communities around the world can measure themselves. The *Rehat Maryada* is the only version authorized by the Akal Takht, the seat of supreme temporal authority for Sikhs. Further details can be found here https://www.sikhs.org/reht4.html

language. It was because of the ardent support and efforts of the Sikhs that, soon after the Hunter Commission, Punjabi gradually started gaining acceptance and it was no longer officially discouraged. This could be inferred from the following measures that were taken by the government officials in favour of Punjabi:

i. In 1887, Punjabi in Gurmukhi script was introduced in the Oriental Colleges
ii. By 1906, inspecting officers were directed to encourage Punjabi language use at lower primary levels

(Rahman, 1996)

Despite all these efforts, the Sikh community remained unsuccessful in raising the awareness of Muslim Punjabis and Muslims continued discouraging Punjabi under their provincial governments. Punjabi Muslim ministers discouraged their children from studying Punjabi. Hence, as stated by Rahman (1996), there were only 13 Punjabi medium schools in the major cities of Punjab in comparison to 1,245 Urdu medium primary schools in 1940. Furthermore, in that very year, only 96 students used Punjabi as their first vernacular in the Matriculation examination in comparison to 13,342 students who used Urdu and 626 who used Hindi. Urdu was the dominating language for the setting up of adult literacy programs since 255,000 elementary books were printed in Urdu whereas the elementary books printed for both Punjabi and Hindi were only 35,000. The possible reason of this dwindling interest in Punjabi, even among Sikhs, could be the 'ghettoizing effect'. As stated by Rahman (1996), "Ordinary Sikhs did not want to sacrifice social mobility to a linguistic symbol" and Punjabi was not a bread-winning language for them which is why the support for Punjabi, even among the Sikhs, dwindled gradually.

Another likely explanation of this inclination towards Urdu could be that the British may have felt threatened by the symbolic power (the political potential) of the Gurumukhi script (Rahman, 2002). This could be justified by reading the Commissioner of Delhi's letter of 16th June, 1862 to the Punjab Government, stating that "Any measure which would revive Gurumukhi, which is the written Punjabi tongue, would be a political error" (Chaudhry 1977: 66-7). Historically, in many different societies, language has been associated with power. Kachru (1990: 2) defined this association of power with language by stating that: "Power is the control of knowledge and the prestige of a language acquired as a result of its use in different significant domains. The more significant a domain is, the more powerful a language becomes." In the case of Punjabi, the British knew that this language was associated

with the significant domain of religion and an association of language with religion might ultimately assign more power to the language and, consequently, the people. This was obviously not in the interest of the British. The British colonial authorities desired to impose their language on the 'Indians' (as they were referred to then) as that was one of the ways they could strengthen their roots in the region. This is evident from T.B. Macaulay's often quoted minute of 1834 (quoted by Kachru, 1990: 5 and later by Millar, 2003:157) that they intended to produce "a class who may be interpreters between us and those whom we govern, a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, English in taste, in opinion, in morals and in intellect". In Millar's view (2005), those who have more economic or political power (or both) are in a better position to impose their language on those with less power (or in a democratic age, less access to the centre of power). As the British were the ruling elites at that time and they had both economic and political power, they became successful in imposing their language on the people of the British India. Chaudhuri (1976) argues that English was imposed on the Indians by some foreign British rulers to run their alien government. English was presented as a tool of civilization. Thus, by 1920, English became the language of power: the language of political discourse, bureaucracy and law.

From the aforementioned arguments one can deduce that, since the colonisers were aware of the political potential of a language such as Punjabi which was strongly associated with religion, they shunned its advocacy by the Sikh community and favoured the less threatening Urdu as a mediating local language instead. It is likely that making Urdu the official language of the region was, initially, only for the ease of their official business and most importantly, to understand the native culture thoroughly. Once they understood the cultural underpinnings of the people they were ruling, however, this approach might have been reinforced as the means to ensure that their language would eventually dominate in the power domains of the country. With such intentions, declaring Punjabi the vernacular language of the Punjab would indeed have been a political error.

So far, we have discussed the challenges faced by the Punjabi language before the partition. We now turn to the Punjabi language's situation after independence in 1947. Did these negative attitudes of Muslim Punjabis persist even after independence? Were there any significant measures taken to promote this largest

spoken language of the newly created Pakistan? These along with other relevant questions will be answered in the following section.

2.2.1. Punjabi Language after Independence (1947)

We saw in our previous discussion that Punjabi was in trouble from the very beginning. Even after the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Punjabi language was being questioned because of its association with Sikhs who were the biggest rivals of Muslims at the time of the partition (Rahman, 2002). The immediate consequences of this rivalry were that Punjabi vanished as a university subject (Shackle, 1970). However, in 1948 some activity did begin for the revival of the Punjabi language in Pakistan with a meeting of a few Punjabi intellectuals at Dyal Singh College. This meeting's agenda was to make Punjabi the language of education in Punjab and to encourage publications in Punjabi. It was a laborious task to convince educationalists to change the medium of instruction so abruptly, therefore, the first objective remained an objective, even until now. However, in 1951, a monthly Punjabi newspaper was indeed initiated by Abdul Majid Salik.

Moreover, the leader of the pro-Punjabi movement, Faqir Muhammad, fought for the rightful place of Punjabi. Prominent Punjabi intellectuals were assembled by him in 1951and he led the foundation of the Pak Punjabi League. Punjabi activists also established another league named Pak Punjabi. These leagues demanded that Punjabi should be taught from primary to MA level. As a result of these demands, permission was granted to teach Punjabi at post-graduate level in the University of Punjab but as an optional subject only. During this period, other organisations, like Punjabi *Majlis* and the Punjab group of Writers, were also established which emphasized the importance of teaching Punjabi in schools. In 1958, martial law was imposed by General Ayub Khan within the country. The Punjabi language came under the suspicion of the government as Ayub was very suspicious of movements for regional rights (Zaidi, 2010). A leader of the pro-Punjabi movement, Mirza expressed this situation in this way:

> To support Punjabi language and literature was labelled an anti-state act and in 1959, under Ayub'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 literary organization in Lahore lest it be declared a political organization.
>
> (Mirza,1985)

Nevertheless, the campaigns for linguistic rights were continued by the Punjabi activists (see Appendix B, Table 4 - Campaigns for Punjabi language rights). The Government allowed Punjabi to be taught as an optional subject in schools in 1962 (Zaidi, 2010). According to Rahman (2002), it was a big triumph for the Punjabi activists against the high intolerance of multilingualism and multiculturalism of General Ayub khan's government. In the 1950s and 1960s, the leaders of these Punjabi movements faced a very serious problem i.e. they were presented as anti-state leaders by the media (Afzal, 1986). Then, during the government of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1972-77), the Punjabi activists gained permission to teach Punjabi at the University of the Punjab. During that period, Punjabi cultural programs and functions were encouraged (Lewis, 1982). It was probably because at that time, in December 1971, that East Pakistan was separated from west Pakistan. The Bengali language movement posed the biggest threat to the government at that time (Rahman, 1996). However, during the whole period of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Punjabi language campaigns did not face any hostile government reactions (Zaidi, 2010). But still the status of Punjabi remained the same as it was not allowed to be taught in schools of Punjab, unlike Sindhi in Sindh and Pashto in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Martial law was again imposed within the country by General Zia in July 1977. During his reign, islamization started within the country. Whatever was perceived to be anti-Islamic or anti-Urdu was eradicated via extremely harsh punishments and censorship (Ayres, 2003; Shackle, 2007). Punjabi teaching was islamized to such an extent that the Punjabi literature course at the Punjab University was converted into Islamic studies in the Punjabi language (Randhawa, 1990).

All considered; therefore, Punjabi was given very little support from the very beginning. Muslims have had negative attitudes towards this language since the day they started their struggle for Pakistan back in the 1880's during the British rule in the Indian sub-continent. Despite the fact that the majority of the population in the British India was Punjabi speaking, the language was never declared one of the languages of power i.e. as the medium of instruction or as the language of administration, neither before independence nor after Pakistan's independence in 1947. Punjabi has always been given less importance in comparison to other regional languages of Pakistan. Having discussed the historical and political challenges faced by Punjabi during and after the British rule in the sub-continent, I will now briefly comment on the current

situation of Punjabi in the following paragraphs. Details on challenges faced by Punjabi in print and electronic media will be provided in the next section (2.3).

In contemporary Pakistan, the situation of Punjabi appears to be the same. Punjabi has not been given any encouragement in the language or educational planning policies (Mansoor 1993 & 2004; Rahman, 2004; Akram & Yasmeen, 2011; Riaz & Qadri, 2012; Nazir et al, 2013; Gillani, 2014). This situation could be explained by the fact that there is not even a single Punjabi medium school in Pakistan in comparison to 36,750 Sindhi medium schools in Sindh and 10,731 Pushto medium schools in the NWFP (Rammah, 2002). Nor has Punjabi ever been a part of the school syllabi (Zaidi, 2001; Khokhar, 2006). Punjabi is only offered in a few colleges at the degree level, with only one institution (University of the Punjab) offering postgraduate education in the subject (Kalra and But, 2013).

On most current definitions, Punjabi does not appear to have a status of standardised language. In the view of Fishman (1971), a standardised language has a set of codified norms[6] which have been accepted within a speech community. These codified norms are mostly advanced by the power elites of a society and confirmed via social institutions such as government, schools and the mass media (Ryan and Giles, 1982) and these are generally found as dictionaries, grammar books and style manuals. Mesthrie (2004) suggests that standardization occurs when a language performs a wider range of functions such as spread of literacy, education, government and administration etc. It has been argued that little attention has been paid towards the development or improvement of educational materials in Punjabi apart from Punjabi poetry and literature. The level of standardization of Punjabi in Pakistan is linked to the attitude toward it. Mansoor (2004) argues that literacy is an important factor in intergenerational transmission of a language. Kloss (1989) has also emphasized the role of literature and standardization of language for its vitality and since Punjabi is not used for literary purposes, it has a greatly weakened status in the country. Mansoor (2004) argues that the low vitality of Punjabi speech community could be illustrated by the inferior and relative state of deprivation of the Punjabi language. She along with Rahman (2004), Akram & Yasmeen (2011), Riaz & Qadri (2012), Nazir et al (2013) and Gillani (2014) have blamed the official language policy

[6] The term codified refers to the existence of explicit statements of the norms of a language, as in dictionaries and grammars, especially concerning aspects of language use where some variation exists among speakers. (Mesthrie et al. (2004:21)

makers of Pakistan for showing negligence towards Punjabi. All of them have made the inefficient language policies of Pakistan responsible for the denial of Punjabi language by the Punjabis themselves. Hence, Punjabi remains the neglected language in the country with no official status or role in the provincial policies.

The following section of this chapter highlights the current challenges faced by Punjabi, particularly, in print and electronic media in contemporary Pakistan. It provides a brief overview of the institutional support Punjabi receives in Pakistan, particularly in the mass media. The degree of institutional support for a language variety provides an important index of its current and future vitality. Along with a number of other factors (pertaining to the official recognition of a language and its use in educational programs) institutional support may be estimated in terms of positions taken by the mass media and whether the language is used in society-wide and/or ingroup publications, radio/television and community organizations (Ryan et al, 1982).

2.3. Punjabi in print and electronic media

On 22nd August 2016 a Circular issued by the renowned school in Sahiwal, Pakistan stated that: "Foul language is not allowed within and outside the school premises in the morning, during the school hours and after home time. Foul language includes taunts, abuses, Punjabi and the hate speech."

While there was nothing wrong with the school officials warning children against using foul language within and outside the premises of the school, it was the way the school officials defined foul language in the circular that is controversial. The circular defined it as "taunts, abuses, Punjabi and the hate speech." Calling Punjabi a foul language and banning its usage within the school premises caused a stir among the Punjabi community in Pakistan. This ban faced strong criticism on social media and many editorials were written about this. Activists from leading organizations such as Punjabi *Parchar*, Pakistan Punjabi *Adabi* Board, Masud Khadarposh Trust, Punjabi *Adabi Sangat*, Punjabi *Sangat* Pakistan, Punjabi *Adabi Parchar*, Punjabi *Khoj Garh*, *Baba* Farid Trust and *Sungri* also protested against this circular in order to support their mother tongue (October, 2016). They not only requested the school authorities to take back this circular but also demanded action against it. The brochures of this protest stated (Figure 2.1. Protest brochure of Punjabi organizations).

Figure 2.1. Protest brochure of Punjabi organizations

Source: Daily Pakistan (October 19, 2016)

The wording of the poster translates as follows: In order to protest against calling Punjabi 'a foul language' by Beaconhouse School System, Punjabi *parchar* and other Punjabi organizations are gathering in front of Beaconhouse Headquarters (*Guru Mangat* Road Lahore) on Thursday, 20 October 2016 at 12pm. It is requested to all Punjabi proponents and organizations working for the welfare of Punjabi to stand up with us in this protest and enhance the status and prestige of our mother-tongue (my translation).

Likewise, *Bhulekha*- a daily Punjabi newspaper also strongly protested against this ban: (see figure 2.2. *Bhulekha* Newspaper's cutting).

Figure 2.2. *Bhulekha* Newspaper's cutting

Source: Daily *Bhulekha* (October 19, 2016)

The wording in the cutting translates as "It is not just restricted to our mother-tongue; what kind of example are we setting for our children?" (my translation)

The occurrence of such a prejudiced circular was not surprising because, throughout its history (as explained earlier in section 2.2), Punjabi had always been a victim of social, political and economic circumstances even before the partition. It had

always been a neglected language in the country. This is also evident from several studies on Punjabi by Zaidi (2010), Akram and Yasmin (2011), Nazir et al (2013), Gilani (2014), Rahman (2007), Rahman (1999), Kamran (2008) and Abbas and Iqbal (2018). These studies reveal the negative attitude of Punjabi speakers towards their language. This neglect is further evident from the low number of Punjabi newspapers and periodicals being published in Punjab.

The latest statistics from All Pakistan Newspaper Society (APNS, 2016) indicate that out of a total of 188 newspapers, only 1 daily Punjabi newspaper is published in Punjab in comparison to 153 Urdu newspapers and 33 English newspapers (Appendix B, Table 5 and 6 Newspapers in Punjab). The newspapers which are currently publishing in Punjabi (Shahmukhi script) are:

Khabran – a daily newspaper started in 2004 and published from three major cities of Pakistan i.e. Lahore, Karachi and Islamabad. It is the only registered Punjabi newspaper with APNS, that is why the following two newspapers have not been counted in their figures.

Bhulekha – ABC (Audit Bureau of Statistics) a certified daily newspaper, started in 1989 and published in Lahore. It is also running its Facebook page entitled 'Bhulekha' which is daily updated with the e-version of this newspaper. It is a local Punjabi newspaper in circulation on a small scale.

Lokai – a daily local Punjabi newspaper being published from Lahore on a small scale. Its publication started in January, 2011 as a standard four-paged newspaper.

Moreover, the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics' (PBS) report (2014) indicates that the Punjabi newspaper publications have been drastically reduced in number from 2004 to 2013 in comparison to Urdu and English newspaper publications. (refer to Table 7: List of Newspapers and Periodicals (Punjab), Appendix B for further details). According to the PBS 2013 report, out of a total 116 newspapers, there was only one Punjabi newspaper being published in the whole Punjab in comparison to 82 Urdu newspapers and 4 English newspapers.

These figures clearly indicate the marginal position of Punjabi in Pakistan. Punjabi, despite being the majority language of the country, appears to have a very low print presence. Historically, almost every Punjabi journalistic venture deceased

soon after its commencement, for instance, *Sajjan, Khalsa Akhbar Lahore* etc. On the contrary, all the other regional and provincial languages, Sindhi in particular, have a remarkable history of publication. It is worth noticing here that, in 2013, as per PBS (2014) report, out of 74 newspapers being published in Sindh, 17 were publishing in Sindhi in comparison to only one Punjabi newspaper in Punjab (Appendix B, Table 9 - List of newspapers and periodicals in other provinces). This aptly indicates the dismissive attitude of Pakistani Punjabi speakers towards their mother-tongue. Newspapers are one of the dominant media powers in any country. They cover a range of subjects including local politics, education, culture, the state of social science etc. Therefore, the absence of such a powerful medium for the promotion of language has ultimately pushed Punjabi behind and to the point where it is no longer a significant language of print.

Not only newspapers but Punjabi magazines and publishers are also low in number in Pakistan. *Sanjh* (quarterly magazine[7]), *Pancham* (monthly magazine[8]) and *Lehran*[9] (Monthly Magazine) are the only three Punjabi magazines currently being published in Punjab. Bearing these figures in mind, it is not surprising to find that the number of Punjabi publishers in Pakistan is also limited. *Kitab Trinjan*, Punjab Institute of Language, Art and Culture, *Sanjh* Publications, *Suchet Kitab Ghar*, Sufi Wisdom Series, Rawalpindi, Punjabi *Adabi* Board, Lahore, Institute of Punjabi Language and Literature, Punjabi *Adabi Markaz*, Lahore and *Bazam-e-Faqir*, Lahore are the current Punjabi publishers in Pakistan.

These low figures clearly indicate that Punjabi is not a significant language of print and that Punjabis show very little interest in reading in their own language. Ayres (2008) states in her sociolinguistic study that, "…the Punjabi language appears to have a print life only at the lowest levels and in arenas marginal to formal education and "official" life. Indeed, the number of quality books published in Punjabi is miniscule." One might wonder why Punjabi, despite being the largest spoken language of the Punjab province, is not a significant language of print in the region? Why is publication in Punjabi so diminutive? One logical answer to these questions could be: due to the lack of readership. If Pakistani Punjabis are not interested in reading Punjabi

[7] Editor: Safir Rammah, Publisher:Academy of the Punjab in North America (APNA)
[8] Publisher: Suchet Kitab Ghar, Editor/s: Faiza and Maqsood Saqib
[9] One of the first Punjabi monthly magazines, Publishing from the last 48 years, first publication in March 1965 by Dr. Syed Akhter Hussain (Late)

newspapers or magazines, it is not surprising that the demand for its publication becomes low. Obviously, if people are not interested in consuming a certain product, why would a company keep producing that? But what cannot be easily understood is the reason for this lack of interest. Why do Punjabis prefer reading in Urdu or English to reading in Punjabi? This indifferent attitude of Punjabis towards their mother-tongue is not just restricted to newspapers or magazines. If one observes/ looks at the sign boards in Lahore, which is the largest Punjabi speaking city in Pakistan, one would hardly find any sign-boards or advertisements in Punjabi. This implies that Shackle's depiction of Punjabi in Lahore (1970), "Signs and notices, commercial and official, are mostly in English (or English in Urdu script)…" still applies now. He further states that the "only Punjabi one sees is the one written in the titles of Punjabi films in advertisements. Very few books, magazines or other printed materials appear in Punjabi". This still resonates with the present situation of Punjabi in print media, as discussed earlier in this section.

Moreover, it may not be surprising to see that the presence of Punjabi in electronic media is also extremely limited. As per PEMRA's (Pakistan Media Regulatory Authority) list of 2016, out of a total of 87 satellite TV channels, there are only 2 Punjabi channels in comparison to 64 Urdu channels and 10 English channels (See Appendix B, Table 10 - List of TV Channels in regional languages). APNA channel is the first Punjabi channel which started its transmission in 2004. Khokhar (2006) states that "Although the quality of its programmes, especially the Punjabi language spoken by its telecasters, needs a lot of improvement, it is a nascent effort. Its success can lead to a much larger presence of Punjabi language in the electronic media by encouraging similar commercial ventures". Very recently another channel named Punjab TV started its transmission in Punjabi. Its headquarter is in Lahore and it caters to the country's large Punjabi population. Even though these channels claim to be Punjabi TV channels, they do not, however, purely broadcast everything in Punjabi. For instance, a morning show is broadcasted daily on APNA channel. Though the language medium is Punjabi for this TV show, ironically the title of the show (Morning with Baber Ali) is itself in English and the host of the show code-switches[10]

[10] Almulhim (2014) defines code-switching as the alternating use of more than one language or language variety in the same interaction. For Meyerhoff (2006:116) code-switching is "the alteration between varieties, or codes, across sentences or clause boundaries" (see chapter 5, section 5.3 for details.

(alters between Urdu, English and Punjabi words across sentences and clause boundaries) almost all the time. Kay2 TV is another multilingual channel where a few Punjabi programs are broadcast. Apart from these, one would hardly find the use of Punjabi elsewhere on electronic media, which itself is an indication of apathy on the part of Punjabis.

When considering the use of Punjabi in the electronic media, one cannot overlook its use on FM Radio channels. The majority of the population of Punjab live in small rural towns and remote villages, in which Punjabi appears to be commonly spoken. In the majority of these places, FM radio is the only access that people have to electronic media and could, therefore, be the most effective electronic medium for the transmission and promotion of Punjabi language. However, as per PEMRA's (2016) report, there is a total of 76 registered commercial Radio channels in Punjab out of which only 1 Radio channel broadcasts purely in Punjabi and 1 radio channel broadcasts both in Urdu and Punjabi. Apart from these channels, there is said to be considerably more Punjabi music played on 15 other channels (See Table 11 - List of Radio Channels in Appendix B). It is worth noticing here, however, that Shackle's (1970) ethnographic research on Punjabi in Lahore revealed that the Lahore Radio broadcasted most of its programs in Urdu, which was also the standard television language.

This section has thrown light on the current situation of Punjabi in print and electronic media in contemporary Pakistan. Judging by the overview provided in the previous three sections, it may not be surprising to find that existing research has evidenced negative attitude towards Punjabi and the low vitality of the language. However, before detailing such research and clarifying the contribution of this study, the following sections provide an overview of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks underlying the study of language attitude (2.4) and vitality (2.5).

2.4. The study of linguistic attitudes

Attitudes have been explored differently across various disciplines and fields (such as sociology, sociolinguistics, cognitive and social psychology) because of their complex nature. Allport (1935:810) describes attitude in his classic definition as "a mental and neutral state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related". Allport's definition is no longer widely accepted. However, as

Fazio and Petty (2008) argued, its features served as a point of departure in the evolution of the attitude concept into its modern form. Oppenheim (1992) defined attitude in a more elaborate way considering attitude as:

> a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended, […] an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through more obvious processes and stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotions and in various other aspects or behavior (Oppenheim 1992:39).

Baker (1992) explains attitude as a "hypothetical construct" which can be used to explicate the direction and tenacity of human behaviour. Different researchers have developed somewhat different definitions of the term *attitude*. It commonly refers to our general evaluations of people, objects and issues (Fazio and Petty, 2008). Attitudes can be seen as items of social knowledge built from the experiences, beliefs and feelings generated by the attitude objects (Zanna and Rempel, 1988). The most widely accepted contemporary view of attitudes is that it is a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to an object, institution or an event (Sarnoff, 1970; Ajzen, 1988; Baker, 1993, Edwards, 1994; Dovidio et al, 2003; Fazio and Petty, 2008; Olufemi, 2012; Garrett, 2013). One common component in almost all of the prominent definitions is the notion that an attitude represents some sort of evaluative judgement about an attitude object (Haddock and Maio, 2012). Garrett (2013:30) also agrees that "an attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, or a new government policy etc."

In the sociolinguistic context, attitudes have been defined as those feelings or perceptions which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or towards their own language (Richards et al., 1992 & Crystal, 1997). This study integrates the wider definitions with the more specific sociolinguistic definition, positing that *Language Attitudes* are individuals' evaluative judgements - either favourable or unfavourable, or both- about a language. More specifically, language attitudes will be understood as the feelings, beliefs and reactions of Pakistani Punjabis towards the Punjabi language and Punjabi speech community.

Baker (1993) views language attitudes as an umbrella term, which encompasses different aspects of attitudes. In his seminal study, he identified several areas on which language attitude studies are focused:

i. Attitudes to language variation, dialect and speech style

ii. Attitudes to learning a new language
iii. Attitudes to minority languages
iv. Attitudes to language lessons
v. Attitudes to language groups, communities and minorities
vi. Attitudes to use of specific language
vii. Attitudes of parents to language learning
viii. Attitude to language preference

The main focus in this thesis is on the last three of these. The study identifies the attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi, attitudes of Punjabi parents to Punjabi teaching and learning and their language preferences in formal and informal domains.

2.5. Significance of the study of attitudes

A measure of language attitude can be vital in determining the health of a language in society (Baker, 1993). Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language (Richards et al. 1992). Nguyen (2016) points out that linguistic attitudes are strongly associated with individuals' identities. Joseph (2004: 188) believes that "language is thoroughly and intricately bound up with human identity". Attitudes are not only concerned with language but are also about self-identification as a speaker of languages, other speakers of the languages and language communities (Nguyen, 2016). Through language attitudes, individuals not only take stances on languages, but also on the values attached to the languages or their relationship to the community using the languages (Dailey-O'Cain & Liebscher, 2011 quoted in Nguyen, 2016). The study of language attitudes is significant in identifying social perceptions, status, value and importance of a language (Ryan and Giles, 1982, Baker, 1992). Garrett (2010) argues that language attitude studies do not simply aim to maintain a record of people's attitude towards languages, language varieties, linguistic features and stereotypes, but most importantly, such studies are also concerned with identifying what is that determines and defines these attitudes.

Language attitude surveys can have various social, educational, occupational and legal implications. The majority of the language attitude surveys revolve around educational issues and are considered significant in language revitalization programmes, planning and language policy making. Baker (1992) points out that attitude surveys provide social indicators of a community's changing beliefs and the

chances of success in language policy implementation. Lewis aptly exemplifies the connection between attitude surveys and implementation of language policies in the following words:

> In the long run, no policy will succeed which does not do one of the three things: conform to the expressed attitudes of those involved; persuade those who express negative attitudes about the rightness of the language policy; or seek to remove the causes of the disagreement. In any case, knowledge of attitudes is fundamental to the formulation of a policy as well as to success in its implementation (Lewis, 1981:262).

Education is one of the significant domains for attitude surveys. It has been indicated (Garrett, 2010 and McKenzie, 2010) that attitudes to language varieties may affect the extent to which certain speech communities participate in higher education or influence employment opportunities. Holmes (2013) also acknowledges the political and educational implications of attitudes to languages. She asserts that attitudes are strongly influenced by political and social factors and that they play key role in the language policy making. In circumstances where a speech community's attitudes are unfavourable towards bilingual education, and a language policy in favour of bilingual education is imposed or a language policy imposing one national language in a multilingual community is introduced, it is highly unlikely that a language policy implementation will be successful. Thus, as Baker (1992) states, attitudes to languages are significant for language restoration, preservation, decay or death.

Another area where language attitude studies can make valuable contribution is Forensic Linguistics. The study and analysis of language and communication in legal contexts such as police interviews, courtroom interaction or legal documents is of paramount significance (See Garrett, 2006; Garrett, 2010 and Holmes, 2013 for details). The public's attitudes towards the language spoken by the police, for instance, have been widely investigated in previous studies. Giles et al. (2006) established that the public had more favourable attitudes towards the police if they were accommodative in their speech. Dixon et al. (2002) investigated the effect of regional accent on attributions of guilt. The results of their study revealed that Birmingham (UK) accent attracted higher guilt ratings than RP. Second language learning is another significant field where sociolinguistic data on learners' language preferences, perceptions and attitudes has proven useful (Holmes, 2013). Clearly, language

attitudes have implications in several social and professional contexts, which illustrates well why sociolinguistic research can have significant practical applications.

2.6. Related Theoretical Frameworks

Language attitudes have also been associated with interpersonal communicative strategies in social psychology, giving rise to related theoretical frameworks. During the 1970s, for example, social psychologists (Giles, 1973, 1977, 1979b; Giles, Taylor, & Bourhis, 1972) laid the foundation of Communication Accommodation Theory (formerly known as Speech Accommodation Theory). In linguistics, CAT examines a speaker's motivation to adjust their speech styles to match that of their interlocutors (Coupland and Giles, 1988; Giles, 1973, Garette, 2010 and Chakrani, 2015). It postulates that people adjust their speech to 'accommodate' the person they are addressing and to fit in with others. CAT helps identifying the different ways in which we accommodate our communication i.e. our communication strategies, our motivations for doing so, and the consequences (Gallois et al., 1995; Giles and Ogay, 2007 and Dregojevic et al., 2016). People can adjust their communicative behaviours relative to one another in three basic ways: convergence, divergence and maintenance.

Convergence is defined as a strategy whereby speakers adjust their communicative behaviours to reduce dissimilarities (Dregojevic et al., 2016 and Garrett, 2010). Giles and Ogay (2007) argue that convergence occurs when "individuals adapt their communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic (e.g., speech rate, accents), paralinguistic (e.g., pauses, utterance length), and nonverbal features (e.g., smiling, gazing) in such a way as to become more similar to their interlocutor's behaviour" (p.294-295). Convergence can be motivated by the desire to gain social approval from one another and also by a desire to maintain positive social identities. Divergence, on the other hand, refers to a strategy of accentuating verbal and/or non-verbal differences between the speakers and the interlocutors (Garrette, 2010; Giles and Ogay, 2007 and Dregojevic, 2016). Chakrani (2015) argues that a non-accommodative strategy is motivated by the desire to assert distinctiveness and identity. Maintenance (i.e. no adjustment in either direction) can be defined as a strategy whereby a speaker sustains his/her original speaking style, irrespective of the communication behaviour of the interlocutor (Giles and Ogay, 2007; Dregojectic, 2016 and Garrette, 2010).

Garrett (2010) views speech accommodation as the discursive manifestation of attitude. He argues that "Attitudes and motivations feature not only in our perceptions, evaluations and attributions as we encounter such adjustments and attunements; they are also components of our own communicative competence that underpin, consciously or unconsciously, our moment-to-moment deployment of linguistic, nonverbal and discursive resources to achieve our communicative goals" (Garrett, 2010:120). CAT suggests that speakers often use communication in order to express their attitudes towards each other (Giles and Ogay, 2007). CAT focuses on the dynamic communicative exchanges that can occur in a communicative interaction. Garrett (2010) draws our attention to the importance of incorporating these communicative shifts (or adaptations) into language attitude studies. He argues that "the psycho-social processes that attitudes research deals with are also those that inform choices that we make in interaction" (p.105). Making adjustments as we interact with others may be a behavioural signal of our own attitudes, and these adaptations may themselves also evoke attitudinal responses in our communication partners. Therefore, CAT can also be viewed as the implementation of attitudes in discourse (Garrett, 2010).

2.6.1. Explicit and implicit attitudes

Over the past few decades, a large and growing body of literature has established that attitudes can operate at two distinct levels i.e. explicit and implicit (Devos, 2008; Dovidio et al., 2003; Olufemi, 2012 and McKenzie and Carrie, 2018). Explicit attitudes are defined as "deliberate evaluations that are open to introspection and are under conscious control" (Hayden and Oakes, 2001). These attitudes are explicit in a sense that people are mostly aware of their own evaluative tendencies (Eagly and Chaiken, 2007) and can express them easily (Oskamp, 2005; Devos, 2008). Explicit attitudes operate in a conscious mode and can be elicited by traditional self-report/direct measures (Dovidio, Kawakami and Beach, 2003; Eagly and Chaiken, 2007; Baker, 1993 and Garrett 2013). Implicit attitudes, on the other hand, are automatic evaluations that occur without conscious reflection and function without a person's awareness or ability to control them. (Fazio, 1990; Banaji and Bhaskar, 2000 and Ottaway et al., 2001 and Oskamp, 2005, McKenzie and Carrie, 2018; Devos, 2008). They commonly function in an unconscious fashion (Dovidio, Kawakami and Beach, 2003:176). Greenwald and Banaji (1995) are of the view that the origin of these evaluations is unknown to the individual and that affect implicit responses. Since these

responses are outside of voluntary control, they may not be identified by the individual as an expression of their attitude (Bohner and Wanke, 2002).

Both explicit and implicit attitudes are dynamic structures. Implicit values underlie language change and language use patterns of a community, whereas, explicit values reveal stereotypes and folk wisdom about language (Lybaert, 2016:94). The identification of explicit values assists in "understanding the status of and regard for language use in speech communities" (Lybaert, 2016:94). My study of attitudes towards Punjabi is significant in considering not only explicit but also implicit attitudes. However, there is some controversy and ambiguity as to the exact meaning of 'implicit', which is discussed in the following paragraphs.

Numerous studies in the field of language attitude research have attempted to explain the distinction between what is sometimes referred to as covert vs overt attitudes, other times private vs public attitudes and more recently implicit vs explicit attitudes. These distinctions are similar in the sense that they acknowledge the possible existence of two distinct levels of perceptions associated with differences in language attitudes. Theoretically, explicit and implicit attitudes could be defined in terms of two distinct notions: an automatic (associative) process yielding implicit attitudes and a controlled (deliberative) process yielding explicit attitudes and in terms of level of consciousness or awareness (Pharao & Kristiansen, 2019 and Greenwald & Nosek 2008). Explicit/overt/public attitudes are usually perceived as conscious and deliberate attitudes, whereas implicit/covert/private attitudes are often perceived as unconscious and automatic attitudes. However, this distinction between explicit and implicit attitudes is not uncontroversial, particularly with reference to the methods used to appraise explicit and implicit attitudes, which is reviewed in section 2.7.

The distinction between explicit and implicit attitudes is further elaborated into Wilson, Lindsey and Schooler's notion of dual attitudes (2000). They proposed that "people can have dual-attitudes, which are different evaluations of the same attitude object, one of which is an automatic/habitual, implicit attitude and the other of which is an explicit attitude" (Wilson et al., 2000:102). In their model of dual attitudes, they postulated that "both explicit and implicit attitudes can coexist in the memory and when dual attitudes exist, the implicit attitude is activated automatically, whereas the explicit one requires more capacity and motivation to retrieve from memory" (p.104).

They further classified dual attitudes into four hypothetical types based on two hallmarks shared by all types: awareness of implicit attitudes and the capacity and

motivation required to override it. Although it is beyond the scope of this research to test these sources of duality, they are relevant to the comprehension of the processes that might be involved in the context of language attitudes. The first three types are more directly relevant to the field of Psychology and will only be discussed briefly here as they are not relevant to this study's context.

The first type of dual-attitude is *Repression*, whereby an attitude is kept out of consciousness as it is anxiety-provoking. This attitude, as the name suggests, results from repression. In case of repression, an attitude may be a source of psychological tension and is overridden by an opposite attitude as a defence mechanism. *Independent systems* is another type of dual attitudes. Similar to *Repression*, people are unaware of their implicit attitude and aware of their explicit attitude. However, unlike *Repression*, there is no motivational force keeping the implicit attitude out of awareness. Both explicit and implicit attitudes (i.e. conscious and unconscious systems) exist and develop evaluations independently – one influencing the conscious responses and the other unconscious responses. *Independent systems* was also referred to as *Dissociation* by Greenwald and Banaji (1995). It is possible that both conscious and unconscious attitudes are fully dissociated. People might develop (unconscious) implicit attitudes through past experiences with the attitude object. The example given by Cervellon (2006) of a person raised in a racist family who might change their attitude while interacting with Black people, yet preserve the traces of their past experiences at the unconscious level, is representative of dissociation. The third attitude type is *Automatic overriding*, in which the process of overriding an attitude is an automatic process. Wilson et al. (2000) argue that "as long as people have the capacity to retrieve the explicit attitude from memory, it automatically overrides the implicit attitude i.e. explicit attitude automatically "short-circuits" implicit attitude such that people do not experience it consciously" (p.105-106) and they automatically report their explicit responses.

The last type appears to be more relevant in this study's context. It is called *Motivated overriding* to indicate that it refers to the case when people are fully aware of their implicit attitude (in contrast to *Repression* and *Independence*). However, they consider it as illegitimate or unwanted, which is why they feel motivated to override it with a different explicit attitude. For example, people might be fully aware that they have quick, negative evaluations of Muslims (i.e. they are terrorists and extremists). But they deplore this reaction and attempt to override it by retrieving from memory an

explicit positive attitude (such as: not all Muslims are terrorists and it is a religion of peace just like any other religion, or a positive encounter with a Muslim). This process of overriding a negative implicit attitude (such as stereotypes, prejudice and racist views) requires motivation, effort and cognitive capacity (Wilson et al., 2000:78-79). In the context of linguistic attitudes, there might be a conflict between individuals' explicit and implicit attitudes towards the same language. For example, people might be fully aware that they have negative implicit attitudes towards their heritage language and they might justify these negative attitudes by providing several reasons (such as no socioeconomic advancement if they or their children continue speaking their heritage language and they could only excel at the expense of losing their heritage language). It is very much likely, that unconsciously, they do not want to hold negative attitudes towards a language which is a part of their identity and culture, and because they deplore this reaction, they attempt to override it, by expressing an explicit positive attitude. I will briefly return to this subject again in chapter 6, section 6.3 where I compare the explicit and implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi.

According to Brown and Gaertner, 2003), the dual attitude model offers a comprehensive and integrative framework for understanding the relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes and their consequences.

2.7. Approaches to measuring language attitudes

In the field of sociolinguistics, to date, three broad approaches have been developed and introduced by different scholars (Ryan and Giles, 1982; Garrett, 2003 & 2010; Baker, 1992) to measure language attitudes: *direct approach*, *indirect approach* and *societal treatment analysis*[11]/ content analysis. Direct and indirect approaches can be equated with explicit and implicit measures of attitudes (Fazio and Petty, 2008; Wittenbrink and Schwarz, 2007) in the field of social psychology. Social psychology research has frequently utilised these measures across several domains such as attitudes, self-esteem and stereotypes. Since these terms embody very similar concepts in both social psychology and sociolinguistics (which will be evident in the subsequent discussion), the terms will be used interchangeably (Direct method = Explicit

[11] The term is used by Ryan, Giles and Hewstone (1988) and was later relabeled as 'content analysis' by Knops and van Hout (1988:6) to refer to the analysis of societal treatment given to a certain language. Garrett (2003) preferred the term 'Societal treatment analysis'.

measures and Indirect method = Implicit measures) in this dissertation. Details on all of the three approaches are presented in the following sections.

2.7.1. Direct approach/ explicit measures

According to Garrett (2010:228), direct approach deals with "the studies of attitudes of human informants in which they are aware of what is being investigated". It involves asking people a series of direct questions usually through questionnaires and/or interviews (Garrett, 2003; Ryan and Giles, 1982). This approach is 'obtrusive' in nature due to its direct elicitation of information from respondents (Garrett *et al.*, 2003; McKenzie, 2010). Respondents are directly asked about their language preferences, desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who speak that language, self-reports concerning their language use, self-reports concerning language proficiency, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, opinions concerning language policies and their willingness to learn, maintain and strengthen the language (Ryan and Giles, 1982). Garrett argues that this approach relies upon overt elicitation of attitudes as participants are requested to enunciate explicitly what their attitudes are to various language phenomena (2010). This way, by explicitly responding to the direct statements, the respondents report their explicit attitudes towards the language under investigation.

Trudgill (1992) states that overt attitudes are evident when speakers overtly express one variant as being better than the other. So, questionnaires and interviews are the best ways to identify this. In an attempt to answer research question no. 1 (What are the explicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards the Punjabi language?), a questionnaire (with Likert scale as proposed by Osgood, 1957; Baker, 1992 and Garrett, 2003) was, therefore, employed to measure explicit (overt) attitudes of participants towards the Punjabi language. This allowed the researcher to ask participants about their attitudes explicitly and directly (Cargile, Giles and Ryan, 1994). Furthermore, it allowed the researcher to collect data from a large number of people simultaneously. Also, questionnaires can offer more anonymity for respondents (Garrett, 2003) and provide a higher degree of confidentiality than interviews (Schwarz, 2008). It was expected, therefore, that this anonymity aspect would reduce the likelihood of responses being affected by social desirability. The anonymity would allow the participants to express their attitudes openly and freely in response to the explicit statements. A detailed discussion on the development of the

questionnaire and its design will be presented in chapter 3, section 3.6 (Language Attitude Questionnaire).

The *Direct method* has been criticised for two major reasons: social desirability bias and acquiescence bias. No matter how carefully one constructs a questionnaire, there is always a possibility that the subject is untruthful. The mere awareness that his or her attitude is assessed may raise concerns for the individual about the types of responses that are socially desirable (Fazio and Petty, 2008). Social desirability bias is a tendency for people to give socially appropriate responses to questions (Garrett, 2003). People wish to appear esteemed and pragmatic, and this may affect their answers. This implies that their actual private attitudes may not be reflected in their responses. Acquiescence bias (Garrett, 2003) is another difficulty in direct methods, in which subjects may agree with an item/question to gain the researcher's approval regardless of its content. This, too, implies that the responses do not reflect the respondent's actual personal evaluation of the attitude statement, and therefore raises issues of validity (Garrett, 2003:29). In a similar vein, Oppenheim (2000) asserts that a respondent's fake responses or too many 'uncertain' responses could be for multiple reasons such as: "Fear, misunderstanding, the desire to place oneself in a more favourable light, social taboos, dislike for the research worker and other motives". This has led to the development of a less direct, unobtrusive measure of attitude (Fazio and Petty, 2008), known as indirect/implicit approach whose purpose is less obvious to the respondent.

2.7.2. Indirect Approach/Implicit measures

Indirect approach (also called projective techniques by Oppenheim, 2000) refers to the "study of human informants in which they are unaware of what is being investigated" (Garrett, 2010:228). In this approach, more subtle and less obtrusive techniques are employed rather than simply asking explicit and direct questions about what people's attitudes are to something. Over the past few years, there has been an increasing interest in the use of implicit measurement techniques in language attitude studies (e.g. Rudman, 2004; Wittenbrink and Schwarz, 2007; Todd and Pojanapunya, 2008; Pantos, 2010; Ogunnaike et al. 2010; Mckenzie, 2015 and McKenzie & Carrie, 2018). Fazio and Petty (2008) view implicit measures as a means of assessing attitudes without having to rely on an individual's direct reports. Implicit attitude measurement could include the observation of the participants, observing presumed uncontrollable aspects of their behaviour (e.g. physiological reactions), and measures based on

cognitive processes; as a means of obtaining unobtrusive, indirect estimates of individuals' attitudes (Fazio and Petty, 2008).

According to Fazio and Petty (2008), "the implicit measures seek to obtain an estimate of an individual's attitude without directly asking the individual to consider his/her attitude. In that way, little or no motivation to alter responses in a socially desirable direction should be evoked" (p.35). Oppenheim (2000) believes that via indirect methods, researchers can reach a deeper level of truthfulness in the responses in comparison to direct methods alone. In his view, "If we have to penetrate deeper, perhaps below the level of conscious awareness or behind the individual's social façade, then indirect, projective techniques have to be used" (Oppenheim, 1992:210). For this reason, he along with Garrett (2003) suggested using both direct and indirect methods in the same inquiry to obtain attitudinal data on the same attitude-complex at several different levels.

Different implicit measurement techniques (such as: Implicit Association Test, Matched-guise technique, Verbal-guise technique etc.) have been employed in the aforementioned studies to measure the respondents' attitudes. Matched-guise technique (MGT) was developed by Lambert et al. in 1960[12]. It elicits attitudes to speech varieties (dialects), and the speakers of these varieties (dialect speakers) by indirect methods and in artificial, laboratory settings. In MGT, participants evaluate the speech of the same individual speaking in different 'guises'/accents on a number of personality traits. Participants hear an audio tape recording of a single speaker reading out the same speech samples/text multiple times. The texts are read out in different accents, dialects or languages which are under investigation. During the task, the respondents are unaware that the speaker is in-fact the same person, speaking in different 'guises'. They are told that they will be listening to a number of different speakers. This approach has been criticised for a number of reasons: 1) it is considered deceptive to participants (i.e. major ethical concerns). 2) It is practically impossible to find speaker who can convincingly produce authentic speech samples of the language varieties. 3) It is conducted in an artificial/ laboratory setting. 4) It measures attitudes towards speakers rather than the language itself. 5) Participants may be passive observers rather than active participants. 6) Over reliance on attitude rating scales

[12] For details on MGT and its criticism see Lambert et al. 1960; Garrett et al, 2003; Garrett, 2010; McKenzie, 2010; McKenzie, 2015; Falomir, 2015 and Lehnert et al, 2018.

(Semantic Differentiation Scale, in particular) and 7) the use of decontextualized speech samples undermines validity (the neutrality of the text problem).

In an attempt to overcome these methodological issues associated with MGT, Verbal guise technique (VGT) was introduced[13]. VGT is a variant of MGT. In this approach recording of spontaneous speech of different speakers can be used. Neutral stimulus recordings are prepared by controlling the topic or content of the speech. For instance, speakers can be asked to give directions from a map. This technique, similar to MGT, is also designed via sematic-differential scales. VGT has its value but it has been criticized for similar reasons to MGT: 1) artificial/laboratory setting, 2) measures attitudes towards speakers (accents or spoken varieties) rather than the language itself, 3) participants could be passive observers rather than active participants and 4) simple adjectives cannot describe the whole language.

Implicit Association Test (IAT) was developed by Greenwald, McGhee and Schwartz in 1998[14]. Recently, it has been the most often used implicit measurement technique in language attitude studies. This technique has been borrowed from the field of psychology. IAT is a measure of strengths of automatic associations between a target concept and an attribute dimension which examines performance speeds on classification tasks. It tests reactions to audio or visual stimuli. IAT is a computer-based sorting task which measures relative reaction times between distinct pairings of concepts and/or attributes. This technique is based on response latency. Participants are asked to classify stimuli. IAT measures how quickly people can categorize/link attitude objects of interest with the good vs bad response on a computer keyboard. It measures the differential association of two target concepts (e.g. flower vs insect) with positive vs negative evaluations (e.g. pleasant words vs unpleasant words).

An increase in use of IAT to measure implicit attitudes suggests that it is an effective technique to measure implicit linguistic attitudes. It was not considered suitable for this study because it requires a higher degree of instrumentation and technical sophistication. Participants who are familiar with computer and technology are more suitable for such implicit measures. However, in this study's context, a low

[13] For further details on VGT see Mckenzie, 2015; McKenzie, 2010; Garrett et al., 2003 and Ladegaard, 2000.
[14] For details on IAT see Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Pantos, 2010; Petty et. al, 2009; Fazio and Petty, 2008; Bohner and Wänke, 2002; Schwarz, 2008:41-53 Crano and Prislin, 2008; Mckenzie, 2018 and Fazio and Olson, 2003.

-tech alternative method was needed because of the characteristics of my participants (i.e. they were less educated and were not familiar with computers and technology).

Oppenheim (2000:210) suggests conducting a series of careful, in-depth interviews "to explore the origins, complexities, motivational links and ramifications of the behaviour and attitudes in question, to enable us to conceptualise them". Semi-structured interviews (as an indirect/implicit method) were, therefore, selected in this study as the most appropriate method to measure implicit attitudes of the respondents (research question 1) because it was considered to be one of the most practical and feasible ways to elicit implicit attitudes held by rural Punjabis who were not fully equipped with the knowledge of computer and technology. In comparison to the other implicit measures surveyed above which require a high degree of instrumentation and technical sophistication, it was anticipated that a low-tech method was better suited to elicit the implicit attitudes of the participants. There were also several other issues that were taken into consideration in the process of selecting an implicit measure. Firstly, computer resources are not readily available in the rural regions of the Punjab. Secondly, in order to use other implicit measures (Implicit Association Test, for example) I would have had to train my participants before each task, which again would have been time consuming and impractical. Consequently, there was also a possibility of attaining 'conditioned' responses which would not have revealed the actual linguistic attitudes of the respondents. Therefore, it was decided that the best method to investigate participants' implicit attitudes was to employ indirect questioning in the form of interviews as an implicit method. However, the understanding of 'implicit' needed to be reviewed with reference to this methodology (see section 2.7.3). Details of interview questions and structure and how these interviews were carried out have been provided in chapter 3, section 3.10 (semi-structured interviews).

Campbell and Russo (2001) presented a comprehensive review of several direct and indirect methods. They argue that in the direct method the participants' understanding of the purpose of the study and the researcher's understanding are in agreement. In the indirect method, however, the researcher evaluates and interprets the participants' responses "in terms of dimensions and categories different from those held in mind by the respondent while answering" (Campbell and Russo, 2001:5). They argue that if a respondent tells stories to pictures assuming that his thematic creativity is being assessed, and the researcher then deciphers the deeper meanings and evaluates

the products as depth projections, the test is indirect. Similarly, if a participant assumes that that his memory is being tested, while his behaviour is evaluated by the researcher in terms of attitudes towards India, the test is indirect. In a nutshell, "whenever responses are taken as symptoms rather than as literal information, the test is indirect" (Campbell and Russo, 2001:5). In the similar vein, Rohner et al. (2009) asserted that the distinction between direct and indirect methods lies in whether a respondent is aware of the purpose of the study or not. If a respondent assumes that a certain response in an indicator of A, but the response is interpreted as an indicator of B, the response could be considered an indirect measure of B and a direct measure of A (also see Greenwald and Banaji, 1995). Considering this understanding of indirect method, it could be argued that the semi-structured interviews employed in this study functioned as an indirect method as the participants' responses were interpreted beyond literal information. Participants assumed that they were generally talking about their language use patterns in different domains (home, neighbourhood, friends, school), and having a conversation about their views on three different languages (Urdu, Punjabi and English), while their responses were interpreted in terms of their implicit attitudes towards Punjabi.

Semi-structured interviews were also chosen because they are powerful in eliciting narrative data which allows the researcher to investigate participants' views in greater depth (Kvale, 1996; 2003). Such types of interviews are flexible as they allow depth to be achieved by providing the opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the interviewee's responses (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Other reasons presented by Garrett (2003:35) are: first, researchers can combat reluctance in respondents by being present in the field. This way better response rates could be achieved. Second, instead of being confined to predetermined categories, interviews allow respondents to respond on their own terms. The third significant reason is that it allows a better assessment of attitude strength, probably because of better opportunities to express oneself. Hence, for my research, I opted for such a procedure hoping that it would allow me to attain a more complete and clearer overview of participants' perceptions about Punjabi and Punjabi speakers than the direct method on its own.

2.7.3. Qualifying 'implicit' attitudes

Pharao and Kristiansen (2019) warned that implicit attitudes, although measured through indirect methods, should not be generally assumed to be unconscious

attitudes. Following Pharao and Kristiansen (2019), the focus of this study is on the ideological aspect of sociolinguistic attitudes rather than the cognitive processing of attitudes in the mind/brain. This essentially means that, in this particular study, explicit attitudes are conceived to be directly expressed attitudes while implicit attitudes are assumed to be indirectly expressed attitudes. The focus is on direct/indirect elicitation and directly or indirectly expressed attitudes rather than on the unconscious/conscious, or automatic/deliberative (i.e. cognitive) aspects of explicit and implicit attitudes. Thus, the term *explicit attitudes* is used in this thesis to include evaluations towards Punjabi offered explicitly by the Punjabi speakers as the result of direct questioning (questionnaires). The term *implicit attitudes* is used in this thesis to include evaluations offered implicitly by the participants as the result of indirect questioning (interviews). In the latter case, what the respondents are unconscious of is not necessarily their attitudes but the fact that the interviews are designed to elicit such attitudes.

2.7.4. Societal Treatment Analysis

Societal treatment studies have been given less attention in contemporary research on language attitudes. Extensive comparative studies have been conducted on direct and indirect measures of language attitudes, but the analysis of societal treatment given to a language has only been included implicitly within these studies (Ryan et al.,1982). This approach focuses on the 'treatment' accorded to languages and language varieties within society, and to their users (Garrett, 2010). Ryan et al. (1982) explained that, for such kind of analysis, the initial source of information regarding views on language varieties lies in the public ways in which they are treated. This includes analysis of government and educational language-policy documents (Garrett, 2003) as well as language use by various social groups in government, business, mass media, education and religious domains (Ryan et al., 1982). This kind of analysis is generally conducted through observational, participant observation and ethnographic studies (Garrett, 2003, McKenzie, 2010).

There is indeed much diversity amongst the studies placed in the societal treatment category (Garrett, 2010). A few societal treatment studies have analysed language use in consumer advertisements, and others have analysed the *linguistic landscapes*. According to Landry and Bourhis (1997:25), "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration". Two overarching functions of the

linguistic landscape have been identified by Landry and Bourhis (1997): First is the informational function which can serve to indicate boundaries of language groups, demonstrating ingroup and outgroup membership and members' linguistic characteristics and regional boundaries. At the information level, the linguistic landscape may also highlight the sociolinguistic composition of the language groups in the area, including which language is used for communication and other services and the relative status of the languages and their speakers (Garrett, 2010). Second is the symbolic function which is most likely to be salient in places where language is a significant part of ethnic identity and can be related to objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (Landry and Bourhis, 1997). The dominance of one language might indicate the strength of that language group at the institutional and demographic levels, and also in terms of its status. Exclusion of a language might suggest a weakening in supportive attitudes and in the motivation to transfer language to future generations (Garrett, 2010).

Two properties of this approach, expounded by Garrett (2003) and McKenzie (2010), are its unobtrusiveness and the fact that it is the researcher who infers attitudes from observed behaviours, document analysis, etc. Therefore, it does not involve explicit requests to respondents for their views or reactions (Ryan et al., 1982). Societal treatment analysis can be beneficial in providing insights into broadly based language attitudes (Garrett, 2010). It is a significant tool in gaining insights into the relative status and stereotypical associations of language varieties (Garrett, 2003).

In my study, societal treatment analysis mainly served as preliminary data for more rigorous sociolinguistic study as suggested by Garrett (2003) and McKenzie (2010). My study includes a historical and political account of how Punjabi was treated in the past (chapter 2, section 2.2). The advantage of this kind of societal treatment data (i.e. documentation or other resources available from earlier historical periods) can serve as an opportunity to examine earlier attitudes on particular issues (Garrett, 2010). Another advantage of having access to historical data is that this allows insights into changes in linguistic ideologies and linguistic attitudes overtime. The study also includes an analysis of current 'treatment' given to Punjabi in different domains (mass media and educational institutes, in particular). This societal treatment data (provided in previous chapter 2) also enabled me to determine the objective vitality of Punjabi in the Punjab province of Pakistan. According to Garrett (2010:152), the value of such analysis is in "the insights they can provide into a range

of issues that include official language policies, prevalent language attitudes and power relations between linguistic groups". I have attempted to explore the economic, social, sociohistorical status of Punjabi, its demographic distribution in Pakistan and the degree of institutional support that Punjabi has in Pakistan by employing the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model (see chapter 2, section 2.4.1 for details on EVM). The detailed description of procedures and methods employed to determine the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan is provided later in chapter 3, section 3.8.

2.8. Ethnolinguistic vitality and language attitudes

Language attitudes are inextricably linked to the degree to which a language or language variety has visible vitality. Positive attitudes are likely to lead to high linguistic vitality and high vitality strengthens positive attitudes. Ethnolinguistic vitality is usually defined as what "makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations." (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor 1977: 308). The term vitality is used to describe the likelihood that a language will continue being used for a range of social functions by a community of speakers (Mesthrie et al., 2004).

The health or vitality of a language is established by the extent of important functions it serves (i.e. as a means of communication in various social contexts for specific purposes). The central indicator of a language's vitality is its frequent use in the home. The vitality of a language variety is considered high if it is widely spoken in the society. Such kind of vitality, in view of Mesthrie et al. (2004), is a good indicator of whether or not that particular language will continue to be spoken in successive generations, or whether speakers are likely to shift to another language (p.108). The study of language vitality is significant, particularly in language development programs as it determines the likelihood that a language will continue to be used into the foreseeable future and that efforts to develop the language are likely to be sustainable.

In 1977, Giles et. al presented a theoretical model (Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model/ EVM) which they believed could assess the vitality of a language. Initially, the three socio-structural parameters (status, institutional support and demographic strength) provided in this model assessed only the objective ethnolinguistic vitality

(OEV) of a language. This model was later revised by Bourhis et al (1981) who added the concept of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV).
The parameters included in EVM can be summarized as:

a. Status: Economic, social, sociohistorical (within and without)

Bourhis et. al (1981:146) define the status variables as "those variables which refer to a speech community's economic wealth, its social status, its socio-historical prestige and the status of the language used by its speakers". It was suggested that the vitality of the language is dependent upon the status a language community is recognized to have on these dimensions (i.e. the higher the status of a speech community on the above dimensions, the more vitality it could have as a collective entity).

b. Demographic strength: Distribution (national territory, proportion, concentration), numbers (absolute, birth rate, mixed marriages, immigration)

The demographic variables were defined as "those variables which pertain to the sheer number of members included in the speech community and their distribution throughout a particular urban, regional or national territory". Distribution factors, in particular, refer to the numerical strength of linguistic group members in several parts of the 'territory', and their proportion in relation to outgroup members, and whether or not the speech community still holds its 'traditional' or 'national' territory. Number factors are the community's absolute group numbers, their birth rate and their patterns of immigration (Bouhris et. al, 1981).

c. Institutional Support: Formal (mass media, education, government services), informal (industry, religion, culture)

"Institutional support factors relate to the extent to which a language group enjoys formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a community, region or nation" (Bouhris et. al, 1981:146). It was proposed that the vitality of a speech community was connected/linked to the degree its speakers could use their own language in formal and informal domains (e.g. home, educational institutes, government sectors, religious institutes and business etc.).

Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality (SEV) refers to a group's perception of the vitality of its language. In order to measure subjective vitality, Bourhis (1981)

proposed a Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ). It was designed to assess how group members subjectively perceive their own group position relative to salient outgroups on important vitality dimensions (Bourhis, 1981). Therefore, subjective vitality is all about the perceived vitality of a language. It provides a subjective account of the participants' perceptions about the social status and institutional support their language have. In my study, I draw on these objective and subjective measures of vitality to assess the vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan. This study explores the link between language attitude, speakers' identity and language vitality (chapter 4, section 4.6.6, 4.8.1 and chapter 5, section 5.5 and chapter 6, 6.2).

In this section, I presented the theoretical framework relevant to this study, specifically the conceptualizations of language attitudes and vitality. The next section critically reviews the previous studies on language attitudes and vitality in and outside Pakistan and includes reference to further relevant sociolinguistic notions when needed.

2.9. Previous language attitude research[15]

A large and growing body of literature has investigated two main evaluative dimensions of language attitudes: status and solidarity. Operating within these dimensions, previous studies have indicated that speakers of standard and non-standard speech varieties elicit different evaluative reactions (Garret, 2010, Giles and Watson, 2013). Status attributions (such as intelligent, successful, competent) are primarily concerned with the perceptions of socioeconomic status. A speech variety with high status is often correlated with power, socioeconomic opportunity and upward social mobility (Kircher, 2019). Attributions of status indicate actual socioeconomic status and power within a speech community (Dragojevic and Giles, 2014), which is why attitudes reflected within the status dimension are often associated with the speech variety's utilitarian value (Gardner and Lambert, 1972). A language variety which is perceived to have a high status often enjoys significant overt prestige. In contrast, solidarity attributions (such as friendly, nice, sociable) refer to the ingroup loyalty (Dragojevic and Giles, 2016). Judgment of speaker solidarity represents feelings of attachment and belonging (i.e. perceived loyalty) towards the group. Attitudes elicited on the solidarity dimension are, therefore, a reflection of the

[15] All of the studies mentioned in this section and section 2.9.1 measure attitudes to speech varieties rather than attitudes to their written varieties.

link between language and social identity. Speech varieties high on the solidarity dimension are assumed to enjoy covert prestige (Labov, 1972 and Kircher, 2009). The status and solidarity dimensions of attitudes are considered vital in understanding attitudes towards contrasting language varieties. These are significant in exploring why certain minority speech varieties or languages persist and others do not and identifying why some language planning policies are successful and others are not (Cargile et al. 1994: 224).

There have been several studies demonstrating that social status and solidarity are two salient factors that account for language evaluation. Standard varieties are generally considered as 'prestige' forms and have positive associations with dominant social groups and the upper class. Non-standard speech varieties, on the contrary, are generally associated with 'solidarity' among minority and lower socioeconomic status groups. Dragojevic and Giles (2016) found, for example, that participants attributed more solidarity to Standard American English (SAE) than Punjabi English (PE) accent. Similarly, Lybaert (2016) demonstrated that Standard Dutch in Flanders (Dutch-speaking part of Belgium) was evaluated high in status-related characteristics and local dialects, on the other hand, were associated with values of personal integrity. Ferrer (2010), in her study on changing linguistic attitudes in Valencia identified the effects of language planning measures on language attitudes. Ferrer (2010) traces the development of linguistic attitudes in Valencia by comparing the Valencian and Castilian means for status and solidarity in 1998 and 2008. She found that Castilian, an official and majority language in Valencia (Spain), was evaluated higher in all the status traits in attitude and was, therefore, considered more prestigious than Valencian (the local variety of Catalan spoken in Valencia, Spain) in a survey conducted in 1998. However, in 2008, Ferrer found out that the difference in prestige between Castilian and Valencian had disappeared as the results were almost identical for both varieties in status dimensions. In terms of solidarity, on the other hand, Valencian was considered more positively than Castilian ten years ago, while in 2008, the results obtained were completely opposite and Castilian was evaluated higher in every category.

The predominant pattern found in the majority of the previous studies suggest that languages cluster neatly into the status and solidarity paradigms. However, a number of studies have also shown that, contrary to standard orthodoxies, status and solidarity are not mutually exclusive. It is possible for a language variety, under

various circumstances, to be ascribed positive and/or negative traits on both dimensions. Kircher and Fox (2019), for instance, reported that "the traditional dichotomy of status and solidarity as distinct evaluative dimensions does not manifest in attitudes towards Multicultural London English" (p.847). Chakrani (2011), in his language attitude study in Morocco, found that the social reality of Moroccan linguistic landscape does not support the theoretical understanding of covert linguistic attitudes towards Standard Arabic, Moroccan Arabic and French. He argues that the sociolinguistic ecology of Morocco is far too complex to be easily described within a theoretical framework that "views status and solidarity as the only plausible organizing dynamic for these codes" (Chakrani, 2011:176). Similarly, El-Dash and Busnardo (2001) measured Brazilian attitudes towards English. In their study, half of the respondents attributed positive status traits to English, while the other half attributed positive status traits to Portuguese (the main language of Brazil). On the solidarity dimension, however, the participants equally attributed positive traits to both English speakers and Portuguese speakers.

Therefore, as mentioned by Chakrani (2011), there is a need to revise and reanalyse the dynamics and distributions of linguistic attitudes into status vs solidarity dimensions. The fact that the findings from a few of the aforementioned studies do not confirm the classic status-solidarity distinction suggests that more research is needed to better understand these evaluative dimensions of attitudes. It should be noted that, although, the current study is not designed to test the status vs solidarity dimensions of attitudes, it does, nevertheless, generally confirm the expectation that these dimensions are implicated in language attitude to the extent that they may underlie may some of the differences between the explicit and implicit attitudes elicited by the research.

2.9.1. Critical review of previous studies on language attitudes and vitality in relation to Punjabi in Pakistan

As indicated in the introduction, Punjabi is spoken by a vast majority of people in the Punjab and its vitality could, therefore, be expected to be high. However, the aforementioned discussion and the previous sociolinguistic studies on Punjabi language reveal an entirely different situation of Punjabi in Pakistan. In his pioneering sociolinguistic study on Punjabi, Shackle (1970) asserted that "Punjabi vanished as a University subject with the departure of the Sikhs with whom Punjabi was most

closely identified". He further expounded the view that in Lahore there is a generally accepted value-scheme which ranks the three languages in the order English, Urdu, Punjabi. This value-scheme is also manifested in the official language policies of Pakistan i.e., English the international, Urdu the national- and Punjabi the local language. These distinctions have been equated with the three broad classes of society: elite, middle-class and working class respectively (Shackle, 1970; Khokhar, 2006; Riaz and Qadri, 2012). Thus, Shackle asserts that Punjabi language is exclusively used by people without education and is the normal colloquial variety of middle- and upper-class people. He expressed his views by saying that most of the educated people in Lahore have derogatory attitudes towards Punjabi and it is not considered a suitable medium for formal discourse or serious discussions. Shackle (1970) even professes that "his own picture may be distorted since Urdu is instinctively thought of as the language after English in which to talk to foreigners, even if they would prefer to talk Punjabi".

Similar views are held by Zaidi (2001) when he proclaims that "the most aggressive anti-Punjabists come from the educated and semi-educated classes. As soon as they acquire the most minimal academic advancement, the first thing they do is jettison their natural language". Further in his article, he laments the current sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in Pakistan and argues that Punjabi is uninhibitedly spoken only in backward rural areas or city slums. These uneducated rural folks look to the prosperous educated urban Punjabis as their role models. As they become educated, they abandon their mother-tongue. As Zaidi (2001) observes, "the formula seems simple enough: the more educated a Punjabi is, the more anti-Punjabi and Punjabi-less he or she becomes". This language class segregation is further confirmed by Sullivan (2005) when he advances the view that Punjabi is considered the language of the servants and the poor. Khokhar (2006) and Kalra & But (2013) also claimed that Punjabi is associated with peasants and the uneducated working class of the country. Language, therefore, seems to be an important symbol of status and class differentiation in the Pakistani context (Khokhar, 2006). Several additional studies have found that Punjabi is associated with low status (Sullivan, 2005; Riaz and Qadri, 2012; Kalra and But, 2013, Abbas et al., 2019) and, as a consequence the elite or upper class is detaching/parting away from Punjabi.

Nyota (2015) argues that a language whose status is low socially and economically is likely to be abandoned by its speakers for a 'high' status variety. The

coexistence of a 'low' and 'high' variety is described as *diglossia* – a situation in which two distinct codes with clear functional separation exist in a society (i.e. one code is employed in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set (Wardhaugh, 2006:89). These two language varieties, existing side by side in a community, perform distinct functions: the low (L) variety is restricted to low domains of language use such as the home, while the high variety (H) is used in higher domains of language use such as education, business, the media and law (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1972). Diglossia is considered a relatively stable situation. In many situations, it is possible for 'high' and 'low' varieties to continue to coexist side by side for many centuries without any threat to the existence of the 'low' variety (for instance, Classical Arabic (H) and the various regional colloquial varieties (L) in Arabic speaking countries, Standard German (H) and Swiss German (L) in Switzerland and Standard French (H) and Haitian Creole (L) in Haiti). However, in other cases, one variety may gradually displace the other (Holmes, 2008; Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015). The 'low' varieties become restricted to fewer and fewer domains and eventually lose all vitality. This triggers a language shift. Mansoor (2004) argues that, "English and Urdu are the languages of a future urbanized society in Pakistan". Even rural Punjabi speakers, who have moved into urban areas, are usually attracted by English and Urdu. This clearly indicates the diglossic situation prevalent in Pakistan where English and Urdu are considered 'high' varieties and Punjabi as the 'low' variety (Rukh et al., 2014). Punjabis consider Urdu and English, in particular, a modern and a progressive language, using English more and more widely, thereby exhibiting a language shift to dominant languages (i.e. Urdu and English).

Language shift has been defined in multiple contexts; generally referring to the language behaviour of a community as a whole, a sub-group within it or an individual community member (Clyne, 2003). Trudgill (1995:175) defines language shift as "a process through which a particular community gradually abandons its original native language and goes over to speaking another one instead". In the context of the current study, the term will be used to refer to a process of gradual shift from the use of the mother-tongue to the dominant language in certain domains, which is closer to Clyne, 2003 and Gal's 1979's definition. Hatoss (2013) identifies two significant types of language shift: intra-generational shift and intergenerational shift. Intra-generational shift refers to the structural attrition of functional reduction (i.e. the loss of previously acquired forms) in the use of the mother-tongue (Hatoss, 2013) by first generation.

Intergenerational shift, which is most relevant to this study, refers to the structural or functional reduction in the use of the mother-tongue in the second or third generations (Hatoss, 2013).

There are many factors that contribute to language shift, such as: individual, family, community and broader societal factors that contribute to language shift (Potowski, 2013). According to Trudgill (2000), there are also many complex reasons of language shift. One of the significant reasons, he asserts, is that "people often abandon the language, which is the repository of their culture and history and which has been the language of their community for generations, because they feel ashamed of it" (Trudgill, 2000:193). Fishman (1991) emphasizes the intergenerational transmission of the language for maintenance[16] of a certain language. He asserts that a language must be passed on from parents to children over successive generations. "If intergenerational transmission of a language ceases, it can be said that the speakers have shifted to another language" (Potowski, 2013:2).

Extant literature on Punjabi in the Pakistani context also accentuates the significance of parental disposition in the maintenance or shift of a particular language. Baart (2003), in his study, shows concern for Punjabi language shift. He asserts that many educated urban families in Pakistan are not transmitting this language to their children. Instead, they have switched their home language to Urdu (and English in case of elites). In 1970, Shackle also posited the same view explaining that "the trend for middle-class parents today to speak only Urdu to their children appears to be on the increase and will presumably result in an extension of this category". Shackle's views could be further validated by Zaidi's (2001) statement: "I have never seen or heard of an educated, or even semi-educated, Punjabi parent who is willing to communicate with his or her own child in their native tongue. Rather, they strongly discourage and often rebuke their children if they even suspect that they might be talking to other children in Punjabi, because speaking Punjabi is considered a mark of crudeness and bad manners". In her seminal study on language attitudes in Pakistan, Mansoor (1993) also noticed that the attitudes of parents and teachers were more positive towards English. She maintained that the parents' choice of Urdu or English medium school for their children determines their language choice for their

[16] Language maintenance is often considered a characteristic of multilingual communities that reserve each language for certain domains with very little encroachment of one language on the domains of the others (Fasold 1984: 213).

children. “The phenomenon of parents helping their children to learn the ‘correct’ language (in this study, Urdu and English and not Punjabi) so as not to be stigmatised later in life and to advance socially and materially is widespread” (Mansoor, 2004). According to her, that is why Punjabi parents are not transferring Punjabi to the next generation, though they still use Punjabi themselves. Mansoor further argued that the low prestige and status of Punjabi held by Punjabis, in general, has accelerated the process of language shift. She claimed that almost half of the Punjabi students have shifted to Urdu as their first language.

In 2013 Nazir et al. examined the linguistic scenario of Punjabi in Sargodha and the social mechanism which poses a threat to the sustainability of Punjabi on a broader scale. The study focused on attitudes towards the Punjabi language and on the causes and effects of language shift from Punjabi to other languages. Nazir et al. held the view that the Punjabi language is declining day by day and hence, it faces a threat to its existence. This is questioned by Rahman (2006) who argues that “Punjabi is a huge language which will survive despite being a source of cultural shame and neglect. In Pakistan, it is the language of jokes, songs, intimacy and informality. It is, therefore, a language of private pleasure and if people use it in this manner even, it is not in real danger”. But the question is for how long will Punjabis use this language for private pleasure; especially when they are being rebuked by their parents for using this language? Most importantly, up to how many generations of Punjabi children will learn Punjabi from streets or servants or from the neighbourhood if it is not going to be spoken at their homes? However, if at any stage, Punjabi is replaced by any other language, most likely Urdu, in the Pakistani context, this will be categorized as language loss rather than death, since Punjabi is likely to remain in use in Indian Punjab (Shafi, 2013:44).

Baart (2003) discussed two possible reasons of language spread which leads to language shift, one of which is the possibility of language spread without an actual migration of its speakers. According to him, this language spread is associated with the large power inequalities that occur between groups of people as a result of modernization. He states, “When modernization arrives, the traditional means of subsistence of an indigenous community often become unsustainable”. Therefore, in order to survive in the modern society, an indigenous community may have to learn the modern languages of the powerful group. These languages of the powerful groups, thus, open the doors of advancement for them. In consequence of this, the old

languages are deprived of their utility and become associated with backwardness (Baart, 2003). This forces the members of indigenous community to relinquish their inherited languages and shift to the dominant ones. Similar views were expressed by Bourdieu (1991) who defined power as the capability to mobilise the authority accrued within a 'market'. Such power is often exercised through symbolic exchanges. Bourdieu (1991) refers to symbolic domination as the process whereby the ruling class is able to impose its norms as the sole legitimate competence on the formal linguistic markets (such as education, bureaucracy, 'high' society). He further states that the "linguistic practices are measured against the legitimate practices, i.e. the practices of those who are dominant" (Bourdieu, 1991:53).

Even though, as Baart (2003) reminds us, shifting to dominant languages could be advantageous, there are also costs involved in abandoning one's own language. As discussed earlier, language can serve as an identity marker for a speech community and sense of belonging to one's community is of vital importance. People may achieve a sense of belonging to the desired community by fully embracing the language of that community, which consequently leads to the desertion of one's own linguistic identity. And then, the loss of linguistic identity may further contribute to the loss of linguistic diversity among a community. This is considered a serious problem and Nettle and Romaine (2000:5) argue that "a language is not a self-sustaining entity. It can only exist where there is a community to speak and transmit it. A community of people can exist only where there is a viable environment for them to live in, and a means of making a living. Where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger".

In sociolinguistics, prestige is a complex value that speakers orient to in different ways. According to Meyerhoff (2006:37), "prestige is not necessarily something speakers are consciously aware of, nor something that is associated with the highest social classes or more powerful speakers in a community" which is why sociolinguists distinguish between overt and covert prestige. *Overt* prestige is linked with a variant that speakers are aware of and can talk about in terms of standardness, or aesthetic and moral evaluations like being nicer or better (Meyerhoff, 2006). Holmes also believes that the standard variety in a community has overt prestige (2008:408). Similarly, Trudgill (1992) associates overt prestige with standard lexical choices, pronunciation and grammatical forms, the use of which is indicative of the speaker's high social status. He further states that the overt prestige is evident when speakers overtly express their judgment that one variant is better than another. On the

contrary, *covert* prestige refers to the case where speakers' positive evaluation of a variant is genuinely covert or hidden (Meyerhoff, 2006). These are favourable connotations which non-standard forms have for many speakers (Labov, 1966).

Previous studies on Punjabi (Rahman, 2002; Zaidi, 2001; Khokhar, 2006; Sani, 2014, Abbas and Iqbal, 2018) indicate that the overt prestige is associated with Urdu and English (the standard languages) in Pakistan and negative prestige is associated with the Punjabi language. The studies suggest that Punjabi is not only associated with the ideas of cultural shame and backwardness but also with crassness and vulgarity. As Khokhar (2006) states, most of the words in Punjabi are given the connotation of "loud", "noisy" and "unruly". Probably, that is why most of the urban Punjabi parents insist on speaking to their children in "civilized" Urdu rather than "crude" Punjabi' (Khokhar, 2006). In the words of Zaidi (2001), Punjabis are not only the largest linguistic group in Pakistan, but they are also the most powerful political and economic group in the country. Despite this, the Punjabi language lacks prestige and power in contemporary Pakistan.

2.10. Conclusion and research questions

In conclusion, this chapter has provided a historical and political overview of Punjabi in Pakistan (section 2.2) and has outlined key research and findings on its sociolinguistic position in Pakistan (section 2.3).

The historical and political overview has explained how and why Punjabi, despite being widely spoken in the region at that time, was neglected in the past. This was traced back to the British officials' decision to impose the Urdu language on the people of the sub-continent in order to run the local government with ease and in order to avoid the perception of discrimination. However, the imposition of Urdu was opposed by the Hindu and the Sikh communities. Further clarification of these strong reactions from both ethnic groups and why Punjabi was progressively side-lined required the detailed discussion of the relationship between language varieties (particularly Urdu, English and Punjabi), religions (Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism) and identities in the Indian sub-continent during the British rule. It was explained why a strong association was established between Urdu and Muslim identity, Hindi with the Hindus identity and Punjabi with Sikhs identity.

The chapter also sheds light on how the symbolic power of Punjabi posited a threat to the British during their rule in the British India and how it affected their

language policy decisions. The chapter has drawn attention to the key relationship between language and power, arguing that, during their rule in the Indian sub-continent, the British had both economic and political power, which they used to impose their language on the people they were ruling.

The following sections of the chapter discussed the contemporary place of Punjabi in Pakistan, including the low ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi, arising from the inefficient language policies of Pakistan, the power inequalities between different ethnic groups and their languages as well as the scant institutional support that Punjabi gets in print and electronic media of Pakistan. The miniscule number of Punjabi newspapers, TV channels and FM radio channels indicate the low ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan.

In the last part of the chapter, an overview was presented of the relevant literature on attitude and vitality (sections 2.9) as well as existing research on the sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan (section 2.9.1). It was mentioned that intergenerational language shift concerns were reported in the majority of the previous studies because of the parents' negative disposition regarding Punjabi, meaning that many urban educated Punjabi families are not transmitting this language to their children.

However, much of the literature on language attitude studies in Pakistan (as reviewed in the above section) has tended to focus on identifying the linguistic attitudes of Pakistani urban and educated Punjabis. Ironically, these are the two settings (major cities of Punjab and educational sectors) where Punjabi is not a predominant language. As mentioned earlier, Urdu and English are the predominant languages in the education domain and in the major cities of Punjab. Therefore, it is not surprising that the attitudes of urban and educated Punjabis were found to be negative as it is usually not the norm to speak Punjabi in these settings. Apart from John (2015), there is a general lack of research on identifying the language attitudes to Punjabi in rural settings and among less well-educated speakers – for whom Punjabi is the dominant language. In addition, no research has been found that surveyed the implicit attitudes of the Pakistanis and compared the explicit and implicit attitudes of the Pakistani Punjabis towards Punjabi. Thus, this study intends to fill in this gap by identifying the explicit and implicit linguistic attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi addressing the main following questions:

1. What are the implicit and explicit linguistic attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi?

The aim is to provide richer insights into rural Punjabi speakers' attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi by exploring both their explicit and implicit attitudes. The study aims to explore how Punjabis value their language and what values or language characteristics (such as loyalty, pride, prestige or rejection) they attach to the language. This thesis is different from other attitudinal studies in Pakistan for two reasons: first, it investigates the explicit and implicit dimensions of attitudes which, to the best of my knowledge, have not been explored in Pakistan before. Second, the study intends to elicit the attitudes of rural Punjabi speakers who, in most cases only speak Punjabi as their everyday language. Previous studies (Akram and Yasmeen, 2011; Rahman, 2007 & 1999; Gilani, 2014; Nazir et. Al, 2013; Sani, 2014) on Punjabi have indicated the prevalence of negative attitudes among urban educated Punjabis. This research intends to explore whether similar negative attitudes prevail in the rural regions of the Punjab (where Punjabi is predominantly spoken) or their attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi vary from the urban educated Punjabis.

2. Do implicit and explicit attitudes of participants towards Punjabi diverge (indicating that these are different attitude constructs)?

The second research question aims at exploring the similarities and/or divergence (if any) between participants' overt and covert attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi. The study focuses on investigating the possible relationship between participants' explicit and implicit attitudes and, in the case of divergence, on the motivations and circumstances that may underlie it. It is similarly concerned with exploring similarities and why and when they may be observed.

3. What is the (subjective and objective) vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan?

The study aims to identify the current sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan by employing the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model (EVM). There is a dearth of linguistic studies determining the vitality of the Punjabi language in Pakistan. Prior to this study, Zaidi (2011, 2014 & 2016) provided evidence of low objective vitality of Punjabi in the region. This study intends to add to the scholarly

research and literature in the field by determining the objective and subjective vitality position of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan.

Chapter 3
Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an account of the methodological approach taken in this study. The chapter begins with a detailed description of the mixed-method approach employed in the study. This section goes on to explain how a mixed-method approach was developed through interviews and questionnaires, and the rationale behind these choices. This is then followed by an explanation of the format of questionnaires and interviews and administration of the research tools in the field with respect to Study 1, Study 2 and study 3. Section 3.5 deals with the illustration of the fieldwork procedures such as, selection of the participants, sample size, demographic details and how I structured and administered language attitude questionnaire. Sections 3.7 and 3.8 throw light on the research instrument and procedure employed in study 2 to determine the subjective vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan. Next, the chapter throws light on how I structured my qualitative study, what analysis techniques I employed and how I arrived at the relevant themes. Sections 3.9 and 3.10 provide details of the qualitative study i.e. how and why I conducted semi-structured interviews. Section 3.12 provides details of the translation procedure which was followed to translate the research tools into the native language. The remaining sections deal with the illustration of the other fieldwork procedures such, ethical considerations (section 3.13) and pilot testing (3.14). Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief account of the reliability tests.

3.2. Research approach and design

Creswell (2014:31) defines research approach as "plans and procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation". The design of the survey or research strategy is determined by multiple factors such as: the nature of the research problem or the issue being addressed, personal experiences of the researcher and the audiences of the study. Creswell (2014) delineates three broad research approaches: Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methods. This study takes a mixed-method approach to data collection and analysis in which a comprehensive understanding of the research problem is gained by integrating quantitative (questionnaires) and qualitative (interviews) data and then, comparing the two databases (Creswell, 2014:177). According to Creswell (2014:32),

"Mixed methods research is an approach to an inquiry involving collecting both quantitative and qualitative data, integrating the two forms of data, and using distinct designs that may involve philosophical assumptions and theoretical frameworks". This method involves different combinations of qualitative and quantitative research either at the data collection or the analysis levels (Dornyei, 2007:24). The core assumption of this form of inquiry is that the combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a more complete understanding of a research problem than either approach alone (Creswell 2014:32).

According to Creswell (2014) there are many potential research designs in the mixed methods field, but the three primary methods are: *Convergent parallel mixed methods* (in which quantitative and qualitative data are converged or merged), *Explanatory sequential mixed methods* (in which the researcher first conducts quantitative research, analyzes the results and then builds on the results to explain them in more detail with qualitative research) and *Exploratory sequential mixed methods* (in which the researcher first begins with a qualitative research phase and explores the views of participants, then analyse the data, and then the information is used to build into a second, quantitative phase).

As the aim of this study is to identify the explicit and implicit attitudes of Pakistani Punjabis towards the Punjabi language, a *convergent parallel mixed methods* design was used. Creswell (2014) posited the view that the convergent mixed method approach is one of the most familiar, basic and advanced mixed strategies. He defines this method as an approach in which a researcher converges or merges both quantitative and qualitative data to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, the investigator typically collects both forms of data and/findings at roughly the same time and then integrates the information in the interpretation of the overall results.

There are many possible ways in which the mixing could be achieved because of the several complex taxonomies which have been suggested to include all possibilities whereby different characteristics of both quantitative and qualitative research can be integrated within a single research project (see Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Dörnyei, 2007 for details). Since the variety of possible combinations is rich, this mixed method design gives equal weight/status to both quantitative and qualitative methods and 'mixes' findings at the interpretation stage, (see Figure 3.1 for details). In a concurrent design, both quantitative and qualitative

methods are used in a separate and parallel manner (i.e. they do not affect the operationalization of each other) and the results are integrated at the interpretation phase (Dörnyei,2007:172). Such concurrent designs are invaluable while examining a phenomenon that has several levels (such as attitudes which operate at explicit and implicit levels).

Creswell (2014) identifies three forms of integration: triangulation, explanation and exploration. In this study's context, integration of information involves exploration of different facets of participants' attitudes towards Punjabi. Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) highlighted the importance of deciding at what stages(s) in the research process, the integration should occur. As can be seen in Figure 3.1, the analysis of the data proceeded independently for the quantitative and qualitative phases and mixing occurred at the final interpretation stage (i.e. the findings from the qualitative and quantitative analyses were integrated, rather than the data). Dörnyei (2007) argues that it is perfectly legitimate to converge information at the very final stages of the study. In most of the cases it is preferable to do the analysis separately and only converge the qualitative and quantitative results at a later stage of the study to illuminate or corroborate one another (Dörnyei, 2007).

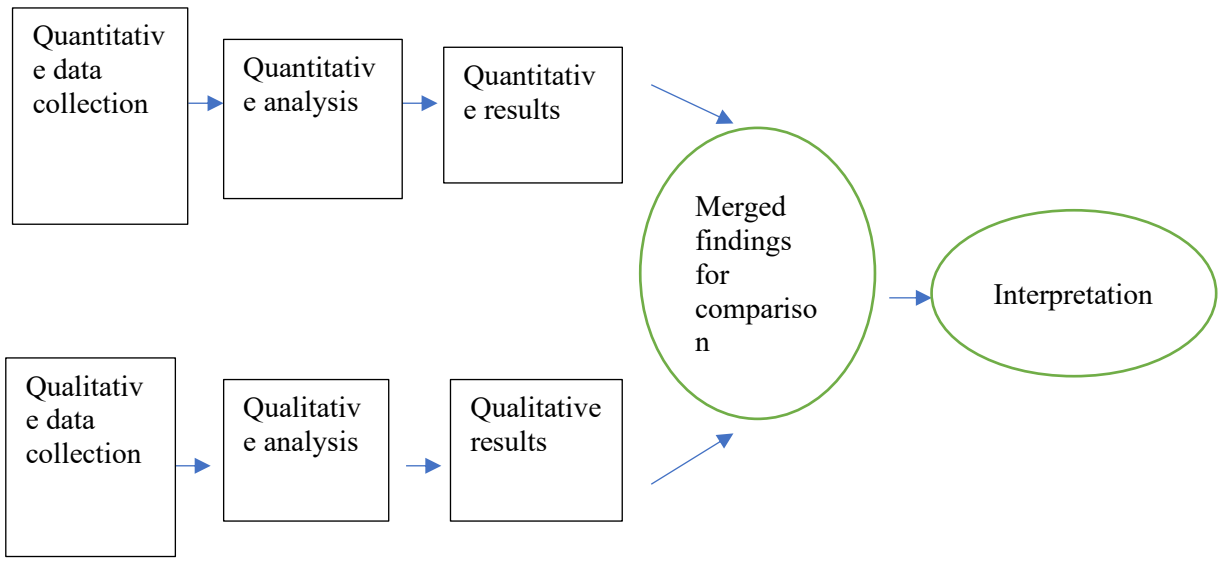


Figure 3.1: Mixed-method approach (adapted from Creswell, 2014)

Sandeloski (2003), quoted by Dornyei (2007), discussed two main purposes for combining quantitative and qualitative methods: a) to achieve a fuller understanding of a target phenomenon and b) to verify one set of findings against the other. The former purpose of integration entails achieving an elaborated and comprehensive understanding of a complex matter, looking at it from different angles. Therefore, in an attempt to attain a comprehensive understanding of the participants' attitudes towards the Punjabi language, I investigated their attitudes from different angles and perspectives, i.e. explicit and implicit attitudes of the respondents employing explicit and implicit measures. Similarly, Dornyei (2007) suggests that mixed methods are used to measure overlapping but also different facets of a phenomenon. Thus, this approach was considered suitable to explore different facets of participants' attitudes towards Punjabi. The assumption behind exploring the explicit and implicit attitudes of the participants was that the findings would not only produce a fuller picture of the participants' attitudes towards Punjabi but also enable the researcher to compare their explicit and implicit attitudes towards the same language - thereby identifying any divergence and/or similarities between attitude constructs.

Dornyei (2007) also highlights many advantages of a mixed method design, out of which three are most relevant to my study: 1) By combining the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research, a researcher can eliminate the weaknesses in both methods. A mixed method design has the potential of overcoming the weaknesses of one method by utilising the strengths of another method. 2) A mixed method design assists in the multi-level analysis of complex issues such that the numeric trends from quantitative data can be converged with specific details from qualitative data. In the words of Dornyei (2007:45), "Words can be used to add meaning to numbers and numbers can be used to add precision to words". 3) A mixed method design has the potential to improve the validity of research outcomes via converging and corroborating the findings.

The latter purpose of integration is the traditional goal of triangulation, namely the validation of one's conclusion by presenting converging results obtained through different methods (Dornyei, 2007). Here, I would like to emphasise that, by collecting qualitative and quantitative data, this research does not aim to triangulate findings, rather it was anticipated that the purposefully collected datasets would represent

diverse viewpoints. Hence, the various data sets were meant to complement each other, ensuring a deeper and richer data analysis (see, e.g. Holmes, 1997).

Having discussed the planned architecture of the inquiry and the logic behind it, we now turn our attention to the research instruments and procedures employed in the study.

3.3. Research site/ Setting of the study

Holliday (2016) advocates the selection of such a research site which provides a variety of relevant, rich and interconnected data, and where access is also provided. Thus, it was necessary to ensure that natural, authentic and suitable research sites had been chosen in accordance to the nature of this research (Creswell, 2003; Walford, 2001).

The *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages near a small city (Hafizabad) in the Punjab province of Pakistan were the two research sites for this study. Juria village is approximately 125 miles (or 200km) South of Islamabad – Pakistan's capital and Narranwala village is approximately 178 miles (or 287 km) South-West of Islamabad. In both of these villages, Punjabi is the predominantly spoken language.

These two sites were considered suitable for several reasons: first, to achieve the main purpose of the research which was to explore the linguistic attitudes of the less educated people residing in rural areas of the province. It was expected that rich and interconnected data could be achieved from these two villages because they shared the required target population's characteristics in terms of literacy and location. Second, it is considered a cultural taboo, particularly in villages where the illiteracy rate is high and the family structure is conservative, for a woman to travel alone and interview strangers (males, in particular). Because of these and other cultural impediments, I had to choose villages which were near my hometown so that I could visit the villages during daytime and return home at night. Third, because of my acquaintances in these villages, it was easier for me to gain access to the community. My friends acted as gatekeepers, which made it easier for the participants to open up and provide their valuable insights. Seeing familiar faces (the gatekeepers) with the researcher not only encouraged participants to welcome us into their homes but also helped us in gaining their trust. It is for these reasons that I had to rely on the following sampling strategy for my study.

3.4. Population and Sampling

The target population was the less educated Punjabi speakers residing in the rural localities of the Punjab province in Pakistan. Dornyei (2007) states that a good sample share very similar characteristic (such as age, gender, educational background, social class, ethnicity, socioeconomic status etc.) with the target population. Thus, the sampled population was the villagers residing in *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages, near Hafizabad city. Since the project does not aim to draw accurate population parameters but to collect 'cultural' data, non-probability purposeful sampling was employed (Denscombe, 2010). In view of Merriam (2009:105), "Selecting respondents on the basis of what they can contribute to the researcher 's understanding of the phenomenon under study means engaging in purposive or theoretical sampling". Purposive sampling is most suitable when the researcher already knows something about the potential participants. In purposive sampling, participants are chosen with a specific purpose in mind, which reflects the particular qualities of the people and their relevance to the topic of investigation (Denscombe, 2010).

I chose less educated villagers for my study with a specific purpose in mind. Punjabi is the mother-tongue of the majority of the villagers. They speak it as their native language. In most of the villages near Hafizabad city, Punjabi is the only language villagers understand and are fluent in. Therefore, it was considered appropriate to explore their attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi- their everyday language. Most importantly, it was expected that detecting the attitudinal orientations of Punjabi speakers towards their native language would help me in determining the vitality of Punjabi in Punjab. Furthermore, special consideration was given to the inclusion of participants with low or null educational background (i.e. participants being either illiterate or having either primary, secondary, non-formal, informal education) because the researcher was interested in exploring whether education plays a role in changing the attitudes of Punjabi speakers towards Punjabi or not.

Study 1 - Explicit language attitudes

3.5. Planned sample

For the quantitative data, a pragmatic approach to the calculation of the sample size was employed. This approach is suitable for small-scale surveys using non-probability sampling (Denscombe, 2010). According to Denscombe (2010), a researcher can rely on such an approach because of the three pragmatic reasons: First, there is a matter of

the availability of resources which always affect the sample size. Second, there is the nature of the population. Third, if used properly, these techniques can produce data that are sufficiently accurate for the purposes of research. Thus, a sample of 100 -120 participants was considered sufficient to attain answers to the questions under investigation. I had to rely on such a small sample size because of the specific cultural barriers and restrictions (as explained in section 3.3) that I had to face during the fieldwork in these villages. Also, since the participants had limited education and the questionnaires were read out loud to each participant, the average time to fill in the single questionnaire increased. It is for this reason that the purposive sample size was tailored to meet the constraints imposed by the time which was spent to get these questionnaires filled.

3.5.1. Actual sample

In total, 120 questionnaires were distributed in both villages. However, 14 filled in questionnaires had to be excluded from the analysis because of the mal responses (i.e. either the questionnaires were incomplete, or more than one response were provided). Therefore, the actual sample used for data analysis of LAQ was of 106 participants. The detailed demographic information is provided below:

3.5.2. Gender and Village

Table 3.1 provides a complete overview of the frequency distributions and percentages cross-tabulating participants' gender by villages. It shows that, out of a total 106 participants, 51% were females and the remaining were males. From these 106 participants, the majority (62%) were from the *Juria* village, and the remaining were from the *Narranwala* village.

Table 3.1 - Gender and Village Crosstabulation

		Village				**Total**	
		Juria		*Narranwala*			
		Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
Gender	Male	29	27.4	22	20.8	51	**48.1**
	Female	37	34.9	18	17.0	55	**51.9**
Total		66	**62.3**	40	**37.7**	**106**	**100**

3.5.3. Age

Table 3.2 indicates that the average age of the participants is 30 with the standard deviation value of 9.16. This is shown as a histogram in Figure 3.2.

Table 3.2 - Descriptive Statistics - Age					
	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean[17]	SD[18]
Age	105	18	55	30.28	9.163

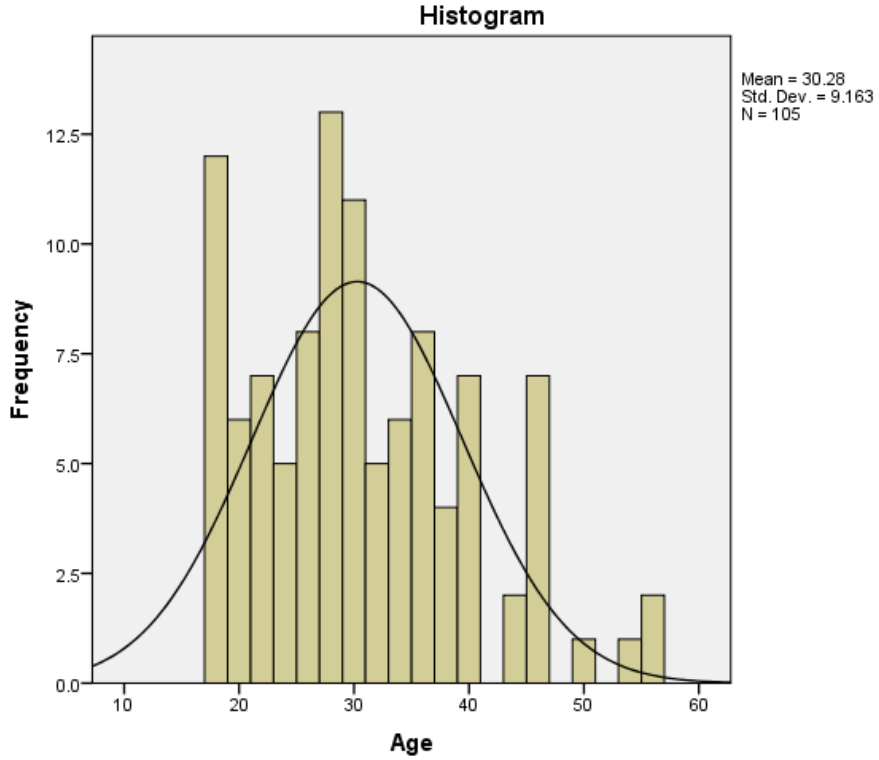


Figure 3.2: Histogram of Age

3.5.4. Education/Qualification

Table 3.3 illustrates that 24% of the participants reported their level of education as lasting less than 10 years. 21% of the participants indicated graduation (up to 14 years) as their educational level. And out of 106 participants, 16% had qualifications up to intermediate level (12 years of education).

Table 3.3 - Educational Background			
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Less than matric (less than 10 years of education)	26	24.5	24.5

[17] The arithmetic mean, also simply called the mean, or the average (Yamane, 1973:37) "is determined by the sum of the values in the distribution divided by the number of values (Sheard, 2018:436)". In simple words, mean is the sum of numbers divided by number of data points (Albers, 2017:37).

[18] Standard deviation (SD) is an indication of how much variation a set of numbers has from the mean. The SD of a distribution is the square root of its variance. A low SD indicates that the data points tend to be very close to the mean, whereas high SD indicates that the data points are spread out over a large range of values (Albers, 2017:39-40).

Matriculation (10 years of education)	19	17.9	17.9
Intermediate (12 years of education)	17	16.0	16.0
Graduation (14 years of education)	23	21.7	21.7
Masters or above (16 years of education or above)	21	19.8	19.8
Total	106	100.0	100.0

3.5.5. Mother-tongue

Table 3.4 demonstrates that a vast majority of the participants (83%) reported Punjabi as their mother-tongue. This was expected, given that Punjabi is the most prevalent language spoken in the villages of Punjab. The results (see Table 13 in Appendix F) also indicate that the age group of the 12% of the participants who reported Urdu as their mother tongue was between 18-26 with the exception of two participants who were 28 and 36 years old respectively. Even though the percentage is too small to be considered as significant results, this could give a slight indication of language shift between participants of younger age groups and would be worth exploring in further research.

Table 3.4 - Mother-tongue

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Urdu	13	12.3	12.4
	Punjabi	88	83.0	83.8
	English	2	1.9	1.9
	Other	2	1.9	1.9
	Total	105	99.1	100.0
Missing	99	1	0.9	
Total		106	100.0	

3.6. Language Attitude Questionnaire

As explained earlier, a questionnaire (see Appendix D) was employed as an explicit method to gauge participants' overt attitudes towards the Punjabi language. The questionnaire was adapted from two different sources: Chakrani, 2010 and Kyriakou, 2016. In addition to the demographic information, the questionnaire covered the following broad classes of information as suggested by Ryan and Giles (1982):

1. Language preferences (e.g. which of the three languages, i.e. Urdu, English and Punjabi is preferred for different purposes in certain situations)

2. Language proficiency (e.g. self-reports)
3. Evaluation of social groups who speak Punjabi
4. Opinions concerning shifting or maintaining language policies of Pakistan

The attitude questionnaire was seven pages long. All questions were close-ended. It was divided into four sections. The first two questions in section A of the questionnaire seeked to investigate participants' language use patterns in different domains (such as home, neighbourhood, school and at work) as well as their parents' language use patterns at home. The third question in this section focused on participants' language preferences for leisure activities. Section B aimed to elicit information about the participants' attitudinal orientations and stances towards three different languages spoken in Punjab (Urdu, Punjabi and English). The intention was to identify participants' language choices and preferences against a variety of attitude statements, particularly when they are given options to choose between Urdu, Punjabi and English. The third section requires participants to rate their proficiency or competency level in the languages mentioned above. The most obvious reason to include this section was to attain participants' self-reports regarding their language skills. Another goal was to elicit answers to questions such as: is there a relationship between the self-reported language skills/proficiency of the participants and their language preferences or not? or does a respondent's choice/preference for a certain language depends upon his/her proficiency in that language (in statistical terms to check the correlation between self-reported language proficiency and language preferences)? The fourth section of the questionnaire is the most significant one which aims at tapping into the overt/explicit attitudes of participants towards Punjabi. It consists of a collection of direct/explicit attitude statements regarding Punjabi language only. Informants are required to show their level of agreement on a 5-point Likert scale with 5 being a most favourable response and 1 being a least favourable response.

According to Oppenheim (1992), since classification questions (factual questions that ask about age, sex, marital status, income, education, occupation etc.) are significant in stratifying the sample and tend to recur from survey to survey, they are worth special attention. Unlike Chakrani's (2010) questionnaire, personal data questions were included at the end of the survey because, in Oppenheim's (1992) view, such questions should always come near the end of the questionnaire and should be preceded by a short explanation. Oppenheim (1992:132) argues that, by the time the respondent reaches the end of the questionnaire, "we can hope to have convinced

the participant that the inquiry is genuine". In my opinion also, these classification questions may sometimes appear too direct and sometimes, even threatening to a few respondents, if placed right at the beginning. Respondents may feel reluctant to report their age or education, for instance. Particularly, considering my study setting, in which participants were either completely illiterate or less educated villagers, and the researcher had to read out loud the questionnaires to each of the participants, the majority of them felt embarrassed about their educational background or occupation. Similarly, the majority of the female participants were reluctant to report their actual age. Therefore, for my study, putting these questions at the end of the questionnaire proved beneficial because, by the time the respondent reached the end of the questionnaire, he/she was fully aware of what type of questions he/she has responded to. This familiarity with the questionnaire encouraged the participants to report their demographics without any reluctance.

Besides altering the order of the demographic questions, unlike Chakrani (2010), I have also given an additional response option of 'No preference' in question no. 3 and 4 and 'I don't know' option in question no. 5. According to Oppenheim (1992), sometimes 'don't know' and 'no preference' responses may be very significant. He argues that we should always keep the possibility in mind that the respondent may not always have a clear answer for the questions we pose them. "We must not assume that 'everyone' will know and will have an opinion on the subject of our inquiry" (Oppenheim, 1992:139). As far as the scale of the attitude is concerned, the questionnaire was based on a 5-point Likert scale, details of which are provided in the following section.

3.6.1. Scale of the Attitude Questionnaire

In contemporary attitude research, Likert scales (developed by Likert in 1932) are one of the most commonly employed techniques to measure language attitudes. The Likert scale offers an opportunity to the respondents to indicate the extent of their agreement or disagreement with a collection of attitude statements on a five-point scale (Baker, 1992; Bergroth, 2007 and Fazio & Petty, 2008). The preparation[19] of Likert scales "involves gathering a number of statements about the attitude one wishes to measure, and then asking a sample of people to rate whether they agree with them or not"

[19] For further details on Likert scales construction, see Oppenheim, (1992:19)

(Garrett, 2003:40). There should be a balance of positive and negative statements in the scale. The scores across the items are summed and serve as the respondent's attitude score, because of which Likert's scale is sometimes referred to as the 'method of summated ratings' (Fazio & Petty, 2008). In order to score the responses, Oppenheim (1992:196) suggests that we should decide whether a high scale score means a favourable attitude or an unfavourable attitude. In my study, as stated in the previous section, a high score on the scale means a favourable attitude, and similarly, a low score on the scale means an unfavourable attitude. This means that all the favourable statements in my scale were scored 5 for 'strongly agree' and 1 for 'strongly disagree'.

According to Oppenheim (1992) and Garrett (2003), the Likert scales give more reliability and could be significant for measuring the intensity of the attitudes. These are far less laborious to prepare (Garrett, 2003) and easy to construct than Thurstone scale, a sophisticated and complex scheme for attitude measurement, (little in use now, developed by Thurstone in 1928). The Likert scales produce more accurate information regarding participant's level of agreement or disagreement.

Likert scales are ordinal in nature since the answering points regarding the respondent's level of the agreement are rank-ordered (Redinger, 2010). "The ordinal scale arises from the operation of rank-ordering" (Stevens, 1946:679). It is a scale on which data is shown simply in order of magnitude (Collins dictionary, 2018). Agree/disagree questions are usually based on an ordinal scale. In my questionnaire, all questions are based on Likert scale (Ordinal), see Table 3.5, except question number 3, 4 and 5 which are based on Nominal scale. According to Oppenheim, (2000:156), "A nominal scale provides data which have no underlying continuum. There is no underlying linear scale. Instead, there are a number of discrete categories into which the responses can be classified or 'coded', but the categories can be placed in any order, and they have no numerical value". Therefore, unlike ordinary scale/Likert scale, there is no interval/ mid-point between categories and the researcher can only assign a binary score for each category, i.e. yes/no, or present/absent.

Table 3.5 - Attitude Questionnaire scales

Section	Question number	Scale	Variables measured
A	1	Ordinal	Parent's language use patterns at home

	2	Ordinal	Participants' language use patterns of participants in four different domains (home, neighbourhood, school and at work)
	3	Nominal	Participants' language preferences for leisure activities
B	4 and 5	Nominal	Attitudinal orientations and stances towards three different languages spoken in Punjab
C	6	Ordinal	Self-reported language competency and linguistic skills
D	7 and 8	Ordinal	Attitudes towards Punjabi language/ attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi

3.6.2. Administration of the questionnaire

The procedures employed in distributing and collecting the questionnaires play a significant role in affecting the quality of the elicited responses (Dornyei, 2007). Hua (2016) asserts that administration of the questionnaire in person is a more efficient and effective means of getting a high number of responses in comparison to administration of questionnaires via post or email. Thus, during two months in the field, I personally distributed a total of 120 questionnaires in villages near Hafizabad city in Punjab. As mentioned earlier, I accessed all the participants through personal contacts - the well-known friend-of-a-friend method, (Schilling, 2013). Following Dornyei's (2007) suggestions (for details see Research methods in Applied Linguistics by Dornyei, p.113-114), 15-20 minutes were allocated, prior to the administration of the questionnaire, to explain to the participants the content and purpose of the questionnaires and how to answer the questions. The remaining 40-45 minutes were allocated for the completion of the questionnaires.

For uneducated participants, the researcher read out loud the questionnaire statements and response options to the participants. The respondents were then requested to indicate their choice orally, which was recorded. The literate participants filled in the questionnaires themselves. The spoiled questionnaires were kept to a minimum (20 in total) via monitoring completion of the surveys and retrieving the questionnaires immediately following completion. Therefore, in total, 106 completed questionnaires were used for the data analysis, excluding the pilot survey and 14 questionnaires had to be excluded from the survey because of the mal responses (either the questionnaire was incomplete, or more than one tick/response were provided).

3.6.3. Data analysis

In contrast, a quantitative approach was employed to answer questions concerning participants' explicit attitudes towards Punjabi collected via the questionnaires and to establish how different variables (age, educational background, language proficiency) influenced their attitudes towards their mother-tongue. The quantitative data was analysed using statistical program SPSS version 21. The study followed descriptive analytical methods i.e Univariate (percentages and mean values) to identify the participants' language use patterns in different domains, their language preferences in different situations and their explicit attitudes towards Punjabi. In addition, ANOVA tests and independent sample T-tests were used to identify any relations between participants' attitudes and factors that can be affected with an alpha value of $p = .05$. As stated earlier in section 3.2, the qualitative and quantitative findings were then integrated to provide an overall wider picture of the participants attitudes to Punjabi.

Study 2 – Subjective Vitality of Punjabi

3.7. Participants

Similar to study 1, a non-probability sampling technique was employed. A total of 102 participants took part in the survey. 48 participants were male and 54 were female. Out of these 102 participants, 65 were from the *Juria* village and 37 from the *Narranwala* village. These participants were the same participants who took part in the language attitude survey. Both LAQ and SVQ were distributed and administered simultaneously. These participants and villages were chosen because the aim was to explore vitality perceptions of less-educated rural Punjabis regarding Punjabi. Further details regarding the selection of participants and villages have been provided in sections 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5.

3.8. Subjective Vitality Questionnaire

In an effort to seek answers to research question no. 4, the Subjective vitality questionnaire (SVQ), developed by Bouhris et al., (1981), was employed to determine the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan. Other vitality questionnaires were also consulted, including the Johnson (2007), Yadla (2016), Gogonas (2007) and Lawson (2001) that could be adapted to the circumstances of the Punjab Province. After this consultation period and considering the potential factors such as literacy of informants, the time required to complete the questionnaire and the circumstances under which it would be distributed, I decided to adapt original

SVQ by Bouhris et al. (1981) and Johnson (2007) because the layout of these questionnaires was simpler and they were more relevant to the research question under study.

The questionnaire was formulated on the basis of three factors (status, demography and institutional support, discussed in detail chapter 2, section 2.4.1) which determine the vitality of any language (as suggested by Bourhis et al. 1981). It is divided into five sections (see Table 3.6), out of which three sections (section 2 to 4) cover the three main dimensions of vitality (status factors, demographic factors and institutional support) and have been taken from Bourhis et al's (1981) original SVQ. Figure 3.3 demonstrates each vitality factor covered by a questionnaire item, which is also followed by the question number that appeared in my SVQ. Sections 1 and 5 were adapted from Johnson's (2007) SVQ.

Table 3.6 - Classification of SVQ

Section 1	Strength of Punjabi language in Punjab	Adapted from Johnson, 2007
Section 2	Status of Punjabi language and Punjabi culture in Punjab	Adapted from Bouhris, 1981
Section 3	Support for Punjabi language and culture in Punjab	Adapted from Bouhris, 1981
Section 4	Demographic perceptions regarding Punjabi in Punjab	Adapted from Bouhris, 1981
Section 5	Punjabi identity in Punjab	Adapted from Johnson, 2007

Following Gogonas (2007:62-63) and Yadla (2016), the layout of the questionnaire is simplified. The number of choices for each item has been reduced from 7 to 5, which means 5-point Likert scale is used in this part of the questionnaire as well. This was done to maintain coherence with the first part of the questionnaire and to avoid any possible confusions on the respondents' part. A high scale score means greater vitality of Punjabi in Punjab (5 means positive response and 1 means negative response). Following Gogonas (2007:62-63) and Yadla (2016), the numerical values in Bouhris' SVQ were verbalized using the adverbs such as 'extremely', 'a lot',

‘a little’ and ‘not at all’ to avoid any possible confusions that plain blanks might have caused for less educated participants.

Section 1 of the questionnaire aimed at asking the respondents about the current vitality/strength of Punjabi in Punjab, Pakistan. Four questions were included in this section, requiring ten responses from the informants. As can be seen in Appendix D, two of these questions were of a single-response nature. The goal was to uncover the broad perceptions of the perceived vitality of the Punjabi language across Punjab and to uncover how this compares with perceptions in individual areas, such as the participants’ villages. The remaining questions asked participants to give judgements on several aspects of the interaction of people of different age groups with the Punjabi language in Punjab. Following Johnson (2007), these age groups were selected in order to be able to readily distinguish between groups of people. They were categorised as ‘under 25’, equating with children and young adults, ‘between 25 and 45’, equating with relatively young people, ‘between 46 and 65’ to be equated with middle-aged people and, finally, ‘65 and older’ to be equated with those who had retired from work. The purpose of asking these two questions was to explore participants’ perceived perceptions regarding Punjabi language usage and enthusiasm among people belonging to different age groups.

As mentioned earlier, the next three sections (section 2, 3 and 4) relate to the status, support and demography factors of the original vitality paradigm (see figure 3.1). Section 2 relates to the first paradigm of the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model by Giles et al. (1977). It includes five questions requiring six responses from the informants. All of the questions in this section (Q5 – Q9) have been adapted from the original SVQ by Bourhis et al. (1981) to assess the perceived status of Punjabi language and Punjabi culture by the respondents.

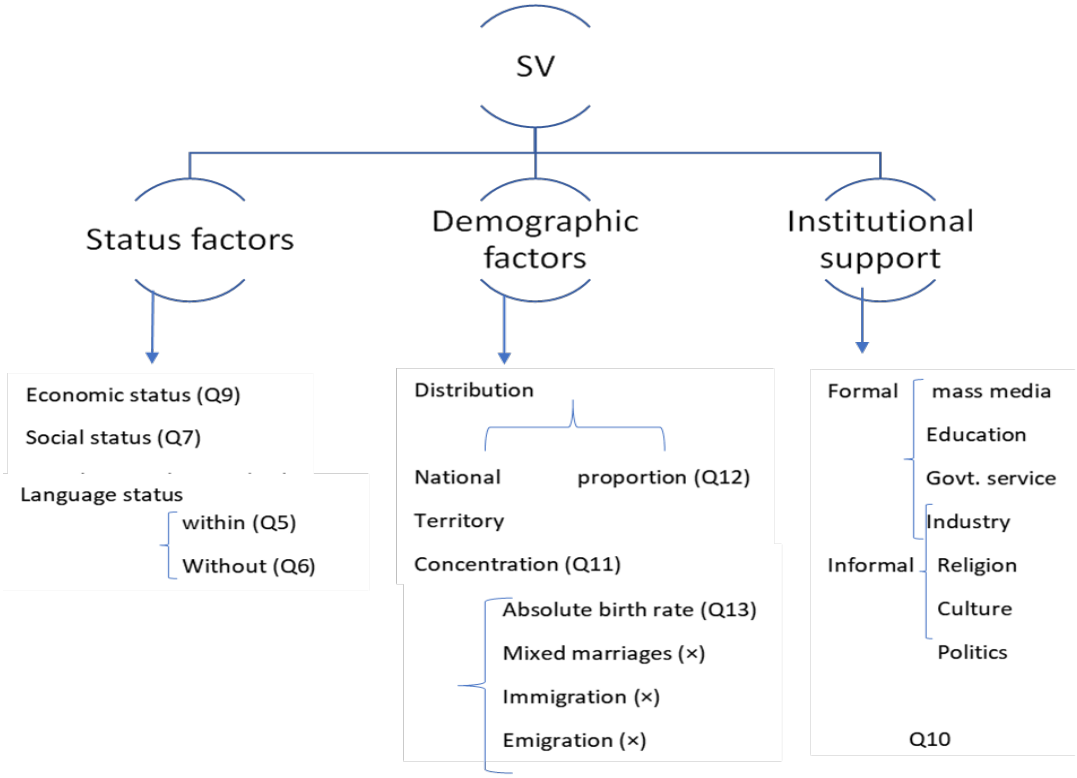


Figure 3.3. A taxonomy of the structural variables affecting ethnolinguistic vitality

Adapted from Bouhris et al. (1981)

The third section consists of only one question but requires eight responses from the informants (Figure 3.3). This question pertains to the support for Punjabi language and culture in Punjab (Q10), which is usually referred to as the institutional support factor by Giles et al. (1977) in the original vitality paradigm. This question requests participants to rate the support given to Punjabi language and culture (for reasons of space these two items were not separated in the questionnaire, as they were in the original SVQ) by the mass media, education, government services, industry, tourism, religion, cultural events and politics. Most of these institutions are those identified by Giles et al. (1977). This question uncovered the participants' perceptions regarding the amount of support given to Punjabi language and culture and how well they are represented in these diverse public and institutional domains.

Section 4 comprises of three questions requiring six responses from the participants. These questions pertain to the demographic factors presented by Giles et al. (1977) in the original vitality paradigm (see figure 3.3). These questions asked informants to report their perceived perceptions regarding Punjabi language

distribution (national territory concentration, Q11), its proportion (Q12) and absolute birth rate in the Punjab province. Other factors from number variable (such as mixed marriages, immigration and emigration) were excluded from the questionnaire as they were considered irrelevant in this study's context.

The last section of the questionnaire is related to the perceived Punjabi identity in the Punjab region of Pakistan. Q14 to Q16 aim to investigate participants' perceptions regarding how much it is important for other Punjabis to own a Punjabi identity. Q17 is an exo-centric question requesting participants to rate how important other people believe it is to know or learn about the Punjabi language. By doing so, they are expressing their own opinion and their belief about other people's perceptions of the significance of Punjabi language. The last two questions in this section aimed at identifying the shift in vitality that participants perceive to have taken place in the last two decades and their predictions for the next two or three decades. Answers to these questions represented their perceptions of trends that are taking place with the Punjabi language.

3.8.1. Administration of Subjective Vitality Questionnaire

Both LAQ and SVQ were administered simultaneously. Participants were given both questionnaires together. Therefore, the procedure adopted for SVQ was similar to LAQ (see section 3.6.2 for details).

3.8.2. Data Analysis

The data was analysed using statistical program SPSS version 21. Univariate analysis (mean values and standard deviations) was conducted to determine the subjective vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan.

Study 3 - Interviews

3.9. Participants

In a qualitative study, researchers usually agree that the sample selection process should remain open as long as possible so that, after gathering and analysing the initial data, additional subjects/informants can be included, who can fill the void in the initial description or can expand or even challenge it. Dornyei (2007) refers to this cyclic process of moving back and forth between data collection and analysis as *iteration*. Scholars suggest that this iteration process should be continued until saturation is reached. Glaser and Strauss (1967), quoted by Dornyei (2007:127), define saturation as "a point where additional data do not seem to develop the concepts any further but

simply repeat what previous informants have already revealed". It is a point where the researcher becomes 'empirically confident' that he/she has all the data required to answer the research questions (Dornyei, 2007).

For the qualitative interviews, a cumulative approach was employed for the calculation of the sample size. This is defined as an approach in which the researcher continues to add to the size of the sample until a point is reached (saturation) where there is sufficient information and where no benefit is derived from adding any more to the sample (Denscombe, 2010). Before the commencement of the investigation, the initial plan was to conduct 20 interviews from 2 villages (10 from each village). Therefore, the planned sample size for interviews was 20. However, the sample grew during the course of the research until sufficient information regarding participants' implicit attitudes was accumulated. Merriam (2009) asserts that, in exploratory samples, the potential of each participant to contribute to the development of insight and understanding of the phenomenon is more crucial than the actual number of respondents included in the interviews. As suggested by Dornyei (2007), a sample size of 31 was thus considered sufficient to answer the research questions.

3.10. Semi-structured Interviews

As explained earlier in chapter 2 (section 2.7.2), semi-structured, one-to-one interviews were conducted to explore the implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi. In semi-structured interviews, questions are flexibly worded. "The interview is guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored, and neither the exact wording nor the order of the questions is determined ahead of time" (Merriam, 2009:90). Such a structure enables the researcher to respond to the situation at hand. Denscombe (2010) argues that semi-structured interviews enable the interviewee to develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher. Generally, the answers are open-ended in this type of interview and there is more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest. Denscombe (2010) posited the view that the potential of interviews as a data collection tool is better exploited when they are applied to the exploration of more complex and subtle phenomena. He further advocates the use of interviews as a research tool in situations where the researcher needs to gain insights into people's opinions, feelings, emotions and experiences. He also claims that this method is "attuned to the intricacy of the subject matter" (Denscombe, 2010:174). According to Patton (2002) quoted in Merriam (2009:88):

> We interview people to find out from them those things we cannot directly observe . . . We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions… The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to enter into the other person 's perspective (Patton (2002:340-341).

Therefore, the main purpose of the interviews was to gain insights into the implicit, hidden and covert feelings, thoughts and attitudes of the participants towards the Punjabi language- such feelings which cannot be directly observed through their behaviour or which they might not explicitly express if asked directly.

In order to measure participants' implicit attitudes indirect questioning technique was employed in the interviews. Indirect questions are usually projective as they attempt to elicit interviewee's attitudes by discussing similar attitudes in others (Fisher, 1993 and Qu and Dumay, 2011). Such questions are usually open-ended with the intention to offer an opportunity to the interviewees to elaborate on things that they see as important and meaningful to them (Qu and Dumay, 2011). Indirect questions are often used to mitigate the effects of social desirability bias (Fisher, 1993). It is anticipated that respondents project their unconscious attitudes into ambiguous response situations and reveal their own attitudes (Fisher, 1993). Similarly, Brinkman and Kvale (2018) argue that the response to indirect questions may directly correspond to the attitudes of others and it may also be an indirect expression of the individual's own attitude which he/she does not express directly. Kvale (1996) emphasises the importance of wording of the questions and states that the knowledge produced in the interviews depends on how the interviewer chooses his/her words.

The interview questions were open-ended and centred around factors affecting language use, such as: social status, educational background, locality, age and gender of Punjabis. The interviews were also to identify participants' perceptions regarding the role of language in shaping their identity. Since the interviews were used as an indirect method to tap into the implicit attitudes of the participants, general and indirect questions about language were asked. Participants were not explicitly asked about their attitudes towards the Punjabi language. Rather they were generally asked about their everyday language use patterns and their general perceptions about languages being spoken in Pakistan. For example, in order to investigate if Punjabi has an association with illiteracy in the rural regions of the Punjab, I asked my informants if they thought there is a difference between educated and uneducated people and if so, what is the difference. By asking this general question, the intention

was to elicit their implicit attitudes towards Punjabi. It was expected that, if the rural participants also had the same belief as reported in previous studies in urban settings that Punjabi is associated with illiteracy (see Zaidi, 2001 and Rahman, 2002, for example), it would emerge somewhere in their response and it did (see chapter 4, section 5.3). Similarly, in order to investigate a commonly held assumption in the urban regions of Punjab that Punjabi is a *paindu* (backward) language, as observed in previous studies in urban settings (Shafi, 2013; Riaz and Qadir, 2012; Sullivan, 2005 and Rahman, 2003), I asked my informants a general question regarding the differences between village and city life. Again, it was expected that, if the participants from the rural settings associate Punjabi with villages and they also believe that Punjabi is a *paindu* (backward) language, they would mention it in their response. The intention was not to ask the question directly, as there was a possibility of getting biased responses (as mentioned earlier in chapter 2).

Furthermore, in order to establish if the participants consider language a significant factor in determining the social class of people, I asked my informants whether they felt language is a symbol of social status in Pakistan or not? If they consider language a significant factor then where do they place Punjabi speakers in a social class hierarchy and, most importantly, which social class do they associate Punjabi with? This was to identify their attitudes towards Punjabi and Punjabi speakers. The hypothesis was that if they place Punjabi speakers low in a social class hierarchy and associate Punjabi with people from low social class, it would indicate their negative attitudes towards Punjabi and Punjabi speakers.

It should be noted that the researcher did not strictly follow the designed list of interview questions. Because of the semi-structured nature of the interviews, the questions asked during the interviews were tailored in a way for each interviewee to remain focused on the research aims as well as provide opportunity to the participants to express their feelings and opinions openly. Some unplanned questions were asked to probe further and a few of the questions from the list were eliminated depending on the conversation with the interviewee. Thus, the semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed interviewees the time, scope and the flexibility to talk about their opinions and freely pursue their ideas. The list of interview questions is provided in Appendix D.

3.10.1. Conducting interviews

Interviews were carried out with 31 subjects in total: 13 males and 18 females from two villages (*Juria* and *Narranwala*) near Hafizabad city in the Punjab province of Pakistan. A detailed profile of the participants is provided in the Appendix C. The majority of the interviews (21) were taken from the *Juria* village because firstly, gaining access to the village was easy via friend-of-a-friend method. Secondly, because the village was near to my hometown, which made travelling to the village easier. The interviews were conducted at the participants' home, in a separate room and lasted on average between 10 to 15 minutes. The questions were open-ended and were designed to elicit information naturally. A list of the key questions (see Appendix D) was prepared in advance and a few other questions came up during the interview. The researcher ensured that the interview process and the questions asked were consistent with qualitative methods' theoretical approaches. As asserted by Newton (2010), the success and validity of the interview relies, on the one hand, on the extent to which the respondents' opinions are genuinely reflected in their answers to the open-ended and flexible questions and on the depth at which the rich context that underlies the responses is tapped into, on the other.

3.10.2. Language of the interviews and audio recording

The wording of the questions is a crucial consideration in eliciting the type of information required. "Questions need to be understood in a familiar language. Using words that make sense to the interviewee, words that reflect the respondent's worldview, will improve the quality of data obtained during the interview" (Merriam, 2009:95). The initial plan was to conduct the interviews in the Urdu language since it is the national language of Pakistan and the majority of the people of Punjab understand it. However, after interacting with the potential participants and conducting the pilot survey, it was realised that Punjabi would be the most suitable language for interviews because: first, it was the native language used by most of the informants in the villages. Second, all of the informants were more proficient in Punjabi, in comparison to Urdu.

During the pilot survey, when the villagers were asked questions in Urdu most of the time they either responded in Punjabi or mixed Urdu and Punjabi together (Code-mixing). They could understand Urdu but were unable to respond proficiently in it. This was the case with the majority of the above middle-aged participants. This made it impossible to conduct meaningful interviews. Therefore, to avoid participants'

reluctance and confusion, before initiating the interview, every interviewee was asked about his/her language preference for the interview. The majority of them opted for the Punjabi language, and 12 out of 31 participants chose Urdu as their preferred language for an interview (see Appendix C, Table 12 - Profile of interview participants).

The use of the tape recorder has had far-reaching consequences for the study of language in its social context. The most facilitative and common way of recording interviews has been with the use of an audio recorder, which in view of Brinkmann and Kvale (2015), frees the interviewer to concentrate on the topic and the dynamics of the interview. Thus, a digital voice recorder, with high acoustic quality was used to record the interviews. The recorder proved invaluable in conducting interviews as I was able to record 'the words and their tones and pauses in a permanent form, making it possible for me to return to them again and again for re-listening' (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015:205). Thus, audio recordings provided invaluable data for further analysis.

3.10.3. Data Analysis

There are several approaches to analysing qualitative data such as content analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis. For this particular study, a thematic analysis of qualitative data (semi-structured interviews) was carried out in order to identify participants' implicit attitudes towards Punjabi. *Thematic Analysis (TA)* is defined as a method for systematically identifying, organising and offering insights into patterns of meaning (themes) across a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2012; Braun and Clarke 2006 and Joffe, 2012). Thematic analysis was chosen because, unlike content analysis (a method to quantify the contents of the text, Denscombe, 2010), it moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases within the data (Guest et. al, 2012). It analyses and deciphers the deeper meanings in the data and interprets themes which are significant in the description of the phenomenon under study. Discourse analysis, on the contrary, deals with what people are trying to do through text, talk or image. Narrative analysis deals with the analysis of narration and stories and most often involves focus groups. The aim of this study was neither to analyse the discourses produced by the participants nor the analysis of any narrations produced. Thematic analysis was, therefore, chosen because it was the most suitable analysis approach for this study. It is one of the most widely used tool for analysing qualitative data and it can combine inductive, bottom-up approach (data-driven analysis) and deductive, top-down

approach (theory-driven analysis) (Braun and Clarke, 2013). For the purpose of this study, a combination of inductive and deductive approaches was employed: inductive as the coding was mainly done from the data, on the basis of participants' expression of their linguistic attitudes; and deductive as I drew on theoretical constructs from attitudes and sociolinguistic theories like dual attitude model, explicit and implicit attitude constructs and concepts of language shift and maintenance. In Braun and Clarke's view, thematic analysis often employs a combination of both approaches (2012:60). They further argue that "It is possible to be purely inductive, as we always bring something to the data when we analyse it, and we rarely completely ignore the semantic content of the data when we code for a particular theoretical construct" (Braun and Clarke, 2012:58-59).

Thematic analysis was additionally chosen as it is flexible and accessible in nature (Braun, 2013; Braun and Clarke, 2012; Braun and Clarke, 2006). Flexible as it can be conducted in numerous different ways – the researcher can either focus on interpreting and analysing the entire data set or he/she can investigate any particular aspect of a phenomenon in depth (Braun and Clarke, 2012). Through the use of thematic analysis "one can report the obvious or semantic meanings in the data, or he/she can interrogate the latent meanings, the assumptions and ideas that lie behind what is explicitly stated" (see Braun and Clarke, 2006 for details). Since, the aim was to elicit the implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi, it was anticipated that the thematic analysis would assist in deciphering the deeper/latent meanings. TA is accessible as its results are available to novice qualitative researchers and also to the educated general public. The thematic analysis was conducted following a six-step guide by Braun and Clarke (2006:87):

i. Familiarization (Immersion in the data)
ii. Coding (generating initial codes)
iii. Searching for themes
iv. Reviewing themes
v. Defining and naming themes
vi. Writing the report

Having discussed the research instruments in detail, it is now necessary to throw light on another significant aspect of researching across languages and culture. Since the study was to be carried out in Pakistan, where Urdu is the national language, it was necessary to translate all the research instruments into Urdu. The research

instruments were not translated into Punjabi because the medium of instruction in Pakistan is either Urdu (in government educational institutes) or English (in private educational institutes). As stated earlier in chapter 2, Punjabi is not taught in schools as a compulsory subject and consequently, Punjabi speakers are not proficient in Punjabi reading and writing. The following translation procedure was followed to translate the research tools into the native language.

3.11. Translation of the questionnaires

The translation and assessment of questionnaires is a complex task that requires proven procedures and protocols and cross-disciplinary, cross-cultural expertise (Harkness et al. 2004). Cross-cultural literature suggests that producing a valid translation of a research instrument is not a simple matter of directly translating from one language to another (Su & Parham, 2002). Nida's (1964) *Team Approach* was adopted to translate the research instruments employed in this study. In order to translate items, this approach provides a richer pool of options to choose from (Guillemin et al., 1993; Harkness and Schoua-Glusberg, 1998; McKay et al.,1996). According to Harkness et al. (2004:464), "The team can be thought of as a group with different talents and functions, bringing together the mix of skills and disciplinary expertise needed to produce an optimal version". All the members of the team should be fully equipped with the cultural and linguistic knowledge required to translate properly in the target language. Three procedures are involved in a general team approach: translation, review and translation approval. Harkness et al. (2004) suggest that the *translators* must be skilled practitioners who are already good translators and who have learned or gained training. They usually translate out of the source language into their native language. As for *reviewers*, Harkness et al. (2004), suggest that they should not only have good translation skills like translators, but also be familiar with questionnaire design principles and the study design and topic. According to them, "generally one reviewing person, with linguistic knowledge, experience in translation and survey knowledge is sufficient. But if a person who is experienced in all these areas is not accessible, two can cover the different perspectives" (Harkness et al. 2004:464). *Adjudicators* are the persons who give final approval of which translation options to adopt. They are familiar with the research subject, have an expertise in the survey design and are usually proficient in the languages involved (Harkness et al. 2004).

Translations of both questionnaires (attitude questionnaire and subjective vitality questionnaire) were generated using the rigorous translation methods suggested by Harkness et al. (2004) and Su & Parham (2002). Source questionnaires[20] were designed in English, and the target version was to be in Urdu for use in villages of Punjab. Issues concerning the cultural relevance and linguistic meaning were of central concern in the translation process of my survey questionnaires. Before moving on to explaining the details of each step taken to generate a valid translation of the research tools, an overview of the entire translation process is provided in Figure 3.4. I will be referring to this figure while explaining each step.

[20] Questionnaires that serve as a text for translation, Harkness et al. 2004:454

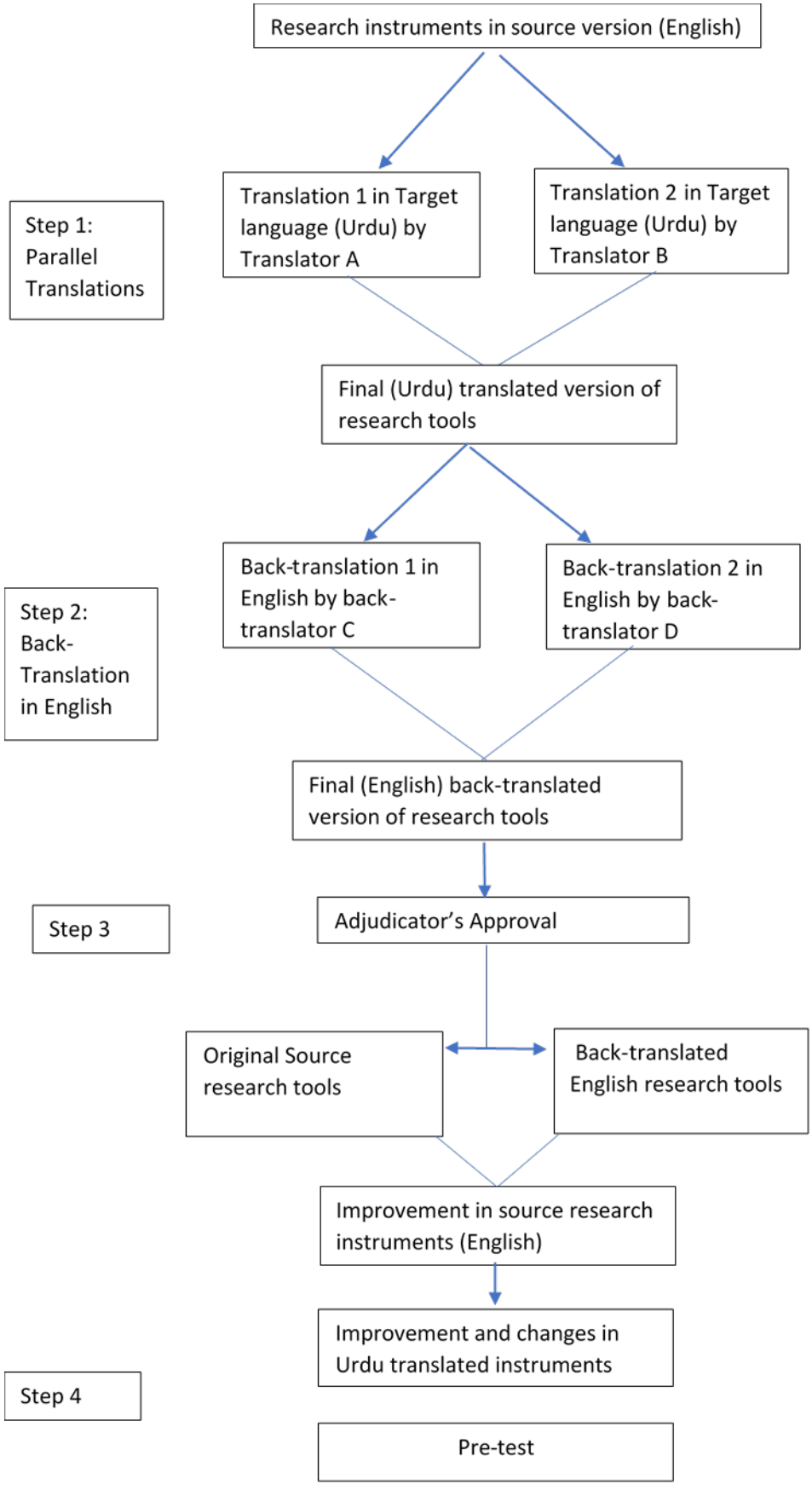


Figure 3.4 - Translation process

Step 1: Parallel translations[21]

In parallel translation, several translators produce independent parallel translations of the same questionnaire (Brislin, 1980; Guillemin et al., 1993; Schoua-Glusberg, 1992). Two native and multilingual language experts in the field of education took part in this step. They were citizens of the Punjab province, native speakers of Urdu and Punjabi language, professors of English language in renowned educational institutes and had prior translation experience. I personally contacted these multilingual experts individually and explained the project in Urdu as it was their native language. The questionnaires (source versions) were then given to each expert. They independently translated the source (English) version into the target (Urdu) version. Researchers in cross-cultural studies believe that inaccuracies in the translation process are common. Su and Parham (2002) state that, if measures beyond direct translation are not taken to ensure validity, the translated instrument may not function as intended. In translation, it is critical to attain equivalence between the source version and the target version of a research tool. This process entails not only lingual but also cultural considerations. In an effort to achieve literal equivalence in the target language, it often happens that the fundamental meaning of the source language is lost. In order to prevent this, translators should be empathic to the target culture (Su and Parham, 2002). Therefore, the experts were given special instructions to focus on the fundamental meaning of the source version, considering the cultural context of the villages. The translators initially worked independently to produce translations of the research instruments. Then they were requested to work together, review each other's translated versions, make the necessary revisions to reach consensus on the final Urdu translation of each research tool (see Figure 3.4, step 1). I personally collected the final Urdu translated versions from them and subsequently discussed all their comments and suggestion with them. For details and example of translation issues encountered at this step and how those were handled see Table 3.7.

[21] Translated Urdu research instruments are attached as Appendix E.

Table 3.7 - Step 1: Parallel Translation |(Examples)				
Translation problem	**Source Text**	**Translator A**	**Translator B**	**Final Agreement**
Literal Vs. Contextual	I would prefer my children to learn	میں چاہوں گا کے میرے بچے بولیں (contextual/ sense for sense)	میں اپنے بچوں کے لئے کس زبان کو ترجیح دوں گا (literal)	Translator A's translation
	Government should support Punjabi	حکومت کو چاہے کے پنجابی زبان کو سہارا دے/ سر پرستی کرے (contextual/sense for sense)	حکومت کو پنجابی کی حمایت کرنی چاہے Favour = حمایت Change in meaning	Translator A's translation
Formal Vs. Informal	Language survey	لسانی جأیزہ (formal)	زبان کا سروے (informal)	Kept both
	Mixed	مخلوط (formal/academic)	ملی جلی زبانیں (informal/conversational/everyday Urdu)	Kept both
	At work	جائے روزگار پر (formal/academic)	کام پر (informal/conversational/everyday Urdu	Translator A's translation
Grammatical	There should be newspapers in Punjabi	اخبارات پنجابی زبان میں ہونے چاہیں Change in tone/meaning Literal translation is: 'newspapers should be in Punjabi'. Depicting firm belief/opinion	پنجابی زبان میں اخبار ہونے چاہیں Same contextual meaning as the source text. / casual opinion. (both Urdu sentence structure are correct grammatically, but they are giving different meaning).	Translator B's translation
	Speaking Punjabi is an important part of Punjabi identity	پنجابی بولنا پنجابی شناخت کا لازمی جزو ہے (contextual/sense for sense)	پنجابی بولنا ایک اہم حصہ ہے آپکی پنجابی کے طور پر نمائندگی کا (literal) Improper grammatical structure	Translator A's translation

Step 2: Back-Translation Iterative Process

In a back-translation procedure, the translated questionnaire is translated back into the source questionnaire language, and the two versions in the *source* language are then

compared to check for equivalence of meaning (Harkness et al. 2004). Based on the similarities and differences between the source questionnaire and the back-translated questionnaire, conclusions are drawn regarding the quality of the translated version. If the two versions are not identical, the back-translation process is repeated iteratively until no misunderstandings are found (Su and Parham, 2002). In this method, at least two bilingual translators are needed who are familiar with the source, and target languages and these back-translators must not have had access to the source questionnaire before producing the back-translation (Su and Parham, 2002).

Another two bilingual translators – back-translators (fluent in Urdu and English) were requested to take part in this back-translation process. The aim of the back-translation was to recast the meaning of the source version (English questionnaires) in the target language rather than to literally translate each word of the English questionnaires. Both bilingual translators had good translation skills. One translator who is a professor in the research department of a renowned university has expertise in the survey design and research techniques. The other translator has a linguistic knowledge of both languages (Urdu and English). These two back-translators, who had not seen the source version before, worked independently to produce back English questionnaires, from the final translated Urdu versions (Figure 3.4, step 2). After each back-translator finished his translations independently, he reviewed the other's translation, discussed the problematic items and made a few revisions to reach consensus on the final back-translated version of the questionnaires. For details and examples see Table 3.8 and 3.9.

Table 3.8 - Step 2: Back-Translation (Examples)

Issues	**Source Text (Urdu)**	**Back-translated version 1 (English)**	**Back-translated version 2 (English)**	**Final Agreement**	**Original Source Version (English)**
Sentence structure	پاکستان کے پنجاب میں پنجابی زبان آپکے خیال میں کتنی کثرت	In your opinion, how frequently is Punjabi language spoken in Punjab, Pakistan?	How frequently, in your opinion, is Punjabi language spoken in Punjab, Pakistan?	B.T.V2	How frequently do you think, Punjabi language is spoken in Punjab, Pakistan?

	سے بولی جاتی ہے؟				
Literal Vs Contextual	شعبوں نمائندگی	In your opinion, how prevalent is the Punjabi language the following professions?	In your opinion, to what extent Punjabi is represented in the following fields?	B.T.V2	To what extent do you think that Punjabi language is represented in the following domains in Punjab?

Table 3.9 - Step 2: Back-Translation (Use of synonymous words)		
Source Text	**Original Source Version**	**Back-translated version**
گروہ	Group	Communities
اہم	Important	Significant/ vital
اکثر	Frequently	Often
کبھی کبھار	Occasionally	Seldom

Step 3: Final approval (Adjudicator's approval)

After the final back-translated (English) versions of the questionnaires were received, the adjudicator (researcher herself) compared each item of the back-translated English versions and the source versions of the questionnaires to "detect any errors that might make differences in the meaning people would infer" (Brislin, 1970, p. 197). I myself took the role of adjudicator because first, I am also proficient in the languages involved (by being a native speaker of both Urdu and Punjabi); second, I have an expertise in my field of inquiry so that I could best assess the suitability of particular wordings. Also, most importantly, I myself designed my research tools, so I considered myself in a better position to check these translations for equivalence of meaning. After the two versions of the source language were compared and based on the similarities and differences between the source questionnaire and back-translated questionnaire, conclusions were drawn regarding the quality of the back-translated version of the questionnaires (see Figure 3.4, step 3). Even though the two versions were almost identical and conveyed the same meaning, few minor changes were considered necessary to be made in the source questionnaire. Some items of the source version were reworded for easier translation, and some further instructions were added for the sake of clarity (for example, see Table 3.10). Since the two versions were very close in meaning, repetition of the translation process to translate the improved source

questionnaire was not considered necessary. Only the reworded items and additional instructions were translated into Urdu. Therefore, the final Urdu translation of the questionnaire, generated in step 1, was approved (after the additional revision) and was ready for pre-testing with the Punjabi villagers.

Table 3.10 - Step 3: Adjudicator's approval (Examples)

Original Source Version (English questionnaires)	**Back-translated Version (English questionnaires)**	**Explanation**	**Adjudicator's approval/ amendments**
'Please' before every instruction	'Please' was missing	In the final Urdu translation version (from Translator A and B), please was not translated. It was skipped before every instruction statement, probably because of cultural reasons. In village culture, request is kind of understood. People don't make explicit requests, especially if you're in good terms with them and in an informal relationship.	برائے مہربانی (Urdu translation of please) was added in the final Urdu versions for politeness and formality reasons.
I don't know	Subject I was skipped. (Don't know = پتہ نہیں)	English is a fixed word order language (SVO) and subject is compulsory in a sentence. However, Urdu is free word order language. The most common word order is (SOV) and if the verb provides the necessary information about the person, number and gender of the speaker, the subject may be omitted.	پتہ نہیں I (مجھے) was omitted from the final version as it would have sounded odd otherwise.
Punjabi is the mark of an educated person.	Proficiency in Punjabi is the mark of an educated person.	Incomplete sense in ST. It can mean: 1. Being Punjabi is the mark of an educated person. 2.	Back-translated version was chosen in final version.

پنجابی تعلیم یافتہ شخص ہونے کی نشانی ہے	پنجابی زبان میں مہارت تعلیم یافتہ شخص ہونے کی نشانی ہے	being able to speak in Punjabi is the mark of an educated person. 3. Punjabi language is the mark of an educated person. Its literal translation is confusing as well. The back-translated version was making more sense.

Step 4: Pre-test

Many researchers have advocated the addition of a 'Pretest' step in the translation process (Brislin, 1970; Brislin, 1976; Bullinger et al., 1993; Harkness et al., 2004). In this step, representative members of the population, for whom the instrument is translated, test the instrument and provide feedback to the instrument developers (Su and Parham, 2002).

A pre-test was considered significant for the refinement of the translation via opinions from the target population, which, in my study, comprised of villagers from the Punjab province. Three participants (two males and one female) (who also participated in the overall pilot testing of the study) took part in the pre-test. They were residents of the *Juria* village near Hafizabad city and recruited by my friend. Before administering the pre-test, the researcher explained the purpose of this step in Urdu and asked for participants' oral consent, following procedures approved by the university's ethical committee. Since the participants were uneducated, all the questionnaire instructions and questions were read out loud to them and then the researcher recorded their responses on the written questionnaire form. After completing the questionnaires, the participants were interviewed and asked the following questions, as suggested by Su and Parham (2002:584), in Urdu:

a. Are there any problems with the meaning of the instructions?
b. Are there any items you do not understand?
c. Are there any items that are difficult to understand or confusing?
d. Any further comments?

Respondents gave feedback regarding how the wording of the questions and instructions might be improved for clarity. At this point, it was realised that the Urdu translation of the questionnaire was somewhat formal (pure academic Urdu) which

was considered difficult to understand by the villagers with no formal education. The researcher discussed this issue with all of the four translators to reach a decision on the final revisions. Few lexical items and instructions in the questionnaire, in particular, were then converted into simple, informal/conversational Urdu (see Table 3.11).

Table 3.11 - Revisions after pre-test (Examples)

Source word	Academic Urdu translation	Everyday (simple) Urdu translation
Part	جزو	حصہ
Heritage	لوک ورثہ	ثکافت
Musical	تغمگی سے بھرپور	موسیقی والی/راگ والی
Classify	قسم بندی کرنا۔ زُمرہ بندی کرنا	درجہ بندی کرنا
Statistical comparison	شُماریاتی تقابلات	شُماریاتی موازنہ
First language that you learn when you are a baby	پہلی زبان جو آپ آغوش مادر میں سیکھتے ہیں	پہلی زبان جو آپ بچپن میں سیکھتے ہیں
Hometown	آبائی قصبہ	گاؤں یا علاقہ

Another issue encountered was with the translation of the first-person singular pronoun *I*. In English, the pronoun *I* can be used to refer to both male and female gender. For example, *I am washing clothes*. In this sentence, *I* can be referred to a masculine or a feminine gender. However, in Urdu different verbs/auxiliary verbs are used with the pronoun *I* (میں) to refer to male and female genders (see Table 3.12, for example).

Table 3.12 - Pronoun I

English sentence	Urdu sentence	Gender
I am washing clothes.	میں کپڑے دھو رہا ہوں.	Male
I am washing clothes.	میں کپڑے دھو رہی ہوں.	Female

In the first Urdu translation of the questionnaires, the translators only used masculine verbs such as رہا ہوں, کرتا ہوں, سنتا ہوں, دیکھتا ہوں etc. After pre-testing with a female participant, it was realized that the feminine verbs such as رہی ہوں, سنتی ہوں, دیکھتی ہوں کرتی ہوں etc. were missing. So, in the final Urdu version, both verbs were given for the representation of both genders. For example:

Most of the television programs that I watch are in

میں زیادہ تر ٹیلی ویژن کے پروگرام دیکھتا/ دیکھتی ہوں.

After these revisions, a final Urdu translation of the questionnaires was completed.

3.12. Ethical considerations

The purpose of the research fieldwork was to collect evidence on the research topic and to be able to report the linguistic attitudes of Punjabi villagers towards Punjabi. The aim was also to explore the villagers' perceptions regarding the vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan. Prior to commencing the study, ethical clearance was sought from the School of Politics, Philosophy, Language and Communication Studies of the University of East Anglia. After the final approval to carry out fieldwork in Pakistan (my home country) was obtained, the researcher commenced her fieldwork on 10th of January 2018.

While on research sites for approximately two months, two friends (who also acted as gatekeepers) assisted me to effectively accomplish the task. They were of great help in getting access to the community. Also, both of them were research students and had ample training in fieldwork and data gathering procedures. So, they also assisted me in getting the questionnaires filled in from the less-educated participants. The research team, therefore, consisted of the researcher and two assistants who were well briefed on data collection, questionnaire distribution and collection and ethical procedures.

Before participating in the survey, the literate participants were requested to read the participant information sheet and consent forms approved by the University of East Anglia's ethical committee. For less-educated participants, information sheets and consent forms for interviews and questionnaires were read out loud. This information clarified how the participants' data would be used, protected, anonymised during the duration of the research and when their right for withdrawal would expire (1 year after the survey and the interviews). The less-educated participants were then asked to state orally whether or not they gave their consent to take part in the research and more educated participants were requested to sign the consent forms. For interviews, participants' oral consent was recorded. Participants also had the right to stop the interview at any time. Both interview and questionnaire participants also had the rights to refuse answering any questions that they may not wish to answer.

Furthermore, in order to ensure anonymity, each interview participant was assigned a pseudonym.

3.13. Pilot Testing

Many scholars (Dornyei, 2007; Creswell, 2014; Hua, 2016) emphasise the importance of carrying out pilot testing on research instruments and procedures at the initial stages of the project to ensure that the design actually elicits the desired data. In Dornyei's words (2007:75), "Just like theatre performances, a research study also needs a dress rehearsal to ensure the high quality (in terms of reliability and validity) of the outcomes in the specific context". Sudman and Bradburn (1983:283) go a little farther in emphasising the significance of pilot testing by stating that "if you do not have the resources to pilot test your questionnaire, do not do the study". Dornyei (2007), encourages the researchers to go through the piloting procedures patiently in order to avoid frustration and possible extra work in later stages of the study.

A pilot study was conducted before initiating the survey and interviews to establish the content validity of scores of my research instruments and to improve the questions, format and scales where possible. Pilot testing entailed distributing draft questionnaires to the respondents residing in *Juria* village. I accessed all these respondents through personal contacts. In all, I collected 24 completed attitude questionnaires and 20 completed subjective vitality questionnaires. I also conducted three interviews in the *Juria* village (1 male and 2 females) just to familiarise myself with the research setting and interview techniques.

The significance of this pilot study lies in two factors: on the one hand, it provided an opportunity to measure the time that respondents needed to complete the questionnaire. The respondents took a maximum of 30-45 minutes to fill in each questionnaire (without assistance = 30 min max and with assistance = 45 min max). Secondly, the pilot study provided feedback regarding the functionality of the questionnaire and the reliability and validity of both questionnaires. It also highlighted certain other problems that were faced by the respondents, details of which are provided below in Table 3.13.

Table 3.13 - Issues emerged in pilot study

Issues	How these issues were resolved
Formatting issues were identified in Urdu questionnaires	The questionnaire's formatting was carefully revised with the help of an

Urdu writing is from right to left which caused confusion in Likert scale tables Two questions got missed from Urdu questionnaire (either in printing or formatting)	Inpage software expert, who was also a native Urdu speaker
Few questions in SVQ proved difficult for uneducated participants (probably because of lack of exposure and lack of knowledge)	Explanation of those questions in Punjabi or informal Urdu by the interviewer
Question 1 and 3 in attitude questionnaire (percentage questions) were considered difficult and time-taking by the participants. These were the only two questions in which subjects had to give responses according to the percentage table provided in the instructions, rather than just ticking one option, probably which was why they considered it difficult and time-taking.	First of all, the sequence of these questions was changed so that questions with similar response categories come together. Secondly, consultation with the data analyst suggested that both these questions were significant to elicit the desired results. So, these questions were included in the survey with clear instructions. Also, before initiating the survey, the researcher thoroughly explained these two questions to the participants.
Urdu translation of the questionnaire was 'formal Urdu'/ pure academic Urdu, which was difficult to understand for less educated villagers	Few alterations were made in the wording of the questions and vocabulary was made simpler by converting them in informal Urdu.
Interview questions	
Questions related to religion and language use for religious activities were considered uncomfortable by two interview participants.	The reservation of the respondents was mitigated through the use of indirect questioning. Indirect questioning is a projective technique that asks respondents to answer questions from the perspective of another person or group.

3.14. Reliability Test

Reliability means consistency (Oppenheim, 2001; Robert, 2013). In the words of Creswell, "it refers to whether scores to items on an instrument are internally consistent (i.e., are the item responses consistent across constructs?), stable over time and whether there was consistency in test administration and scoring" (2014:295). Therefore, Cronbach's Alpha reliability test, the most widely used measure, was conducted to measure the reliability of the scales. It was calculated for three types of constructs, i.e. explicit attitudes, language proficiency and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality. According to Hair (2014:123), "The generally agreed upon lower limit for Cronbach's alpha is .70, although it may decrease to .60 in exploratory research".

Similarly, DeVellis (2012) states that the alpha scores higher than 0.70 are considered good, and higher than 0.60 are considered acceptable. The internal reliability measure of all the multi-item constructs was good ($\alpha \geq 0.70$) and demography construct in SVQ was at an acceptable level ($\alpha \geq 0.60$).

Table 3.14 shows the constructs, the number of variables combined to create each construct and their alpha coefficients.

Table 3.14 - Reliability Scores

	Construct	Cronbach's Alpha	N of Items
Proficiency	Punjabi	.515	4
	Urdu	.869	4
	English	.924	4
Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality	Status	.750	5
	Institutional support	.896	7
	Demography	.692	3
	Whole scale	.933	37
Explicit attitudes		.790	29

The reliability score for the Punjabi proficiency construct was, however, below the acceptance level. Oppenheim (2001) states that reliability or self-consistency is never perfect. We speculate that the reason behind this low-reliability score for proficiency in Punjabi could be the poor reading and writing proficiency skills of participants in Punjabi. Since, Punjabi is not a medium of education in the Punjab, literacy skills in Punjabi are poor. It is important to note here that the participants might have confused their reading or writing proficiency skills in Urdu with Punjabi. Punjabi borrows its script from the Urdu language, and both languages share a somewhat similar script. Therefore, because of this similarity in the script, participants who could read or write in Urdu might have assumed that they could also read or write in Punjabi. We assume that these inaccuracies in self-reports are not necessarily conscious or deliberate mistakes. Rather this similarity in the script confused the participants, and because of this confusion, a few participants might have reported high proficiency in Punjabi reading and writing, and some other might have reported the opposite. Therefore, no matter what they claim regarding their proficiency in Punjabi, there is no way to determine how proficient they are, which might underscore the lack of reliability for this type of construct. Testing the reading and writing skills

of these participants would have been the only way to determine their proficiency, but such a task is beyond the scope of this study.

3.15. Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has described the methods used in this investigation. It began by explaining a mixed method approach and discussed why a mixed-method approach was employed to measure the explicit and implicit attitudes of Punjabi speakers in this study. The chapter also provided details of the research instruments and procedures that were utilised in this study, including explanations of how questionnaires and interviews were designed, translated and administered. The chapter also outlined the population and sampling strategies and clarified the pilot testing procedures and results. This was followed by an explanation of the procedures through which the data was analysed and how the reliability of the findings was tested. In the following paragraphs, I will briefly discuss the possible limitations of the methodology (with particular emphasis on the qualitative data).

Oppenheim (1992) argues that two kinds of errors are possible in any attitudinal measure: random errors and systematic errors. A researcher should make an effort to reduce random errors in order to achieve greater accuracy and reduce bias in the study. Oppenheim (1992) views systematic errors as more worrying as they could significantly affect the findings of the study (p.87). Random errors could be due to carelessness, inaccuracies and misunderstandings whilst systematic errors could be due to habitual attempts to hurry less educated participants and/or giving them a one-sided explanation of a particular question. Care must be taken, therefore, on a researcher's part to avoid any such kind of errors.

Additionally, the potential issues surrounding interviews as an indirect method may involve interviewer effect (i.e. the interview data could be affected by the personal identity of the researcher). Interview data is based on what people say rather than what they do. The two may not add up. In Denscombe's view (2010:178), "what people say they do, what they say they prefer and what they say they think cannot automatically be assumed to reflect the truth".

Careful wording of the questions and the order of questions are also significant in eliciting implicit attitudes of the respondents via indirect questioning. Considerable attention must be paid to careful selection of questions and words. Of course, there was a possibility of getting irrelevant answers (in response to general everyday

questions) but that is where the role of interviewer is important (see Kvale, 1996). For example, I asked my participants about the differences between educated and uneducated people in the interviews. A few of them gave answers which were irrelevant to this study (such as: educated people are more sophisticated; they understand things better and they are well-behaved). This becomes challenging for the researcher at two levels: keeping the pace of the interview at a moderate level and winding things up in the allotted time; and getting relevant information by knowing where to interrupt and divert the conversation. Efforts were made to handle these potential issues by carefully interrupting the interviewee and diverting the course of the conversation to language related differences. (For example, in the above situation, I asked my informants if they could think of any language-related differences between educated and uneducated people.) Careful selection of indirect questions and careful questioning is, therefore, necessary to interpret respondents' answers. Efforts were also made to keep indirect questioning as relevant as possible to the research questions under investigation by selecting interview questions following pilot testing and a thorough research on previous studies on the Punjabi language.

Other potential issues are related to ensuring the validity and reliability of the qualitative data. Reliability refers to whether a research instrument is neutral in its effect (Denscombe 2010). It is defined as the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Silverman, 2014 and Dörnyei, 2007). A research method is considered reliable if it produces similar results each time it is employed (Johnstone, 2000 and Dörnyei, 2007). Validity refers to the accuracy or precision of the data. It is also concerned with an accurate account of the social phenomena under investigation (Silverman, 2014 and Denscombe, 2010). A procedure is considered valid if the results it yields are correct or true (Johnstone, 2000).

Denscombe (2010) argues that, when interviews are conducted to elicit attitudes, emotions, feelings and experiences of the interviewees, it is extremely difficult to assess validity in such circumstances. In his view, researchers are not mind readers; and there is no definite way to verify what the interviewee tells you about their attitudes, feelings and thoughts. In terms of measuring the reliability of the qualitative data, he argues that it is difficult for the researcher to achieve consistency and objectivity due to the interviewer's effect and the dynamics of the context in which the investigation is taking place. The data collection in every research is unique in

terms of the context of the study and the specific individuals involved (Denscombe, 2010). Sociolinguistic research, therefore, is rarely replicable and is difficult to test (Johnstone, 2000 and Dörnyei, 2007). However, many scholars have suggested some practical checks to ensure the credibility of the research (see for example, Johnstone, 2000; Dörnyei, 2007; Silverman, 2014; Denscombe, 2010 and Creswell, 2014).

The credibility of this research was improved in three ways: first, by leaving an audit trail. Efforts were made to make the research process transparent by providing a detailed and reflective account of the research strategy and data analysis methods employed in this research. Silverman (2014) and Dörnyei (2007) argue that the reliability tends to be higher where the research procedures and methods are clear and explicit. In order to improve reliability and enable others to replicate the study, every effort was made, in this chapter, to provide explicit and clear details of each step taken in order to conduct this study. Second, as Denscombe (2010) suggests, I looked for themes in the data. The findings were based on themes emerging from a number of interviews. A recurrent theme in the interview suggests that the idea/issue is shared among a wider group of people. This indicates that the researcher has not relied on one transcript as the only source of what is correct or real. Third, by presenting negative and discrepant information in the data. The outliers were examined, and care was taken to provide alternative explanations of the discrepancies found in the data. (see Dörnyei, 2007 and Creswell, 2014 for details).

Chapter 4
Explicit Attitudes and Subjective Vitality of Punjabi
Quantitative Data Analysis

4.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with the quantitative findings of the research. The main questions addressed in the chapter are: 1) What are the explicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi? 2) What is the subjective vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan and 3) Which social variables (such as age, educational background, gender, language proficiency) appear to be significant in determining participants' attitudes towards Punjabi? The chapter is divided into three parts, focusing on the quantitative findings relevant to each research question. The first part of the chapter deals with the analysis of the Language Attitude Questionnaire (LAQ). Part 2 analyses the results of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ) and the results of the ANOVA tests are presented in the third part. The chapter then concludes with a summary of the major quantitative findings in relation to the research questions mentioned above.

Part 1: Language Attitude Questionnaire (LAQ) Analysis

As discussed earlier in Chapter 3, a language attitude questionnaire (LAQ) was employed to capture the explicit attitudes of the participants towards the Punjabi language. The data was analysed using the SPSS statistical package for Windows. The section begins by providing the demographic information of the participants who took part in the survey. The analysis, then, follows the structure of the questionnaire i.e. the responses for each question are analysed and interpreted separately. For questions 4 and 5, where participants' attitudinal orientations and stances were measured towards three different languages, statements were grouped together into different attitude constructs/themes. Different statements related to a single attitude construct/theme were given in a random order in the questionnaire to avoid acquiescence bias. For instance, to measure respondents' attitudes towards the role of Punjabi in education, five items were given in a random order in the questionnaire (see section 4.7.2). Therefore, the analysis of all these five items is presented under a single attitude construct/theme for ease of analysis and for a clearer organisation of the data. A similar procedure was followed for the rest of the items in questions 4, 5 and 7. After that, the analysis of the self-reported language proficiencies of the participants in Punjabi, Urdu and English is provided (Question 6). Finally, the section concludes

with the analysis and interpretation of the results regarding the explicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi (Question 7 and 8).

4.2. Language use of parents at home

Table 4.1 depicts the language use patterns of both father and mother (or male and female guardians) of the participants at home. As the figures in the table indicate, the use of Punjabi is predominant for both father (mean = 3.87) and mother (mean = 3.79) in an informal setting.

Table 4.1- Language use of parents at Home (mean values)

5: Always (100%) 4: Mostly (75%) 3: Frequently (50%) 2: Occasionally (25%) 1: Never (0%)

	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language
Father/Guardian	1.91	**3.87**	1.13	1.95	1.21	1.22	1.04
Mother/ Guardian	1.96	**3.79**	1.10	1.93	1.17	1.20	1.04

4.3. Participants' language use patterns in different domains

This section throws light on the language use patterns of the participants in four different domains, i.e. home, neighbourhood, school and work. The results of this question have highlighted the current linguistic situation in the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages. Overall results indicate that languages are domain-specific in these villages. For instance, Punjabi is the dominant language in informal settings. However, in formal settings such as school and work place, Urdu is the predominant language.

It is worth briefly mentioning here that the analysis, interpretation and discussion of all the results for the Punjabi language were carried out in relation to other languages, i.e. Urdu and English. The inclusion of responses relevant to Urdu and English is inevitable because, as explained earlier in chapter 2, Punjabi, Urdu and English are the three main languages that contribute to the sociolinguistic framework of the region. Detailed results and interpretations of the respondents' language use patterns in different domains are presented below.

4.3.1. Language use at home

Table 4.2 demonstrates the participants' language use patterns in the home domain. Overall results indicate that Punjabi is the predominant code at home, except when communicating with children where Urdu is the dominant code (mean = 3.53). The data does not indicate any use of English in the home domain. As shown above,

participants' language use at home with the same parent/guardian is almost identical to each parent's language use in this domain. With both grandparents also, Punjabi is the dominant language choice, with a mean value of 4.14 for grandfather and 4.33 for grandmother. With siblings, all respondents primarily use Punjabi (with brother/s = 3.29 and with sister/s = 3.28) and then Urdu with the mean value of 2.48 for brother/s and 2.59 for sister/s. Using a mixture of Urdu and Punjabi (i.e. 2.19 and 2.12 with brother and sister respectively) has also been reported by the respondents, which is lower than the monolingual language use.

Table 4.2 – Language use at Home (mean values)

5: Always (100%) 4: Mostly (75%) 3: Frequently (50%) 2: Occasionally (25%) 1: Never (0%)

	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language
Father/Guardian	1.97	**3.82**	1.14	1.83	1.20	1.14	1.04
Mother/ Guardian	1.85	**3.88**	1.08	1.92	1.17	1.14	1.04
Brother/s	2.48	**3.29**	1.39	2.19	1.45	1.43	1.06
Sister/s	2.59	**3.28**	1.38	2.12	1.49	1.40	1.07
Grandfather	1.64	**4.14**	1.06	1.54	1.19	1.14	1.05
Grandmother	1.45	**4.33**	1.04	1.51	1.16	1.12	1.05
children	**3.53**	2.33	1.44	1.90	1.49	1.23	1.00

The results regarding the dominant use of Punjabi in the home domain are to be expected, given the fact that Punjabi is the major language spoken in the villages of Punjab. However, the figures reporting the language use with children are noteworthy. When talking with children, the respondents primarily favour Urdu with a mean of 3.53, followed by Punjabi with an average value of 2.33. With these reported results and given the current linguistic situation of Punjab (as explained earlier in chapter 2) and Urdu being the *lingua franca* as well as the national language of the country, one can presume that a language shift process may have also initiated in these rural regions.

4.3.2. Language use in the neighbourhood

Table 4.3 presents the language use patterns of respondents in the neighbourhood. Punjabi is predominantly used by respondents when conversing with their neighbours

(mean = 3.45) and the shopkeepers (mean = 3.02) in the villages, followed by Urdu with an average value of 2.15 for the former and 2.51 for the latter. Furthermore, while communicating with friends in the neighbourhood, participants primarily favour Punjabi (average mean = 2.95) and then Urdu (average mean = 2.51).

Table 4.3 - Language use in the neighbourhood (mean values)

5: Always (100%) 4: Mostly (75%) 3: Frequently (50%) 2: Occasionally (25%) 1: Never (0%)

	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language
with friends	**2.51**	**2.95**	1.25	1.98	1.48	1.30	1.00
with neighbours	2.15	**3.45**	1.14	1.88	1.20	1.17	1.00
with shopkeepers	2.51	**3.02**	1.19	2.00	1.25	1.19	1.00

4.3.3. Language use at school

Table 4.4 reports the language use patterns of the respondents in the education domain. As the highlighted figures indicate, Urdu is the dominant language in this formal domain. Respondents use Urdu with schoolmates in the class (mean = 3.28) as well as with teachers inside (mean = 3.65) and outside (mean = 3.66) the class. Participants also reported occasional use of Punjabi (mean = 2.03) or a mixture of Urdu and Punjabi (mean = 2.19) with schoolmates outside the class, i.e. in a rather informal setting within the school premises.

Table 4.4 - Language use at school (mean values)

5: Always (100%) 4: Mostly (75%) 3: Frequently (50%) 2: Occasionally (25%) 1: Never (0%)

	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language
school mates in class	**3.28**	1.92	1.44	1.89	1.66	1.30	1.00
school mates outside class	**2.95**	**2.03**	1.47	**2.19**	1.38	1.24	1.00
Teachers inside the class	**3.65**	1.56	1.52	1.72	1.71	1.20	1.00
Teachers outside the class	**3.66**	1.57	1.52	1.63	1.66	1.19	1.00

The predominant use of Urdu was expected because Urdu is the medium of education in the public schools of Punjab and because, as explained earlier in chapter 2, Punjabi is not the accepted language code in the educational settings in Punjab. Furthermore, there is no indication of English language usage in the entire education domain which means that English is not a frequently spoken language in the schools of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages.

4.3.4. Language use at work

Table 4.5 delineates the reported language use of the respondents in the work domain (i.e. in a formal setting). Participants stated that Urdu is their dominant language while conversing with boss/manager (mean = 3.41). With subordinates, Urdu is the most frequently spoken language (mean = 2.95), followed by Punjabi (2.38) and then a mixture of both Urdu and Punjabi (mean = 2.02). While communicating with colleagues, a similar pattern was reported with Urdu being the most frequently spoken language (mean = 2.75) followed by Punjabi (mean = 2.43) and then code-mixing of Urdu and Punjabi (mean = 2.38). Despite English being the official language of Pakistan, the results do not indicate the use of the English language in the work domain.

Table 4.5 - Language use at work (mean values)

5: Always (100%) 4: Mostly (75%) 3: Frequently (50%) 2: Occasionally (25%) 1: Never (0%)

	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language
Boss/manager	**3.41**	1.79	1.46	1.93	1.66	1.30	1.00
subordinates	**2.95**	**2.38**	1.41	**2.02**	1.52	1.30	1.00
colleagues	**2.75**	**2.43**	1.41	**2.38**	1.52	1.41	1.00

4.3.5. Overall results and interpretation

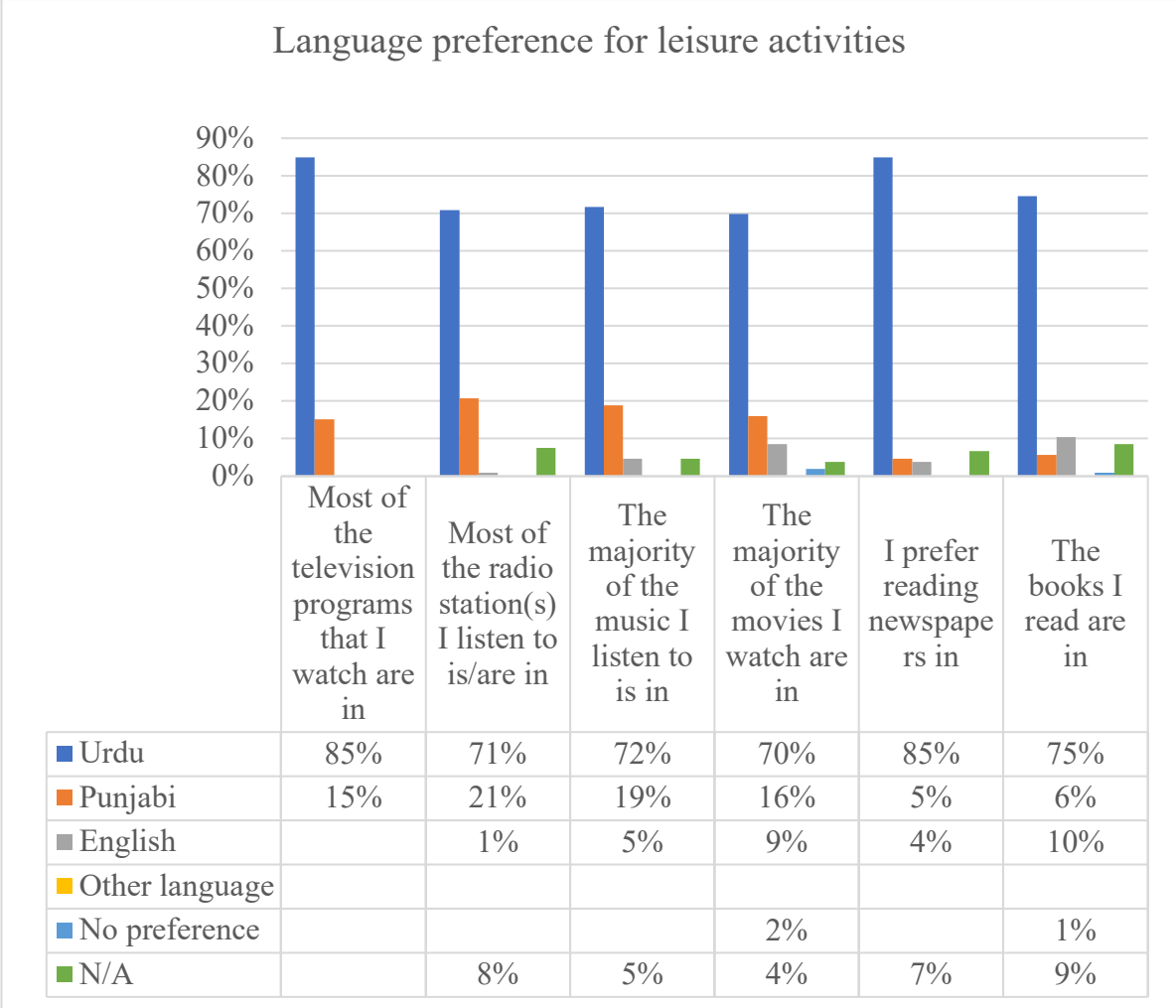
The above section provided information on the distribution of domains of Punjabi, Urdu and English in the linguistic setting of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages. It is apparent from Table 4.1 and Table 4.2, that Punjabi is the preferred language in the home and neighbourhood domains. The most striking result to emerge from the above data is the lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi. As explained in Chapter 2, the intergenerational transmission of language is significant for the maintenance of a language. However, as can be seen above, the figures for Punjabi language use in the home domain are lower when children are the interlocutors. One could assume

from this result that the intergenerational transmission of Punjabi is decreasing, which could subsequently lead to a language shift from Punjabi to Urdu. Furthermore, the dominant language at schools and offices is Urdu. The use of English in these domains is infrequent. These results were likely, given the fact that most of the schools in villages are public, where the medium of instruction is Urdu. The results also highlight the clear distinction between the use of language in formal and informal settings. Urdu seems to be the dominant language code in formal settings and Punjabi in informal settings.

4.4. Language preference for leisure activities

The following section gives an account of the language choices of the respondents for leisure activities (Question 3). Participants seem to like Urdu TV programs, radio stations, movies and music. They also prefer reading newspapers and books in Urdu. It is noticeable, therefore, that although the residents of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages use Punjabi mostly in their speech, they favour Urdu more as a language of entertainment.

Figure 4.1 represents the language preferences of respondents for leisure activities. The bar chart displays that Urdu is the preferred language of the participants in this domain. The majority of the participants (84%) watch television programs in Urdu, and the rest of them (15%) watch television programs in Punjabi. Similarly, 70% of the respondents listen to Urdu radio stations, and only 20% listen to Punjabi radio stations. A similar pattern of results was obtained in terms of language preferences for music and movies. The majority of the participants prefer Urdu music and movies (71% and 69% respectively), whereas only 18% and 16%, respectively, prefer Punjabi music and movies. Out of the total 106 participants, 84% prefer to read Urdu newspapers, and 6.6% indicated that the question was not applicable in their case. Only 4.7% of the participants prefer reading newspapers in Punjabi. Similarly, 74% prefer to read Urdu books, and 10.4% prefer reading books in English. Only 5.7% of the participants expressed their interest in reading Punjabi books. Detailed results are provided in the form of a clustered bar chart below:



	Most of the television programs that I watch are in	Most of the radio station(s) I listen to is/are in	The majority of the music I listen to is in	The majority of the movies I watch are in	I prefer reading newspapers in	The books I read are in
Urdu	85%	71%	72%	70%	85%	75%
Punjabi	15%	21%	19%	16%	5%	6%
English		1%	5%	9%	4%	10%
Other language						
No preference				2%		1%
N/A		8%	5%	4%	7%	9%

Figure 4.1

These results are interesting as the dominant language use reported in all the informal domains (discussed in the above section 4.3) was Punjabi. Even though participants reported Punjabi as their everyday language, they still prefer to watch Urdu movies and listen to Urdu music and radio. This was likely, given the fact that the availability of good content in Punjabi is minuscule and, as explained earlier in chapter 2, Punjabi is not promoted in print and electronic media. Similarly, Urdu is the language choice for reading books and newspapers, probably because of the low reading and writing proficiency levels of participants in Punjabi, as discussed below in section 4.6. It could also be due to inadequate/insufficient education in Punjabi.

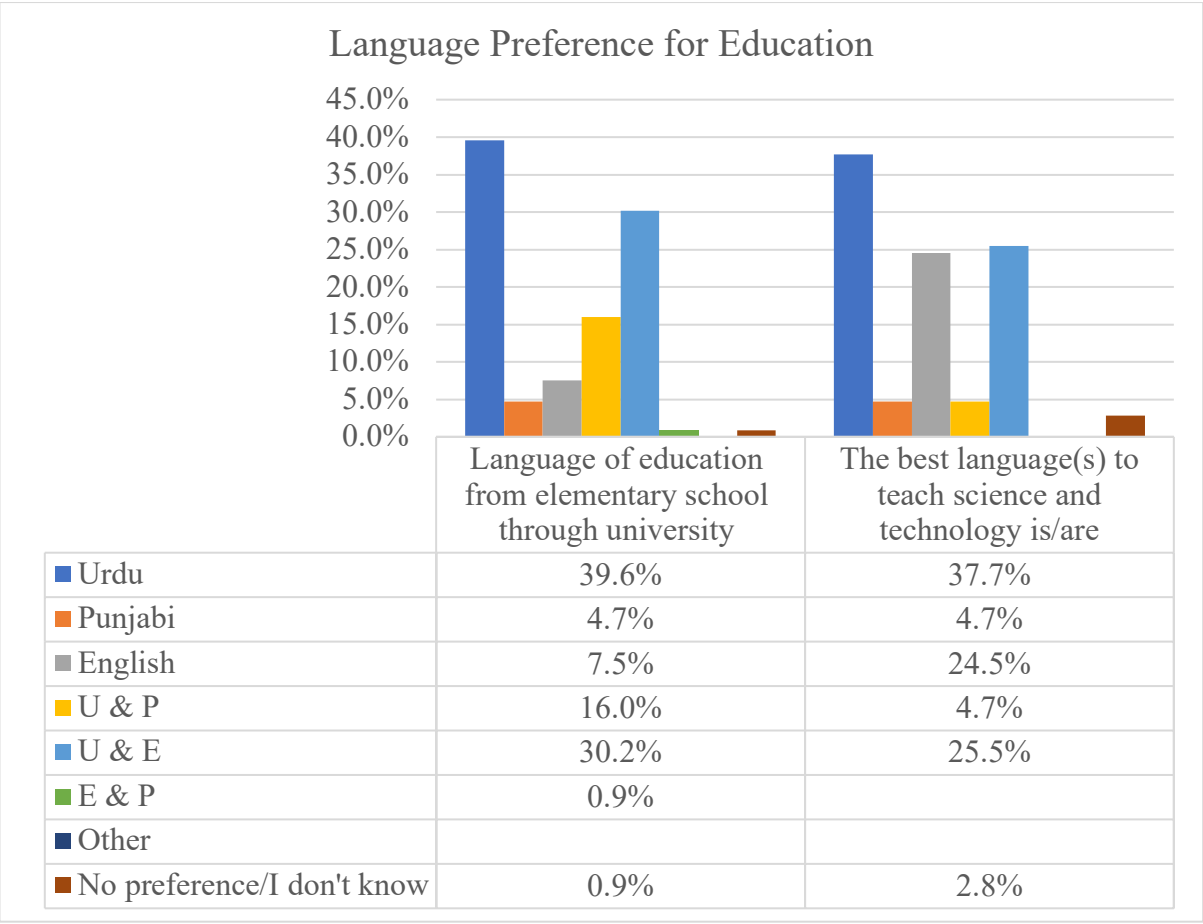
4.5. Attitudinal orientations and stances towards the three languages spoken in Pakistan

This section presents the attitudinal orientations and stances of the participants towards the three languages (Punjabi, Urdu and English) spoken in Punjab. All items

in the relevant section (Question 4 and 5) of the questionnaire were general i.e. participants were generally asked about their language preferences, (except for four items, which were specifically about Punjabi speakers - see Figure 4.11). The purpose of including these general items was to give participants the freedom to choose between any of the three languages. Overall results indicate that the participants' attitudes are primarily favourable to Urdu and then English, in questions related to livelihood, personal and professional development, science and technology, education, language preference for children and official language preferences. Punjabi is the preferred language of the respondents when at home, while joking and swearing and as a dominant street language. As stated earlier, the findings have been grouped into major themes for ease of presentation. Following are the detailed results of each question along with their interpretations:

4.5.1. Language and Education/ Language Preference in the Education Domain

Figure 4.2 demonstrates that the majority of the participants (39%) favour Urdu as a medium of education from elementary to university level and 30% favour a mixture of Urdu and English. Similarly, 37% of the respondents believe that the best language to teach science and technology is Urdu, and 25% believe that a mixture of Urdu and English is best for teaching science and technology. A very low percentage of the respondents (4.7%) favour Punjabi for educational purposes.



	Language of education from elementary school through university	The best language(s) to teach science and technology is/are
Urdu	39.6%	37.7%
Punjabi	4.7%	4.7%
English	7.5%	24.5%
U & P	16.0%	4.7%
U & E	30.2%	25.5%
E & P	0.9%	
Other		
No preference/I don't know	0.9%	2.8%

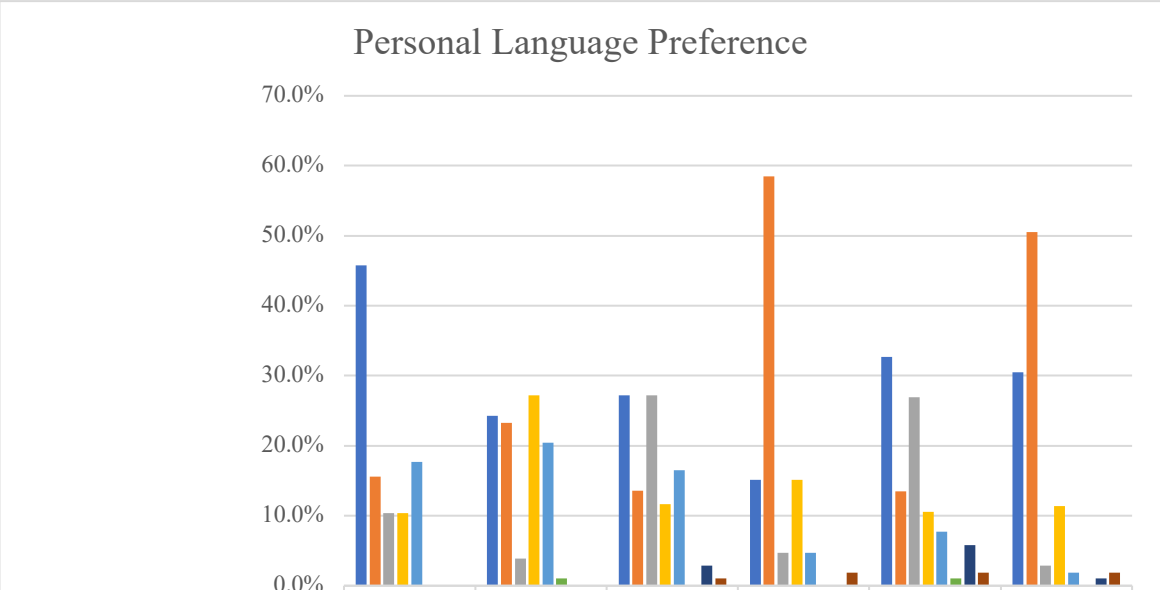
Figure 4.2

These results suggest that participants are willing to maintain the status of Urdu as being the language of education and a few of them are also in favour of English. There is a strong connection between Urdu and education, probably because Urdu has always been the medium of education in Punjab. Also, as stated earlier, since Punjabi is not an accepted code in schools, it is no longer associated with education (if it ever was). But interestingly, when participants were asked explicitly about education in Punjabi (see section 4.7.2), their response was favourable to Punjabi. This shows that there is a difference in the covert and overt attitudes of participants towards Punjabi.

4.5.2. Personal language preference

Figure 4.3 presents personal language choices of the participants. The majority of them (45%) use Urdu while writing text messages to their friends, whereas only 15% use Punjabi for text messaging. The languages respondents personally prefer are both Urdu and Punjabi (27%). Moreover, an equal percentage of participants (27%) are willing to spend extra time and money to learn both Urdu and English. Similarly, 32% said that if they were given a chance to learn only one language in their lives, they

would choose Urdu and 26% reported that they would choose English, whereas in both questions only 13% expressed interest in learning Punjabi. Furthermore, when respondents were asked which language they use to joke and when they swear, quite interestingly, 58% of the respondents reported using Punjabi when they joke around, and 50% said that they swear in Punjabi.



	When I text message my friends, I use	The language(s) I prefer is/are	I am willing to spend extra time and more money to learn	When I joke, I use	If I had been given the chance to learn only one language in my life, I would have chosen	When I swear I use
Urdu	45.8%	24.3%	27.2%	15.1%	32.7%	30.5%
Punjabi	15.6%	23.3%	13.6%	58.5%	13.5%	50.5%
English	10.4%	3.9%	27.2%	4.7%	26.9%	2.9%
U & P	10.4%	27.2%	11.7%	15.1%	10.6%	11.4%
U & E	17.7%	20.4%	16.5%	4.7%	7.7%	1.9%
E& P		1.0%			1.0%	
Other language			2.9%		5.8%	1.0%
No preference/I don't know			1.0%	1.9%	1.9%	1.9%

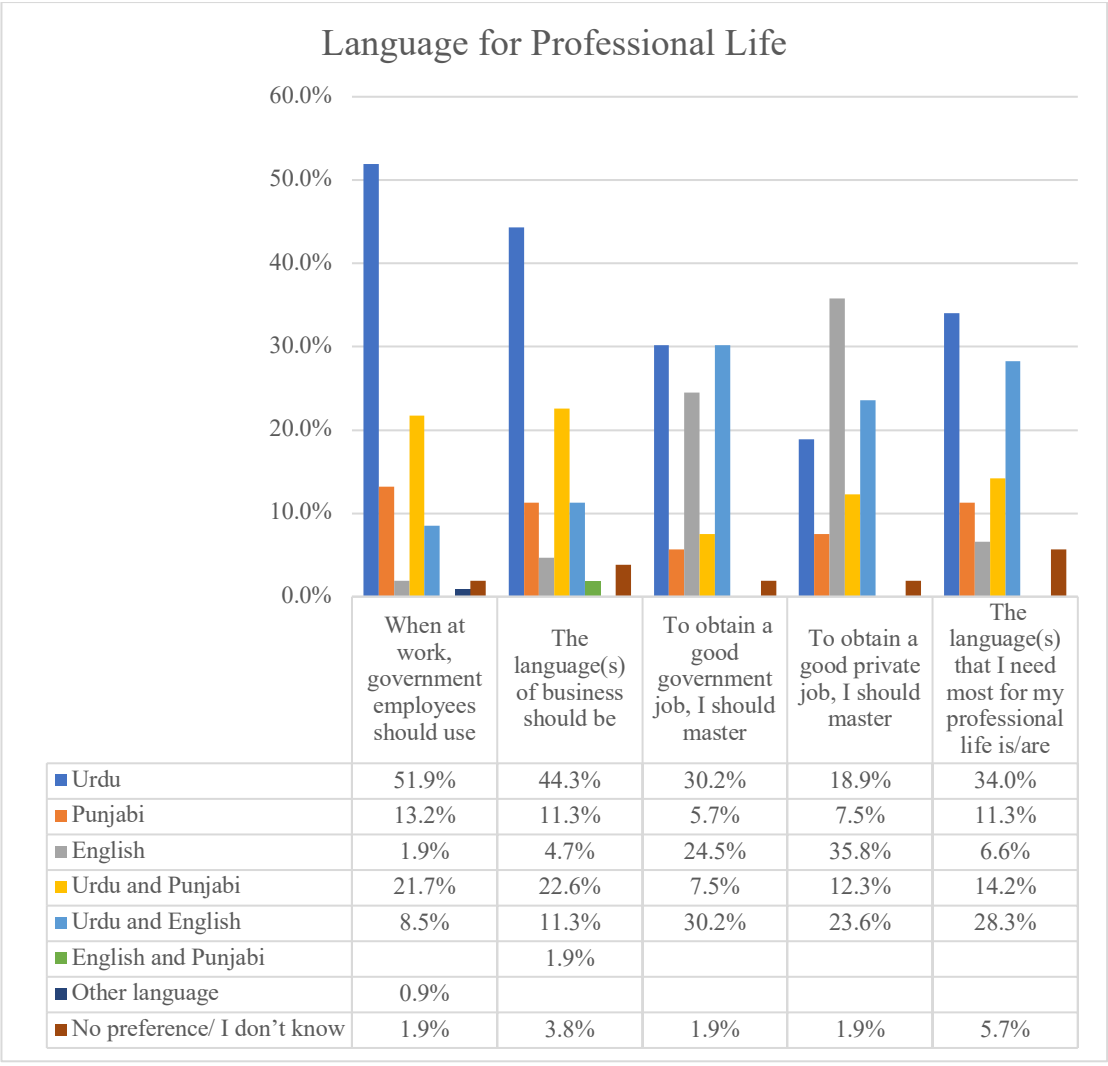
Figure 4.3

As can be seen in the bar charts, the responses are overall mixed in this category. The respondents favour Urdu generally and want to improve their skills in it along with English. However, when it comes to an informal use of the language (e.g. joking and swearing), their language of choice is Punjabi. These results corroborate the earlier discussion regarding participants' language preferences in formal and informal settings. The results also confirm the association of Urdu with

education/formal settings and the association of Punjabi with informal settings. It is also worth noticing here that the primary personal language choice reported by participants is a mixture of Urdu and Punjabi. The second choice is Urdu alone and, after that, Punjabi. From these closely related figures, it could be inferred that, for this particular question, participants gave somewhat equal importance to Punjabi and Urdu. This is interesting considering other results presented in sections 4.4 and 4.5 where participants' attitudes are more inclined towards Urdu (other than in informal use).

4.5.3. Language for professional life and the scope of Punjabi

Figure 4.4 reports participants' language choices for professional life. 51% of the respondents think that government employees should use Urdu at work and 21% think that they should use a mixture of Urdu and Punjabi. Only 13% of the respondents think that Punjabi should be used by government employees at work. Similarly, 44% of the participants are of the view that the language of business should be Urdu and for 22% of them, it should be a mixture of both Urdu and Punjabi; whereas, only 11% think that the language of business should be Punjabi. When participants were asked about the language they consider important to obtain a good government job, 30% favoured Urdu, and the same percentage favoured both Urdu and English. Only 5.7% reported that they should master Punjabi to obtain a good government job. On the other hand, the majority of the participants (35%) think that they should master English to obtain a good job in private sector and 23% believe that they should master both English and Urdu; whereas only 7.5% think that they should master Punjabi. Similarly, the majority of the respondents (34%) consider Urdu important for their professional life and 28% consider both Urdu and English significant for their professional carrier. Only, 11% considered Punjabi a significant language for professional use.



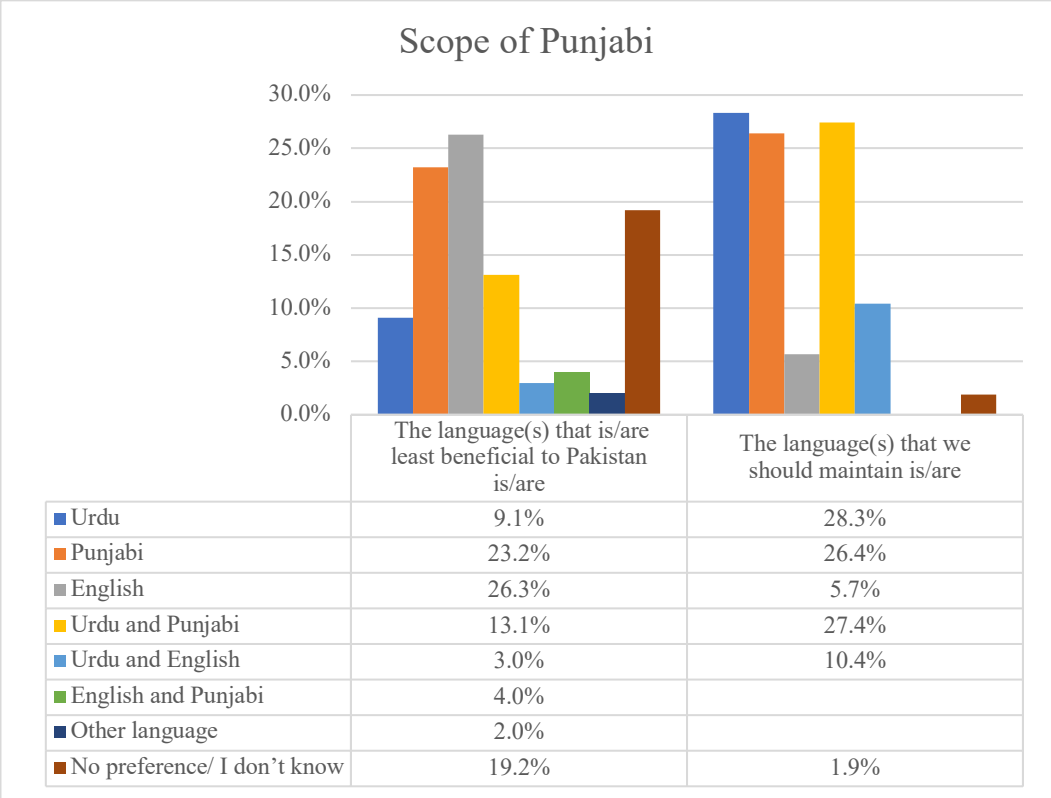
	When at work, government employees should use	The language(s) of business should be	To obtain a good government job, I should master	To obtain a good private job, I should master	The language(s) that I need most for my professional life is/are
Urdu	51.9%	44.3%	30.2%	18.9%	34.0%
Punjabi	13.2%	11.3%	5.7%	7.5%	11.3%
English	1.9%	4.7%	24.5%	35.8%	6.6%
Urdu and Punjabi	21.7%	22.6%	7.5%	12.3%	14.2%
Urdu and English	8.5%	11.3%	30.2%	23.6%	28.3%
English and Punjabi		1.9%			
Other language	0.9%				
No preference/ I don't know	1.9%	3.8%	1.9%	1.9%	5.7%

Figure 4.4

The findings indicate that the language choice of the respondents for professional life is primarily Urdu and then English. Punjabi is not considered significant in this domain. The underlying reason behind these unfavourable results for Punjabi could be the current language policies of Pakistan. English and, recently, Urdu are the two official languages of Pakistan. Punjabi is the neglected language in this sector. Therefore, in order to excel in the job market, participants are compelled to learn Urdu and English. Furthermore, according to the participants, there is a different language requirement in public and private job sectors (i.e. Urdu in government sectors and English in private sectors). This situation is interestingly similar to the education domain, where there is a segregation between government and private schools and the notion that the government schools are Urdu medium and private schools are English medium.

4.5.3.1. Scope of Punjabi

In contradiction to the above results, 26% of participants believe that English is the least beneficial language to Pakistan and 23% consider Punjabi to be the least beneficial language. Furthermore, when participants were asked about their opinion regarding which language should be maintained, 28% were of the view that the Urdu should be maintained. 27% thought that Urdu and Punjabi should both be maintained and according to 26% of the respondents Punjabi should be maintained.



	The language(s) that is/are least beneficial to Pakistan is/are	The language(s) that we should maintain is/are
Urdu	9.1%	28.3%
Punjabi	23.2%	26.4%
English	26.3%	5.7%
Urdu and Punjabi	13.1%	27.4%
Urdu and English	3.0%	10.4%
English and Punjabi	4.0%	
Other language	2.0%	
No preference/ I don't know	19.2%	1.9%

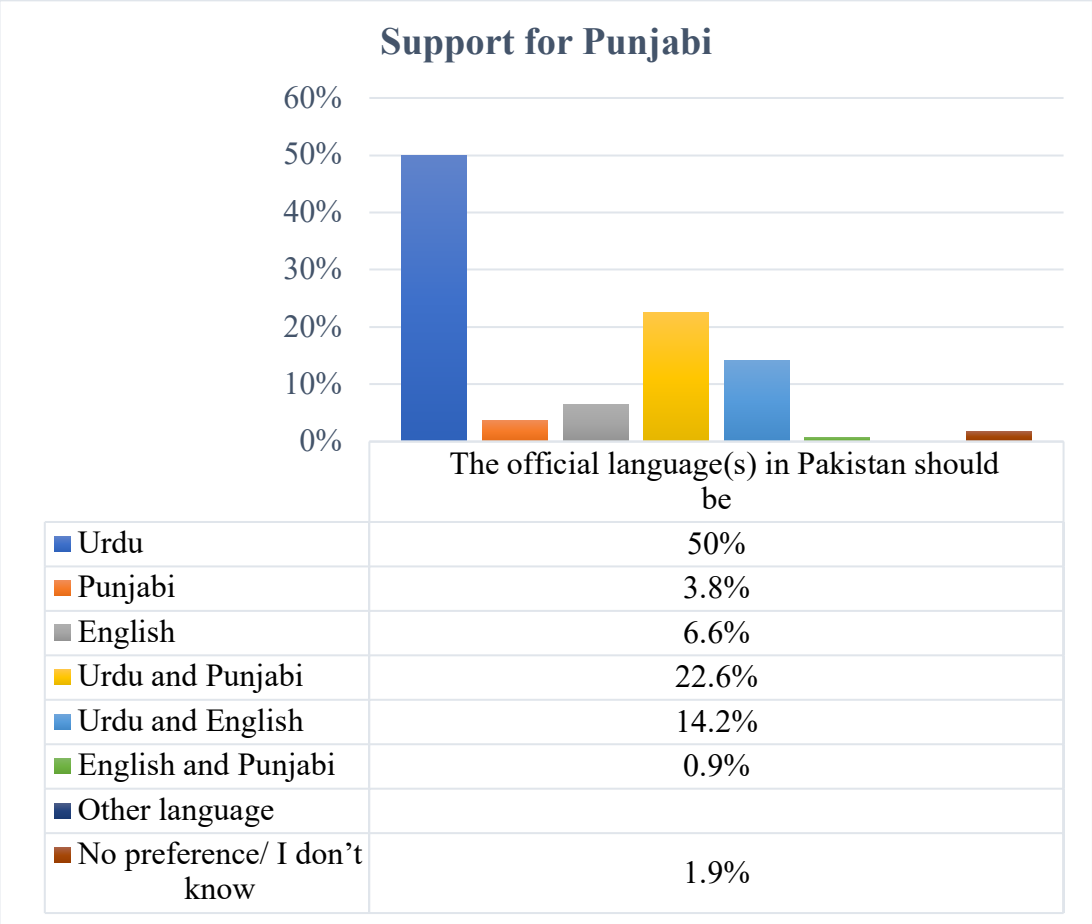
Figure 4.5

There is a discrepancy in these results. We have seen above that participants believe that English is important for their professional life and the majority of them said that they should master English to obtain a good job in private sectors of the country. Despite this, most of them have claimed that English is the least beneficial language to Pakistan. On the one hand, they think that Punjabi is the second least beneficial language to Pakistan, which corroborates the other results obtained for the professional language domain, i.e. they do not think that Punjabi is important for professional life, they prefer Urdu and English to Punjabi and they do not use Punjabi in formal situations like schools, offices etc. They also clearly state, as reported in the previous section, that the languages they need for professional life are both Urdu and

English. On the other hand, the participants also indicated that they want to maintain Punjabi along with Urdu. It could be because they associate the Punjabi language with their identity (see section 4.5.6 and 4.7.1). Even though they consider Punjabi significant for the maintenance of their identity, they do not appreciate its significance in their professional life. (This will be discussed further in relation to the qualitative findings in the next chapter.)

4.5.4. Support for Punjabi

Figure 4.6 describes the respondents' official language preference. The majority (50%) are of the view that Urdu should be the official language of Pakistan. 22% think that both Urdu and Punjabi should be given the official status and only 14% opted for both Urdu and English.



	The official language(s) in Pakistan should be
Urdu	50%
Punjabi	3.8%
English	6.6%
Urdu and Punjabi	22.6%
Urdu and English	14.2%
English and Punjabi	0.9%
Other language	
No preference/ I don't know	1.9%

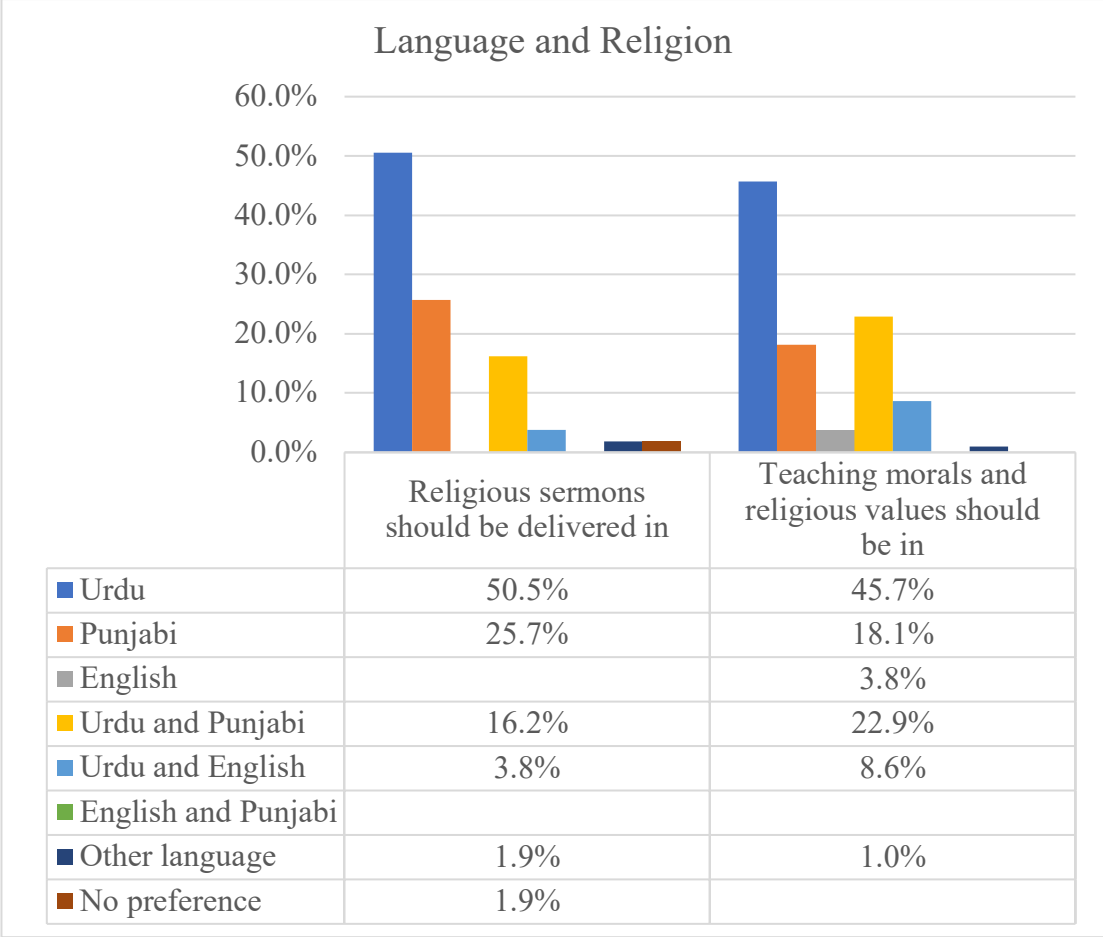
Figure 4.6

Participants appear to favour only Urdu for official status in the country, indicating strong national ties with the Urdu language. This is not surprising, considering the previous results where participants have favoured Urdu in formal domains. However, official status for Punjabi was not advocated. This could be

because there is no instrumental motivation. They do not have a practical reason to learn this language formally. As mentioned above, they do not think that Punjabi should be taught in schools nor do they want Punjabi to be the language of business or offices. Judging from the participants' favourable responses towards Urdu, it could additionally be argued that they have both instrumental and integrative motivation for favouring Urdu. Residents of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages want their kids to speak and learn Urdu because they want them to integrate and adopt a more 'sophisticated' and 'well-mannered culture' through the use of Urdu language. Additionally, they all have practical reasons to support Urdu because according to them, they need Urdu for advancement in their professional life. So, they all have an instrumental motivation as well. (This positive inclination towards Urdu and the reasons for the lack of instrumental and integrated motivation for Punjabi is discussed in detail in the next chapter.)

4.5.5. Language and religion/ language preference for religious activities

Figure 4.7 illustrates the participants' language choice for religious sermons and for teaching moral and religious values. 50% of respondents are of the view that the religious sermons should be delivered in Urdu, whereas 25% chose Punjabi. 16% of the respondents chose both Urdu and Punjabi. Furthermore, 45% of the respondents prefer Urdu for teaching moral and religious values and, according to 22% of them, teaching these values should be taught both in Urdu and Punjabi, whereas only 18% have opted for Punjabi.



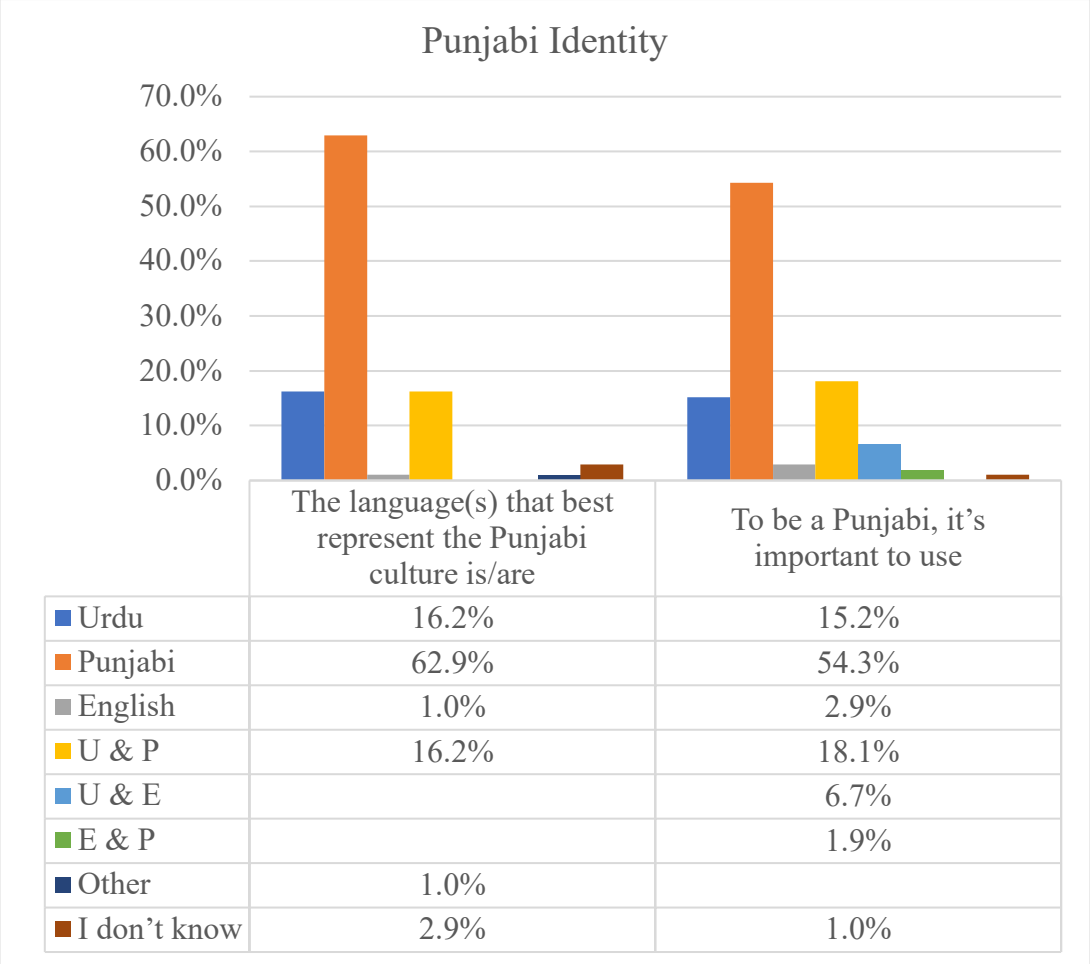
	Religious sermons should be delivered in	Teaching morals and religious values should be in
Urdu	50.5%	45.7%
Punjabi	25.7%	18.1%
English		3.8%
Urdu and Punjabi	16.2%	22.9%
Urdu and English	3.8%	8.6%
English and Punjabi		
Other language	1.9%	1.0%
No preference	1.9%	

Figure 4.7

These figures indicate positive responses for Urdu. Participants do not associate Punjabi with their religion (i.e. Islam). Even though the majority claimed Punjabi to be their mother-tongue (see chapter 3, section 3.5.5) and their preferred language for everyday language use, they still prefer another language (Urdu) for religious activities. From this, it can be inferred that different languages have different roles/functions in these two villages, i.e. Punjabi for informal use, Urdu for formal use and religious activities and English for academic purposes.

4.5.6. Punjabi Identity

Figures in the following bar chart represent favourable responses towards Punjabi. 62% of the participants believe that Punjabi is the best language to represent Punjabi culture. Similarly, the majority of them (54%) reported that, being Punjabi, it is important to use the Punjabi language. It could be inferred from these highly favourable responses towards Punjabi that participants view the Punjabi language as a significant part of the Punjabi culture and identity.

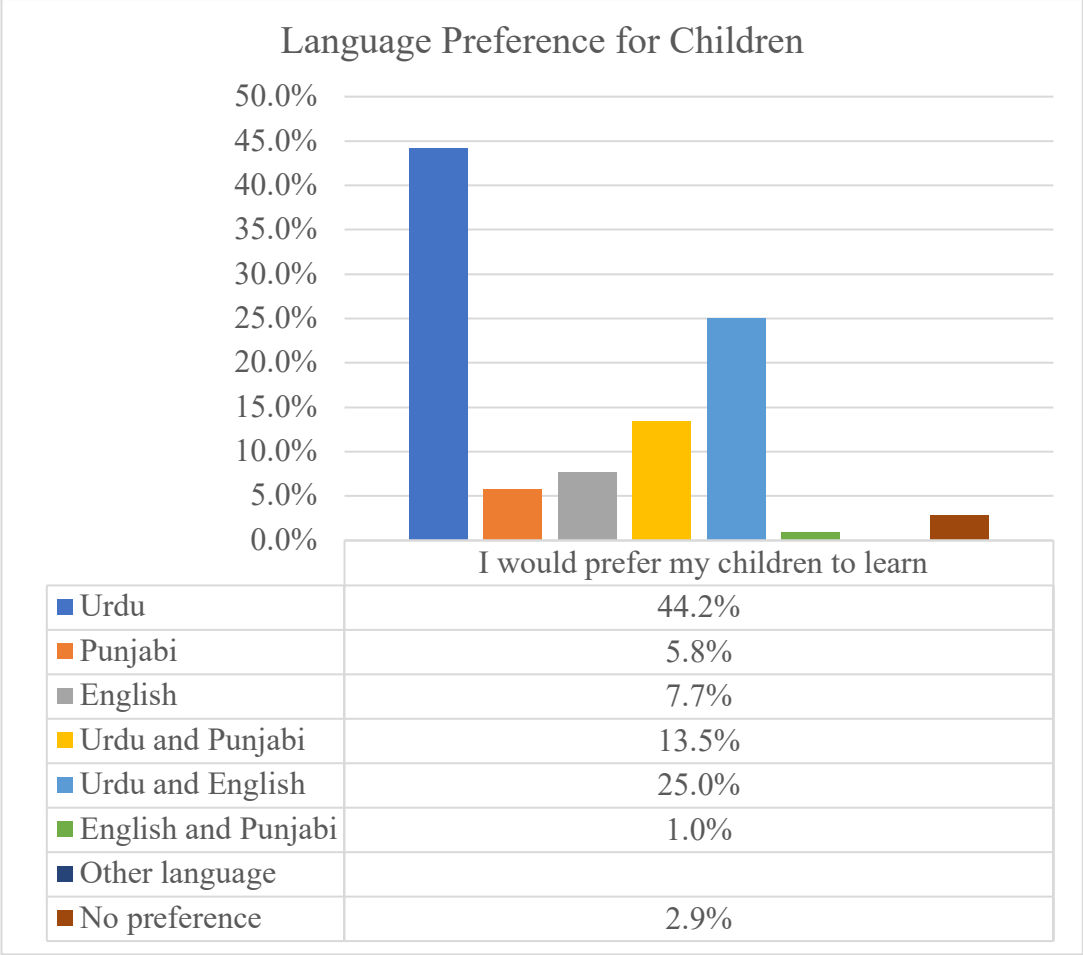


	The language(s) that best represent the Punjabi culture is/are	To be a Punjabi, it's important to use
Urdu	16.2%	15.2%
Punjabi	62.9%	54.3%
English	1.0%	2.9%
U & P	16.2%	18.1%
U & E		6.7%
E & P		1.9%
Other	1.0%	
I don't know	2.9%	1.0%

Figure 4.8

4.5.7. Language Preference for Children

When respondents were asked about their language preference for their children, the majority of them (44%) indicated a preference for Urdu and 25% of them reported a preference for both Urdu and English. It is worth noticing here that only 5% of the participants preferred Punjabi for their children. A language shift from Punjabi to Urdu even in rural regions of Punjab can be detected from these results and the results reported in section 4.3.1.

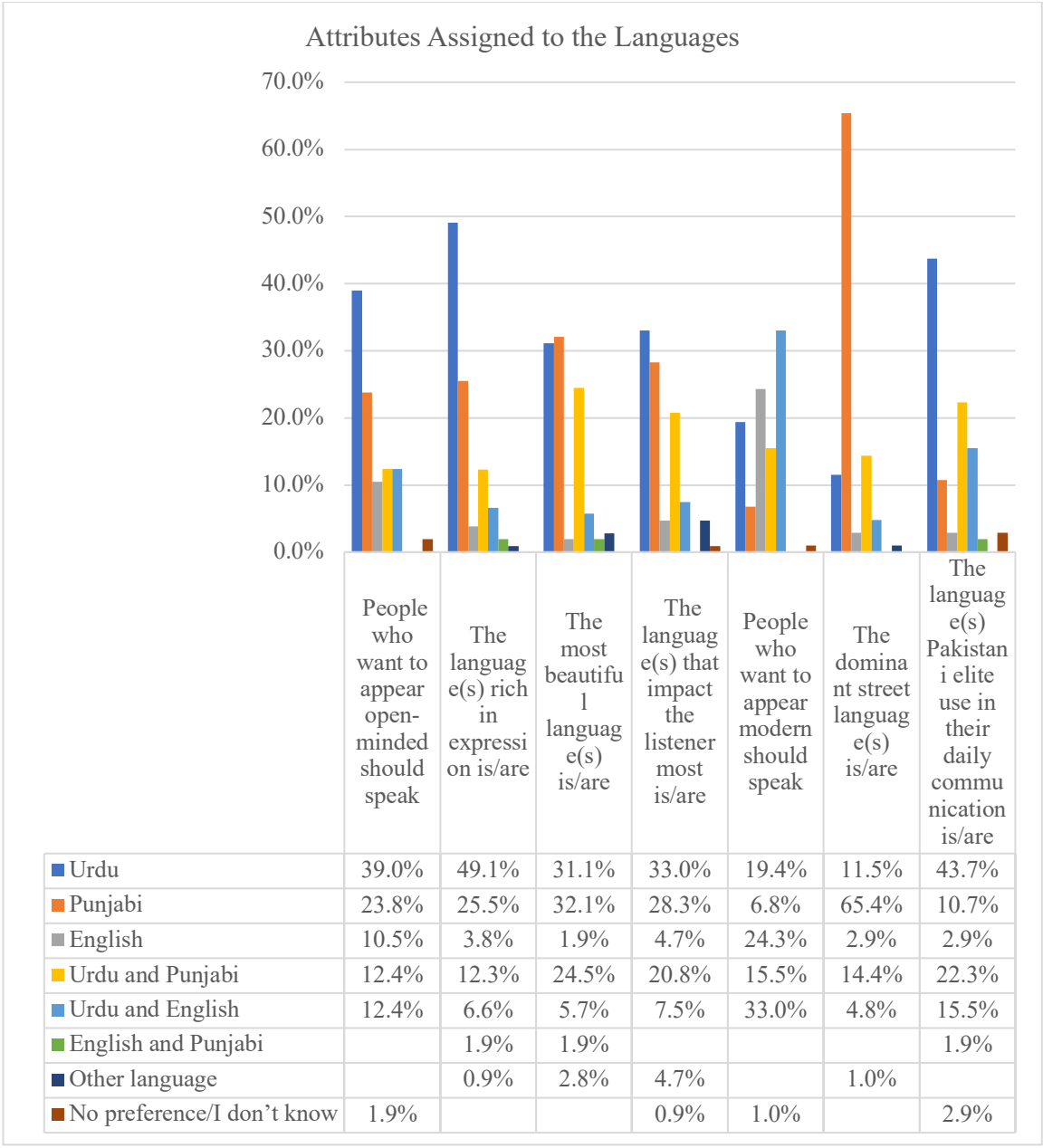


	I would prefer my children to learn
Urdu	44.2%
Punjabi	5.8%
English	7.7%
Urdu and Punjabi	13.5%
Urdu and English	25.0%
English and Punjabi	1.0%
Other language	
No preference	2.9%

Figure 4.9

4.5.8. Attributes assigned to Punjabi, Urdu and English

Clustered bar charts in figure 4.10 provide an overview of the attributes participants assigned to Punjabi, Urdu and English. Participants showed more favourable attitudes towards Urdu for the majority of the statements. 39% of the respondents are of the view that open-minded people should speak Urdu and 23% reported that they should speak Punjabi. Similarly, the majority think that Urdu is the most expressive (49%) and impactful language (33%) as well as the language of the elite class (43%). According to 33% of them, people who want to appear modern should speak both Urdu and English, whereas 24% favour English only. With the very minimal difference in the percentage, the majority of the participants (32%) have reported Punjabi to be the most beautiful language whilst 31% think that Urdu is the most beautiful language. Also, 24% have opted for both Urdu and Punjabi as the most beautiful languages. When it comes to the dominant street language, the vast majority of the respondents (65%) chose Punjabi.

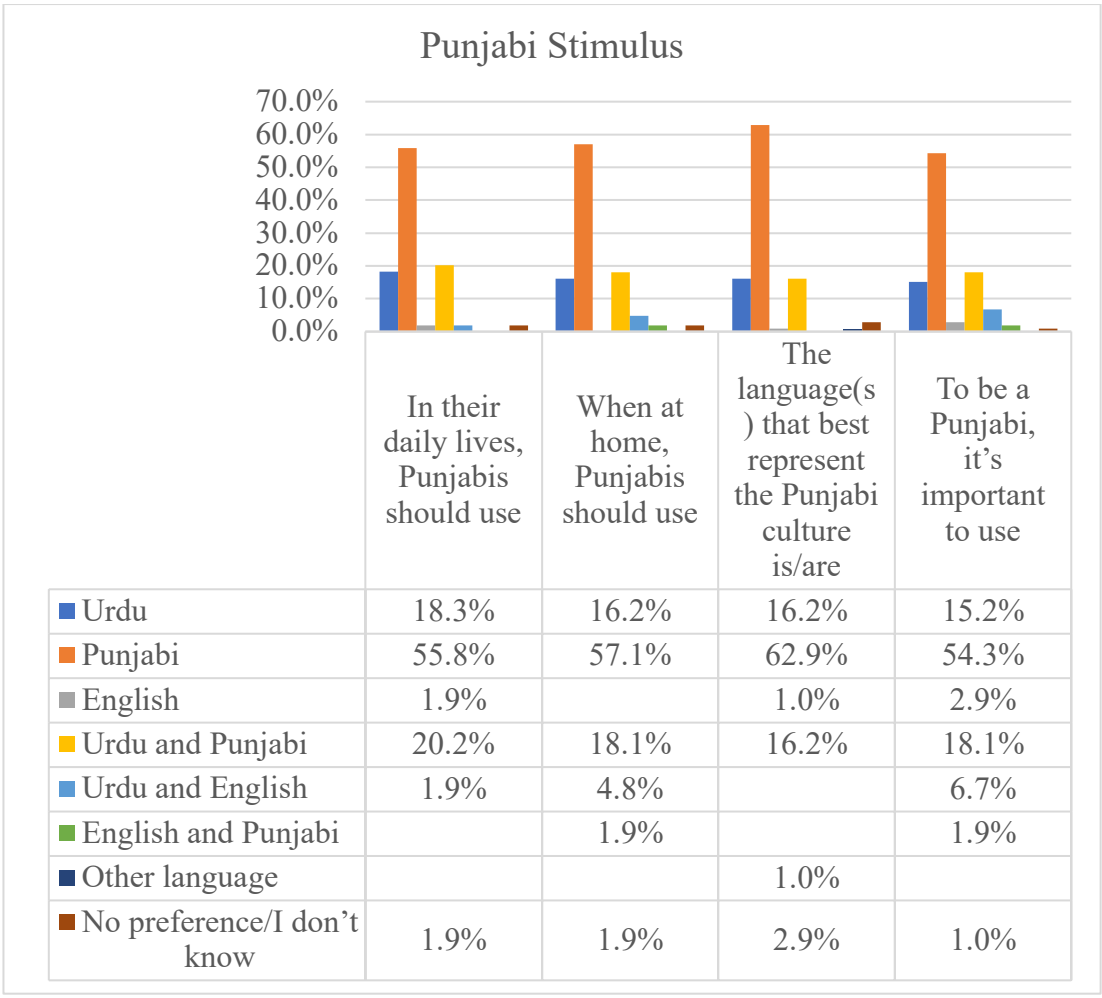


	People who want to appear open-minded should speak	The language(s) rich in expression is/are	The most beautiful language(s) is/are	The language(s) that impact the listener most is/are	People who want to appear modern should speak	The dominant street language(s) is/are	The language(s) Pakistani elite use in their daily communication is/are
Urdu	39.0%	49.1%	31.1%	33.0%	19.4%	11.5%	43.7%
Punjabi	23.8%	25.5%	32.1%	28.3%	6.8%	65.4%	10.7%
English	10.5%	3.8%	1.9%	4.7%	24.3%	2.9%	2.9%
Urdu and Punjabi	12.4%	12.3%	24.5%	20.8%	15.5%	14.4%	22.3%
Urdu and English	12.4%	6.6%	5.7%	7.5%	33.0%	4.8%	15.5%
English and Punjabi		1.9%	1.9%				1.9%
Other language		0.9%	2.8%	4.7%		1.0%	
No preference/I don't know	1.9%			0.9%	1.0%		2.9%

Figure 4.10

4.5.9. Punjabi stimulus

The clustered bar chart in figure 4.11 illustrates the participants' positive attitudes towards the Punjabi language. For 55% of the participants, Punjabis should use Punjabi in their daily lives. Similarly, 57% are of the view that Punjabis should use Punjabi at home. Also, as discussed earlier, the majority (62%) believe that the language that best represents Punjabi culture is Punjabi and 54% stated that, being a Punjabi, it is important to use the Punjabi language.



	In their daily lives, Punjabis should use	When at home, Punjabis should use	The language(s) that best represent the Punjabi culture is/are	To be a Punjabi, it's important to use
Urdu	18.3%	16.2%	16.2%	15.2%
Punjabi	55.8%	57.1%	62.9%	54.3%
English	1.9%		1.0%	2.9%
Urdu and Punjabi	20.2%	18.1%	16.2%	18.1%
Urdu and English	1.9%	4.8%		6.7%
English and Punjabi		1.9%		1.9%
Other language			1.0%	
No preference/I don't know	1.9%	1.9%	2.9%	1.0%

Figure 4.11

In comparison to the results of all other questions in this section, where participants' attitudes were more favourable towards Urdu, the majority of the respondents expressed a preference for Punjabi in this section of the questionnaire. From this, it could be argued that there is a difference in the explicit and implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi. When they responded to specific statements regarding Punjabi, they reported their explicit attitudes which are positive towards Punjabi. However, when they responded to general statements regarding their language preferences (see detailed discussion in the following section), they reported their implicit attitudes which were primarily in favour of Urdu and then English and unfavourable towards Punjabi.

4.5.10. Overall analysis and interpretation

The results obtained from the analysis of this section have highlighted favourable attitudes towards Urdu and English. It is also worth noticing that when the word 'Punjabi' was used in the question statements (see section 4.5.9), i.e. when explicit

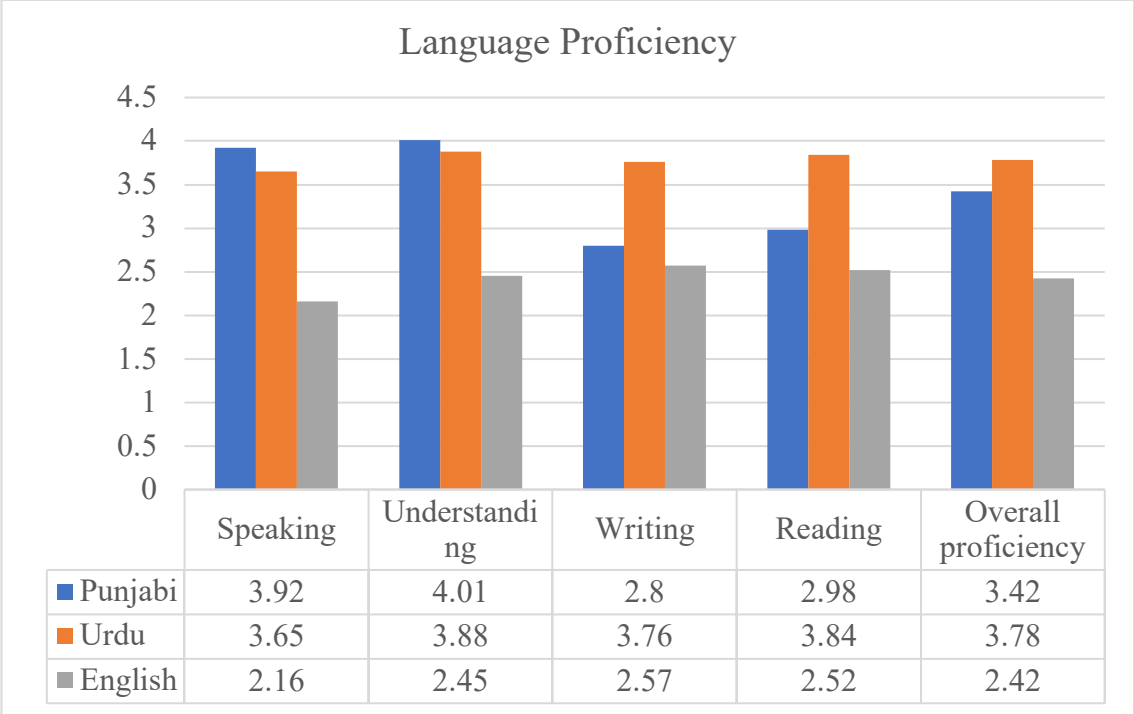
questions about Punjabi were asked, automatically the inclination of the participants shifted towards the Punjabi language. For instance, in statements like 'In their daily lives, **Punjabis** should use', 'When at home, **Punjabis** should use', 'The language(s) that best represent the **Punjabi** culture is/are' and 'To be a **Punjabi**, it's important to use' majority of the participants preferred Punjabi to Urdu or English. A similar pattern of results also emerged during the analysis of section D of the questionnaire when participants were explicitly asked about the Punjabi language. Here also their responses were favourable towards Punjabi, thereby indicating very positive explicit attitudes (see section 4.7 below). However, in all other questions, where participants were not given stimulus regarding the Punjabi language or where they were not explicitly asked about Punjabi, they preferred either Urdu or the English language for the majority of the statements, indicating more favourable attitudes towards Urdu or English and unfavourable implicit attitudes towards Punjabi. Therefore, it could be inferred from these results that the explicit and implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi are different/dissimilar. This argument will be further supported with reference to the findings from the analysis presented in section 4.7, which comprised of questions/items directly related/relevant to Punjabi to tap participants' explicit attitudes towards Punjabi.

4.6. Self-reported Language proficiency

This section of the chapter discusses the self-reported language proficiencies of the participants. Participants reported their proficiencies in Punjabi, Urdu and English on a 5-point Likert scale with 5 indicating fluency in the skill and 1 indicating no fluency at all (i.e. 5: I speak/understand/read/write fluently, 4: I speak/understand/read/write very well, 3: I speak/understand/read/write well, 2: I speak/understand/read/write a little and 1: I don't speak/understand/read/write at all).

The descriptive statistics pertaining to this question are presented in Figure 4.12, which illustrates the proficiency of the respondents in Punjabi, Urdu and English languages. Out of the three languages, participants indicated overall high proficiency in Urdu (mean value = 3.78). However, considering the mean value of each language skill, respondents' self-reported speaking and understanding skills in Punjabi (mean value = 3.92 and 4.01 respectively) are higher than the speaking and understanding skills in Urdu (mean value = 3.65 and 3.88 respectively). On the contrary, the writing and reading skills in Punjabi are significantly low with a mean value of 2.8 and 2.9

respectively, in comparison to the writing and reading skills in Urdu (with mean value = 3.76 and 3.84 respectively). With regard to English language, participants reported below average proficiency in all of the four skills.



	Speaking	Understanding	Writing	Reading	Overall proficiency
Punjabi	3.92	4.01	2.8	2.98	3.42
Urdu	3.65	3.88	3.76	3.84	3.78
English	2.16	2.45	2.57	2.52	2.42

Figure 4.12

These results were likely given the fact that formal education in Punjabi is limited and, as explained in previous chapters, the medium of instruction in almost every educational institute in Punjab is either Urdu or English. Punjabi is only offered as an optional subject at an intermediate or graduate level in the educational institutes of Punjab. Therefore, low proficiency levels in writing and reading skills in Punjabi were expected. The results indicating low proficiency in English could be explained firstly by the fact that the majority of the participants did not have a university education. They were not engaged in academic activities, so they were not getting the exposure to the language. Secondly, this could be explained by the fact that this study was conducted in villages where Punjabi is the frequently spoken language and there is a lack of opportunity to acquire English through educational or other experiences.

4.7. Explicit attitudes of participants towards Punjabi

Twenty-two items in this question measured the explicit attitudes of the participants towards the Punjabi language. Special consideration was given to the inclusion of direct/explicit statements about Punjabi in this part of the questionnaire. Participants

were requested to report their level of agreement on a 5-point Likert scale. Overall results indicate positive explicit attitudes of participants towards the Punjabi language with a cumulative mean of 3.68 (see Table 4.12).

For the sake of the analysis, these twenty-two statements have been categorised into different attitude constructs/themes, and the cumulative mean of each item along with the cumulative mean of the whole construct is provided in the tables below, except for the items that are analysed separately in sections 4.7.6 and 4.7.9.

4.7.1. Punjabi language and Identity

Table 4.6 presents the participants' level of agreement to identity-related statements. These items were included in the survey to identify the extent to which participants relate the Punjabi language to their identity. The composite score (4.17) of six items represents the favourable attitudes of participants towards Punjabi. It is apparent from the above table that Punjabi plays a significant role in the identity construction of the respondents.

Table 4.6 – Punjabi language and Identity (Descriptive Statistics)		
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree		
	Mean	**SD**
Speaking Punjabi is an important part of Punjabi identity	4.08	1.015
Punjabi should maintain a unique identity of its own	4.18	.903
I consider myself a member of the Punjabi community in Punjab	4.18	.871
Punjabi is an important part of our heritage	4.28	.946
Punjab will lose its identity if we lose the Punjabi language	4.11	1.084
I feel proud of being Punjabi	4.22	1.065
Composite score/mean value	**4.17**	**.67812**

4.7.2. Education domain / Punjabi and Education

Table 4.7 provides an account of the respondents' explicit attitudes towards the representation/ support for Punjabi in the education domain. The cumulative mean value of 3.47 demonstrates that the attitudes are moderately inclined towards Punjabi. These results suggest that the participants want Punjabi to be encouraged in the educational sectors.

Table 4.7 - Punjabi and Education (Descriptive Statistics)		
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree		
	Mean	**SD**
Punjabi should be taught at schools as a major subject	3.45	1.266
Punjabi literature should be promoted/encouraged	3.97	.955
Everyone should be able to write in Punjabi	3.64	1.080
Punjabi is the mark of an educated person	3.23	1.332
Learning Punjabi is more important than learning English at school	3.10	1.599
Composite score/mean value	**3.47**	**.75337**

4.7.3. Support for Punjabi

Table 4.8 gives an account of the participants' perspective on the value of providing support for the Punjabi language. As the composite mean value = 3.62 points out, the overall attitudes of the respondents are positive towards Punjabi. Considering the individual score for each item, it is evident that participants recognise a strong role of government in supporting Punjabi in the province (with the highest mean value of 4.13). However, for the first statement, where participants agree that it is useless to encourage Punjabi in the media (mean value = 3.18), their responses indicate unfavourable attitudes towards the role of Punjabi in this domain.

Table 4.8 - Support for Punjabi (Descriptive Statistics)		
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree		
	Mean	**SD**
It is useless to encourage Punjabi in the media	3.18	1.128
The government should support Punjabi	4.13	.971
There should be newspapers in Punjabi	3.35	1.301
Punjabis should read Punjabi newspapers	3.47	1.356
It will be really sad if Punjabi dies out	3.98	1.065
Composite score/ mean value	**3.62**	**.58198**

4.7.4. Personal Language Preferences

Table 4.9 summarises the participants' responses to direct statements regarding Punjabi language preferences. As the cumulative mean value = 3.65 indicates, the

respondents' explicit attitudes are moderately positive when it comes to Punjabi language preferences.

Table 4.9 - Personal language preferences (Descriptive Statistics)		
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree		
	Mean	**SD**
It is important to me personally to be able to speak Punjabi	3.82	1.022
I would like to learn Punjabi formally	3.80	1.138
I prefer to speak in Punjabi than in Urdu	3.33	1.225
Composite score/ mean value	**3.65**	**.85639**

4.7.5. Punjabi and Religion

The mean value of 3.79 in Table 4.10 and the percentage figures in the following bar chart (Figure 4.13) illustrate that almost half of the respondents (46%) agree that the holy Quran should be translated into Punjabi. This indicates favourable explicit attitudes of the respondents towards Punjabi as a language for religious expression.

Table 4.10 - Punjabi and Religion (Descriptive Statistics)				
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree				
	Mean	**Median**	**Mode**	**SD**
The holy Quran should be translated in Punjabi	3.79	4.00	4	1.371

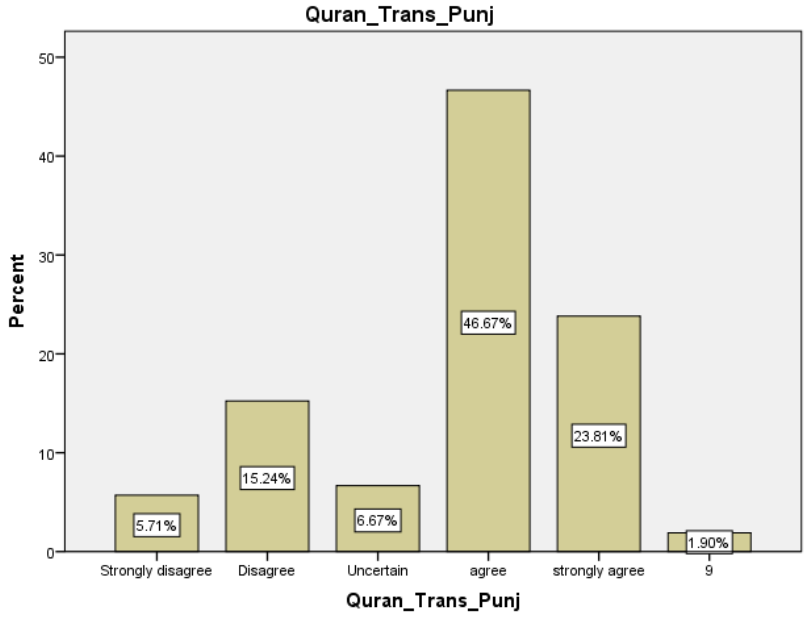


Figure 4.13

4.7.6. Scope of Punjabi

Results in Table 4.11 reveal that the participants are not very optimistic when it comes to the scope of Punjabi in the region. The average value 2.58 indicates that participants' response lies somewhere between uncertainty and disagreement when it comes to ease of finding jobs for Punjabi speakers. Furthermore, the respondents reported their agreement (with mean value = 3.26) to the item that Punjabi is irrelevant to the modern world. The responses to these two questions indicate negative explicit attitudes of participants towards the future of Punjabi in the region. It is also worth noticing that these are the only direct statements, along with item no. 1 in Table 4.8, in this section, where participants explicitly expressed unfavourable attitudes towards Punjabi. One could assume from these results that the residents of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages do not envisage a bright future of Punjabi in the country.

Table 4.11 - Scope of Punjabi (Descriptive Statistics)				
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree				
	Mean	**Median**	**Mode**	**SD**
It is easier to find a job if you speak Punjabi rather than any other language	2.58	2.00	2	1.294
Punjabi is irrelevant to the modern world	3.26	4.00	4	1.132

4.7.7. The composite mean value of Question 7

The composite score for explicit attitudes was computed by adding scores for all the 22 sub-items of Question no. 7. The average value of 3.68 shows that the explicit attitudes of the participants are positively inclined towards the Punjabi language.

Table 4.12 - Composite Mean (Descriptive Statistics)		
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree		
	Mean	**SD**
Explicit Attitudes	3.6868	.48692

A value of 0.77 was obtained when Cronbach's alpha was computed for these 22 items, suggesting good reliability of the scale (see Chapter 3, section 3.7, for further reliability tests).

4.7.8. Confidence interval Test

To further validate these results, confidence interval estimations were created, the results of which are as follow:

Table 4.13 - One-Sample Statistics				
	N	Mean	SD	Std. Error Mean
Explicit Attitudes	106	3.6868	.48692	.04729

Table 4.14 - One-Sample Test						
	Test Value = 0					
	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
					Lower	Upper
Explicit Attitudes	77.954	105	.000	3.68676	3.5930	3.7805

The results of our confidence interval in the above table 4.14 indicate that we can be 95% confident that the participants' level of agreement towards explicit/direct statements lies somewhere between 3.59 to 3.78. Therefore, from these results, it could be inferred that the explicit attitudes of the participants are positively inclined towards the Punjabi language.

4.7.9. The aesthetics of the Punjabi language

As Table 4.15 illustrates, residents of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages agree that Punjabi is important to maintain a high social status with an average value of 3.24. Similarly, they have reported that Punjabi is a beautiful (mean value =3.84), musical (mean value =3.30), as well as an expressive (mean value = 3.53) language. Interestingly, however, they also view Punjabi as a rude language with an average value of 3.02. Furthermore, the mean value of 2.78 indicates their moderate uncertainty about Punjabi being a modern language. Similarly, participants' responses are moderately inclined towards uncertainty when it comes to Punjabi being a vulgar language. Overall results indicate that the respondents have favourable explicit attitudes towards Punjabi, except in cases when it is considered a rude language.

Table 4.15 - Aesthetics of Punjabi language (Descriptive Statistics)		
Scale – 5: Strongly agree, 4: Agree, 3: Uncertain, 2: Disagree, 1: Strongly disagree		
	Mean	**SD**
Important for social status	3.24	1.197
Beautiful	3.84	.856

Musical	3.30	1.168
Expressive	3.53	1.148
Modern	2.78	1.411
Rude	3.02	1.101
Vulgar	2.37	1.206

4.7.10. Overall analysis and interpretation

Overall results in this section illustrate that the participants have a positive explicit attitude towards Punjabi for the majority of the items tested. They reported that Punjabi is a significant part of their identity and they feel pride in their language. The majority of the participants favoured the idea of increasing support for Punjabi in the education domain. They agreed that Punjabi literature should be promoted, and Punjabi should be taught as a major subject at schools. The respondents showed an interest in learning Punjabi formally and their personal language preferences leaned more towards Punjabi rather than Urdu. They also expressed positive attitudes towards support for Punjabi in the media, and the majority of them agreed that there should be more newspapers in Punjabi. They view Punjabi as a beautiful, expressive and musical language.

In the light of these findings, it can be argued that in direct (explicit) statements, the responses mostly obtained were favourable towards Punjabi. Participants expressed positive attitudes to Punjabi when they were directly asked about the Punjabi language. However, for indirect statements (i.e. where participants were asked about their general language preferences and they were given an option to choose between Urdu, English and Punjabi), there was negative inclination towards Punjabi. Although the purpose of the questionnaire was to measure the explicit attitudes of the respondents, the general items in the questionnaire also revealed the implicit attitudes of the respondents towards Punjabi. For instance, they chose Urdu in different domains like education, leisure activities, children, professional life etc. when they were given options to choose between Punjabi, Urdu and English. The responses to these indirect statements provided some indication of the negative implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi. Thus, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, the detailed descriptive analysis indicates a dissonance between the explicit and implicit attitudes of the participants towards the Punjabi language (see chapter 6, section 6.3 for further details).

So far, this chapter has analysed and interpreted the findings from LAQ. The next part of this chapter will provide an analysis and interpretation of the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ).

Part 2: Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire (SVQ)

As stated earlier in Chapter 3, the Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (by Bouhris et al., (1981) was adapted to explore the subjective vitality of Punjabi in the Punjab region of Pakistan. A total of 102 participants took part in this survey. The demographics are the same as for LAQ which means that both surveys were conducted at the same time with the same participants. Therefore, in order to avoid repetition, the demographic information has not been provided in the analysis of this section and may be seen in Chapter 3, section 3.5.

4.8. Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Punjabi

The findings from the SVQ analysis, along with their interpretation is presented below:

Table 4.16 - Subjective Ethnolinguistic vitality ratings of Punjabi informants (N = 102)

Question number	Questionnaire Variables	Vitality of Punjabi	
	Status	**Mean values**	**SD**
Q5	Perceived language status in Pakistan	3.75	1.178
Q6	Perceived language status internationally	2.48	1.060
Q7	Perceived status of Punjabi speakers	3.52	1.208
Q8	Pride of cultural history and achievement	3.89	1.168
Q9	Perceived wealth of Punjabi speakers	3.64	1.026
Q10	**Institutional support**		
	Mass media	2.13	1.175
	Education	2.15	1.140
	Government services	2.51	1.326
	Industry	2.87	1.369
	Religion	3.05	1.353
	Cultural events	3.29	1.361
	Politics	2.74	1.447
	Demography		
Q11	Majority/minority	3.77	1.309
Q12	Proportion of population	3.62	1.062
Q13	Birth rate	3.02	1.189
Note: Mean values are based on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 indicates minimum vitality and 5 indicates the highest vitality			

4.8.1. Status

The status of Punjabi language in Pakistan is considered moderately high with the mean value of 3.75 (n = 102, SD = 1.17), whereas its prestige outside Pakistan is considered moderately low with a mean value of 2.48 (n = 102, SD = 1.06). Similarly, Punjabi speakers are perceived as having a moderately high social status (mean value = 3.52, SD = 1.20, n= 102). The participants also feel that Punjabi people are very proud of their cultural history and achievement with a mean value of 3.89 (SD = 1.16). Punjabis are also perceived as having (somewhat) a higher than middle economic status (mean value = 3.64, SD = 1.02).

4.8.2. Institutional Support

The seven entries that make up the institutional support domain show somewhat different responses, depending upon the type of institution. The participants estimated that the representation of Punjabi in the mass media (such as TV, Radio, Newspapers etc.) and education is low (mean value = 2.13 and 2.15 respectively). The vitality of Punjabi in government services (mean value = 2.51, SD = 1.32) and politics (mean value = 2.74, SD = 1.44) is considered somewhat weak. The representation of Punjabi in the industry (economic and business matters) is perceived as moderate with a mean value of 2.87 (SD = 1.36), which is close to the mid-point. In contrast with these negative perceptions pertaining to the institutional support for the Punjabi language, the remaining two aspects of institutional support, which constitute the vitality construct are above the scalar mid-point. For cultural events, the mean response was 3.29 (SD = 1.36), and the mean response for religion was 3.05 (SD = 1.35), which suggests a slightly positive institutional support for Punjabi. These results indicate that in the case of cultural events and religion, the perceived vitality of Punjabi is marginally strong. On the contrary, when it comes to the remaining institutional domains, the vitality of Punjabi is considered low.

4.8.3. Demography

In the demographic domain, for the national territory concentration variable (i.e. the majority or minority status of Punjabi speakers in Punjab) and the proportion variable (i.e. population estimate), the vitality of the Punjabi speakers is rated moderately high with the mean value of 3.77 (SD = 1.30) and 3.62 (SD = 1.06) respectively. As far as the birth rate of the Punjabi speakers in Punjab is considered, participants estimated it to be moderate with a mean value of 3.02 (SD = 1.18).

4.9. Perceived frequency of use and enthusiasm for Punjabi

Table 4.17 presents the participants' perceptions of the perceived vitality of Punjabi across Punjab. As can be seen in the table, the mean response to Q1 was 3.83 (SD = 1.30) and for Q2 was 3.85 (SD = 1.33), which are almost identical. This suggests that the informants perceive that the Punjabi language is as frequently spoken in their hometown as it is spoken in the province. Table 4.17 also illustrates the participants' perceptions regarding the use of and enthusiasm for Punjabi among Punjabis of different age groups. The mean response to Q3a, about the use of Punjabi by age groups younger than 25 was 2.73 (SD = 1.17). This suggests that the participants believe that Punjabi is not frequently used by young Punjabis. The mean response for the age groups between 25 – 45 was 3.62 (SD = 0.96) compared to 4.31(SD = 0.92) for the age groups between 46-65 and 4.59 (SD = 0.73) for people older than 65. The response for the older participants (46 and above) is significantly higher than the response for younger participants, suggesting that the respondents believe that the use of Punjabi is more frequent among older people. The mean values increase with each age-group, suggesting that participants believe that the older the speakers, the more frequent is their use of Punjabi. A similar response pattern can also be observed for Q4, where participants reported their perceptions regarding enthusiasm/eagerness for speaking Punjabi among different age groups. Participants perceive that Punjabis younger than 25 are less eager to speak Punjabi (mean value = 2.73, SD = 1.16) than the Punjabis between the age of 25-45 (mean value = 3.56, SD = 1.06). However, the mean value for the age groups between 46 – 65 was 4.30 (SD = 0.97) and for Punjabis older than 65 was 4.49 (SD = 0.92). These values are significantly higher than in the previous age groups, suggesting that the respondents believe that the older Punjabis are more eager to speak Punjabi than the younger ones.

Table 4.17 - Perceived frequency of use and enthusiasm for Punjabi

Question number	Questionnaire Variables	Mean values	SD
Q1	Frequency of Punjabi language use in Punjab	3.83	1.306
Q2	Frequency of Punjabi language use in hometown	3.85	1.331
Q3	a. Use of Punjabi by age groups younger than 25	2.73	1.179
	b. Use of Punjabi by age groups between 25-45	3.62	.965

	c. Use of Punjabi by age groups between 46-65	4.31	.923
	d. Use of Punjabi by people older than 65	4.59	.736
Q4	a. Eagerness to speak Punjabi (younger than 25)	2.73	1.162
	b. Eagerness to speak Punjabi 25 - 45	3.56	1.068
	c. Eagerness to speak Punjabi 46-65	4.30	.973
	d. Eagerness to speak Punjabi (older than 65)	4.49	.927
Note: Mean values are based on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 indicates minimum vitality and 5 indicates the highest vitality			

4.10. Perceived significance of Punjabi

Table 4.18 throws light on the participants' viewpoints about the significance of Punjabi, as perceived by other Punjabis. In response to the question regarding Punjabi identity, the mean score obtained was 3.40 (SD = 1.08). This response is in the middle of 'moderately Punjabi' to 'very Punjabi', thus indicating a moderately high perceived affiliation with the language. An almost identical response was obtained for Q15, regarding the perceived significance of Punjabi (mean value = 3.44 and SD = 1.26) and Q16, regarding the perceived importance of the ability to speak Punjabi (mean value = 3.43 and SD = 1.17). These results reflect moderate to high perception regarding the significance of Punjabi or the ability to speak Punjabi. However, the mean score for Q17 (regarding the importance of learning Punjabi) was 2.87 (SD = 1.21), which was significantly lower than the score obtained for the previous two questions. This represents a rather weak perception of the participants when it comes to the significance of learning Punjabi. They believe that learning Punjabi is not considered important by other Punjabis.

Table 4.18 - Perceived significance of Punjabi

Question number	Questionnaire Variables	Mean Values	SD
Q14	Perceived Punjabi identity	3.40	1.082
Q15	Importance of Punjabi language	3.44	1.266
Q16	Importance of ability to speak Punjabi	3.43	1.179
Q17	Importance of learning Punjabi	2.87	1.216
Q18	Punjabi language more or less important than 20 years ago	2.47	1.175

Q19	Punjabi will be more or less important in 20 to 30 years from now	2.30	1.326
Note: Mean values are based on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 indicates minimum vitality and 5 indicates the highest vitality			

The last two questions are related to the shift in vitality that informants perceive to have taken place in the last two decades and their perceptions of how it will change in the next two or three decades. In response to the question regarding the change in the importance of the Punjabi language in the past two decades (Q18), informants gave a mean response of 2.47 (SD = 1.17). This suggests a belief that Punjabi is slightly less significant now than it was 20 years ago. Furthermore, when participants were asked to estimate the extent to which Punjabi will be significant in the next two or three decades, the mean score obtained was 2.30 (SD = 1.32). It was even lower than the previous response, suggesting a pessimistic belief that Punjabi will lose its worth within the next 20 or 30 years. The close mean values for the last two questions suggest that the informants believe that Punjabi was neither significant in the past, nor it will be in the future.

4.11. Overall analysis and interpretation

The subjective assessment of a language's vitality is significant in determining the language attitudes and behaviours of its speech community (Bourhis and Barrette, 2006:248). As can be seen in Table 4.17, participants seem to believe that the youth is less eager to speak Punjabi and the use of Punjabi is decreasing among younger generation. Similarly, the perceived significance of Punjabi was reported to be moderate. The results in Table 4.18 indicate that Punjabi is not seen as a vital language. The Punjabi speech community seems to believe that it is not beneficial to speak or transmit Punjabi as it has no future/scope in the region. This can be an indication of the participants' attitudes towards Punjabi and it can also be one of the possible reasons for language shift (as stated earlier in the chapter) from Punjabi to Urdu among the younger generation of the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages.

Overall, the subjective vitality position of Punjabi was perceived to be moderate/medium. The findings from the SVQ revealed that the respondents are not unrealistic in perceiving the vitality position of Punjabi along the lines suggested by objective assessments of ethnolinguistic vitality. A detailed comparison between the

objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi is provided in Chapter 5 (see section 6.5). The following part of this chapter provides a detailed account of the findings obtained from the analysis of variance tests and demonstrates which variables are related to and/or significant in determining the participants' attitudes towards Punjabi.

Part 3: Analysis of variance

In order to test which, if any, attitude ratings are significantly more positive than the others, an analysis of variance was conducted to further compare the mean values.

4.12. One-way ANOVA Test

One-way ANOVA test was conducted to identify the relationship between participants' attitudes and their level of education and also to explore the impact of age on the explicit attitudes.

4.12.1. Difference in attitude scores as per participants' level of education

Table 4.19 - Attitudes and Level of education

Test of Homogeneity of Variances

		Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
explicit2	Based on Mean	1.136	4	101	.344
	Based on Median	1.053	4	101	.384
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	1.053	4	96.652	.384
	Based on trimmed mean	1.195	4	101	.318

The sig. level = .344 is greater than .05 which suggests that the homogeneity of variances assumption has not been violated.

Table 4.20 – ANOVA results of attitudes and education

Explicit Attitudes

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.039	4	.760	3.511	.010
Within Groups	21.856	101	.216		
Total	24.895	105			

Table 4.21 – Descriptive Statistics

Explicit Attitudes

	N	Mean		Std.	95% Confidence	Minimum	Maximum

			Std. Deviation	Error	Interval for Mean			
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Less than matric	26	3.93	.501	.098	3.72	4.13	3	5
Matric	19	3.71	.400	.092	3.52	3.90	3	5
intermediate	17	3.39	.381	.092	3.20	3.59	3	4
graduation	23	3.66	.423	.088	3.48	3.84	3	4
Masters or above	21	3.63	.568	.124	3.38	3.89	3	5
Total	106	3.69	.487	.047	3.59	3.78	3	5

Table 4.22 - Multiple Comparisons

Dependent Variable: explicit2

Tukey HSD

(I) education	(J) education	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Less than matric	Matric	.218	.140	.531	-.17	.61
	intermediate	.533*	.145	.003	.13	.94
	graduation	.264	.133	.280	-.11	.63
	Masters or above	.292	.136	.212	-.09	.67
Matric	Less than matric	-.218	.140	.531	-.61	.17
	intermediate	.315	.155	.260	-.12	.75
	graduation	.046	.144	.998	-.35	.45
	Masters or above	.074	.147	.987	-.34	.48
intermediate	Less than matric	-.533*	.145	.003	-.94	-.13
	Matric	-.315	.155	.260	-.75	.12
	graduation	-.269	.149	.375	-.68	.14

	Masters or above	-.241	.152	.507	-.66	.18
graduation	Less than matric	-.264	.133	.280	-.63	.11
	Matric	-.046	.144	.998	-.45	.35
	intermediate	.269	.149	.375	-.14	.68
	Masters or above	.028	.140	1.000	-.36	.42
Masters or above	Less than matric	-.292	.136	.212	-.67	.09
	Matric	-.074	.147	.987	-.48	.34
	intermediate	.241	.152	.507	-.18	.66
	graduation	-.028	.140	1.000	-.42	.36
*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.						

A one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of education on the explicit attitudes. There was a statistically significant difference in attitude scores for education, F (4,105) = 3.51, P = .010. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, was 0.1, which in Cohen's (1988, 248-7) terms would be considered a large effect size. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicated that the mean score of participants with less than 10 years of education (M = 3.93, SD = .501) was significantly different from participants with 12 years of education (M = 3.39, SD = .381) at the $p < .05$ level. Participants with 14 years of education (M = 3.66, SD = .423) and 16 years of education (M = 3.63, SD = .568) did not differ significantly from the remaining groups.

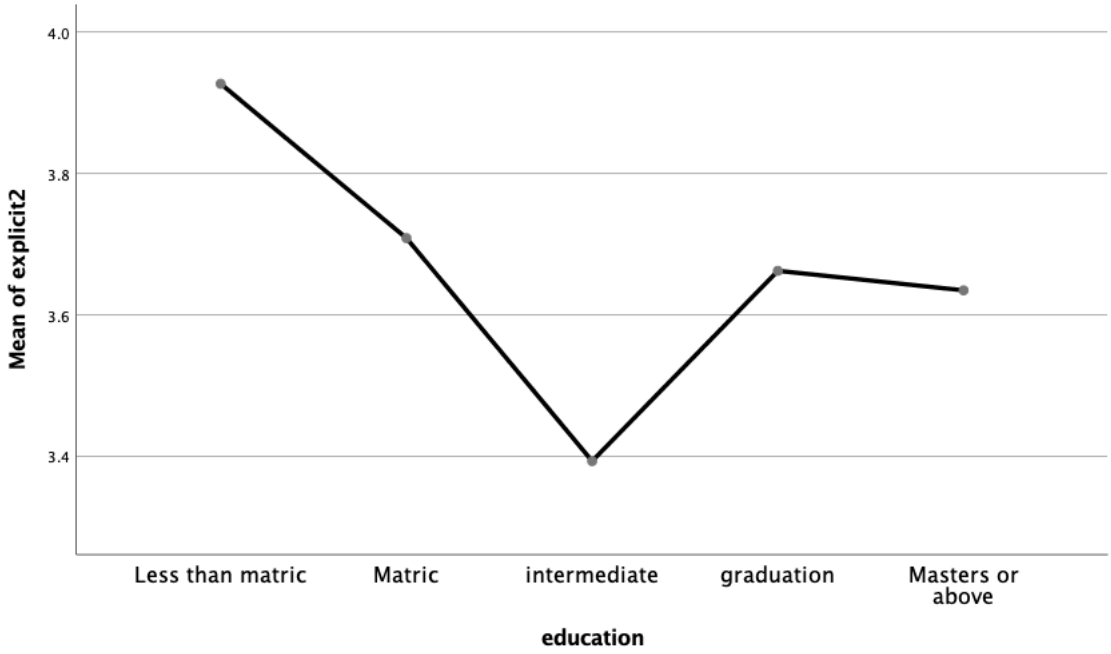


Figure 4.15

4.12.2. Difference in attitude scores for young, middle-aged and old participants

Table 4.23 - Test of Homogeneity of Variances					
		Levene Statistic	df1	df2	Sig.
explicit2	Based on Mean	2.587	2	102	.080
	Based on Median	2.481	2	102	.089
	Based on Median and with adjusted df	2.481	2	89.931	.089
	Based on trimmed mean	2.584	2	102	.080

The sig. level = .080 is greater than .05 which suggests that the homogeneity of variances assumption has not been violated.

Table 4.24 – ANOVA results for attitudes and age					
explicit2					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.745	2	.372	1.669	.193
Within Groups	22.752	102	.223		
Total	23.496	104			

Table 4.25 – Descriptive statistics								
Explicit Attitudes								
	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
18-25	33	3.55	.576	.100	3.35	3.76	3	5
26-35	44	3.72	.374	.056	3.60	3.83	3	4
36 and above	28	3.76	.476	.090	3.57	3.94	3	5
Total	105	3.68	.475	.046	3.58	3.77	3	5

Table 4.26 - Multiple Comparisons						
Dependent Variable: explicit2						
Tukey HSD						
(I) AGE_GROUPS	(J) AGE_GROUPS	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
18-25	26-35	-.162	.109	.298	-.42	.10
	36 and above	-.202	.121	.222	-.49	.09
26-35	18-25	.162	.109	.298	-.10	.42
	36 and above	-.040	.114	.935	-.31	.23
36 and above	18-25	.202	.121	.222	-.09	.49
	26-35	.040	.114	.935	-.23	.31

A one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore the impact of age on the explicit attitudes. Participants were divided into three groups according to their age (Group 1: 18-25, Group 2: 26-35 and Group 3: 36 and above).

A statistically significant difference was not found among different age groups, F (2, 104) = 1.7, p = .193 at the p < .05 level.

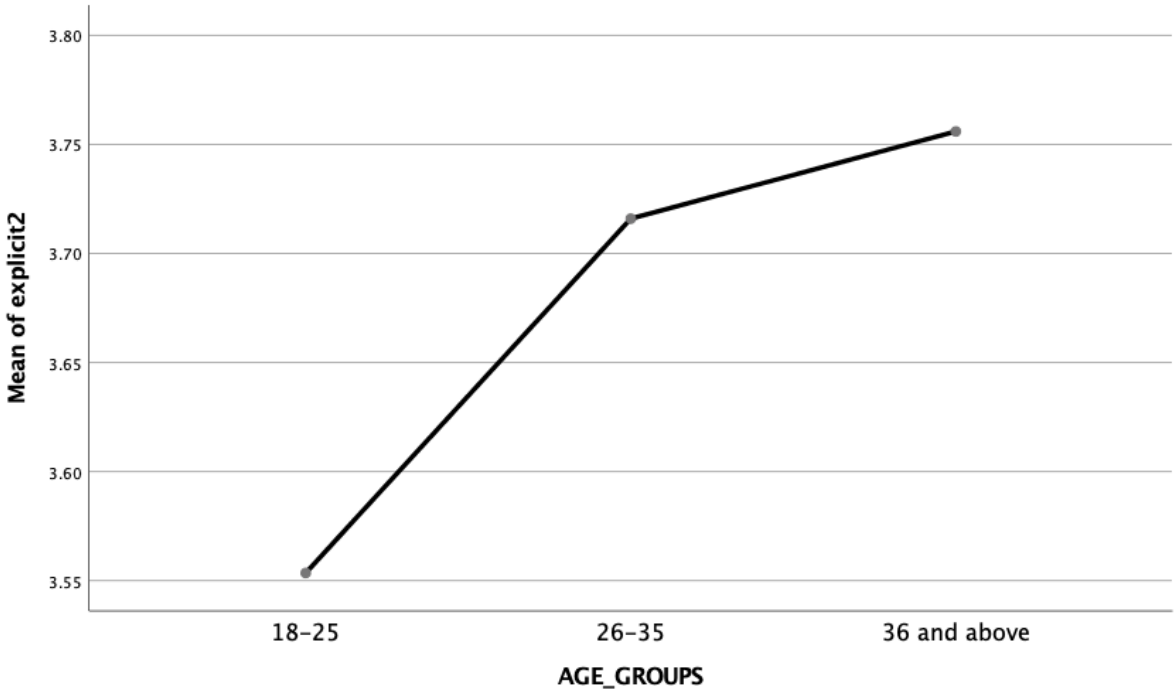


Figure 4.16

4.13. Independent Samples T-test

For village and gender variables, Independent samples T-tests were conducted as these were categorical variables with two independent groups (i.e. Juria village and Narranwala village and male and female groups respectively) and the dependent variable (explicit attitudes) was a continuous variable.

4.13.1. Difference in attitude scores among participants from Juria and Narranwala village

Table 4.27- Group Statistics

	Village	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
explicit2	Juria	66	3.80	.428	.053
	Narranwala	40	3.50	.525	.083

Table 4.28 - Independent Samples Test

	Levene's Test for Equality of	t-test for Equality of Means

		Variances								
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
explicit2	Equal variances assumed	1.325	.252	3.183	104	.002	.298	.094	.112	.483
	Equal variances not assumed			3.028	69.954	.003	.298	.098	.102	.494

The sig. level = .252 is greater than .05 which suggests that the homogeneity of variances assumption has not been violated. Independent samples T-test (analysis of variance) was conducted to explore differences in attitude scores among participants from Juria and Narranwala villages. There was a statistically significant difference in attitude scores of participants from both villages F (104,106) = 1.32, P = .002 at the p < .05.

4.13.2. Gender differences in attitude scores

Table 4.29 - Group Statistics					
	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
explicit2	Male	51	3.69	.433	.061
	Female	55	3.69	.536	.072

Table 4.30 - Independent Samples Test		
	Levene's Test for Equality of	t-test for Equality of Means

		Variances								
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
explicit2	Equal variances assumed	2.184	.142	.038	104	.970	.004	.095	-.185	.192
	Equal variances not assumed			.039	102.116	.969	.004	.094	-.183	.191

The sig. level = .142 is greater than .05 which suggests that the homogeneity of variances assumption has not been violated. Independent samples T-test (analysis of variance) was conducted to explore the impact of gender on the explicit attitudes. A statistically significant difference was not found among male and female participants, F (104, 106) = 2.18, p = .970.

4.14. Overall results and interpretation

Table 4.25 shows that the participants with less than 10 years of education have stronger positive attitudes towards Punjabi than participants with 12 years of education. This indicates that level of education could be a potential factor affecting the attitudinal orientations of people. Although the results are not statistically significant for the remaining educational groups, it can be observed from the average mean values presented in Table 4.25, that the participants with 16 or above years of education (M = 3.63, SD = .568) have expressed slightly lesser positive attitudes towards Punjabi than the participants with 14 years of education (M = 3.66, SD = .423). Even though the difference is too small to make any strong argument, it may, to some extent, signal the role of education in developing the attitudinal orientations of the participants towards Punjabi.

The descriptive analysis of the LAQ also revealed an interesting pattern of results. The most striking results were a decrease in Punjabi language use by children (even in the rural regions of the province- where Punjabi is the dominant and most frequently spoken language) and an increasing interest in attaining education, in general. This result needed further probing to ascertain whether there is a statistical relationship between participants language use with children and their level of education. Pearson Correlation test[22] was employed to identify this relationship. The results are presented in Table 4.31.

Table 4.31 - Pearson Correlations – Education and language use with children

	Mean	SD	Education	Punjabi language use with children at home
Punjabi language use at home with children	2.33	1.703	-.417**	1
Urdu language use with children at home	3.53	1.704	.234*	-.593**
N	90			
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).				
*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).				
Note: *The mean scores are from a 5-point scale where 1 represents 'Never', and 5 represents 'Always'.*				

Table 4.31 indicates that there is a significant and negative correlation (Pearson Correlation value (r) = -.417) between education and Punjabi language use with children, which suggests that the increase in education is associated with a decrease in Punjabi language use with the children in *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages of Punjab (i.e. the more the participants are educated, the lesser they use Punjabi with their children). Similarly, the table also highlights a significant but positive correlation (r = .234) between education and Urdu language use with children, indicating an association between an increase in education and an increase in Urdu language use with children (i.e. the higher the education level of the participants, the more frequent is the use of Urdu with children). Thus, the analysis of variance test (although

[22]Correlation indicates a relationship between two variables; i.e., a change in one variable is reflected in the other (Albers, 2017:55). In words of Bryman and Cramer (2005:213-214), "Correlation entails the provision of a yardstick whereby the intensity or strength of a relationship can be gauged…". Correlation tests also indicate the direction of the relationship (either positive or negative) between a pair of variables.

significant for one group only) and the results of the correlation test signal that education is an important factor affecting both participants' attitudes and their language use with children.

The study also found significantly more positive attitudes among the participants from the Juria village (M = 3.80, SD = .428) in comparison to the participants from the Narranwala village (M = 3.50, SD = .525). These results were unexpected considering both settings were villages where Punjabi is the dominant language. It is speculated that the difference in attitude ratings might be due to the distance of these two villages from Hafizabad city. Juria village is closer to the city than the Narranwala village. It is assumed that Urdu language contact is more frequent among the participants from the Juria village than the participants from Narranwala village. It is possible that the extent of language contact could be playing a role in attitude ratings. There could be many other possible explanations for these results, which would be worth exploring in future research.

4.15. Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to explore the overt/explicit linguistic attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi. The findings, as illustrated in the chapter, indicate that the explicit attitudes of the rural Punjabis of the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages are generally positive towards Punjabi. The domain analysis suggested a frequent use of Punjabi in informal domains (such as home, neighbourhood and streets etc.). Participants showed a strong support for Punjabi and they want Punjabi to be encouraged in the educational and governmental sectors and in the print media. While the respondents largely expressed positive attitudes to Punjabi, they did not seem optimistic about the future of Punjabi in the region. They seem to believe that Punjabi is not a modern language and there are no socioeconomic benefits attached to Punjabi, which is why they are not transferring Punjabi to their children. These were the only two occasions where participants explicit attitudes to Punjabi were found to be negative.

The chapter has also demonstrated that participants perceived Punjabi to be moderately high on status dimension. The vitality of Punjabi was reported to be weak in formal domains and moderate in informal domains. The subjective vitality was rated moderately high on demographic factors. Since Punjabi was perceived to be moderately high on two subjective vitality dimensions (status and demography), it

could be inferred that the overall subjective vitality position of Punjabi was estimated to be moderate/medium. The final section of this chapter suggests that education and village are significant variables which are related to the participants' explicit attitudes towards Punjabi. As far as the difference in attitudinal orientations among gender and age variables is concerned, the quantitative study did not find any significant differences in the attitudinal ratings of male and female participants or among any age-group.

Chapter 5

Qualitative Findings and Discussion - Implicit Attitudes towards Punjabi

5.1. Introduction

The analysis of the survey data presented in the previous chapter established that the participants' explicit attitudes are positively inclined towards Punjabi. This chapter investigates the implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi. It also seeks to examine any dicrepancies between the respondents' explicit and implicit linguistic orientations. In particular, I will use information elicited from face-to-face interviews with the villagers to argue that there is a conflict between the respondents' explicit and implicit attitudes. The chapter is based on the detailed analysis and discussion of the qualitative findings. The aim is to explore the participants' implicit linguistic attitudes towards Punjabi by identifying, analysing and discussing the main themes emerged via thematic analysis of the data.

As stated earlier in chapter 2, an indirect questioning technique was employed to measure the implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi (section 2.7.2). Since indirect questioning was a crucial element in the interview sessions, I began the interviews by asking my informants general questions such as their language use patterns at home with different family members (chapter 3, section 3.10). The questioning approach turned out to be effective in two ways. Firstly, it not only elicited detailed information on how participants use their languages in various contexts and situations (who speaks what language to whom and when, as suggested by Fishman 1991), but it also helped corroborate the quantitative findings where the same questions were asked more explicitly. Secondly and most importantly, after responding to these general questions, the respondents became somewhat comfortable in the session realizing that nothing too complicated or difficult was being asked.

This chapter comprises five sections, each based on one of the major themes identified via thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews. In section (5.2), I outline the reported language use patterns of the participants at home. This outline is followed by a discussion of the linguistic orientations of the parents, focusing on two related themes that emerged from the interviews: language preferences for children; and intergenerational transmission of language. Sections (5.3) and (5.4) provide an

overview of the participants' perceptions of Punjabi and how they associate Punjabi with illiteracy and low socioeconomic class. In the remaining two sections (5.5 & 5.6), I discuss two commonly held stereotypical notions that Punjabi is an abusive and backward language.

5.2. The preferred language for children

All participants in the interview reported that they mostly speak Punjabi at home. What I gathered from the interview data was that there is a variation in linguistic practices among three generations in the home domain. A 24 years old female participant from *Juria* village, for instance, while talking about her main language of interaction at home, told the researcher that she communicates in Punjabi with her grandparents, parents and siblings but speaks Urdu with her brother's children (her nephews and nieces). These linguistic practices are not exclusively prevalent in the case of this interviewee as the majority of the respondents reported similar linguistic practices in the home domain. The older informants (grandparents) speak Punjabi only when communicating with all family members at home (children, grandchildren, spouse) (see Chapter 4, section 4.3 for details). The participants' comments also suggest that the older generation in the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages cannot speak or sometimes cannot understand Urdu. For instance, while explaining her language use patterns at home, a 55 years old informant reported that they all speak (pure) Punjabi at home:

> *Saday jairay bazuraag ne onhan nu tay Urdu di smjh nahi andi. Sanu zahair aey onhan naal Punjabi aich gal karni paindi aey. Jadon samnay sas bethi howay na asi Punjabi aich gal karn*i…
>
> [Elderly people in our family don't understand Urdu. We, obviously, then have to speak Punjabi with them. I have to speak Punjabi, when my mother-in-law is sitting in front of me…]
>
> (Excerpt 1, Hiba)

The following excerpts, 2 and 3, indicate the code choice of the parents for interacting with their parents and the language they prefer for their children now:

> *Ghar men Punjabi use karty hen. Ami Abu k sath bhi… aor bachon k sath Urdu.*
>
> [I use Punjabi at home, with my father and mother as well… and Urdu with children.]
>
> (Excerpt 2, Oneeba)

Similarly, another informant said that he speaks Punjabi with parents and wife. But now he and his wife speak Urdu with their children:

Wife se bhi Punjabi men. Bachon se Urdu men ab karte hain.

[(I speak) Punjabi with my wife, (and) now we speak Urdu with children.]

(Excerpt 3, Khalid)

It can be inferred from these linguistic practices that Punjabi is the dominant language in the home domain in the rural areas, but when it comes to interacting with children, Punjabi does not seem to be the obvious choice. Dania described the language preference of parents for their children in the following words:

Bachon se Urdu men kartay hain. Aor unke parents bhi nahi chahtay ke hum unse Punjabi men baat Karin, kyon ke agar hum karin bhi to wo kehtay hain, Nahi! Urdu men karo! Pata nahi, zayada conscious ho gaye hain parents.

[We speak Urdu with children and their parents also don't want us to speak Punjabi with them. Because even if we speak Punjabi with them, they forbid us and say, "No! Speak Urdu (with them)." I don't know (raising shoulders). I guess, parents have become more conscious now (smiling).]

(Excerpt 4, Dania)

Upon inquiring why does she think that parents have become conscious now, she responded that,

Ye nahi mujhe pata (laughing). Mujhy itna pata hai ke hum kbhi bhi baat karin unse Punjabi men to phir bhai kehtay hain nahi, Punjabi men baat nahi karo.

[I don't know (laughing). I just know that whenever we speak Punjabi with them, my brother (always) says, "No! Don't speak Punjabi."]

(Excerpt 5, Dania)

She may not be able to provide reasons for the parents' preference for Urdu, but this attitude is certainly an indication of a lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi. Pauwel (2016) views the family domain as a bastion for the use of heritage language. Potowski also suggests that the home and parents are the primary sites for language transmission and parents often greatly influence the early language acquisition of their children (2013). Indeed, as I observed earlier in chapter 2, Potowski (2013) views intergenerational transmission of language as an integral part of language maintenance. He argues that the lack of intergenerational transmission of a language signals a language shift to another language (Potowski, 2013). In the similar vein, for Grenoble (2011:38), "a clear indication of language shift is when children cease

learning the heritage language". He further adds that a language needs future speakers for it to survive.

The lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi suggests that there is an onset of language shift from Punjabi to Urdu in the rural localities of the Punjab. Language shift can be defined as a process of gradual replacement of one's main language or languages by another language in all spheres of usage (Pauwels, 2016). Language shift is both a process and an outcome. Pauwels (2016) considers it a process as the change happens gradually (i.e. it can take one or more generations of speakers before a language is completely abandoned) and the shift from L1 does not happen concurrently across all its uses or functions. The use of L1 gradually shrinks across a number of uses, functions and settings. Language shift is an outcome when the language in question is no longer used by its speech community in any context (Pauwels, 2016).

Another important thing to note from excerpts, 4 and 5, is the phrase 'No! Don't speak Punjabi!' Dania's brother is explicitly forbidding her to speak Punjabi with his children. This reveals his negative attitudes towards Punjabi. As I probed her brother (Khalid) further asking him to explain why he prefers Urdu for his children, he gave the following reason:

> *Matlab abhi thoda sa na pehlay ki nisbat abhi thoda sa na sha'or ho gaya hai. Aaa… parhai ki janib. To abhi hum Urdu men baat karin ge to thoday bache Urdu seekhen gay. Phir wo schools men hon ge na to unhen itna… umm… mushkil nahi hoga kyon ke school men ab Urdu Inglash (English) boli jati hai. To Punjabi ka to ab bilkul rujhaan he nahi hai. To unhen phir mushkil nahi darpesh hogi jab wo schools men jaen ge*.
>
> [I mean, now in comparison to earlier times/days…now there is a little bit of awareness... aaa… about education. Children will only learn Urdu if we start speaking it with them now. So that, eventually, when they go to school, it won't be difficult for them to adjust. Because Urdu and English (*Inglash*) are spoken in schools these days. And Punjabi is not trendy anymore. So, they won't face any difficulty when they go to school.]
>
> (Excerpt 6, Khalid)

Similarly, another participant reported the following reasons:

Waisy he[23]*! Chotay bachon se umm Urdu men baat karin to waisy bhi achay lagtay hain wo. To dosra ye hai ke unhen* school *men janay men asaani rehti hai, ke ghar men agar umm Urdu men baat karin to phir* school *men wo jaldi* adjust *ho jatay hain, isliye.*

[Waisy he! It's just that when you speak Urdu with little kids, they look good. And secondly, it's easier for them to go to school eventually. If you speak umm Urdu at home, then they (kids) quickly adjust in schools. That's why!]

(Excerpt 7, Sumaira)

Dania's following response is also in agreement with the other two participants:

Woi hota hai na ke bachon ko jab school men bhejo to unko Urdu ani chahye. Schoolon walay bhi kehtay hain. To phir parents ko bhi ye hota hai ke bachon se ab Urdu boli jaye.

[It's kind of understood that when you send your kids to schools, they should know Urdu. Even the school authorities recommend this. That's why parents also want to speak Urdu with the kids.]

(Excerpt 8, Dania)

A common view amongst most of the interviewees was that the acquisition and learning of Urdu – the national language of Pakistan, is a necessity to be able to excel in academic endeavours. They prefer the Urdu language for their children because they aspire to academic excellence when it comes to their children. Grenoble believes that the current significance of the national language in terms of access to education, higher paying jobs, the media and social advancement is one of the many factors that trigger language shift (2011). He further adds that the national language usually serves the purpose of a language for wider communication which makes knowledge of multiple regional languages dispensable or even superfluous, as the national language serves as a common *lingua franca* (Grenoble, 2011). It is noteworthy also that most of them have not only linked proficiency in Urdu with higher education standards but also with better prospects. This seems related to the instrumental motivation of the participants to speak Urdu, as suggested by the quantitative results in the previous

[23] The literal meaning of *waisy he* is 'just like that'. But this phrase may be used with other meanings in different contexts. In this particular context, it would mean 'No reason!'. However, in the phrase *Waisy he soch rahi thi mein, waisy he* means 'randomly' (I was just randomly thinking) and in *waisy he bola hai yar/waisy he keh rahi thi yar, waisy he* may be translated as 'just' (I was just saying, buddy) etc.

chapter. Gardner and Lambert (1972), in their seminal work, differentiated between integrative and instrumental motivation, the former reflecting "a sincere and personal interest in the target language, people, and culture and the latter its practical value and advantages" (Ushioda, 2008:20, Gardner and Maclntyre, 1991:58). Instrumental motivation arises from the desire to learn the language as a means of achieving practical goals such as improving one's economic status or getting social recognition (Gardner and Lambert 1972, Yu and Downing, 2011). Thus, such type of motivation subsumes utilitarian goals, for instance getting a better job or a higher salary as a consequence of mastering L2 (Dörnyei et al. 2006). Participants' instrumental motivation to speak/learn Urdu appears to be associated with the perceived pragmatic benefits of Urdu proficiency.

Integrative motivation, on the other hand, is a complicated amalgamation of attitudinal, goal-directed and motivational attributes. It is related to positive affective attitudes towards the L2 community and the desire to attain language proficiency in order to participate in and develop a sense of belonging to the L2 community (Yu and Downing, 2011:459). For Dörnyei et al. (2006:10), "Integrativeness denotes a positive outlook on the L2 and its culture, to the extent that learners scoring high on this factor may want to integrate into the L2 culture and become similar to the L2 speakers". As we shall see later in section 5.3, the positive attitudes of participants towards the Urdu language and Urdu speech community and their stereotypical notions that Punjabi is a language for uneducated and poor people indicate that they also have some integrative motivation to speak Urdu. They wish to be a part of more cultured, civilized and educated speech community, which they perceive is the Urdu speech community. This point will be further discussed in the following sections. Let us now turn to some other interesting reasons provided by the participants. Aqib talked about the socioeconomic and peer pressure of transferring Urdu to their children:

> *Insaan aik society wech rehan wastay masla ban janda aey na. Othay kathiyan rehna vey. Othay pher gal baat Urdu ech he karni aey ya English aich karni aey. Mahool da pata lag janda ay. aa schoolan alay tussi wekh lavo. Aey jairay Urdu school ne onhan wech Urdu bolday ne, jairay English ne onhan aich English bolday ne. Othay pher bachay ne, os mahool nal chalna painda aey onhan nu. tay saday kol jairy bachy ne, ithay jairay schoolay janday ne schoolay apna Urdu bolday ne tay hun kar oun, kar Punjabi bolan gay. pher*

o kaam kharab ho janda aey. na onhan nu odhay di smjh andi aey na onhan nu idhey di smjh andi aey. aey masla ban janda aey.

[One has to follow the rules of a society to live in it. When boys get together outside the house, they must converse in Urdu or English (to cope with the society). They become aware of the surrounding culture/society. Look at these kids who go to schools. In Urdu medium schools, Urdu is spoken, and English is spoken in English medium schools. So, when kids go in such a society/culture, they have to follow the norms there. And the kids here, those kids who go to school here in this village, they speak Urdu at school. So, if my kids speak Punjabi there, it will become difficult for them. Neither will they understand the language at school nor the language at home. This becomes a problem then.]

(Excerpt 9, Aqib)

Similarly, Ambreen remarked,

Bachay ab bohat kam bolte hain na Punjabi. To unki mama bhi Urdu bolti hai. Jidher wo rehtay hain wo bhi saray Urdu he bolte hain.

[Punjabi is spoken less by children these days. And their mother (she was talking about her brother's wife) also speaks Urdu. Everybody speaks Urdu where they live.]

(Excerpt 10, Ambreen)

Another informant also responded in a similar manner:

Sabhi Urdu bolte hain (smiling). Urdu bolne se shakhsiyat men nikhaar ata hai. Zuban achi hai ye.

[Everybody speaks Urdu. Urdu grooms your personality. It's a good language.]

(Excerpt 11, Zarrar)

The above excerpts indicate that the Punjabi speakers in the *Juria* village realise the sociological pressure of imparting Urdu to their children. They have started believing that it is their responsibility to ensure that their children speak Urdu since everybody speaks it and they have to follow the norms of the society in which they are living. Harbert (2011) suggests that there are sociological and economic pressures on minority language speakers to adopt the dominant language and to transmit that language to their children. According to him, a minority language can sometimes be stigmatised by its association with a less prosperous way of life and lacking the support

formerly provided by its traditional cultural and social institutions. Considering that Punjabi is not the minority language in the region, it's important to broaden Harbert's point of view here. These sociological or economic pressures to shift to another language may sometimes also be faced by the majority language speakers, especially in cases where the heritage language loses its prestige or value in the region. Grenoble (2011) argues that a gradual language loss occurs when speakers of a language make a decision to stop speaking their heritage language or not to transfer it to their children and speak another language instead. He further argues that this other language is mostly the language of the majority culture, mainly in terms of population, but, more importantly, its political, economic or social dominance/power over the minority language speakers. Thus, this dominant language may have more social prestige and be connected/related to socioeconomic development, which is a significant factor contributing to language shift. In Pakistan, Urdu is not the majority language but it holds the status of dominant language by being the *lingua franca* in the country (i.e. it serves the purpose of a language for wider communication), which is why Punjabi speakers in the rural areas feel the need to shift to a more 'prestigious' Urdu language.

My findings are similar to those arising from Bouchard's study (2019), which sheds light on similar linguistic hegemony of Portuguese in São Tomé Island (a country in central Africa), where Forro was the dominant language until the end of the nineteenth century, but now Portuguese holds the status of dominant language in the region. She claims that the undergoing shift from Forro to Portuguese began at the end of the nineteenth century because of the massive arrival of foreign workers (coming from Angola, Cape Verde and Mozambique); and as a consequence, "there was a shifting dynamic of language value--the social value of Forro (a linguistic product) was modified". Forro lost value and prestige in the market, and Portuguese gained some. Speaking Portuguese appeared as a way to maintain their privileged status, and to save the distinctive racial and social status they had gained during the preceding centuries. Hence, the language of the colonizers eventually became the *lingua franca*, and the only language of prestige on the island (Bouchard, 2019). She further argues that the shift was strengthened around 1960 due to an improved access to education and the spreading parental practice of forbidding children to speak creole, and by choosing Portuguese as the only official language of the country in 1975. Since then, children have been growing up with the local variety of Portuguese as their first

language, and the number of speakers of Forro drastically went down (Bouchard, 2019:2).

Salawa and Aseres (2015) reported similar findings in their study on language policy, ideologies and power in Ethiopia. The largest indigenous language in Ethiopia is Afan Oromo (Oromiffa), a Cushitic language. However, Amharic (indigenous to only 23% of the population, the official language and *lingua franca* of Ethiopia) is the dominant language in the country by being the language of domains of power (media, education, government, commerce), in spite of the fact that it is not the language with the majority number of mother-tongue speakers in Ethiopia (Salawa and Aseres, 2015). They argue that this is because of the language policies of Ethiopia which favoured Amharic over other indigenous languages. "This is a position that is ideological and reflective of the power relations among the various languages" (Salawa and Aseres, 2015:85).

As we shall see later in the chapter, Punjabi is associated with illiteracy, rusticity and low social class in Pakistan; and Urdu and English are the languages of the domains of power (such as education, media, bureaucracy etc.). Punjabi, despite being the majority language, appears to be losing its prestige and value in the rural regions due to symbolic domination of Urdu and English in Pakistan. Overall, these findings confirm Bourdieu's (1991) claim that language is not a mere source of communication - i.e. to simply convey meaning, but also an instrument of action and power. Bourdieu (1991) states that those speakers who are not users of an official language or a standard variety are subject to symbolic domination – "a form of complicity which is neither passive submission to external constraint nor a free adherence to values" (p. 51). For him, linguistic exchange is also an economic exchange which is established within particular symbolic relation of power between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit (Bourdieu 1991). Bourdieu does not see language as a mere mode/source of communication- i.e. to simply convey meaning, rather he views language as an instrument to convey power. Rahman (2002:40-41) shares Bourdieu's view, stating that, "Symbolic power refers to the association of a language with attributes which have a value, positive or negative, in the mind of the perceiver". In the similar vein, Salawa & Aseres (2015) argue that language can become a source of propagating unequal division of power and resources

between groups, impeding socioeconomic progress for those who do not learn the language of modernity (and power).

Economic circumstances are also important to consider in the case of Punjabi. One of the major reasons for not transmitting this language to future generations is the lack of economic benefits associated with Punjabi. The majority of the participants associate knowledge of Urdu and English with social and economic development. For them, Punjabi does not seem to be a modern language, and it is not the language of education. They prefer Urdu for their children because of the socioeconomic benefits tied with the language. Let's take an excerpt from Mehboob's interview who said speaking and learning Urdu and English are important because:

> *Urdu English jab ap parhe likhen gay ya parhaen gay ya achay mahool men jao gay. to kisi bhi job men, kisi bhi mehakmay men jao gay, to overall English ya Urdu istamaal hoti hai. kyon ke kisi bhi daftari system men jo hai na Punjabi istamal nahi hoti hai.*
>
> [Urdu and English…ummm…when you'll gain education…or if you are going to teach one day, or you go at a better place, or when you will do any job in the future, in any profession…overall…Urdu and English are used over there. Because Punjabi is never used in any official system.]
>
> (Excerpt 12, Mehboob)

Mehboob, along with the majority of the participants, believes that the key to socioeconomic development is learning both Urdu and English. This finding resonates with Harbert's views when he acknowledges the significance of speaking economically dominant languages by stating that such languages can give people access to roles, markets and information which can improve their well-being, whilst not speaking those languages can deny them access (Harbert, 2011). He further points out that language shifts also usually occur if there is depletion of resources and an increase in (or increased awareness of) economic opportunities outside the linguistic community (Harbert, 2011). This can be seen to apply to the current Punjabi speech communities in *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages. It appears that the socio-economic factors are putting pressure on the parents to introduce Urdu to their children from a very early age, so that they may have access to more advanced education, and, consequently, achieve a higher socioeconomic status. The existence of unequal levels of power between speech communities (where some local communities are politically powerless, less educated, less wealthy and with minimum access to modern

technology than others) affects the local language use and culture. The socially disadvantaged position of these speech communities becomes associated with, or even equated to the regional language and culture. Grenoble (2011) argues that in such situations the knowledge of regional language is considered as an impediment to socioeconomic development. Thus, socioeconomic development is then presumed to be associated with the knowledge of the language of wider communication.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, the villagers have positive attitudes towards Urdu. The following excerpt represents Abid's overt positive evaluations of Urdu:

> *Urdu men bas yahi hai ke bbb aa Urdu men takreeban bachon ko na saleeqa hota hai. Theek hai. Urdu men baat karne se tameez hoti hai. Tooo isiliye men unse Urdu men baat karta hun.*
>
> [In Urdu, you see…bbbb…Children have etiquettes/pleasant demeanour. OK. You look well-mannered by speaking in Urdu. So that's why I speak Urdu with my kids.]

(Excerpt 13, Abid)

Interestingly, a few participants who speak Punjabi with their children, showed a strong desire and preference of Urdu for their children. They wished that their kids spoke Urdu. For instance, Afaf's utmost desire is that her children speak Urdu (even though she and everybody else speaks Punjabi with them at home) because she sees Urdu speaking children as well- mannered, groomed and educated. She has three children and said,

> *Menu acha lagda hai na aey Urdu bolan. Acha bacha lagda aey. inhan nu men...men nahi..main nahi parhi.. Aey mery bachay chokha parhan… tarbiyat achi howay…*
>
> [I will like it if they speak in Urdu. A kid looks good. I didn't get any education. I want my kids to be better educated… (I want them to educate themselves properly). Their upbringing should be good…]

(Excerpt 14, Afaf)

Similar views were also expressed by another participant when she said,

> *Men to usko bhi kehti hun Urdu se baat karay. Ye sab chotay chotay...itnay chotay...uskay 3 baitay hen.. itna acha lagta hai na wo Urdu sy baat karin.*

[... I always tell him (her son) to speak in Urdu as well. All these little…very little…she (her sister) has three sons…they look so adorable when they speak in Urdu (smiling).]

(Excerpt 15, Sara)

She was talking about her sister's children who live in another city and speak Urdu at home. She seemed so fascinated by their Urdu speaking skills that she ended up wanting the same language skills for her son. In another occasion, she also mentioned that

Punjabi to usko pehlay he ati hai. Ummm usko Punjabi ke sath sath Urdu bhi aye. Lekin wo zayadar Urdu se baat karay.

[He already knows Punjabi…umm.. he should know both Punjabi and Urdu. But he should mostly speak in Urdu.]

(Excerpt 16, Sara)

Participants' positive attitudes towards Urdu are evident in the above examples. In the meantime, one can also observe their negative implicit attitudes towards Punjabi. The majority of them are willing to jettison their mother-tongue for 'better upbringing' of their children. Harbert (2011) and Potowski (2013) view attitudes of a community towards its language as another factor that affects the status and trajectory of a language. Similarly, Grenoble argues that positive attitudes promote vitality, while negative attitudes facilitate shift (2011).

Concerns regarding undergoing language shift from Punjabi to Urdu have been reported in the majority of the previous studies in the urban settings of the Punjab province (Mansoor, 1993 & 2004; Nazir et al., 2013; Gilani, 2014; Rahman 1996, and Sullivan, 2005). These studies claimed that the major reasons behind this rapid shift in the cities are the parents' negative disposition regarding Punjabi and the inefficient language policies of Pakistan. The results from the present study are significant as they highlight the sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in the rural settings of the Punjab. The findings suggest that Punjabi is undergoing a shift in rural settings also i.e. the intergenerational continuity is proceeding negatively, which is evident from the fact that the use of Punjabi is decreasing among the younger speakers in the rural areas as well. This finding was also reported by John (2015) who found that "a shift is seen

taking place in rural areas where middle class educated women are leading the change by speaking Urdu to their children" (John 2015:62).

Grenoble (2011) believes that a lack of transmission of the language to children has a significant impact on that language's vitality. At this point, however, Punjabi cannot be categorised as an endangered language, because there is no imminent risk of it being no longer spoken in the foreseeable future. As Grenoble says, "with a large speaker base, if some of the speakers shift to another language, it is not a signal that the language is in danger" (2011:39). The language shift process has certainly initiated in the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages, and they may abandon their heritage language, but in that case, it will most probably happen over the course of two or three generations. However, Potowski (2013) argues that negative attitudes lead to rapid shift. Therefore, this threat of language shift can only be arrested, if effective measures are taken to change the negative attitudes of Punjabi speech community towards their heritage language. And if these negative attitudes keep spreading, the rate of language shift from Punjabi to Urdu can also increase eventually.

In this section, we established that there is a lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi in *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages of Punjab. In the next sections, we will discuss the participants' negative disposition towards Punjabi and Punjabi speech community.

5.3. Association between language use and education

In order to investigate if Punjabi has an association with illiteracy in the rural regions of the Punjab, I asked my informants if they thought there is a difference between educated and uneducated people and if so, what is the difference. This was to gauge their implicit attitudes towards Punjabi. By asking this general question, it was expected that if the rural participants also held the same belief (as reported in previous studies such as Zaidi, 2001; Rahman, 2002 in urban settings that Punjabi is associated with illiteracy), it would emerge somewhere in their response and it did. While reporting the difference between educated and uneducated people, the majority of the participants said that the educated people speak Urdu (some of them also said English) and uneducated people speak Punjabi. These responses are represented in the following two excerpts:

> *Jo parhay likhay hotay hen na wo Urdu boltay hen. Aor jo unparh hotay hen wo Punjabi boltay hen.*

[Educated people speak Urdu and uneducated people speak Punjabi].

(Excerpt 17, Hafsa)

Oo jara ku Urdu bol lainday ney, assi Punjabi bolne aan. Hun pai farak tay aina ee aey.

[They can speak Urdu and we speak Punjabi. The difference is only this.]

(Excerpt 18, Luqman)

A few of the interviewees also talked about other differences such as: educated people are wise, sensible and well-mannered etc. In such situations, I probed my informants further and asked any language related differences that they could think of; to which they gave similar responses.

An uneducated resident of *Juria* village who cannot speak or understand Urdu properly, for instance, said:

Han. O pher Urdu bolde ne, Angreezi bolde ne. Apni taleem de naal onhan di gal baat hondi ae. Tay unparh tay mor jo asi bolne aan ooi bolde ne. Aey jairi apni zuban ee.

[Yes. They (then/ you know) speak Urdu. (They) speak English. They talk as per their education. And uneducated (people) speak the language that we speak; this language of ours (she meant Punjabi).]

(Excerpt 19, Eshal)

Participants expressed these views not only in response to this particular question, but this theme reoccurred throughout the data set. They very frequently associated Punjabi with illiteracy and rural environment.

It appears that Punjabi villagers are facing a similar diglossic situation as the one described by Sallabank (2013) who investigated the diglossic relation between French and local languages in the late nineteen and twentieth centuries in Guernsey and Jersey. She found that French was perceived as the language of civilization and education (High variety) and was mainly learned through education, whilst the local languages (like Guernesiais/Jerriais) had low status (Low varieties). Similarly, Urdu (and often English) is perceived as the language of civilisation and education whilst Punjabi is seen as a language of illiterate people, has low status and is minimally used in the educational institutes.

While explaining these differences, a few of the participants frequently used the term '*Gulabi* Urdu'. They professed that even if uneducated people speak Urdu, their way of speaking it is different, calling it '*Gulabi* Urdu':

Han jab wo hmaray bhai ke sath baat kartay hen to wo is trhan boltay hen jis trhan.. umm.. Gulabi Urdu boltay hen. (laughing out loudly).

[When he (her husband who is uneducated and hardly speaks Urdu) talks to my brother (who is educated and in army) he speaks…umm…*Gulabi* Urdu].

(Excerpt 20, Sara)

Another interviewee commented that children mostly speak Urdu these days and when the uneducated people speak Urdu with them, they do not speak it proficiently:

...Jadon boliye bachiyan naal Urdu,..umm..Urdu bachay bolde ne.. tay dingi seedhi Gulabi Urdu jinhu loki aam aakh chad'de ne, ohoi hondi honi aey (smiling) koi dinga seedha lafz bol charya. Tay seedhi gal apni zuban aich ee banda bolda aey na wai.

[When (they) speak Urdu with children, ummm.. children speak Urdu…then what people call it commonly, '*dingi seedhi* ***gulabi*** Urdu' (broken *Gulabi* Urdu), (they speak it with kids). It must be like that (smiling), (they) speak in twisted, crooked words (words which are not grammatically correct). You can only speak fluently in your own language, you know.]

(Excerpt 21, Eshal)

Commenting on this further, Sara defined *Ghulabi* Urdu as:

...Gulabi Urdu for instance is trhan koi beech men Punjabi, to koi Urdu, us trhan kar ke boltay hen. Har aik baat men wo 'tay' zarora milatay hen.

[…*Gulabi* Urdu, for instance: sometimes Punjabi, sometimes Urdu…he (her husband) talks like that. He adds *'tay'* (Punjabi word which means then/and in English) in every sentence.]

(Excerpt 22, Sara)

She meant that her husband code-mixes between Urdu and Punjabi, while conversing with her educated brother. His accent is Punjabi when he tries to speak Urdu, despite not being fluent in the language. Another participant explained *Gulabi* Urdu in a little more detail:

Gulabi da aey he na wai aik banda Urdu nahi bol sakda, tay men hun Punjabi bolni aan pai. Tay mera maqsad aey ke men oo, men Punjabi ee sahi bol laan. tay Urdu di men nakal lawan, tay bachay naal men Urdu bolan, tay oo Gulabi Urdu ban gai na. fher menu pori Urdu ju nahi andi (smiling). Tay men Urdu (laughing) tay apni zuban ralla ke kaam ainj ghalat kar daina

(laughing out loudly).

[Gulabi means when a person cannot speak Urdu - (for instance), Now, I speak Punjabi, what I mean is that I should speak Punjabi properly. If I mimic speaking Urdu, and I speak Urdu with kids (even though I don't know how to speak it properly), then it will become '*Gulabi* Urdu'. See, I am not fluent in Urdu (smiling), and if I mix it with my own language (laughing), I will do it incorrectly (laughing out loudly).]

(Excerpt 23, Eshal)

These informants' views suggest that *Gulabi* Urdu is generally viewed as broken Urdu. The term appears to be more commonly used in the rural regions. It is usually understood as the inability to speak fluently and grammatically sound Urdu, without reverting to one's native/first language. The other definition, corresponding to the informants' views is that it refers to a style which switches between Punjabi and Urdu. This resembles the situation described by Holmes, (2013) with reference to the use of Punjabi in Britain. She identified the use of *tuti futi* (broken up) Punjabi style characterised by code mixing[24] between Punjabi and English. While explaining the reasons for code-switching, Holmes, (2013:35) suggested that a switch to another language could be used as "a signal of group membership and shared ethnicity with an addressee". She further asserts that code-mixing may also be common among speakers who are not bilinguals or proficient in another language and they may use brief phrases and words to show solidarity with the addressee (Holmes, 2013). She also quotes examples of Scottish Highlanders who, despite not being fluent in Gaelic, code-mix between Gaelic and English to assert their identification with the local Gaelic speech community. Therefore, it is very much possible that Punjabi villagers who are not proficient speakers of Urdu nevertheless express their identification with the Urdu speech community by using Urdu tags and phrases interspersed with their Punjabi. In this case, however, the direction of switching (low←→ high) and motivation (solidarity building vs 'prestige-compliance') is different.

[24] Code-switching (often referring to different forms of mixing) is "the alteration between varieties, or codes, across sentences or clause boundaries" (Meyerhoff, 2006:116). Wardhaugh (2006:101) argues that it can happen in conversation between speakers' turns or within a single speaker's turn. Meyerhoff (2006:116) is of the view that people often code-switch between different language varieties depending on where they are, who they are talking to and what kind of impression or persona they want to communicate to their interlocutors.

Furthermore, considering the above example (excerpt 20 from Sara's interview), it appears that, when the speaker's husband code-switches, this is constrained by the person he is addressing – known as addressee-based code-switching. It is evident from most of the responses that one of many factors affecting the code-choice of the villagers is the level of education of their interlocutors. Therefore, another possible reason of such switches could be that they want to give an impression that they also know/can speak Urdu, so they are also "educated" (to a certain level) and should be considered of equal status to their interlocutors. Since there is a strong association of Punjabi with illiteracy and the villagers seem to believe that they speak Punjabi only because they are uneducated, they may speak *Gulabi* Urdu in an effort to become a part of more "sophisticated" and "prestigious" speech community by incorporating/ uttering short words or phrases in Urdu.

Interestingly though, some of the respondents also asserted that, even if an educated person speaks Punjabi, his Punjabi is different from the one spoken by an uneducated one. A female participant from *Juria* village told me that there is a difference between her and my Punjabi. She claimed that, since I am educated and I know Urdu, English and Punjabi, I "can" speak everyone's language and no matter what language the other person speaks, I will be able to communicate with him/her. When I specifically inquired about the difference in her and my Punjabi, she just mentioned that there is a difference. She was unable to explain what that difference is. It could probably be because she was reluctant to tell me that I am speaking her language variety in a different way/ or may be speaking it entirely incorrectly. But this would be interesting to explore in future research focusing on the differences that may be found between educated and uneducated speakers of Punjabi in Pakistan. Does education really make a difference in the language use of Punjabi speakers, as has been widely investigated and illustrated in other languages. If yes, how? What I have observed being a native resident of Punjab is that code-mixing/code-switching becomes a normal part of the conversation when one actually enters in the educational system. Since the medium of education is Urdu or English, school children/students are bound to converse or study in these two languages almost half of the day that they spend in these institutes. And then gradually code-mixing becomes a norm in the conversation of those who are or were affiliated with educational settings to some extent.

The majority of the participants believe that people speak Urdu because they are educated. Upon inquiring why do they think that people speak Urdu, a very frequent response was 'because they are educated':

> *...aeho he na ke parhay howay ne na. Onhan nu pata hai na k asi Urdu bolni aey…. uthan bain (uthny bethnay) da faraq pe janda aey. Boli da farq pe janda aey; ke ais banday naal, parhya hoya aey asi ainj di gal karni aey. Sadi trhan tay nahi unparh, asi seedhi Punjabi marni ai. (smiling).*
>
> […Because they are educated. They know that they should speak Urdu (as) they are educated…. (with education) A person's way of life is changed. His/her language changes too – that we are going to talk like that to this person who is educated. They are not uneducated like us; we will directly speak Punjabi (smiling).]

(Excerpt 24, Afaf)

Again, we find evidence that participants strongly associate Urdu with a certain level of education and they believe that they speak Punjabi only because they are uneducated and live in the villages. This ideology/belief is somehow hardwired in their brains that since they live in villages and they are uneducated, they are supposed to speak Punjabi. And if they had gained education, they would speak Urdu. It could also be due to societal/peer pressure or norms/prevalent assumptions in the region that once you have gained education, you are expected to speak Urdu or English.

This association of Urdu with literacy is an indication of the participants' positive attitudes towards Urdu. While explaining the differences between the language use of educated and uneducated people, an uneducated female interviewee (who speaks Punjabi as her first language), admired the way her younger sister (who is a graduate/14 years of education) and her brother-in-law (who is a *patwari*[25] and educated) speak Urdu (and sometimes English). She regretted not having gained the education that would have allowed her to also speak Urdu or English:

> *...Agar men vi parhi hondi tay pher men vi boti (Urdu ya Angreezi).*
>
> […If I had gained education, I would have also spoken (Urdu or English) like that.

(Excerpt 25, Afaf)

[25] An official who visits agricultural lands and maintains records of their ownership and tilling.

Another uneducated female participant, (who had lived in three major cities of the Punjab as her husband was a constable in the army) expressed her desire to speak Urdu and English in the following words:

> *Hun jay mmm main parhi hondi tey menu Urdu mmm (short pause) bolni chai di si. koj Angreezi aich bolna chai da si (smiling). Hunnn tay aey fher thoda jaya bahar reh ke army aich, Lor (Lahore) gye aan, tay Quotay (Quetta) gagye aan, Sialkot gaye aan tey othy thoda pa...Urdu vi smjh ai aey. tay par innhi nahi aey.*
>
> [Now if I were educated, I would have, ummm… (short pause) spoken Urdu. I would have spoken something in English (smiling). Now after getting exposure to the army…after living in Lahore, Quetta and Sialkot, (I have) picked up a smattering of Urdu. However, I don't understand it properly yet…]
>
> (Excerpt 26, Saima)

It is evident from these examples that most of the villagers seem to have a strong urge to be able to speak Urdu. One of the participants said that she feels bad if she does not know how to say something in Urdu.

> *…. tay koi gal jey menu nahi andi aey tay menu (smiling) bari fher apny aap tay ondi aey ke main kyon nahi parhi hai. Main parhi hondi tay men indhay naal bachay nal bol laina si na. kafi gallan da nahi pata honda ke aey Urdu aich ne. ya onj waisy parhya banda howay te onhun pata honda aey.*
>
> …And when I don't know how to say anything in Urdu, (smiling) then I feel really bad that why didn't I gain education. If I were educated, I would have easily spoken Urdu with this kid (son of her brother-in-law- who is very young and speaks Urdu with everybody at home). There are so many things (words) that you don't understand/know in Urdu. And if a person is educated, he knows those things/words.
>
> (Excerpt 27, Afaf)

If some of the respondents are unable to fulfil this desire to speak Urdu, they want to materialise it through their children, as has been previously discussed in section 5.2. These positive attitudes towards Urdu reflect the prestige and value that the villagers attach to Urdu. They wish to be able to speak Urdu because they view Urdu as a language of sophisticated and well-mannered people. Most importantly, they want to be able to speak Urdu, so that they could teach better values to their children, which apparently could only be achieved by shifting to Urdu – a "modern" and

"sophisticated" language. This, to some extent, reveals their implicit attitudes towards Punjabi. Despite speaking Punjabi as their mother-tongue, they have a strong urge to shift to Urdu. They want to be a part of the Urdu speaking community and the only way they can do this is through education or by urging their children to speak Urdu after they have gained education. In their perception, learning and speaking Urdu or English is the key to success.

5.4. Language – a symbol of social status

In addition to personal wealth, there are many other significant factors that contribute to the perception of (social) class such as: education, where someone lives and the language a person speaks (Mooney and Evans, 2015). In order to establish if the participants consider language a significant factor in determining the social class of people, I asked my informants whether they felt language is a symbol of social status in Pakistan or not? If they consider language a significant factor then where do they place Punjabi speakers in a social class hierarchy and, most importantly, which social class do they associate Punjabi with? This was to identify their attitudes towards Punjabi and Punjabi speakers. The hypothesis was that if they place Punjabi speakers low in a social class hierarchy and associate Punjabi with people from low social class, it would indicate their negative attitudes towards Punjabi and Punjabi speakers.

The majority of the participants said that the rich people speak Urdu and they (categorising themselves into lower/ lower middle class) speak Punjabi.

> *jaira sheran aich, jinde bache parhde paye ne. aa wadeyaan lokan de. onhan oo Urdu bolni aey, asi Punjabi bolni aey. han g.*
>
> [Children who are gaining education in the cities. Children of rich people. They speak Urdu. We speak Punjabi.]

(Excerpt 28, Luqman)

Sara, who felt that the rich people have a different style of speaking, demonstrated a similar sentiment upon inquiring what did she mean by 'different style of speaking':

> *...wo (rich and educated people) thoda Urdu sy baat karty hen to wo (poor and uneducated people) guri Punjabi men bat kartay hen.*
>
> […They (rich and educated people) use Urdu language in their conversation and they (poor and uneducated people) use pure Punjabi (*Gurri* Punjabi) in their conversation.]

(Excerpt 29, Sara)

It is worth noting here that, for both of these participants, education is equally an important factor as is the language, in determining the social status of a person. The same sentiments echoed in the response of Saqib, who firmly believed that (the choice/use of) language is a reflection of a person's family/financial background:

> *Han g! Ye apna jo Urdu bolta hai ya English bolta hai dosra jo hai mehsoos karta hai ke isko men kaisy pehchanun ke iska kis gharany se talak hai. peechay mali, enhan di ki position aey. indhey waich apna jaira aey na kafi oo raaz poshida ne. Agar tusi Urdu bolan daye oo tay agla bole ga ke indhe kol wasayal peeche bht zayada ne, jis wajah to inhen apna enhi taleem kiti, ais mukaam te pohanchya. han g.*
>
> [Yes. Other person tries to judge the family background of a person who speaks in Urdu or in English. What is their financial background (or social status)? There are so many secrets hidden in this. If you are speaking in Urdu, the other person would think that you have good (financial) resources (and) because of which you have gained such (higher) education (and) you have reached at such a (high) status. OK.]

(Excerpt 30, Saqib)

Saqib implied that people speak Urdu when they gain education. And people gain good quality education only when their family has the financial resources to support the education. So, for most of the participants, just like for Saqib, both of these factors (i.e. language and education) appear to be related to each other and to be crucial to social class categorization/segregation. It is worth noting that the majority of the participants placed Punjabi at the lowest rank in the linguistic hierarchy that exists in Pakistan. This is evident from Khalid's comment:

> *Han bilkul… status aaa unnn matlab kisi ka daikhna ho to zubaan se andaza laga laita hai, (smiling) ke ye kis status ka hai kis. yahan to jo koi Punjabi bol raha hai aaa uska status jo bhi hai sun'nay wala kehta hai ye bas aisy he hai! To Urdu wala to Lahore, oper usko laity hain aor English walay ko thoda ummm (laughing) hum zayda oper lay laity hain.*
>
> [Yes, definitely… I mean, if you want to assess someone's social status, then you can assess it from his/her language (smiling)… if a person is speaking Punjabi, no matter what his status is, listeners would think that he is just average. And Urdu speakers in Lahore are given higher regards and even more so when it comes to English speakers.]

(Excerpt 31, Khalid)

By pointing out the stereotypical notions attached to Punjabi and Punjabi speakers, Khalid implied two things: Firstly, even if a person from a high social class speaks Punjabi, the listener would automatically assume that this Punjabi speaker belongs to an average/lower social class – indicating that Punjabi is associated with lower class. Secondly, a language hierarchy exists in Punjab – where English has the highest linguistic prestige, Urdu is positioned second and Punjabi is at the lowest prestige rank.

Therefore, language appears to be an important symbol of status and class differentiation in the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages. Participants view language as the primary factor in determining the social class of a person. Other factors such as: clothing/attire, where he/she lives, occupation etc., for example, are secondary to them. Most of them assume that no matter what one's social status is, his/her use of language depicts his/her social status to the listener.

In light of the argument presented above, it is evident that the majority of the participants placed Punjabi speakers low in the social class hierarchy and associated Punjabi with low social status, hence, indicating negative attitudes towards Punjabi and Punjabi speakers. The results corroborate the previous studies by Rahman (2004), Mansoor (2004) and Zaidi (2001) who also reported the existence of a language hierarchy in Pakistan. I would like to clarify here that this study was not intended to identify the language(s) choices or language differences between lower, middle or upper class of the province. Rather, this study reports participants' perceptions regarding the status of each language within the country. These results are purely based on their assumptions of the social status accorded to English, Urdu and Punjabi in Pakistan. This is how the participants ranked these three languages in the region. It would be interesting to explore in future studies whether these assumptions carry any weight or not? Similar to Labov (1972) and Trudgill's (1972) classic studies of linguistic variation among social classes, is there any difference in the language use of lower, middle and upper class of the region? If yes, what kind of differences are these? Are these differences within the same language (e.g. phonological, grammatical, pronunciation etc differences) or are these also differences in various language choices (e.g. elite class speaks English, middle-class speaks Urdu and lower class speaks Punjabi), as the participants' assumptions suggest?

5.5. An abusive language

While explaining to me the difference between the language use of educated and uneducated people, one of the female participants said in the middle of the conversation, "… *ye jo Punjabi log hen na galliyan bohat nikalty hen"* […These Punjabi people, they curse a lot]. Several other participants also pointed out that Punjabi is a rude language and Urdu, on the other hand, is a sweet language. An informant from the *Juria* village commented:

> *... lekin ye hai ke Urdu men insaan chahye jitni bhi chahye batmeezi se thodi baat kar lay na to itni mehsoos nahi hoti. Main...mmm... ye baat hai. Aor Punjabi men jab insaan batmeezi se koi thodi si bhi baat karay to bohat zayada mehsoos hota hai ke koi batmeezi se baat kar raha hai. aor Urdu men phir bhi insan ki koi limit reh jati hai.*
>
> [It's just that no matter how disrespectfully/rudely one speaks in Urdu, it doesn't feel that bad. Umm, this is the case. And if someone speaks disrespectfully in Punjabi, even a slight remark…then it feels extremely bad…that someone is talking disrespectfully. And in Urdu a person still speaks within limits.]
>
> (Excerpt 32, Sumaira)

At another point in the interview, the same informant recounted an event her teacher once told her:

> *Mery sir kehty hain main na Islamabad rehta tha, to mery flat ke neechy na 2 larkay bohat zayaa lari jaen apase men. aadha ghanta guzar gaya. baaton men lari jaen. Urdu men. main unke pass gaya men ny bola yar Punjabi nahi aati? unhon ne kaha nahi. wo kehtay men ne kaha agar Punjabi ati hoti na to abhi tak tum dono hatha pai howay hotay.*
>
> *yahi baat hai na ke Punjabi men har had cross ho jati hai, urdu men phir bhi koi limit reh jati hai*. (laughing).
>
> [My Sir (teacher) once told me, "I used to live in Islamabad. One day, two boys were fighting on the road, in front of my flat. Half an hour passed by. They kept passing remarks on each other…in Urdu. I went to them and asked, Hey buddies, Don't you guys know how to speak Punjabi? They said, "No". Then I said, "If you people were arguing in Punjabi, you would have been fighting with each other by now" (laughing out loud)…

So, this is the case. In Punjabi, you can cross every limit…but in Urdu, you remain in a certain limit (laughing out loud).]

(Excerpt 33, Sumaira)

These comments reflect a very commonly held belief that Punjabi is an impolite language. Several informants mentioned that one cannot speak disrespectfully in Urdu. The incident that the interviewee reflected on suggests that arguing in Punjabi instantly accelerates and turns into fighting.

Another participant from the *Narranwala* village similarly believes that curses in Punjabi are worse than curses in Urdu. She is of the view that people usually never fight in Urdu, and they just discuss their opinion in a polite manner:

... Urdu di boli bari aik meethi boli aey. Urdu aich tay koi gaal vi kaday na tay oo mehsoos he koi nahi hundi (laughing). jadon Punjabi aich koi gaal kad'da aey na tay enni masoos hundi aey (laughing). tussi kadi Punjabi diyan galan suno tay fher Urdu diyan galan nal onhan da (laughing) karo aey muqabla, ke oo bariyan gandiyan galan ne. Urdu aich koi gal kaday, koi larai vi larda paya howe na, oo eni mehsoos he nahi hundi (smiling). o matlab jadon koi Urdu aich banda larda aey tay o sirf apna point of you (view) *he paish karda aey, ke menu aa wajah aey, aa gal aey, men is wajah to lardi pai aan, is wajah to chaghra (jhagra, larai) ho raya aey. men suchi aan. jadon (laughing) Punjabi P*** C**** (abusive language), Ku*** teri -----(lot of stress and raised tone) tay kinna faraq aey. (smiling).*

[….Urdu is a very sweet language. Even if somebody curses you in Urdu, you don't feel it (laughing). And you'll extremely feel it if somebody curses you in Punjabi (laughing). If you listen to the abusive words in Punjabi and then compare that with abusive words in Urdu (laughing), (you'll see that) those are really offensive words. If somebody curses in Urdu…even if somebody is quarrelling (in Urdu), you won't feel it that much (smiling). I mean, when somebody is arguing in Urdu, he is just presenting his point-of-view…that this is the reason…this is the thing…I'm arguing because of this…there is a disagreement because of this…I am right. And when in Punjabi (laughing) you say **** (abusive words), ****, *teri* *** -----(lot of stress and raised tone)…see, isn't there a difference (smiling).]

(Excerpt 34, Hiba)

Also, very interestingly, while commenting on Punjabi identity, an informant from *Narranwala* village reported that a Punjabi can be identified by his abusive language:

> *Punjabi jairi akhiya otar deya otra uth ja. oo Punjabi aey. (smiling). Aey he Punjabiyan aali hundi aey wai 'wey kiday chalan aen, wey kiday aya aen, way kiday gaya aen. bhairiya*[26] *menu vi naal lai ja.'. Tay Urdu aich aey way, 'bhai jaan kidher gaye sao. menu vi naal lai jana si. men sath jana si. ' zuban tu wai pata lagda aey.*
>
> [When you say, '*otar deya otra uth ja'*, (curses/abusive words) that's Punjabi (smiling). This is Punjabi: Where are you going? Where have you come? Where did you go? Take me with you, jerk). And in Urdu, we say, 'Dear Brother, where were you? You should have taken me with you. I wanted to go with you). So, you can tell from a person's language (whether he is from village or city).]
>
> (Excerpt 35, Mehrunisa)

It should be noted in this comment that the speaker started explaining the difference with the use of curses, which apparently for her, are the first identity markers of Punjabi speakers. She suddenly lowered her voice (falling intonation) while giving examples of how one can identify Urdu speakers. She added *Jaan* to bhai (brother), which is a very polite (and loving) way to address someone in Urdu.

Of course, Punjabi is not intrinsically rude or impolite. Almost every language has a lexical repertoire to express anger and other emotions. Urdu language also has abusive, cursing and swearing words in it. The rural Punjabi respondents probably cannot express their anger and frustration in Urdu eloquently because they do not speak Urdu as their first language. Studies have shown that L1 is generally the preferred language for expression of strong emotions, including anger (see Dewaele, 2006 & Pavlenko, 2002). Rintell (1984) in her seminal study in the field of Second Language Acquisition and Emotion discovered that L2 users find it hard to judge the degree of emotional intensity of speech in L2 English (p.123). Schrauff (2000) is of the view that memories of emotional events in the L1 feel more vivid and intense.

[26] The literal translation of *Bhaireya* would be 'a bad/horrible person'. In this particular context, however, it would mean 'Jerk/moron' but in a less derogatory/demeaning manner.

It may be expected, therefore, that the Punjabi villagers interviewed are most expressive in their native/first language (Punjabi). They probably choose Punjabi to express their anger as it is the only language in which they can speak proficiently and express their emotions eloquently. And as can be inferred from Rintell's (1984) study, it is easier and quicker for them to judge the emotional intensity of Punjabi curses, rather than the curses in Urdu. Harris (2004) points out that the reason L1 is often experienced as more emotional than L2 is because L1 is learned in a context that is consistently emotional. This might explain why Punjabi is described as being more direct, impolite and rude. Since the respondents cannot express themselves in Urdu (L2) as forcefully as they would in their native language (Punjabi), they do not realize the emotional intensity of Urdu curses; which is why they think Urdu is less direct and more polite than Punjabi.

They have also commonly heard or spoken Urdu in formal settings only where people usually tend to avoid cursing and swearing. People are usually reluctant to express or display intense emotions in such settings; which could be another reason that they think Urdu is a sweet language and the language of civilised and cultured people. An informant from the Narranawala village expressed his thoughts about Urdu in the following words:

> *Urdu men baat karne se tameez hoti hai. Urdu na saleeqay wali zuban hai.*
>
> [One looks civilised when he speaks Urdu. It's a language of etiquettes.]
>
> (Excerpt 36, Abid)

Another commonly expressed notion is that Urdu sounds good. One informant who chose to be interviewed in Punjabi commented:

> *...lekin Urdu aich baiii aeyyy discipline lagda, acha mahool lagda…. Matlab ke, 'aidher aa', tay 'idher ao'. Idher ao… umm… kinna payara lafaz aey. To 'aidher aa'… tay… umm… ghalat lafaz boliya janda aey.*
>
> [… but there is a discipline in Urdu. The environment (of the house) looks good. … I mean, (there is a difference in) *aidher aa* (Raised tone, Punjabi Phrase – come here) tay *idher ao* (normal tone, Urdu phrase - come here). How beautiful is this word *idher aao*. And *aidher aa* sounds wrong.]
>
> (Excerpt 37, Adeena)

It is interesting to note that the respondent mentioned that the Punjabi phrase *aidher aa* (come here) sounds rude to her whilst the Urdu phrase *idher ao* (come here) sounds beautiful. She spoke Punjabi through the entire interview, despite that fact that

she considered it an impolite and rude language. There seems to be a conflict in participants' covert and overt language ideologies. Despite admiring Urdu speakers and apparently having positive attitudes towards Urdu, they speak Punjabi in their everyday life (even though they think that it is a rude language). Overtly expressed positive attitudes towards Urdu do not seem to affect their language practices as much as their negative attitudes towards Punjabi appear to be affecting the language choices of these villagers for their children.

5.6. *Paindu*[27] (backward) language

In order to investigate a commonly held assumption in the urban regions of Punjab that Punjabi is a *paindu* language, as Shafi (2013), Riaz and Qadir (2012), Sullivan (2005) and Rahman (2003) claim, I asked my informants a general question regarding the differences between village and city life. Again, as assumed for other questions, it was expected that, if the participants from the rural settings associate Punjabi with villages and they also believe that Punjabi is a *paindu* (backward) language, they would mention it in their response. The intention was not to ask the question directly, as there was a possibility of getting biased responses (see chapter 3 for detailed discussion). The response pattern was similar to the previous indirect questions. Most of them quickly moved to the linguistic differences between villages and cities. And a few of them described other differences such as better health facilities, better economic opportunities and a better way of living in the cities etc. In such cases, I probed my participants further and inquired about any language related differences that they could think of. The response of the majority of them was again similar to the other participants' who consider themselves *paindu* and think that is why they speak Punjabi.

While explaining to me the difference between villagers and city dwellers, many participants said that they (identifying themselves as villagers) speak "this *Paindu* language" (i.e. Punjabi).

> *Aey jo jatki zuban aey, aei karne aan. ja schoolay ja. aey ee gal karni aey. aey Punjabi aey ji.*

[27] *Paindu* is an adjective in Urdu. It refers to a person who wears orthodox villagers' guise, shows crudeness of manners and speaks in the rustic Punjabi accent (Shafi, 2013). This term has negative connotations and refers to a benighted, unlearned and ignorant person who speaks Punjabi. The adjective is often also used with reference to the Punjabi language to refer to it as being backward, unmodern and a language of ignorant people.

[This rustic/backward language…we speak this (in this language). *ja schoolay ja* (Go to school), we talk like this. This is Punjabi.]

(Excerpt 38, Luqman)

It appears to be a commonly held notion that Punjabi is the language for villagers and Urdu and English are the languages for urbanites. The majority of the participants believe that their language (Punjabi) is backward and unmodern.

Saadi ainway ee thuli jai, jatki zuban aey.

[Our language is backward/rural.]

(Excerpt 39, Zulfiqar)

Few of the respondents were quite expressive and rigid in their opinions, and associated Punjabi with villages only. For instance: Aqib is of the view that

Zuban da vi farak honda aey. Oo Urdu bolday ne, aey Punjabi bolday ne.

[There is a difference in language as well. They (urbanites) speak Urdu and we (villagers) speak Punjabi.]

(Excerpt 40, Aqib)

Another participant exaggerated the linguistic differences between urban and rural localities of Punjab in the following words:

…jatka mahool aey…tay sheher aich tay mor jaira rati jamda aey, oo vi swaery Urdu bolda aey.)

[…you know, the environment of this village is backward… And in cities, even a child who was born last night, speaks Urdu the very next day.]

(Excerpt 41, Eshal)

She meant that she speaks Punjabi because of the rusticity of her village. Urdu is very commonly spoken in the cities because that is the norm there. Urdu is increasingly becoming the language of home and everyday conversation in the cities. Children are taught to speak in Urdu even before they start gaining education, whereas the linguistic situation in the villages is slightly different. In *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages, Punjabi is the language of interaction and family chit chat at homes. Most of the children begin to learn and speak Urdu when they start going to schools. The above comments also suggest that, for the majority of the participants, language is one of the major identity markers to segregate villagers from urbanites. Khadija shares her views in the following manner:

Oo boli da farak lag janda aey na.! Koi Urdu aich bole tay akhae wai sheher da aey. te Punjabi aich gal karo bhai dehaat da aey.

[Well, (you can tell) from the difference in their language. If somebody speaks in Urdu, then we would say that he is from the city. And if somebody speaks in Punjabi, then we would assume that he is from the village.]

(Excerpt 42, Khadija)

This finding resonates with Sallabank's (2013) findings about the linguistic situation in Guernsey, Jersey and the Isle of Man. She pointed out that until the previous two or three decades, traditional languages and cultures, in these places, were associated with backwardness and poverty and were seen as an impediment to social advancement. The Manx variety spoken in the Isle of Man, for example, was considered 'not a real language' and 'a sign of poverty and of backwardness' for much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As mentioned earlier, there are also similarities between the attitudes expressed by participants in this study and those described by Bouchard (2019) who suggested that the Portuguese language is associated with the powerful, educated and elegant, while Forro is the language of uneducated, rural, poor, backward and ignorant people in São Tomé Island. Forro is perceived as an impediment to social advancement in the city and the locals seem to believe that it would hinder the acquisition of Portuguese and limit their social mobility (Bouchard, 2019). Similarly, in Punjab there is a widespread cultural shame about Punjabi. As mentioned above, those who speak Punjabi are considered *paindu* (rustic, village yokel) and proficiency in it is now considered an impediment to socio-economic advancement. This could be described in the terms of Labov's concept of *linguistic insecurity* (1966), which refers to a speaker's perception that their own (variety of) language is inferior to others. Meyerhoff defines *linguistic insecurity* as "speakers' feeling that the variety that they use is somehow inferior, ugly, or bad" (2006:292). It is interesting to note that the rural Punjabi speakers in my study have associated their own language (Punjabi) with low status, backwardness and illiteracy. Such expressions of linguistic insecurity are often correlated with shift toward the dominant language, with speakers demonstrating shame or embarrassment about using their heritage language (Abtahian & Quinn, 2017).

It is also vital to discuss here that the participants appear rather unwavering in their attitudes. The majority of them firmly believe that Punjabi is only spoken in the villages and that it is hardly spoken in the cities, which to the best of my knowledge

is inaccurate. The numerical dominance of Punjabi in the region has been recently reported in Ethnologue 2019, according to which, Punjabi is predominantly spoken in almost every district of Punjab province (Chakwal, Faisalabad, Gujranwala, Gujrat, Hafizabad, Jhang, Jhelum, Kasur, Khushab, Lahore, Mandi Bahauddin, Nankana, Narowal, Okara, Pakpattan, Sahiwal, Sargodha, Shekhupura, Sialkot, and Toba Tek Singh districts). However, despite being numerically the largest spoken language in the province, Punjabi is treated as a minority language. Mansoor (2004:334-335) argues that the "numerical strength does not determine majority or dominant languages in Pakistan. Urdu and English dominate the regional languages politically, economically and culturally".

So far, the chapter has focused on analysing and discussing the results of the qualitative data. It has argued that the implicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis are unfavourable towards Punjabi. An apparent limitation of employing interviews as indirect method was that, on various occasions, participants explicitly expressed their attitudes towards Punjabi. However, these attitudes are still 'implicit' to the extent that participants expressed them without being aware that I was particularly interested in eliciting their attitudes towards Punjabi. In other words, the attitudes were implicit in the sense that they were measured indirectly. I would like to emphasize here that the participants were not directly asked about their attitudes towards Punjabi, rather these attitudes were volunteered as a result of a more general discussion during the interviews.

5.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explored the implicit linguistic attitudes of rural Punjabis, as expressed in the interviews. A thematic analysis of the semi-structured interviews was carried out focusing on the ideas and perceptions of the villagers regarding Punjabi. Throughout, the key to analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data was to identify the hidden, covert or implicit attitudes of the respondents towards Punjabi.

In summary, in this chapter, I noticed that the data indicate a lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi, which is linked to the negative attitudes of the parents towards their heritage language. Since language transmission is an integral part of language maintenance, its omission leads to language shift. Consequently, it was suggested that there is an onset of language shift from Punjabi to Urdu in the rural regions of the Punjab. Several factors were spotlighted that appear to contribute to this

shift and the use of Urdu and English in the domains of power in Punjab is one of them. It was noticed that rural Punjabis associated Punjabi with illiteracy, backwardness and low status. And they view Punjabi as an abusive language. Urdu, on the contrary, is a prestigious language for them. The association of Urdu with politeness, modernity, sweetness and sophistication is an overt expression of their positive attitudes towards Urdu from which a covert negative attitude to Punjabi may be inferred.

It was mentioned that another factor contributing to this shift is the instrumental and integrative or rational motivation of the participants to learn the powerful languages, that is their more or less conscious realization that learning the language of the powerful is the only key to power which personal efforts can give them, as observed by Rahman (2002). It was additionally pointed out that emotional, extra-rational reasons (i.e. to be a part of more prestigious and highly regarded speech community, to appear esteemed and of high social status, to become like the powerful) may also play a role. The qualitative findings have also shown that, for participants, language and education are the major identity markers in determining the social status of a person. The findings suggest that social class and educational background are the two primary variables affecting the language use of the participants.

One of the significant findings to emerge from this study is that the indirect questioning technique proved effective in determining the implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi. They intuitively conferred high status and prestige to Urdu while generally expressing their views about the three commonly spoken languages in Punjab. Similarly, while articulating their language use patterns at home, they signalled a decline in the intergenerational transmission of Punjabi – which, again, is an indication that the parental attitudes are negatively inclined towards Punjabi. Participants' positive evaluation of Urdu indicates their covert/implicit negative attitudes towards Punjabi. In an effort to praise the Urdu language and Urdu speakers, participants did not realize what covert attitudes they were expressing towards their mother-tongue.

The following chapter draws together strands from chapter 4 and this chapter in order to throw light on discrepancies between participants' explicit and implicit attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi. Similarly, it also draws a comparison between the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in contemporary

Pakistan. In other words, chapter 6 draws a comparison between the qualitative and quantitative findings and provides a general discussion of the findings of this study.

Chapter 6

General Discussion

6.1. Introduction

This chapter draws together strands from previous chapters in order to throw light on discrepancies between participants' explicit and implicit attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi. Similarly, it also draws a comparison between the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan. In other words, this chapter draws a comparison between the qualitative and quantitative findings. Section 6.4 is devoted to the detailed discussion of the analysis of variance tests which were conducted to identify the relationship between different variables (such as: age, level of education, gender and village) and explicit attitudes. Finally, the chapter concludes with a brief summary.

6.2. A comparison between quantitative and qualitative findings

In this section, I integrate the results from the quantitative data analysis (presented in chapter 4) with the results from the qualitative data analysis presented chapter 5. I firstly consider general differences and similarities between the participants' explicit and implicit attitudes towards Punjabi (section 6.3) and then provide details of the divergence between respondents' overt and covert attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi (6.3.1). In the next section (6.4), I draw a comparison between the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan along the parameters of the EVM by Bouhris et al. (1981).

6.3. Explicit and implicit attitudes: General differences

In contrast to language attitude studies in the urban settings (Abbas and Iqbal, 2018; Shah and Anwar, 2015; Karim and Kanwal, 2013; Shafi, 2013; Nazir et al. 2013; Sullivan, 2005; Mansoor, 2004; Baart, 2003 and Riaz, 2011), this study found that the explicit language attitudes of rural Punjabis are positively inclined towards Punjabi (section 4.7, chapter 4). Although the studies in the urban settings do not overtly claim reporting the explicit attitudes of the urban participants, the direct methodology employed in these studies suggested that the reported attitudes were explicit. Participants' positive explicit attitudes found in this study, however, seem to be consistent with John's, (2015) findings who also found positive attitudes of rural Punjabis towards Punjabi. The qualitative analysis, on the other hand, suggested that

the implicit attitudes towards Punjabi are negatively inclined towards Punjabi. This project is the first investigation of the implicit attitudes of Punjabi speakers towards Punjabi.

Furthermore, in the quantitative study, no significant differences were found in the attitudinal ratings of male and female participants. Similarly, while analysing the interviews, the study did not find any gender differences in the attitudinal orientations of the participants towards Punjabi. Also, when participants were asked about any language use differences in the males and females of the Juria and Narranwala villages, most of them responded that there is no difference and that both males and females use Punjabi language equally. This seems to contradictory to Baker's (1993) findings who identified gender and age as significant factors which influenced his participants' attitudes towards Welsh. Baker (1993) found out that girls and young students had more positive attitudes towards Welsh and that age had stronger effect than gender on attitude ratings. The scope of this study did not allow further investigations into the effect of these variables on attitudes, but it would be an interesting aspect to explore in future research.

Both (explicit and implicit) attitudes were found to be similarly negative in two instances only, i.e. when participants expressed their thoughts about the future/scope of Punjabi and their language preferences for their children. As per researcher's knowledge, this is the first study on language attitudes in Pakistan that compares the explicit and implicit attitudes of the participants. In accordance with the present results, previous studies have demonstrated that Punjabi speakers are not optimistic about the future of Punjabi in the region (Abbas et al, 2019; Shafi, 2013, Riaz, 2011 and Khokhar, 2006), which is why they are not willing to transfer Punjabi to their children (Shah and Anwar, 2015; Karim and Kanwal, 2013; Nazir et al, 2013; Mansoor, 2004, Rahman, 2004).

The domain analysis in the survey, as well as the qualitative findings, suggested that the dominant language in the home domain is Punjabi. However, the majority of the participants chose Urdu as their obvious language choice for their children. Both quantitative (direct method) and qualitative (indirect method) findings suggested that the intergenerational transmission of Punjabi is decreasing in the rural regions of Punjab. The study has identified that Punjabi is undergoing shift. Parents

have both instrumental and integrative motivation to shift to Urdu and abandon their heritage language.

Furthermore, when parents were asked, in the survey, about their language preferences for their children in formal and informal domains, the majority of them preferred Urdu to Punjabi (section 4.5.1 & section 4.5.7, chapter 4). Similarly, during the interviews, while reporting their language use patterns in the home domain, they mentioned that they are (or trying to) speak Urdu with their children. They expressed very positive attitudes towards Urdu by associating it with modernity, literacy, high social class and sophistication. From these overt positive expressions towards Urdu, it was implied that their attitudes towards Punjabi were negative.

Similarly, both methods revealed that the participants are not optimistic about the future/scope of Punjabi in the region. The participants demonstrated negative explicit attitudes towards Punjabi when they were asked about the scope of Punjabi in the survey. They believe that Punjabi is irrelevant to the modern world (section 4.7.6, section 4.7.9). Also, during the interviews, the majority of the participants repeatedly called Punjabi a *paindu* language (chapter 5, section 5.6). They implied that Punjabi is not a modern language, and it has low socioeconomic benefits. This indicates that their implicit attitudes are also negative towards the scope/future of Punjabi in the region. Therefore, the direct and indirect methods revealed that parental attitudes (both explicit and implicit) are negative towards the intergenerational transmission of Punjabi and the scope of Punjabi in Pakistan.

6.3.1. Divergence between explicit and implicit attitudes

In the quantitative survey, the majority of the participants agreed that speaking Punjabi is one of the identity markers of educated people (section 4.7.2). However, the qualitative data suggested that they repeatedly associated Punjabi with illiteracy (chapter 5, section 5.3). Similarly, in the surveys, the respondents agreed that Punjabi should be promoted and taught in schools (section 4.7.2) but in the interviews, most of them favoured Urdu over Punjabi for educational purposes. They acknowledged the significance of learning and speaking Urdu and English in the educational institutes and believed that the need is urgent. It was surprising to note that, in the interviews, nobody mentioned that Punjabi should also be promoted or taught in schools, along with Urdu and English (if not only Punjabi), or that they feel bad that they are not

transferring Punjabi to their children because of the poor language policies of the country. They repeatedly mentioned that it is schools' policy to teach Urdu (and English) to their children and acted as if it is understood/common-sense to teach Urdu to their children now. These contrasting findings show that there is a divergence between participants' overt and covert expressions of attitudes towards education in Punjabi. In response to the direct questions, they demonstrated positive explicit attitudes, whereas in response to the indirect questioning, they demonstrated negative implicit attitudes.

Similarly, the quantitative findings in section 4.7 (chapter 4) suggested very positive explicit attitudes of participants towards Punjabi with regard to identity and heritage. The majority of the participants reported that Punjabi plays a significant role in their identity construction and heritage (section 4.7.1). However, despite considering the Punjabi language a significant identity marker, they are not transferring it to their children. They probably do not want the Punjabi language to be a part of their children's identity because, as emerging from the interviews, they associate it with illiteracy, low social status and backwardness (see chapter 5). On the other hand, they associate Urdu with literacy, civilisation, modernity and sophistication. This probably explains why they are willing to jettison their heritage language and want their children to be a part of a more cultured and sophisticated speech community.

Therefore, a conflict between overt and covert attitudes seems to exist in this domain too. Although the respondents appear to consider Punjabi an integral part of their identity, they are not making any efforts to retain this language and maintain their identity by transferring it to their children. They actually forbid their children to speak Punjabi. I have already talked about the probable causes of this lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi in detail in the previous chapter (see section 5.2 for details). It would be sufficient to say here that there is a disassociation between participants' implicit attitudes and self-reported explicit attitudes.

Likewise, the majority of the participants in the quantitative survey responded favourably towards Punjabi in the personal language preferences category (Chapter 4, section 4.7.4). They expressed positive explicit attitudes towards Punjabi by agreeing that it is important for them to be able to speak Punjabi, and by stating that they prefer

Punjabi to Urdu for everyday conversations. The qualitative analysis also revealed the dominant use of Punjabi in home and neighbourhood domains, suggesting that the majority of the participants, especially the elders, prefer speaking and listening Punjabi in the villages. Apparently, these results are in agreement. However, the in-depth analysis of the interviews also suggests that some of the Punjabi speakers have a strong desire to be able to speak Urdu as they consider it a modern and sophisticated language. For instance, as discussed in the previous chapter (section 5.3), interviewees frequently mentioned that if they were educated, they would have also spoken Urdu (excerpts 25, 26 and 27). Despite speaking Punjabi as their everyday language, they aspire to be able to speak Urdu (and in few cases, English) so that they could transfer it to their children for their "better" upbringing.

The fact that participants attributed certain adjectives to Punjabi in the interviews also highlights the divergence between explicit and implicit attitudes. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the majority of the participants associated Punjabi with illiteracy, poverty and village yokels/peasants (*paindu*). From these negative associations with Punjabi and positive associations with Urdu, it was inferred that the participants have negative implicit attitudes towards Punjabi. In contrast, the quantitative findings (regarding the Aesthetics of the Punjabi language, chapter 4, section 4.7.9) revealed favourable explicit attitudes towards Punjabi. The majority of the respondents agreed that Punjabi is a beautiful, expressive and musical language and it is important to maintain a high social status.

Another interesting finding was that, in the quantitative survey, the majority of the participants favoured Punjabi for religions activities (like prayers, sermons, translation of Holy Quran in Punjabi). However, during the interviews, participants were reluctant to comment on the use of Punjabi for religious activities. It is suggested that this discrepancy might be due to the fact that the participants became confused and were surprised to imagine that I might not know the answer to this question. It could also be that they do not have any particular language preference for prayers or other religious activities. As one of the participants commented, it does not matter in which language you pray; God always listens (Excerpt 43, Adeena). It could be an interesting avenue for future research to explore the relation between Punjabi and the religious identity of Punjabis.

In the light of the discussion presented above and the previous chapter, the existence and operation of dual attitudes (one attitude explicit and the other implicit) can be clearly observed among the rural Punjabis. As stated earlier in chapter 2, dual attitudes (different evaluations of the same attitude object: an automatic, implicit attitude and an explicit attitude) can exist at the same time (Wilson et al., 2000). The data suggests that these attitudes may be classified as *motivated overriding* (see chapter 2, section 2.6 for more details). *Motivated overriding* is a source of duality, in which people are fully aware of their implicit and explicit attitudes. However, they view their implicit evaluations as illegitimate and unwanted and are motivated to override it with a different attitude (Wilson et al., 2000). The data highlights a conflict between explicit attitudes (wanting to retain Punjabi as the heart of their culture and considering it a part of their identity) and implicit attitudes (associating it with illiteracy, poverty and no socioeconomic advancement, decrease in intergenerational transmission) of the participants. The rural Punjabis might be fully aware that they have negative attitudes towards their heritage language/mother-tongue. They acknowledge the fact there are no socioeconomic benefits associated with Punjabi, and they could only excel at the expense of losing their mother-tongue. It is very much likely that, unconsciously, they do not want to hold a negative attitude towards their mother-tongue and heritage language, and because they deplore this reaction, they attempt to override it, by expressing an explicit positive attitude towards it. Testing this source of duality is beyond the scope of this dissertation but would be an interesting avenue for future research.

As stated in chapter 3, the questionnaires were employed as a direct method to measure the explicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi. One unanticipated finding was that the results and analysis of Questions 4 and 5 in the quantitative survey (chapter 4, section 4.5) also revealed implicit attitudes of the participants towards Punjabi, as well as the explicit ones. Although the intention of these questions was not to explore the implicit attitudes of the participants, the detailed analysis of the participants' responses to these two questions highlighted their implicit attitudes more than their explicit ones. The relevant two questions gave participants an option to choose between three languages (Urdu, English and Punjabi) (see Appendix F, Questions 4 and 5) and when they were given this choice, the majority of the participants preferred Urdu (and English) to Punjabi.

The quantitative findings from these two questions corroborated the qualitative findings and suggested that the implicit attitudes of participants are negative towards Punjabi. This, interestingly, provided an additional support for my qualitative findings and proved the effectiveness of the indirect questioning for the exploration of the implicit attitudes. This demonstrated that indirect questioning, either in the form of interviews or questionnaires (as suggested by Baker, 1992 and Garrett, 2003 and 2010) could be employed to identify the implicit attitudes of the participants.

Furthermore, the simultaneous evaluation of both explicit and implicit attitudes can provide a complete picture of the participants' attitudes, judgements, social perceptions and potential behaviour, rather than measuring only one of these attitude constructs (Pantos, 2010). In addition to supporting the conclusion that the participants have different explicit and implicit attitudes towards Punjabi, the findings accentuate the need to measure both attitude constructs simultaneously in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of respondents' attitudes. A self-report task alone would not have revealed the overt prestige attached to Urdu and English or participants' implicit attitudes to Punjabi. Similarly, indirect questioning alone would not have revealed the participants' explicit attitudes towards Punjabi. Together, these explicit and implicit measures provide a more holistic picture of participants' attitudes to Punjabi.

6.4. Explicit attitudes, level of education and Village

The results also indicated that education and village are significant variables with reference to the participants' explicit attitudes towards Punjabi (chapter 4, section 4.12). The analysis confirmed a positive correlation between education and Urdu language use with children and the negative correlation between education and Punjabi language use with children. From these results, it can be inferred that the higher the education level of the participants, the more frequent is the use of Urdu with children and the more the participants are educated, the lesser they use Punjabi with their children. The results also indicated that the participants with less than 10 years of education have stronger positive attitudes towards Punjabi than participants with 12 years of education. This also indicates that level of education could be a potential factor that can affect the attitudinal orientations of people. There could be several possible reasons for these results. Firstly, as stated earlier, Urdu has always been the

dominant language in the educational institutes of the Punjab and participants strongly associate it with education (see chapter 4, sections 4.5.1 and 4.7.2). Moreover, since children are used to speaking Urdu in the educational institutes, and the use of Punjabi is not appreciated/ encouraged (and restricted in most private schools), parents avoid speaking it with their children. Secondly, (as we have seen in the analysis of the interviews - sections 5.1 and 5.3 above, where the themes of education and the use of Urdu recurred throughout the dataset) it might be because of the fact that parents just like Urdu and they prefer their children to speak it. In the interviews, most parents appear to believe that Urdu is a more polite and sophisticated language than Punjabi, and that educated people ought to speak in Urdu. Therefore, as soon as their children gain/start gaining education, it is expected that they speak in Urdu as they are now seen to belong to a more "refined" or educated class of the society. These findings accord with Zaidi's (2001) views, mentioned earlier in chapter 2, that, as soon as Punjabis attain the most minimal academic advancement, the first thing they do is jettison their natural language and "the formula seems simple enough: the more educated a Punjabi is, the more anti-Punjabi and Punjabi-less he or she becomes".

The findings also revealed that the participants from the Juria village had significantly more positive attitudes towards Punjabi than the participants from the Narranwala village. These were rather unexpected results as both settings were rural where Punjabi is the dominant language. A possible explanation of these results could be that the extent of language contact in both villages could be playing a role in attitude ratings, as Juria village is closer to the city than the Narranwala village. There could be many other possible explanations for these results. More research is needed on this aspect to confirm the effect of settings (rural/urban) on the attitude ratings. Differences in attitudinal ratings among participants from different rural settings have not been explored in previous research on Punjabi. Thus, these results are significant in the sense that they could assist future researchers in exploring this aspect further.

6.5. Subjective and objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi

This study also examined both the subjective and objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan, based on three factors: status, institutional support and demography as per Ethnolinguistic vitality Model by Bouhris et al, 1981 (see chapter 3 for details). As explained in chapter 3, a combination of both subjective and objective vitality information assists in predicting the language behaviours and

language attitudes of group members (Bourhis and Barrette, 2006). This is the first study that compares the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Punjab. The subjective vitality of Punjabi was found to be moderate, highlighting the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality position of Punjabi in Pakistan. The objective vitality of Punjabi was found to be weak, which corroborates Zaidi's (2011, 2014 and 2016) findings on objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in the region.

The link between language attitudes and vitality has been acknowledge by many researchers (Dragojevic, 2018 and Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984), particularly in the field of language shift and maintenance (Fishman, 1964 and Sallabank, 2013). Baker (1992) defines attitudes as a measure of current vitality of endangered languages, as well as predictors of their future vitality. Similarly, Bourhis and Sachdev (1984) argue that measures of subjective vitality, in combination with attitudinal surveys could be powerful instruments to study the dynamics of in-group and out-group ethnic perceptions and language attitudes in multilingual settings. The notion of ethnolinguistic vitality, therefore, is a significant conceptual tool for discussing issues related to linguistic attitudes.

The comparison between the objective and subjective vitality identified in this study, based on the three vitality factors is presented in Table 6.1 and clarified in sections 6.5.1 to 6.5.4.

Table 6.1 - Ethnolinguistic Vitality of Punjabi

	Objective	**Subjective**
Status	Weak	Moderately high
Institutional Support	Weak	Weak (in formal domains) Moderate (in informal domains)
Demography	Strong	Moderately high
Overall vitality	Weak/low	Medium/moderate

6.5.1. Status vitality of Punjabi in Punjab

Subjective status vitality refers to the perceived status of Punjabi in Pakistan (i.e. the participants' perceptions of its status). The respondents estimated it to be moderately high. However, its prestige outside Pakistan was estimated to be lower than its prestige within the country. The Punjabi speech community was perceived as having moderately high social status and Punjabis were considered to be very proud of their

cultural history. Punjabis were also perceived as having a higher than middle economic status.

Objective status vitality refers to the actual socio-economic status of a language. A language with low socio-economic status is likely to be abandoned by its speakers for a 'high' status variety (see chapter 2 for details). Punjabi, the major regional language of Punjab seems to occupy the last rung in the three-tier linguistic configuration of Pakistan with English at the top, followed by Urdu in the second rung and Punjabi at the bottom rung (see section 5.4 for details).

This study has, therefore, identified a discrepancy between subjective and objective vitality. This is in line with Atalianis (2011) argument that a group's perception of their vitality may differ from the analysis of the objective data. The objective vitality of Punjabi is low in status factor; however, the subjective vitality of Punjabi is perceived relatively high by the participants. This is also in line with Zaidi's (2016) measurement of the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan, revealing that the status of Punjabi is low socially and economically in that it is associated with illiteracy and low-level jobs. This finding also accords with our qualitative findings presented earlier in this chapter, which showed that the majority of the respondents associated Punjabi with illiteracy and low social status. Also, both quantitative and qualitative results demonstrated that Punjabi is used in informal domains (home, family), and Urdu is used in more formal domains. This indicated that language use is domain-specific in rural Punjab (see chapter 4, section 4.3). Although it may not be the case with other languages, the use of Punjabi in lower domains appears to be related with its low vitality/threatened status in the region. It would be an interesting avenue for future research to explore the relation between low vitality of Punjabi and its diglossic position as Low variety in Punjab.

6.5.2. Institutional support

Subjective vitality on the criterion of institutional support was found to be overall low to moderate. The participants estimated that Punjabi is less supported in mass media, education, government services, industry and politics but believe that Punjabi receives moderate support in religious matters and cultural events.

Objective vitality regarding institutional support is actually low in that Punjabi lacks institutional support in all of the formal domains (mass media, education, government services, industry, politics). Punjabi is minimally represented in print and electronic media (see chapter 2, section 2.3 for details), formal education in Punjabi is

inadequate and Punjabi is scantily or insufficiently represented in industry and government services.

There seems to be no substantial differences between the subjective and objective vitality of Punjabi in terms of institutional support, except when participants perceived moderately high vitality of Punjabi for cultural events. They believe that Punjabi is well represented in cultural events. Overall, the objective and subjective vitality of Punjabi appears to be low in the institutional support factor, other than the informal domains (religion and culture) in which the vitality appears to be slightly high. This situation reflects Bourhis and Barrette's (2006) view that speech communities benefiting from stronger institutional support within state and private institutions are in a better position to maintain and advance their collective language and cultural capital than the speech communities who lack institutional control in these domains. They further argue that language groups dominant in institutional support factors (Formal: mass media, education, government services and informal: industry, religion, culture) are also likely to benefit from considerable social status in comparison to less dominant groups in multilingual settings (Bourhis and Barrette, 2006).

Similarly, Bourhis and Sachdev (1984:98) proposed that language communities with high institutional support have higher vitality than those which are found to have low institutional support in the region. Zaidi (2016) also identified a lack of institutional support for Punjabi language and suggested that this shows low objective vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan. In addition to corroborating Zaidi's objective ethnolinguistic vitality findings, this study shows that the subjective vitality of Punjabi in the institutional factor, (particularly in formal domains) is also low.

6.5.3. Punjabi Demography

Subjective vitality on the level of demography was estimated as high, in that the respondents stated that Punjabi speakers are in the majority in Pakistan and that the proportion of Punjabis in Punjab is much higher than in any other province. They estimated the birth-rate of Punjabi speakers to be moderate.

Objective vitality on the level of demography is indeed high. In Pakistan, the Punjabi speech community represents the majority. Punjabi is the mother-tongue of the majority of people (44%) in Punjab. It is the largest spoken language in the Punjab province with 75% of the total population of Punjab as native Punjabi. It is also the

largest spoken language in the capital city of Pakistan, Islamabad, with 71% of native Punjabis (see chapter 1, section 1.2 for details).

These demographic factors (both objective and subjective) point towards a relatively high vitality of Punjabi in the Punjab region. Zaidi (2016) argues that the demographic situation of Punjabis does not put them at a disadvantage in any measure.

6.5.4. General Vitality

According to Giles et al. (1977) and Bourhis et al. (1981), the above three dimensions determine the overall strength or vitality of ethnolinguistic groups. Bourhis and Barrette (2006) argue that a language group weak on demographic variables but strong on institutional support and status factors results in a medium vitality position. Based on that and given the findings for this study, Punjabi could be considered as having a weak objective vitality position as it appears to be weak on the status and institutional support dimensions. Similarly, Punjabi is moderately high on two subjective vitality dimensions (status and demography), resulting in a moderate/medium vitality position.

This part of the chapter has attempted to explain the discrepancies and similarities between the explicit and implicit attitudinal orientations of Punjabi speakers towards Punjabi. The section has also demonstrated that the results of the perceived vitality (subjective vitality) of Punjabi are mostly not in congruence with the actual (objective) vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan. The present study is one of the first attempts to compare the explicit and implicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis toward Punjabi. It is also the first study that compares the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan. Prior to this study, Zaidi (2011, 2014 & 2016) provided evidence of low objective vitality of Punjabi in the region. This thesis confirms Zaidi's findings and contributes additional evidence that suggests that the subjective vitality of Punjabi is moderate.

Sallabank (2013:60) argues that "language attitudes and ideologies are associated both with the perceptions of a language's vitality and with language practices". Although the aim of this project was not to explore the relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions and language attitudes, the results did suggest that the ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions could predict language attitudes. It is likely that the participants who perceive that Punjabi has high vitality use Punjabi more frequently in a wider range of settings than the participants who perceive their language has low vitality or vice versa. Further inferential statistics (such as multiple

regression analysis or ANOVA) could be employed in future studies to test the relationship between language attitudes, language use and ethnolinguistic vitality perceptions.

6.6. Conclusion

This chapter offered some important insights into the similarities and differences between the explicit and implicit linguistic orientations of the participants towards Punjabi. The results of this study indicated the existence and operation of dual attitudes among Pakistani rural Punjabis, with discrepancies between explicit and implicit attitudes. It was noticed that when participants were questioned directly, they expressed more favourable attitudes to Punjabi. However, when questioned indirectly, their attitudes were found to be negative. More importantly, the difference in the findings for the two attitude constructs suggested that the same individual can have different attitudes towards the same attitude object, each of which is accessible using different measurement methods. This finding broadly supports existing explicit and implicit attitude measurement theories and suggests that choice of direct or indirect method could affect the way participants express their explicit and implicit linguistic orientations.

It was also pointed out in the chapter that education and age are significant variables with reference to the participants' explicit attitudes towards Punjabi. The analysis of variance test (although significant for one group only) and the results of the correlation test signal that education is an important factor affecting both participants' attitudes and their language use with children.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to contribute to research on linguistic attitude, with particular reference to Punjabi and the potential differences between explicit and implicit attitude and rural versus urban speakers. The study was designed to identify both the explicit and implicit linguistic attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi, their mother-tongue, and the relationship (similarities/ differences) between the two. The study takes an unconventional approach to the conceptualization of implicit attitude, understanding 'implicit attitudes' not as necessarily unconscious views but as evaluations that are indirectly expressed (and may be inferred) as a result of indirect probing.

In addition, this study assessed the ethnolinguistic vitality (both objective and subjective) of Punjabi in the region. The study was conducted in the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages of Punjab and the research participants were residents of these two villages.

This chapter first summarises the key findings of this study in relation to the research questions. The following two sections outline the wider contributions of the study with reference to the relevant research field (section 7.2) and implications for a revitalization program (section 7.3). This is followed by a brief outline of the limitations of the study and directions for future research (section 7.4).

7.1. Summary of the key findings

The first aim of this study (as formulated in research question 1) was to identify the explicit and implicit (indirectly expressed) attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards the Punjabi language. The study has revealed that the explicit attitudes of the residents of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages are mainly positive towards Punjabi. In the surveys, they reported Punjabi to be an integral part of their identity, and they want Punjabi to be encouraged in the educational sectors of the province. The majority of the respondents agreed that Punjabi is a beautiful, musical and an expressive language and speaking it is essential to maintaining a high social status. These results are contradictory to majority of the previous language attitude studies on Punjabi language. Previous studies such as: Abbas and Iqbal, 2018; Shah and Anwar, 2015; Karim and Kanwal, 2013; Shafi, 2013; Nazir et al. 2013; Sullivan, 2005; Mansoor, 2004; Baart, 2003 and Riaz, 2011 identified negative attitudes of participants towards

Punjabi. This research, however, identified positive explicit linguistic attitudes of rural Punjabis towards Punjabi. Although the studies in the urban settings do not overtly claim reporting the explicit attitudes of the urban participants, the direct methodology employed in these studies suggested that the reported attitudes were explicit. Participants' positive explicit attitudes found in this study, however, seem to be consistent with John's, (2015) findings who also found positive attitudes of rural Punjabis towards Punjabi.

The majority of the respondents also agreed that Punjabi should be supported by the government, and that it should be encouraged in the print media. However, at the same time, they also agreed that it is useless to encourage Punjabi in the electronic media. The probable causes of this view could be the poor representation of Punjabi in electronic media in the past (vulgar movies and songs in Punjabi dominated the electronic media in `80s and `90s) and the unavailability of good content (films, dramas, talk shows etc.) in Punjabi. Participants do not seem to associate Punjabi with good content in electronic media. This appears to be an expression of their negative attitudes towards the poor representation of Punjabi in the electronic media, rather than their attitudes towards the language itself.

Participants expressed negative explicit attitudes towards Punjabi in response to direct statements in only two instances: 1) when asked about the language that they would choose for their children, 2) and when expressing their thoughts about the future of Punjabi in the region. The responses to these questions appear to be related to each other. Parents are not willing to transfer their heritage language to their children because of the low socioeconomic benefits attached to Punjabi. The explicit attitudes are negative towards the intergenerational transmission of Punjabi because parents lack instrumental motivation. They are not optimistic about the future of Punjabi in the region, probably because there is no advancement in Punjabi literature/content, and they do not see Punjabi as a key to socio-economic development.

Participants' implicit (indirectly expressed) attitudes, on the other hand, are negative towards Punjabi. The qualitative findings presented in chapter 5 demonstrated that the rural participants associated Punjabi with illiteracy, poverty and backwardness. They view Punjabi as an abusive and *Paindu* (backward) language. The results also indicated that there is an onset of language shift from Punjabi to Urdu among the younger generation in the rural regions of the Punjab province because of the lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi. During the interviews,

participants repeatedly expressed positive attitudes towards Urdu – associating it with modernity, politeness, sophistication and sweetness. Their favourable overt expression towards Urdu, in other words, signalled their covert negative attitudes towards Punjabi. This project is the first investigation of the implicit (indirectly expressed) attitudes of Punjabi speakers towards Punjabi.

The second objective of this study (as formulated in research question 2) was to investigate the relationship (divergence or similarities) between the respondents' explicit and implicit language attitudes. Taken together, the quantitative and qualitative findings indicated the existence and operation of dual attitudes (explicit and implicit) among the rural Punjabis. As stated earlier, respondents' negative overt and covert linguistic orientations were in congruence with regard to the intergenerational transmission of Punjabi and the scope of Punjabi in the region. Other than that, major disparities were found between the explicit and implicit attitudes (chapter 6, section 6.3.1) of the respondents. Participants expressed positive explicit attitudes towards Punjabi in response to the direct statements and negative implicit attitudes were identified in response to the indirect statements. They seem to acknowledge the fact that Punjabi is their mother-tongue, and it is part of their identity, but the data indicated a lack of intergenerational transmission of Punjabi. Punjabis are not teaching their language to their children which not only suggests their negative implicit attitudes towards Punjabi, but it also signals a language shift from Punjabi to Urdu. Similarly, despite explicitly reporting that speaking Punjabi is important to maintaining high social status, participants seem to associate Punjabi with the uneducated and rural population of the province. Furthermore, the qualitative findings suggested that social class and educational background are the two primary factors affecting the language use of the participants.

The final aim (as formulated in research question 3) was to determine the (objective and subjective) ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in contemporary Pakistan. An application of the ethnolinguistic vitality model by Giles et al. (1977) reveals that Punjabi has low objective ethnolinguistic vitality in the region. Punjabi was found to be weak on the status and institutional support factors. Punjabi, despite being strong on the demography factor (i.e. being the majority language of the province), is symbolically dominated by Urdu and English (which can be considered minor languages in terms of their number of speakers in the province).

The subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi (i.e. how Punjabi speakers perceive the vitality of their own language community relative to salient outgroups) was also analysed. Punjabi was estimated to have moderate/medium subjective vitality in Punjab, Pakistan. The participants have a high perception of Punjabi on two subjective vitality dimensions (status and demography) and low on institutional support factor. Bourhis and Barrette (2006) are of the view that the language communities having strong vitality are more likely to survive as distinct collective entities than the speech communities having weak vitality position within the multilingual setting.

This study has contributed to the exploration of explicit and implicit (indirectly expressed) attitudes through distinct direct and indirect measures. The study also added to the existing language attitude theories by distinguishing between implicit attitudes as unconscious views and implicit attitudes that might be conscious but are conveyed indirectly (without conscious realisation that they are being elicited).

7.2. Significant contributions of the study

The present study has been one of the first attempts in the Pakistani linguistic context that compares both the explicit and implicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards Punjabi. The relationship between explicit and implicit dimensions of attitudes has been completely overlooked in previous studies on language attitudes in Pakistan. The findings of this study, therefore, enhance our understanding of the participants' overt and covert linguistic orientations towards Punjabi.

Additionally, this project is the first comprehensive investigation of the implicit attitudes of Pakistani rural Punjabis towards their mother-tongue. It lays the ground for future research into implicit attitudes towards the regional languages of Pakistan in rural as well as urban settings.

Furthermore, it is the first study to compare the objective and subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan. Prior to this study, Zaidi (2011, 2014 & 2016) provided evidence of low objective vitality of Punjabi in the region. This thesis confirms Zaidi's findings and contributes additional evidence that suggests that the subjective vitality of Punjabi is moderate. As per the researcher's knowledge, this is the first report on the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan employing SVQ as suggested by Bourhis et al. (1981). Thus, this study not only added to the scholarly research and literature in the field of language attitudes in Pakistan but

also highlighted the sociolinguistic position of Punjabi in the country by employing Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model (EVM).

Previous research on the languages of Pakistan had not only failed to draw a distinction between different types of attitudes but also overlooked the fact that distinct direct and indirect approaches exist to measure explicit and implicit attitudes, respectively. Therefore, another significant contribution of this study was the employment of a new methodology to the study of language attitude, namely questionnaires as a direct method and interviews as an indirect method to measure explicit and implicit attitudes, respectively. Furthermore, the literature suggests Matched-Guise Technique (MGT), Verbal-Guise Technique (VGT), implicit Association Test (IAT), Priming procedure, Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP) as indirect methods to measure the implicit attitudes of the participants. This study, however, demonstrated that indirect questioning either in interviews or in the form of a questionnaire, can be employed as an indirect method to measure implicit attitudes understood as implicitly expressed attitudes. The findings indicated that the employment of implicit measures to investigate linguistic attitudes could reveal underlying stereotypical notions and implicit attitudes towards Punjabi, which might not, or cannot be otherwise revealed through the use of explicit measures alone. Thus, this study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of indirect questioning as an effective tool in the identification of the covert attitudes of the respondents. Furthermore, the study demonstrates that this new combined approach is not only more revealing but also represents a feasible, timesaving, economical and rapid approach to measuring different types of attitudes simultaneously, in comparison to other more complicated and time-consuming implicit methods.

Furthermore, in a Pakistani context (where language is particularly correlated with social status, class and education of the speakers), the attitudes of uneducated class or the attitudes of people residing in rural areas of the province are of particular relevance. This, as per researcher's knowledge, has been only explored once (see John, 2015) in language attitude studies in Pakistan, particularly in Punjabi language context. John's (2015) study is the only study on Punjabi language attitudes conducted both in the rural and urban settings. Other than that, the focus of research in Pakistan, to date, has been on exploring the Punjabi language attitudes of the educated youth only, either at university or college level. In the words of Ryan and Giles (1982:83), "it is time to go beyond this institutional bias and to examine language attitudes in

non-educational settings". This study was conducted in a non-educational, rural setting, thereby widening our understanding of language attitude and how it may be studied more comprehensively. It confirms previous findings from John's (2015) study regarding positive attitudes towards Punjabi in rural settings and contributes additional evidence that suggests that rural participants' implicit attitudes towards Punjabi are negative. However, differently from John's study, this study also probed the role of age in relation to Punjabis' attitudes towards Punjabi, showing that older participants have more positive explicit attitudes towards Punjabi than the younger ones.

7.3. Implications for a revitalization program

Based on the findings of this thesis, this section outlines some recommendations for language policymakers and government officials who may wish to promote Punjabi in Pakistan and devise language management strategies to protect/ raise the position and status of regional languages in Pakistan. As Grenoble and Whaley (2006:21) suggest, "language revitalization involves counter-balancing the forces which have caused or are causing language shift". Different factors (economical, political, institutional, demographic, educational, socio-cultural, attitudinal, as explained in previous chapters) could operate in various ways to affect the manner in which language shift, attitudinal shift or language loss occurs. This is why, for a successful language revitalization program, it is vital to understand the diverse issue faced by the speech community whose language is to be revitalised. It is very tempting to look for that one single successful program for different language groups around the globe, a single tried and tested revitalization program that can be replicated for each situation. Grenoble and Whaley (2006:21) argue that this simply does not exist, nor it can exist as different factors or combination of different factors may apply in different speech communities that could play a key role in their language's dwindling status/role. A reasonable approach to tackle this issue could be to devise language management strategies, particularly for the language/s to be revitalised. This study has highlighted a number of issues that could provide the basis for a wider evaluation of the situation of Punjabi (and other regional languages') to identify the possible macro-level issues (such as laws, policies, and other general circumstances which pertain to the national level) and micro-level issues (such as demographics, attitudes, cultural practices and other circumstances related to more local factors) that would require addressing as part

of a language revitalization program (see Grenoble and Whaley, 2006:21 for details on designing this type of program).

Many micro-level issues have already been identified in previous studies on the Punjabi language, and in this study as well (see chapters 2, 3 and 5 for details). Rahman (1995, 1996, 2004 and 2006) has also extensively expressed his views on language policies of Pakistan in historical and political contexts (at macro-level). However, there is a definite need for more detailed and thorough studies on Punjabi and other regional languages in Pakistan (other than the attitudinal studies) to identify several other major issues faced by these regional languages. It is then recommended to design a new or adapt an existing model of language revitalization (see Fishman, 2001; Grenoble and Whaley 2006 and Pine and Turin, 2017 for details) to revitalise the threatened languages (such as Punjabi). The language revitalization attempts made in Ireland, Wales and Scotland to preserve their regional languages and in New Zealand, where measurements are taken to reverse language shift and revitalise Maori, are some of the examples worth exploring. Similarly, Hebrew was revived for prayers and reading sacred texts in Israel after being effectively dead for nearly 1700 years (Holmes, 2013:67). In light of these and several other examples, an appropriate language revitalization program for Punjabi could be devised and implemented.

Several macro-level changes have been recommended in previous studies. These include making Punjabi the official language of Pakistan, changing the medium of instruction of educational institutes into Punjabi, changes in language policies of Pakistan among others. However, these, in the researcher's opinion are very drastic changes with no guarantee that these measures will be effective in changing the status/prestige/value of Punjabi or other regional languages in Pakistan. The recognition of language itself may not give status to or bring socioeconomic benefits to a country (Mehboob, 2015; Fishman, 1991 and Bentahila & Davies, 1993). Furthermore, such macro-level changes require many resources (financial, educational, human resources etc.) to implement them effectively. Changing the medium of instruction into Punjabi would mean ensuring the availability of Punjabi literacy resources (textbooks, literature, teachers fluent in Punjabi speaking, writing, reading, listening) and technology resources (computer programs, software etc.), which, at the moment, is difficult to achieve, considering the current economic and political situation of the country. Thus, before changing the language policies of Pakistan, giving Punjabi an official status or changing the medium of instruction into

Punjabi (i.e. prior to these macro changes) it would be important to bring positive change in peoples' attitudes towards Punjabi. This could be achieved by making some micro-level changes first, such as:

i. Encouraging parents to transfer Punjabi to their children by offering some incentive. Just as the government of Pakistan gives extra credits to students who have learned the Holy Quran by heart in board exams, they could offer similar incentives to children who are proficient in Punjabi language skills. This will encourage the parents to speak Punjabi with their children at home so that they could earn extra credits at school and excel in their educational endeavours. Bringing Punjabi back into the home domain in cities as well villages could be one of the most effective ways to reverse language shift.

ii. Prior to changing the medium of instruction into Punjabi, it would be useful to, firstly, write textbooks in Punjabi, develop materials and literature in Punjabi. Efforts could be made to produce all types of content in Punjabi (e.g. religious, educational, technological, mediatic). This would be a long-term process but having enough material to teach and learn Punjabi would be one of the first steps towards changing the medium of instruction to Punjabi. Pakistani linguists, regional language experts and native speakers could all assist in developing the material. This may, additionally, provide a good job opportunity for many native Punjabi speakers. They could be encouraged to produce material in Punjabi (short stories, dramas, literature, poems, drawings, figures, illustrations, research papers, anything related to Punjabi) with some incentives (such as salaries, publications, Punjabi organisation memberships, research funds, scholarships). The provision of these job opportunities (the attachment of economic benefits to Punjabi), could directly affect Punjabis' instrumental motivation to learn/speak Punjabi and indirectly raise the status and prestige of Punjabi in the region.

iii. After ensuring the availability of good literacy content in Punjabi and teacher's training to teach Punjabi, Punjabi could be introduced as a compulsory subject in schools (just like Islamic studies and Urdu). Once it has been introduced as a compulsory subject in schools, the medium of instruction could be changed to Punjabi over the course of one or two decades.

iv. Linguistic landscape (defined by Landry and Bourhis, 1977:25 as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place

names, commercial shop signs and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region or urban agglomeration") has been investigated in previous studies to examine language practices and linguistic attitudes in multilingual communities. These studies have shown that introducing a threatened language in the linguistic landscape may raise awareness/ prestige and status of languages within speech communities. In order to increase the presence of Punjabi in the linguistic landscape of Punjab, Punjabi writing could be used in public spaces, such as on the walls of towns and cities, street signs, shop windows, public buildings, and so on. In short, the government could encourage Punjabis to print signs and posters in Punjabi with small incentives (such as 5-10% discount to companies banners, publishing and printing banners/shop signs in Punjabi and/or discount for any advertising in Punjabi).

v. The technology, internet and social media could be utilised effectively to raise awareness about Punjabi and other regional languages. Facebook pages in support of Punjabi, Facebook groups, Instagram campaigns, YouTube channels to promote Punjabi language use and online teaching classes of Punjabi, these are all possible channels to talk about the significance of mother-tongue and mother-tongue education.

vi. Another significant role could be played by print and electronic media in changing the attitudes of Punjabis towards Punjabi. It might be difficult to publish newspapers in Punjabi or having several Punjabi channels immediately. Rather, the existing newspapers could dedicate one column or section of the newspapers to the Punjabi language, where Punjabi writers could be invited to write interesting content in Punjabi. Similarly, the existing TV and radio channels could introduce some entertainment content (such as drama, talk show, sitcom, comedy show etc) in Punjabi at least once a day. In the meantime, the quality and content of existing Punjabi newspapers, TV and radio shows could be improved. Also, as John (2015) recommends, the popularity of Punjabi music could be utilised in a productive and creative way to positively alter Punjabi's linguistic orientation.

Similar to the process of language shift which takes place over the course of two to three generations, the revitalization of threatened languages is a long process, and it depends on the motivation of the future speakers and the community which supports

them. Therefore, self-interest on the part of the community, before engaging in revitalisation efforts, is vital. The small-step measures listed above could be the first stage in a long and challenging language revitalization process. Together these measures could play a key role in changing the attitudes and perceptions of Punjabi speakers towards their mother-tongue. After implementing these measures, attitudinal surveys could be conducted again to establish whether they have produced a positive change in attitude. If the findings are positive, these revitalization programs could be initiated at macro-level with greater resources and efforts.

7.4. Limitations of the study

The findings in this thesis are subject to a few limitations. First, most of the data was collected from the *Juria* village because it was easier to gain access to this village in comparison to the other village (*Narranwala*). If a similar amount of data had been collected from the *Narranwala* village, it would have been desirable/advantageous to draw comparisons between the language attitudes of the participants from the two different villages, one closer to the city *(Juria*) and the other a little further from the city *(Narranwala*).

Secondly, the ratio of male to female participants is not proportionate in qualitative study as gaining access to the male participants in the rural areas was really difficult. As stated earlier in chapter 3, in Pakistani rural culture, it is considered a cultural taboo for a woman to travel alone and interview strangers (males, in particular). Males living in rural settings are generally reluctant to sit alone with a stranger woman to talk/ give interviews. Furthermore, I visited the villages during the daytime when men were usually at work. This explains why the gender ratio is disproportionate, and it was difficult to draw gender comparisons between participants' attitudinal orientations towards Punjabi.

Thirdly, the current study did not measure the effect of social differences within the population. It would have been desirable to explore which social variables (if any) were significant in determining participants' attitudes towards Punjabi. Advanced statistical analysis is required to determine which variables affect participants' language attitudes and how. The limited scope of this study did not allow the researcher to explore the effect of any particular variable that could potentially affect the participants' linguistic attitudes towards Punjabi. As evident in the discussion of the qualitative chapter 5, education seems to play a key role in affecting

the language use and attitudes of Punjabi villagers. Similarly, the onset of language shift in the rural regions suggests that age could be another significant factor that affects the participants' language attitudes. Future studies could explore if and how age and educational background of Punjabis could affect their linguistic attitudes towards Punjabi in detail.

Fourthly, the focus of this study was to explore the attitudes towards Punjabi speech variety only. Future studies could also explore attitudes towards Punjabi writing.

Furthermore, the researcher had to rely on interviews as an indirect method in comparison to speech stimulus or implicit association test because of the limited availability of computer resources in the rural regions of the Punjab. Had I opted for other indirect method (e.g. IAT), I would have to train my participants before each task, which again would have been time consuming and impractical. Consequently, there was also a possibility of attaining 'conditioned' responses which would not have revealed the actual linguistic attitudes of the respondents. Thus, it was difficult to design advanced (technology-based) indirect measures to measure implicit attitudes of the participants as conventionally understood. The method that could be used (interviews) was, nevertheless, innovative in measuring implicit attitudes as indirectly expressed evaluations, which were not captured in previous studies.

This study did not explore the relationship between language attitudes and ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi. Future studies could employ advanced inferential statistics (such as multiple regression analysis or ANOVA) to measure the effect of different level of ethnolinguistic vitality on explicit and implicit attitudes.

Lastly, as is true for most of the research studies in a socio-linguistic context, the findings of this study have limited generalisability. The data apply only to the rural respondents from the *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages. These two villages are near a small city (Hafizabad) in Punjab, where Punjabi is the predominant language. The attitudes may vary considerably if a similar study was to be conducted in villages closer to big cities (e.g. Lahore) where Punjabi does not seem to be the dominant language anymore because of the plethora of educational institutes in the city.

7.5. Future Research

This research has raised many questions in need of further investigation. Firstly, the study identified the existence and operation of dual attitudes (both explicit and

implicit) in the residents of *Juria* and *Narranwala* villages. Unfortunately, the scope of this study and time limitations have prevented further exploration of this aspect in the present study. A further study could go deeper into this area by employing Dual Attitudes Model. Secondly, a comparative study on explicit and implicit attitudes of Punjabis towards their mother-tongue could also be conducted in both rural and urban settings. Further research could also explore the implicit attitudes of Punjabis in the urban settings which, as per researcher's knowledge, has not been explored yet. A similar study could be conducted in other rural settings/villages in Punjab to validate and generalise the kinds of conclusions that can be drawn from this study. Additionally, advanced correlation tests could be employed in future research with larger datasets.

Since the participants were less educated, it was difficult to design advanced (technology-based) implicit measures for them. This is also one of the many reasons why I chose indirect questioning in interviews as an implicit method. Advanced indirect/implicit measures (like AMP, IAT, Priming procedures) could be employed to measure conventionally implicit attitudes of Punjabi speakers in urban and educational settings. It would also be interesting to explore the differences in the linguistic repertoire or differences in the language use of educated and uneducated Punjabis in formal and informal settings and urban and rural settings.

This study also highlighted the participants' perceptions regarding the status of English, Urdu and Punjabi in Pakistan. The languages are associated with different social classes in the Punjabi speech community. Language and social class might prove an important area for future research. Further studies could investigate whether a linguistic variation exists among different social classes in Punjab or not? If yes, what kind of linguistic variation exists in the language use of upper, middle, and lower classes in Punjab? Do these differences apply within the same language (as discovered in Labov, 1972 and Trudgill's, 1972 classic studies) or are these differences mostly manifested in the choices of the main languages spoken? (e.g. elite class speaks English, middle-class speaks Urdu and Lower class speaks Punjabi). Even though this may be assumed from existing research and through observation, there is no empirical evidence to support these assumptions.

Furthermore, it was found in this study that the older participants or the grandparents showed more positive attitudes towards Punjabi than the younger participants. Future studies could aim at exploring the role of grandparents in changing

the attitudes of youth towards their mother-tongue. This is a vital aspect for future research into the Punjabi language's revitalization.

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Appendix A

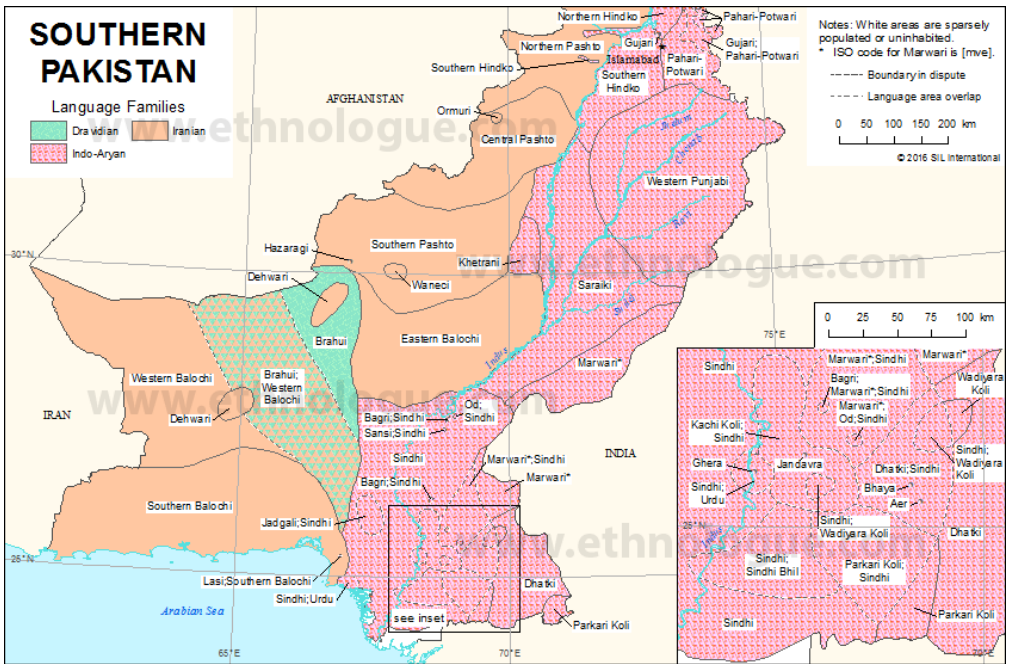


Figure 1: Language Map of Pakistan

Source: Lewis et al. 2016

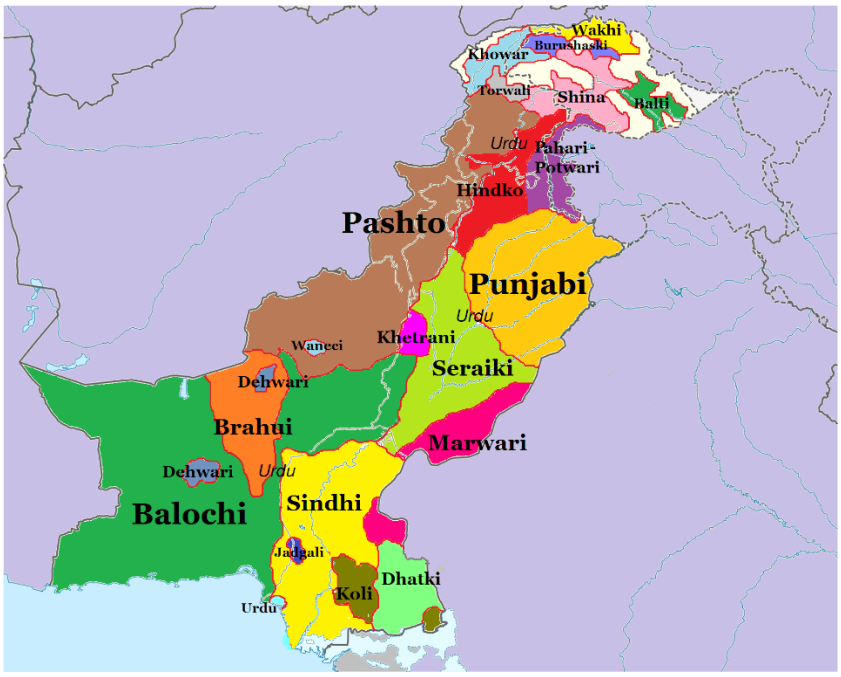


Figure 2: Major languages in Pakistan

Source:
http://history.stackexchange.com/questions/1800/why-did-the-the-east-pakistanis-oppose-urdu-as-their-national-language-while-ind

The information provided in Table 1 has been adapted from Ethnologue 2016 and the World Factbook (2014).

Table 1: Minor Languages of Pakistan				
Language	**Alternate names**	**Areas where spoken**	**Speakers**	**Status**
Aer		Jikrio Goth near Kunri, Deh area, Hyderabad, Jamesabad	100 (1998)	6b /Threatened
Badeshi	Badakhshi	Bishigram valley, east of Madyan, Swat Kohistan	No known L1 speakers. No known speakers for three or more generations	9/Dormant
Bagri	Bagari, Bagria, Bagris, Bahgri, Baorias, Bawri	Sindh and Punjab provinces	235,000 in 2004	6a /Vigorous
Balti	Baltistani, Bhotia of Baltistan, Sbalti	Northeast Pakistan, Baltistan	327,000 in 2004	5/Developing
Bateri	Batera Kohistani, Baterawal, Baterawal Kohistani, Bateri Kohistani	Indus Kohistan Batera village, East of Indus, North of Besham	30,100 in 2004	6a / Vigorous
Bhaya		Kapri Goth near Samaro, Mirpurkhas	70 in 1998	6b/Threatened
Brahui	Birahui, Brahuidi, Brahuigi, Kur Galli	South central, Quetta and Kalat region, east Balochistan and Sindh provinces	2,210,000 in 2011	5/Developing
Burushaski	Biltum, Brushaski, Burucaki, Burucaski, Burushaki, Burushki, Khajuna, Kunjut	Gilgit district, Hunza-Nagar and Yasin areas	96,800 (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous).
Chilisso	Chiliss, Galos	Indus river east bank, Indus Kohistan, Koli, Palas area	1,000 (1992 SIL)	6a (Vigorous)
Dameli	Damedi, Damel, Damia, Damiabaasha, Gidoji, Gudoji	south of Drosh, Damel valley (Southern Chitral)	5,000 (Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001)	6a (Vigorous).
Dari	Afghan Persian, Badakhshi,	Southeast Chitral,	1,000,000	5 (Dispersed).

	Farsi, Madaglashti, Tajik	Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore, Karachi, and other large cities		
Dehwari	Deghwari	Central Balochistan Province, Kalat, and Mastung.	14,600 (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous)
Dhatki	Dhati	Tharparkar, and Sanghar districts	132,000 in (2000)	5 (Developing)
Domaaki	Bericho, Dom, Doma, Dumaki	Hunza-Nagar district	340 (Matthias 2011),	8a (Moribund)
Gawar-Bati	Arandui, Gowar-Bati, Gowari, Narisati, Narsati, Satre	Arandu, Kunar river	1,960 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous)
Ghera	Bara, Sindhi Ghera	Hyderabad Sindh	10,000 (1998)	6a (Vigorous)
Goaria		Widespread in Sindh Province (except Karachi)	25,400 (2000)	6a (Vigorous)
Gowro	Gabar Khel, Gabaro	Kohistan district, Indus east bank, Kolai, Mahrin village	200 (1990), decreasing	6b (Threatened)
Gujarati		Sindh and lower Punjab provinces		5 (Dispersed)
Gujari	Gogri, Gojari, Gojri, Gujer, Gujjari, Gujuri, Gujuri Rajasthani, Kashmir Gujuri	Azad Kashmir, Hazara district, south Chitral district, Rawalpindi district, Northern Areas, Diamer district, Gilgit	300,000 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc	5 (Developing)
Gurgula	Marwari Ghera	Karachi, cities of Sindh	35,300 (2000).	6a (Vigorous).
Hazaragi	Azargi, Hazara, Hezareh	Quetta, Karachi and Islamabad	157,000 in Pakistan (2000)	6a (Vigorous)
Hindko, Northern	Hazara Hindko, Hindki, Kagani, Kaghani	Mansehra, Abbotabad, Muzaffarabad, Islamabad; Indus and Kaghan valleys and tributaries, Kohat, Peshawar	3,690,000 (2014 World Factbook)	5 (Developing).
Hindko, Southern		Attock district, Kohat and Peshawar districts, Islamabad	625,000 (1981 census	5 (Developing)

Jadgali	Jat, Jatgali, Jatki	Lasbela, Karachi	15,600 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous).
Jandavra	Jhandoria	South Sindh, From Hyderabad to east of Mirpur Khas	5,000 (1998)	6a (Vigorous).
Jogi		Cities of Sindh	50,000 (1996 R. Hoyle)	6a (Vigorous).
Kabutra	Nat, Natra	Umerkot, Kunri, and Nara Dhoro (Sindh)	1,000 (1998).	6a (Vigorous)
Kacchi	Cuchi, Cutch, Kachchhi, Kachchi, Kachi, Katch, Katchi, Kautchy, Kutchchi, Kutchie.	Karachi	50,000 in Pakistan (1998)	6a (Vigorous).
Kalami	Bashgharik, Bashkarik, Baskarik, Dir Kohistani, Diri, Dirwali, Gaawro, Garwa, Garwi, Gawri, Gowri, Kalami Kohistani, Kohistana, Kohistani.	Swat (Kalam), Dir Kohistan	100,000 (Baart and Sagar 2004), increasing	6b (Threatened)
Kalasha	Kalashamon, Kalashi	Southern Chitral, Kalash valleys	5,000 (Heegård Petersen 2006)	6a (Vigorous)
Kalkoti	None	Dir Kohistan, Kalkot village	5,100 (2004 J. Leclerc	6a (Vigorous)
Kamviri	Kamdeshi, Kamik, Lamertiviri, Shekhani	south Chitral district	2,000 in Pakistan (2004)	6a (Vigorous)
Kashmiri	Cashmeeree, Cashmiri, Kacmiri, Kaschemiri, Keshuri	Azad Kashmir Province, south of Shina	124,000 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc)	5 (Dispersed).
Kati	Bashgali, Kata viri, Kativiri, Nuristani	North-West Frontier Province, Chitral	6,010 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc).	6a (Vigorous)
Khetrani	None	Northeast Balochistan	15,600 (2004 J. Leclerc).	6a (Vigorous)
Khowar	Arniya, Chitrali, Chitrari, Citrali, Kashkari, Khawar, Patu, Qashqari	Chitral, Northern Areas, Ushu	270,000 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc)	3 (Wider communication)

Kohistani, Indus	Khili, Kohistani, Kohistẽ, Mair, Maiyã, Maiyon, Shuthun	Kohistan district, west bank Indus river	200,000 (1992)	6a (Vigorous).
Koli, Kachi	Kachi, Kachi Gujarati, Katchi, Kohli, Kolhi, Koli, Kori, Kuchi, Vagari, Vagaria.	Lower Sindh around towns of Tando Allahyar and Tando Adam	100,000 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc)	*Status:* 5 (Developing)
Koli, Parkari	Parkari	southeast tip bordering India, Tharparkar District, Nagar Parkar. Most lower Thar Desert	275,000 (2004 J. Leclerc)	5 (Developing)
Koli, Wadiyara	Wadaria, Wadhiara	Sindh Province, bounded by Hyderabad, Tando Allahyar and Mirpur Khas north, Matli and Jamesabad south	138,000 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous)
Kundal Shahi	Apeen Bol, "Rawri"	Azad Kashmir, Neelam valley	700 (Rehman and Baart 2005)	7 (Shifting)
Lahnda			116,643,400	
Lasi	Lassi	Las Bela district, Southeast Balochistan	11,000 (2004 J. Leclerc).	6a (Vigorous)
Loarki	None	Sindh Province, rural areas	20,000 (1998)	6a (Vigorous)
Marwari	Jaiselmer, Marawar, Marwari Bhil, Marwari Meghwar, Merwari, Rajasthani	south Punjab, north of Dadu and Nawabshah, Southern Marwari	220,000 in (1998)	4 (Educational).
Memoni	None	Scattered in Sindhi Province, Karachi	unknown	7 (Shifting)
Od	Oad, Oadki, Odki	Widespread in Sindh and in south Punjab	58,400 (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous).
Ormuri	Baraki, Baraks, Bargista, Ormui, Ormur, Urmuri	Kaniguram, a pocket in Mahsud Pashto area northwest of Dera Ismail Khan, Federally Administered Tribal Areas	6,000 in Pakistan (2004 R. Burki)	6a (Vigorous)

		Province, South Wazirstan agency		
Pahari-Potwari	Chibhali, Dhundi-Kairali, Pothohari, Potohari, Potwari	far north in Azad Kashmir, Punjab, Islamabad, Abbottabad	. 2,500,000 in Pakistan (Lothers and Lothers 2007)	6a (Vigorous)
Pakistan Sign Language	Isharon Ki Zubann	Scattered		5 (Developing).
Palula	Biyori, Dangarikwar, Palola, Phalulo, Phalura	Chitral district	10,000 (Liljegren 2008).	6a (Vigorous)
Sansi	Bhilki	North Sindh	15,600 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc).	6b (Threatened).
Savi	Sau, Sauji, Sawi	Kunar valley; Dir, in refugee camps near Timargarha; Chitral, near Drosh; a few in Jalalabad	Not known	6a (Vigorous)
Shina	Brokpa, Shinaki, Sina	Gilgit, Diamer, and in several Baltistan district valleys, east Kohistan district and east Neelum district	528,000 in Pakistan (2004 J. Leclerc	6a (Vigorous)
Shina, Kohistani	Kohistani, Kohistyo, Palasi-Kohistani	Kohistan district, east bank Indus river	352,000 (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous).
Sindhi Bhil	None	Mohrano, Badin-Matli-Thatta, and Ghorabari (on west).	56,500 (2000).	6a (Vigorous)
Torwali	Torwalak, Torwali Kohistani, Turvali.	Bahrain Swat	80,000 (Lunsford 2001)	6a (Vigorous)
Ushojo	Ushuji	Swat, upper reaches of Bishigram valley, east of Madyan, 12 villages	2,000 (1992)	6a (Vigorous).
Vaghri	Bavri, Salavta, Vaghri Koli	Many places in Sindh	3,660 (2004 J. Leclerc)	6a (Vigorous).

Wakhi	Khik, Khikwar, Vakhan, Wakhani, Wakhigi	Northern ends of Hunza and Chitral	20,000 in Pakistan (2008),	6a (Vigorous).
Waneci	Chalgari, Tarino, Vanechi, Wanechi, Wanetsi	Northeastern Balochistan Province, Harnai area	108,000 (2004 J. Leclerc).	6a (Vigorous)
Yidgha	Lutkuhwar, Yidga, Yudga, Yudgha	Chitral district, Upper Lutkuh valley, west of Garam Chishma	6,150 (2000)	6b (Threatened)

Table 2: Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

Level	Label	Description
0	International	The language is widely used between nations in trade, knowledge exchange, and international policy.
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the national level.
2	Provincial	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government within major administrative subdivisions of a nation.
3	Wider Communication	The language is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.
4	Educational	The language is in vigorous use, with standardization and literature being sustained through a widespread system of institutionally supported education.
5	Developing	The language is in vigorous use, with literature in a standardized form being used by some though this is not yet widespread or sustainable.
6a	Vigorous	The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable.
6b	Threatened	The language is used for face-to-face communication within all generations, but it is losing users.
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation can use the language among themselves, but it is not being transmitted to children.
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active users of the language are members of the grandparent generation and older.
8b	Nearly Extinct	The only remaining users of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language.
9	Dormant	The language serves as a reminder of heritage identity for an ethnic community, but no one has more than symbolic proficiency.
10	Extinct	The language is no longer used and no one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language.

Taken from: Lewis et al. 2016/ Ethnologue, 2016

Appendix B

Table 4: Campaigns for Punjabi Language Rights			
Year	**Activity**	**Agenda/ Demand**	**Consequences/Results**
1948	1st Meeting of Punjabi intellectuals at Dyal Singh College under the presidentship of Syed Abid Ali Abid	To struggle towards making Punjabi the language of education in the Punjab and to encourage publications in Punjabi	First objective remained an aspiration, however, first publication of the monthly *Punjabi* was initiated by Abdul Majid Salik in 1951
1952	Establishment of The Punjabi League and the Punjabi Cultural Society	To get Punjabi acknowledged as a university subject	None of these organizations succeeded in getting Punjabi accepted as a university subject, not even as an optional one
1956	Punjabi Conference at Lyallpur which was sponsored by the Punjabi literary society	consciousness-raising and promoting Punjabi to be used as the medium of instruction at the lower level in Punjab	This was accepted in principle although no real change was made.
1960	Formation of The Punjabi Group of the Writer's Guild	Consciousness-raising	It was condemned as being anti-Pakistani and on 6th April 1963, it was banned arguing that it had started Punjabi-Urdu controversy which could harm the interests of Urdu and strain relations between the supporters of Urdu and those of Punjabi.
1962	Commencement of a Punjabi program *Ravi Rang' on* Radio Pakistan		
	Board of Intermediate and Secondary Education, Lahore agreed to teach Punjabi from 6th to 12th classes.		
	Monthly Punjabi Adab also began publication		
1969	The *Punjabi Adabi Sangat* presented a Memorandum	Presented the following agenda:	These demands for Punjabi were supported by a number of

	to Nur Khan	1. Open the doors of our seats of learning to Punjabi by: a. Adopting it as a medium of instruction at the primary level. b. Making it an elective subject up to the secondary classes. c. Establishing separate departments for it in higher academic institutions. d. Creating a separate chair for it in the Punjab University and other Universities to be opened in this area. e. Using Punjabi as the medium of instruction for the adult literacy programmes in the province. 2. Encouraging Punjabi writing by enabling the libraries to buy books in the language	organizations but the *New Education Policy* of 1970 did not deviate from its proposed policy of not altering the position of Punjabi.
1970	Outset of Punjabi department at the University of the Punjab under chairmanship of Najam Hussain Syed.		
	The Quran was translated into Punjabi by the Punjabi *Adabi* League		

	Punjabi Unity Movement was organized by General Rana. It also published a weekly called *Punjab di Avaz* (the voice of the Punjab)	The *Tehrik* ingeminated the demand for using Punjabi in lower domians of power	
In December 1971, after Bangladesh's separation from Pakistan, Punjabi language movements became somewhat subdued, though it was the best time to iterate on the relationship between language and identity and for the production of consciousness raising literature, since one of the major reasons of Bangladesh's separation was the Urdu-Bengali language conflict (It will be discussed in detail in later chapters).			
1985	A Charter of the Punjabi-speaking people got signed	The Charter's demands were not new; the gist was to make Punjabis proud of their language and cultural identity	It led to the organization of Punjabi conference which was held in Lahore from 25 to 29 April, 1986.
1986	Punjabi Conference	The delegation passed the resolution to use Punjabi in the educational, administrative, and judicial domains	

Source: Adapted from Rahman, 2002

Table 5: Newspapers in Punjab	
No. of Newspapers	Frequency
162	Daily
12	Weekly
14	Monthly
Total: 188 newspapers	

Source: All pakistan Newspaper Society, 2016

Table 6: Number of Newspapers with respect to language		
Language	**Frequency**	**No. of Papers**
	Daily	135

Urdu	Weekly	9
	Monthly	9
		Total: 153
English	Daily	25
	Weekly	3
	Monthly	5
		Total: 33
Punjabi	Daily	1
	Weekly	0
	Monthly	0
		Total: 01
Other (Siraiki)	Daily	1

Source: All pakistan Newspaper Society, 2016

Table 7: List of Newspapers and Periodicals language wise (Punjab)					
Year	**Punjabi**	**Urdu**	**English**	**Others**	**Total**
2004	-	280	27	54	361
2005	6	293	64	1	364
2006	5	268	40	3	316
2007	7	368	134	4	513
2008	6	377	37	2	422
2009	-	17	3	-	20
2010	2	142	20	42	206
2011	7	126	14	31	178
2012	2	105	11	34	152
2013	1	82	4	29	116

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics report, 2014 (Pakistan Statistical Year Book 2014)

Table 8: List of Newspapers and Periodicals frequency wise (Punjab)							
Year	Dailies	Weeklies	Fortnightlies	Monthlies	Quarterlies	Rest	Total
2004	80	120	19	133	5	4	361
2005	77	100	18	146	14	9	364
2006	85	74	19	109	21	8	316
2007	110	131	29	207	24	12	513
2008	105	121	16	157	21	2	422
2009	10	4	-	4	1	1	20
2010	92	43	7	53	9	2	206
2011	102	45	2	25	4	-	178
2012	70	33	8	31	8	2	152
2013	56	43	-	15	1	1	116

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics report, 2014

Table 9: List of Newspapers and Periodicals (Other Provinces)

Year	Province					
	KPK		Sindh		Balochistan	
	Pushto	Total	Sindhi	Total	Balochi	Total
2004	2	102	58	622	12	194
2005	22	709	80	685	16	239
2006	25	728	35	116	8	304
2007	25	747	12	256	8	304
2008	4	48	22	276	8	453
2009	6	69	16	136	12	481
2010	5	83	26	181	12	482
2011	5	99	17	107	12	365
2012	5	79	21	75	12	340
2013	3	83	17	74	12	346

Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics report, 2014

Electronic media

Table 10: TV Channels in Regional Languages

Language	No. of channels
Urdu	64
English	10
Punjabi	2
Hindko (a dialect of Punjabi)	1
Sindhi	6
Pushto	2
Balochi	2
Total	87

Source: PEMRA (2016)

Table 11: List of Radio Channels

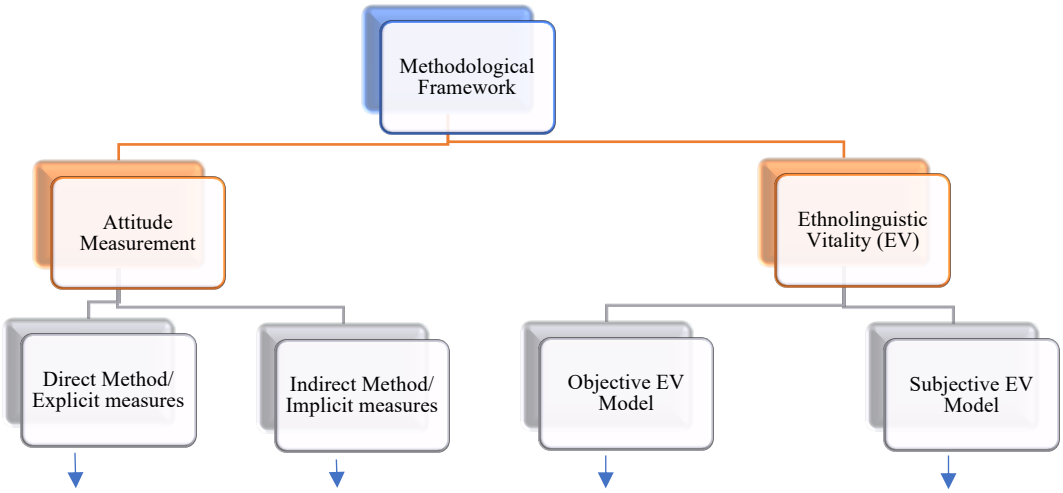
	Radio Channels	**Language/Languages**
	PEMRA (2016)	**Radio.net.pk**
1.	Punjab Rung FM 95	Broadcasts in Punjabi language (Promotion of Punjabi Language, Art & Culture, Punjabi Folk Music, Sufi Music)
2.	FM 93 Islamabad	Broadcasts in Urdu and regional languages (News, Current Affairs, Islamic and Music -Folk)
3.	FM 93.5 Rawalpindi	Broadcasts in Urdu and Punjabi languages (News, Current Affairs, Islamic and Music -Old-Classical-Folk)
4.	Virsa FM 94	Broadcasts in Urdu and regional languages (Old, Classical and Folk Music)
Channels playing music in Punjabi		
1.	City FM 89 Islamabad	Broadcasts in English with RJ playing English, Punjabi and Urdu Music)
2.	ITP FM 92.4	RJ with traffic guide playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
3.	Tehlka FM 94.6	Broadcasts only Latest Music in Urdu and Punjabi
4.	HUM FM 106.2	Broadcasts only Latest Music in Urdu and Punjabi
5.	Voice of Kashmir	Plays Urdu, Kashmiri and Punjabi Music

	Rawalakot FM 95.8 RJ	
6.	Voice of Kashmir Dheerkot FM 95.6	RJ playing Urdu, Kashmiri and Punjabi Music
7.	Radio ONE FM91 Islamabad	RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
8.	Janoon FM 96 Haripur	RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
9.	FM 101 Islamabad	Cricket live coverage and Hourly National Urdu news with RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
10.	Radio Smile FM 88.6	presents hourly news and live RJ shows as well as music.
11.	Power Radio FM 99 Islamabad	Radio Network news and RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
12.	Power Radio FM 99.4	Abbotabad Radio Network news and RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
13.	FM100 Islamabad	Germany News and RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
14.	Sama FM 107.4	Hourly Private Urdu news with RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music
15.	Sunrise Pakistan FM 97	Hourly Private Urdu news with RJ playing Urdu and Punjabi Music

Note: the approved list of FM radio channels has been taken from PEMRA's website and the information about the content or language in which each FM radio station broadcasts has been taken from radio.net.pk.

Appendix C

Figure 3: Methodological Approach



Instrument	Attitude Questionnaire Adapted from: Chakrani, 2010; Hassan, 2009; M.Sallabank, 2007; Kyriakou, 2016; Redinger, 2010	Semi-structured interviews Indirect questioning technique	Societal Treatment Analysis: Historical and political account of Punjabi - analysis of language use in different domains	Subjective Vitality Questionnaire Adapted from: Bouhris et. al, 1981; Johnson, 2007 and Yadla, 2016
Approach	Quantitative	Qualitative	Qualitative	Quantitative
What was measured	Explicit attitudes	Implicit Attitudes	Objective Vitality of Punjabi	Subjective Vitality of Punjabi

Table 12: Profile of interview participants

Interview number	Pseudonyms	Gender	Age	Years of Education	Village	Language preference for interview
1.	Akbar	Female	40	5	*Juria*	Punjabi
2.	Sara	Male	36	8	*Juria*	Punjabi
3.	Hafsa	Female	30	0	*Juria*	Punjabi
4.	Mujeeb	Female	28	12	*Juria*	Urdu
5.	Aqib	Female	36	0	*Juria*	Punjabi
6.	Afaf	Female	45	0	*Juria*	Punjabi

7.	Oneeba	Male	43	10	*Juria*	Punjabi
8.	Alishba	Female	23	10	*Juria*	Urdu
9.	Eshal	Female	45	0	*Juria*	Punjabi
10.	Saqib	Female	23	12	*Juria*	Urdu
11.	Shumaila	Male	37	10	*Juria*	Punjabi
12.	Saima	Female	30	0	*Juria*	Punjabi
13.	Sumaira	Male	32	14	*Juria*	Urdu
14.	Zafar	Female	24	16	*Juria*	Urdu
15.	Khadija	Male	47	5	*Juria*	Urdu
16.	Khalid	Female	22	16	*Juria*	Urdu
17.	Dania	Female	25	10	*Juria*	Urdu
18.	Ghafoor	Female	30	0	*Juria*	Punjabi
19.	Musarat	Female	55	5	*Narranwala*	Punjabi
20.	Ambreen	Female	40	0	*Narranwala*	Punjabi
21.	Adeena	Female	40	5	*Narranwala*	Punjabi
22.	Zarrar	Male	62	5	*Narranwala*	Punjabi
23.	Owais	Male	26	12	*Narranwala*	Urdu
24.	Hiba	Male	31	14	*Narranwala*	Urdu
25.	Mehrunisa	Male	35	5	*Narranwala*	Punjabi
26.	Sadia	Male	45	10	*Narranwala*	Punjabi
27.	Zulfiqar	Male	28	16	*Narranwala*	Urdu
28.	Mehboob	Male	40	0	*Juria*	Punjabi
29.	Abid	Female	26	5	*Juria*	Urdu
30.	Luqman	Female	45	8	*Juria*	Punjabi
31.	Ikhlaq	Male	80	0	*Narranwala*	Punjabi

Appendix D

Language Survey
Questionnaire 1

Section A

1. Please state the language(s) your father/mother use/used at home. Fill in the blank using the numbers in the chart below, depending on usage.

5	4	3	2	1
Always (100%)	Mostly (75%)	Frequently (50%)	Occasionally (25%)	Never (0%)

				Mixed languages (and = mixed with)			
	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language (please specify)
Father/Guardian (home)							
Mother/ Guardian (home)							

2. Please state the language(s) you use at home, in the neighbourhood, or at school or work with the individuals listed in the table. Fill in the blank using the numbers in the chart below, depending on usage.
If any category is not applicable in your case, please leave the space blank.

5	4	3	2	1
Always (100%)	Mostly (75%)	Frequently (50%)	Occasionally (25%)	Never (0%)

				Mixed languages (and = mixed with)			
	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language (please specify)
At Home							
Father/Guardian							
Mother/ Guardian							
Brother/s							
Sister/s							
Grandfather							
Grandmother							

children							
In the Neighbourhood							
with friends							
with neighbours							
with shopkeepers							
At School							
school mates in class							
school mates outside class							
Teachers inside the class							
Teachers outside the class							
At work							
Boss/manager							
subordinates							
colleagues							

Section B

3. Please tick (✓) the relevant box(es) in the following questions.
If any category is not applicable in your case, please leave the space blank.

	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Other language (please specify)	No preference
Most of the television programs that I watch are in					
Most of the radio station(s) I listen to is/are in					
The majority of the music I listen to is in					
The majority of the movies I watch are in					
I prefer reading newspapers in					
The books I read are in					

4. Please tick (✓) the relevant box in the following questions.
If any category is not applicable in your case, please leave the space blank.

				Mixed languages (and = mixed with)				
	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language (please specify)	No preference
People who want to appear								

open-minded should speak								
Religious sermons should be delivered in								
I would prefer my children to learn								
When I text message my friends, I use								
In their daily lives, Punjabis should use								
The language(s) I prefer is/are								
I am willing to spend extra time and more money to learn								
Teaching morals and religious values should be in								
When at work, government employees should use								
When at home, Punjabis should use								
Language of								

education from elementary school through university should be in								
The people who want to appear educated should speak								
When I joke, I use								
The language(s) of business should be								

5. Please tick (✓) the relevant box in the following questions.
If any category is not applicable in your case, please leave the space blank.

				Mixed languages (and = mixed with)				
	Urdu	Punjabi	English	Urdu and Punjabi	Urdu and English	English and Punjabi	Other language (please specify)	I don't know
The best language(s) to teach science and technology is/are								
The language(s) that best represent the Punjabi culture is/are								
To obtain a good government job, I should master								
To obtain a good private job, I should master								

The language(s) rich in expression is/are								
The most beautiful language(s) is/are								
The language(s) that impact the listener most is/are								
To be a Punjabi, it's important to use								
People who want to appear modern should speak								
If I had been given the chance to learn only one language in my life, I would have chosen								
The dominant street language(s) is/are								
The language(s) that is/are least beneficial to Pakistan is/are								
The language(s) Pakistani elite use in their daily communication is/are								
When I swear I use								
The language(s) that we should maintain is/are								

The language(s) that I need most for my professional life is/are								
The official language(s) in Pakistan should be								

Section C

6. How would you rate your proficiency in the following languages? Please tick (✓) the relevant box for each language.

	I speak fluently 5	I speak very well 4	I speak well 3	I speak a little 2	I don't speak at all 1
Urdu					
Punjabi					
English					
	I understand fluently 5	I understand very well 4	I understand well 3	I understand a little 2	I don't understand at all 1
Urdu					
Punjabi					
English					
	I read fluently 5	I read very well 4	I read well 3	I read a little 2	I can't read at all 1
Urdu					
Punjabi					
English					
	I write fluently 5	I write very well 4	I write well 3	I write a little 2	I can't write at all 1
Urdu					
Punjabi					
English					

Section D

7. How well do you agree or disagree with the following statements? Please tick (✓) the relevant box for each statement.

	5 Strongly agree	4 Agree	3 Uncertain	2 Disagree	1 Strongly disagree

Speaking Punjabi is an important part of Punjabi identity					
It is important to me personally to be able to speak Punjabi					
Punjabi should maintain a unique identity of its own					
I consider myself a member of the Punjabi community in Punjab					
Punjabi is an important part of our heritage					
Punjab will lose its identity if we lose Punjabi language					
It is easier to find a job if you speak Punjabi rather than any other language					
Punjabi is irrelevant to the modern world					
It is useless to encourage Punjabi in the media					
It will be really sad if Punjabi dies out					
I would like to learn Punjabi formally					
I prefer to speak in Punjabi than in Urdu					
Punjabi should be taught at schools as a major subject					
Punjabi literature should be promoted/encouraged					
The government should support Punjabi					
Everyone should be able to write in Punjabi					
Punjabi is the mark of an educated person					
There should be newspapers in Punjabi					
Punjabis should read Punjabi newspapers					
Learning Punjabi is more important than learning English at school					
I feel proud of being Punjabi					
The holy Quran should be translated in Punjabi					

8. Please tick (✓) the relevant box for each category.

	5 Strongly agree	4 Agree	3 Uncertain	2 Disagree	1 Strongly disagree
Punjabi can be considered:					
Important for social status					
beautiful					
rude/harsh					
musical					
expressive					
vulgar					
modern					
other, please specify					

Section E

9. Now to help us classify your answers and to make our statistical comparisons, could you please respond to the following questions about yourself? The information you provide will be strictly confidential. It will only be accessible to the researchers for the sake of this research.

a. Are you Male? ☐ or Female ☐

b. How old are you? _____

c. What town or village do you live in? _____

d. What is your highest level of educational qualification? (E.g. 10 years of education/12 years of education /14 years of education etc.) _____

e. What is your occupation? (or former occupation if retired?)

_____

f. What is your mother-tongue? (A mother-tongue is the first language that you learn when you are a baby, rather than a language learned at school or as an adult)

i. Urdu ii. Punjabi iii. English iv. Other, please specify _____

Subjective Vitality Questionnaire

Part 2

In this part of the questionnaire, kindly give your opinion, bearing that there is no right or wrong answer to these questions. The information you provide is strictly confidential – you do not have to give your name or address anywhere in the questionnaire.

Punjabi language in Punjab/Hafizabad

1. How frequently do you think **Punjabi language** is spoken in Punjab, Pakistan?

	5	4	3	2	1	
very frequently	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not frequently at all

2. How frequently do you think Punjabi language is spoken in your hometown?

	5	4	3	2	1	
very frequently	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not frequently at al

3. To what extent is Punjabi language used by the following age groups?

	Used all the time				Not used at all
	5	4	3	2	1
Younger than 25	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
25 - 45	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
46 – 65	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Older than 65	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

4. How much eager, do you think, are the following age groups to speak Punjabi language?

	Very enthusiastic				No enthusiasm
	5	4	3	2	1
Younger than 25	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
25 - 45	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
46 – 65	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Older than 65	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Status of Punjabi language and Punjabi culture in Punjab

5. How highly regarded is the Punjabi language in Punjab, Pakistan?

	5	4	3	2	1	
extremely highly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all

6. How highly regarded is the Punjabi language internationally?

	5	4	3	2	1	
extremely high	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all

7. How highly regarded are Punjabi speakers in Punjab, Pakistan?

	5	4	3	2	1	
extremely high	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all

8. How proud of their cultural history and achievements are Punjabi speakers in Punjab?

	5	4	3	2	1	
extremely	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all

9. How wealthy do you feel the following groups are where you live?

	Extremely 5	4	3	2	not at all 1
Punjabi speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urdu speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Support for Punjabi language and culture in Punjab

10. To what extent do you think that Punjabi language is represented in the following domains in Punjab?

	well-represented all 5	4	3	2	No representation at 1
Mass media (TV, radio, Newspapers)	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	
Government services (hospitals, courts etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Industry (economic and business matters)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Religion (Mosques, religious sermons, other religious gatherings etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Cultural events (festivals, concerts, art exhibitions etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Politics (political speeches, Punjab Assembly, political rally's etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Demographic distribution of Punjabi and Punjabi speakers in Punjab

11. In the area where you live, to what extent do you think are the following groups in the majority or the minority?

	Extreme majority 5	4	3	2	extreme minority 1
Punjabi speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urdu speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. Estimate the proportion of the Punjab's population made up of the following groups:

	100 percent				0 percent
	5	4	3	2	1
Punjabi speakers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urdu speaker	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

13. Estimate the birth rates of the following groups in Punjab:

	Tremendously decreasing	Increasing			tremendously
	5	4	3	2	1
Punjabi speakers (with Punjabi as mother-tongue)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Urdu speakers (with Urdu as mother-tongue)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Punjabi identity in Punjab

14. How 'Punjabi' do other people than yourself feel they are?

	5	4	3	2	1	
very Punjabi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all Punjabi

15. How important do you think are each of the following languages to the people of Punjab?

	Very important				Not at all important
	5	4	3	2	1
Urdu	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Punjabi	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
English	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. How important is being able to speak Punjabi considered by most people in Punjab?

	5	4	3	2	1	
very important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all important

17. How important do other people in the Punjab think is it to learn Punjabi language?

	5	4	3	2	1	
very important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all important

18. To what extent do you think that Punjabi language in Punjab is more or less important now than it was 20 years ago?

	5	4	3	2	1	
much more important now now	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	much less important

19. How much important do you feel Punjabi language will be 20 to 30 years from now?

	5	4	3	2	1	
extremely important important	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	not at all

Interview Questions

Everyday language use

1. Can you please introduce yourself? (Age, gender, profession, educational background)
2. How would you describe your social circle?
   (their age, gender, educational level etc.)
3. Can you tell me a little bit about your language use with these people?
   (parents, neighbours, immediate family, friends, relatives etc).
4. Do you switch to another language while conversing with these people? Can you recall any such incident where you suddenly started speaking another language?
5. Have you ever noticed any change in your language use while conversing with them?

Language shift and Change/ Factors affecting language use

6. Do you think that language behaviour has changed in Pakistan?
   (Pakistanis are speaking another language, shifted to another language/ use mixture of different languages etc.)
   If yes, can you give any example/ can you explain any incident when you realized that this is happening?
7. Why do you think this happened/ is happening?
8. Did you experience any specific change in your own language behaviour over the years? If yes, how has it changed? If no, why do you think it hasn't changed?

Language use differences in different age groups and gender

9. Have you observed any differences in the ways that boys and girls or women and men speak? If yes, what are they? Do they always apply: e.g. at home, school or work?
10. Have you observed any differences in the ways an old and a young person speak? If yes, what are they?

Rural and urban areas

11. How long have you been living in this village?
12. Have you been to Lahore or any other major city in Punjab? Can you tell me about it?
13. How do you think is your life different from the people living in Lahore/any other city?/ what do you think makes you different from Lahoris (people who live in Lahore) or _____?
14. Have you experienced/noticed any differences in language use of rural and urban folks? Can you tell any interesting experience of your own?
15. How would you compare your everyday language behaviour/use with Lahoris/ ----(urban folks)? Do you remember any incident when you realized that? Can you talk about that?

Social class and educational background

16. Inquire about participant's educational level, any educated person in the immediate family, any educated person in the neighbourhood etc.
17. In your view, is there any difference between an educated person (replace it with proper noun) and an uneducated person (replace it with proper noun)? If yes, what? And why do you think is this difference?
18. Do you think that there is a difference between the language behaviour/use patterns of an educated person (replace it with proper noun) and an uneducated person (replace it with proper noun)? If yes, what specific differences have you noticed? And why do you think is there a difference?
19. Have you thought of shifting to/speaking another language after getting education? If yes, why?
    OR
    Did you shift to/start speaking another language after getting education/ a degree? If yes, why? If no, why not?
    OR
    Do you expect your kids to shift to/start speaking another language after getting education/ a degree? If yes, why? If no, why not?
    Or
    Have you ever shifted to another language while educating your kids/ younger siblings/ while they were attaining an educational degree? If yes, why? If no, why not?
20. Do you think language is a symbol of social status and class in Pakistan? If yes, why? If no, why not?

Identity

21. Which things would you say signify you or your children being a Punjabi/Pakistani? Does language play a role? (if not mentioned in the first response).

Language and Religion

22. Do you say your prayers?
23. Do you go to the mosque?
24. In which language do you say your prayers? And why? Do you understand that language?
25. Would you consider praying in any other language? If yes, why? If no, why not?

26. Which language do *Mulahs* (religious preachers) use for religious sermons (like Friday prayers/ Eid prayers etc)?
27. Would you prefer listening to your religious sermons in another language (Punjabi/English)? If yes, why? If no, why not?
28. Do you read the translation of Quran? If yes, in what language?
29. Would you consider reading the translation of Quran in any other language (e.g. Punjabi/ English)? If yes, why? If no, why not?

Appendix E

Translated versions of the questionnaires and Interview Questions

Language Attitude Questionnaire (Urdu Translated Version)

(سوالنامہ، حصہ اول)

سیکشن الف (A)

1۔ برائے مہربانی بتایئے کہ آپ کے والدین گھر پہ کونسی زبان استعمال کرتے ہیں/تھے (مندرجہ ذیل گوشوارہ میں دیئے گئے نمبرز کو استعمال کرتے ہوئے خالی جگہوں کو پُر کیجئے)۔

1	2	3	4	5
کبھی نہیں (0%)	کبھی کبھار (25%)	اکثر (50%)	زیادہ تر (75%)	ہمیشہ (100%)

	اُردو	پنجابی	انگلش	اُردو اور پنجابی	اُردو اور انگلش	انگلش اور پنجابی	کوئی اور زبان (نام لکھیئے)
				مخلوط (ملی جلی) زبانیں (اور جن کے ساتھ ملی جلی ہیں/مخلوط ہیں)			
والد/سرپرست (گھر)							
والدہ/سرپرست (گھر)							

2۔ برائے مہربانی وہ زبان/زبانیں جو آپ گھر میں، پڑوس میں، سکول میں، یا کام کی جگہ پر مندرجہ ذیل گوشوارے میں مذکورہ افراد سے استعمال کرتے ہیں، کا ذکر (ان کے استعمال پر انحصار کرتے ہوئے)۔
(اگر آپ کے مطالعہ میں کوئی خانہ غیر متعلقہ ہو تو اُسے خالی ہی رہنے دیجئے)۔

1	2	3	4	5
کبھی نہیں (0%)	کبھی کبھار (25%)	اکثر (50%)	زیادہ تر (75%)	ہمیشہ (100%)

	اُردو	پنجابی	انگریزی	اُردو اور پنجابی	اُردو اور انگریزی	انگریزی اور پنجابی	کوئی اور زبان (نام لکھیئے)
				مخلوط زبانیں (اور جن سے ملی ہوئی ہیں)			
گھر پر							
والد/سرپرست							
والدہ/سرپرست							
بھائی/زیادہ بھائی							
بہنیں/بہنیں							
دادا جان							
دادی جان							
بچے							

	اُردو	پنجابی	انگلش	اُردو اور پنجابی	اُردو اور انگریزی	انگریزی اور پنجابی	کوئی اور زبان (نام لکھیے)
	مخلوط زبانیں (اور جن سے ملی ہوئی ہیں)						
پڑوس میں							
دوستوں کے ساتھ							
ہمسایوں کے ساتھ							
دکانداروں کے ساتھ							
سکول میں							
ہم جماعتوں کے ساتھ							
ہم کتبوں کے ساتھ							
اپنی جماعت کے اساتذہ کے ساتھ (کلاس کے اندر)							
دیگر جماعتوں کے اساتذہ کے ساتھ (کلاس کے باہر)							
جائے روزگار پر							
مالک/منیجر کے ساتھ							
ماتحت عملے کے ساتھ							
رفقاء کار کے ساتھ							

3۔ برائے مہربانی مندرجہ ذیل سوالات کے متعلقہ خانوں میں "Tick" ✓ لگائیں۔
(اگر آپ کے معاملہ میں کوئی خانہ غیر متعلقہ ہو تو اسے خالی ہی رہنے دیجئے)

	اُردو	پنجابی	انگلش	کوئی دوسری زبان	بلا ترجیح
میں زیادہ تر ٹیلیویژن کے پروگرام کس زبان میں دیکھتا/دیکھتی ہوں؟					
میں زیادہ تر ریڈیو کی نشریات کس زبان میں سنتا/سنتی ہوں؟					
میں زیادہ تر موسیقی کس زبان میں سنتا/سنتی ہوں؟					
میں زیادہ تر فلمیں کس زبان میں دیکھتا/دیکھتی ہوں؟					
میں کس زبان میں اخبار پڑھنا پسند کرتا/کرتی ہوں؟					
میں کس زبان میں کتابیں پڑھنا پسند کرتا/کرتی ہوں؟					

سیکشن 'ب'

4۔ مندرجہ ذیل سوالات کے متعلقہ خانوں میں "TICK" ✓ لگایئے۔
(اگر آپ کے معاملہ میں کوئی خانہ غیر متعلقہ ہو تو اسے خالی ہی رہنے دیجئے)

	اُردو	پنجابی	انگریزی	اُردو اور پنجابی	اُردو اور انگریزی	انگریزی اور پنجابی	کوئی اور زبان (نام لکھیے)	بلا ترجیح
	مخلوط (ملی جلی) زبانیں (اور جن کے ساتھ مخلوط ہیں)							
کھلے ذہن والا نظر آنے کیلئے کونسی زبان بولنی چاہیے؟								
مذہبی خطبات کی زبان ہونی چاہیے؟								
میں چاہوں گا/گی کہ میرے بچے بولیں								
دوستوں کو فون پر پیغام بھیجتے وقت میں استعمال کرتا/کرتی ہوں								
روزمرہ کی زندگی میں پنجابیوں کو بولنی چاہیے								
وہ زبانیں جنہیں میں ترجیح دیتا/دیتی ہوں								
میں جس زبان کو سیکھنے کے لئے زیادہ وقت اور پیسہ خرچنے کو تیار ہوں؟								
اخلاقیات اور مذہبی قدریں سکھانا اس زبان میں ہونا چاہیے؟								
کام کے دوران سرکاری ملازموں کو استعمال کرنی چاہیے								
گھر پہ پنجابیوں کو استعمال کرنی چاہیے؟								
پرائمری سے یونیورسٹی تک تعلیم کی زبان ہونی چاہیے؟								
لوگ جو تعلیم یافتہ نظر آنا چاہتے ہیں انہیں بولنا چاہیے؟								
جب میں کسی سے مذاق کرتا/کرتی ہوں تو میں استعمال کرتا/کرتی ہوں؟								
کاروبار کی زبان ہونی چاہیے؟								

5۔مندرجہ ذیل سوالات کے متعلقہ خانوں میں"Tick" ✓ لگایئے۔
(اگر آپ کے معاملہ میں کوئی خانہ غیر متعلقہ ہو تو اسے خالی رہنے دیجئے)

				مخلوط (ملی جلی) زبانیں (اور جن کے ساتھ مخلوط ہیں)				
	اُردو	پنجابی	انگریزی	اُردو اور پنجابی	اُردو اور انگریزی	انگریزی اور پنجابی	کوئی اور زبان (نام لکھیے)	پتہ نہیں
سائنس اور ٹیکنالوجی پڑھانے کے لئے بہترین زبان ہے/ زبانیں ہیں؟								
پنجابی ثقافت کی بہترین نمائندہ زبان ہے/ زبانیں ہیں؟								
اچھی سرکاری ملازمت حاصل کرنے کے لئے ہے مجھے جس زبان پر عبور حاصل کرنا چاہیے؟								
اچھی پرائیویٹ ملازمت کے لئے مجھے جس زبان پر مہارت حاصل کرنا چاہیے؟								
بہتر اظہار خیال کیلئے اچھی زبان ہے/ زبانیں ہیں؟								
سب سے خوبصورت زبان ہے/ زبانیں ہیں؟								
زبان/ زبانیں جو سننے والے پر گہرا اثر چھوڑتی ہیں؟								
پنجابی ہونے کے ناطے استعمال کرنا بہت اہم ہے؟								
وہ لوگ جو جدید نظر آنا چاہتے ہیں انہیں چاہیے؟								
اگر مجھے زندگی میں صرف ایک زبان سیکھنے کا موقع ملتا تو میں سیکھتا/ سیکھتی								
گلی محلے کی غالب زبان/ زبانیں ہیں								
وہ زبان/ زبانیں جو پاکسان کیلئے بلکل مفید نہیں								
وہ زبان/ زبانیں جو پاکسان کی اشرافیہ روزمرہ کی گفتگو میں استعمال کرتی ہے؟								
جب مجھے قسم کھانا ہو تو میں بولتا ہوں/ بولتی ہوں؟								
زبان/ زبانیں جو ہمیں برقرار رکھنا چاہیں؟								
زبان/ زبانیں جو میری اپنی پیشہ ورانہ زندگی کے لئے ضرورت ہے؟								
پاکستان میں سرکاری/دفتری زبان/ زبانیں ہونی چاہیں								

سیکشن (ج-C)

6۔آپ مندرجہ ذیل زبانوں میں اپنی صلاحیت کا معیار کیسے طے کریں گے۔ ہر زبان کے سامنے متعلقہ خانے میں"Tick" ✓ لگایئے۔

	میں صلاحیت سے بولتا/بولتی ہوں 5	میں بہت اچھا بولتا/بولتی ہوں 4	میں اچھا بولتا/بولتی ہوں 3	میں تھوڑا بہت بولتا/بولتی ہوں 2	میں ہرگز نہیں بولتا/بولتی ہوں 1
اُردو					
پنجابی					
انگلش					
	میں صلاحیت سے سمجھتا ہوں	میں بہت اچھی طرح سمجھتا/ سمجھتی ہوں	میں اچھی طرح سمجھتا/ سمجھتی ہوں	میں تھوڑا بہت سمجھتا/ سمجھتی ہوں ہوں	میں ہرگز نہیں سمجھتا/ سمجھتی ہوں
اُردو					
پنجابی					
انگلش					
	میں صلاحیت سے لکھتا/ لکھتی ہوں	میں بہت اچھی طرح لکھتا/ لکھتی ہوں	میں اچھی طرح لکھ لیتا/ لیتی ہوں	میں تھوڑا بہت لکھ لیتا/ لیتی ہوں	میں ہرگز نہیں لکھ سکتا/ سکتی
اُردو					
پنجابی					
انگلش					
	میں صلاحیت سے پڑھتا/پڑھتی ہوں	میں بہت اچھی طرح پڑھتا/پڑھتی ہوں	میں اچھی طرح پڑھ لیتا/ لیتی ہوں	میں تھوڑا بہت پڑھ لیتا/ لیتی ہوں	میں ہرگز نہیں پڑھ سکتا/ سکتی
اُردو					
پنجابی					
انگلش					

سیکشن (د-D)

7۔آپ مندرجہ ذیل بیانیوں (Statements) سے کس قدر اچھا اتفاق یا اختلاف کرتے ہیں؟ ہر بیانیے کے سامنے متعلقہ خانے میں "Tick" ✓ لگایئے۔

	سخت اختلاف ہے 1	اختلاف ہے 2	پتہ نہیں 3	اتفاق ہے 4	مکمل اتفاق ہے 5
پنجابی بولنا، پنجابی شناخت کا لازمی جزو ہے					
پنجابی بولنے کے قابل ہونا میرے نزدیک ذاتی طور پر اہم ہے۔					
پنجابی زبان کی اپنی جداگانہ شناخت ہونی چاہیے۔					
میں اپنے آپ کو پنجاب میں پنجابی کو معاشرے کا رکن سمجھتا/ سمجھتی ہوں۔					
پنجابی ہمارے لوک ورثہ کا اہم حصہ ہے۔					
اگر ہم نے پنجابی زبان کو کھو دیا تو پنجاب اپنی شناخت کھو دے گا۔					
اگر آپ کوئی دوسری زبان بولنے کی بجائے پنجابی بولتے ہیں تو نوکری ڈھونڈنا سہتا آسان ہے۔					
جدید دنیا کے نزدیک پنجابی زبان ان چاہی (فالتو، بے کار) ہے۔					
میڈیا میں پنجابی زبان کے فروغ کی کوشش بے کار ہے۔					
اگر پنجابی زبان واقع ہی ختم ہو گئی تو یہ بہت افسوسناک بات ہوگی۔					
میں پنجابی زبان کو باقاعدہ سیکھنا پسند کروں گا/ گی۔					
میں اُردو کی بجائے پنجابی میں بات کرنے کو ترجیح دیتا/دیتی ہوں۔					
سکولوں میں پنجابی زبان کو بڑے مضمون کے طور پر پڑھایا جانا چاہیے۔					
پنجابی ادب کو فروغ دیا جانا چاہیے۔					
حکومت کو چاہیے کہ پنجابی زبان کو سہارا دے/ اس کی سرپرستی کرے۔					
ہر ایک کو پنجابی میں لکھنے کے قابل ہونا چاہیے۔					
پنجابی زبان میں مہارت تعلیم یافتہ شخص ہونے کی نشانی ہے۔					
اخبارات پنجابی زبان میں ہونے چاہیے۔					
پنجابیوں کو پنجابی زبان کے اخبارات پڑھنے چاہیئں۔					
سکول میں پنجابی زبان سیکھنا، انگریزی سیکھنے سے زیادہ اہم ہے۔					
مجھے اپنے پنجابی ہونے پر فخر ہے۔					
قرآن مجید کا ترجمہ پنجابی زبان میں ہونا چاہیے۔					

8۔ہر زمرے (Category) کے سامنے متعلقہ خانے میں "Tick" ✓ لگایئے۔

	مکمل اختلاف ہے ✓ 1	اختلاف ہے 2	پتہ نہیں 3	اتفاق ہے 4	مکمل اتفاق ہے 5
پنجابی زبان کبھی جا سکتی ہے:					
سماجی مرتبے کے لئے اہم					
خوبصورت					
اکھڑ/کرخت					
شیرینی سے بھرپور					
اظہار کے لئے موزوں/صحیح					
بے ہودہ					
جدید					
یا کچھ اور (کوئی نام دیں)					

9۔اب آپ اپنے دیئے ہوئے جوابات کی درجہ بندی کرنے، اور ہمارے شماریاتی تقابلات (Statistical Comparisons) بنانے میں ہماری مدد کرنے کے لئے کیا آپ اپنے بارے میں پوچھے گئے مندرجہ ذیل سوالات کے جوابات دینا پسند فرمائیں گے؟ آپ کی فراہم کردہ معلومات مکمل طور پر صیغہ راز میں رہے گی۔ یہ صرف تحقیق کے مقاصد کے لئے محققین کی دسترس میں ہوگی۔

(الف) کیا آپ مذکر ہیں ..... یا مونث ہیں .....

(ب) آپ کی عمر کیا ہے؟ .....

(ت) آپ کس شہر یا گاؤں میں رہتے ہیں؟ (شہر/گاؤں کا نام) .....

(ٹ) آپ کی تعلیمی قابلیت کی اعلیٰ ترین سطح کیا ہے؟ (مثلاً: 10 سال تک تعلیم/ 12 سال تک تعلیم/ 14 سال تک تعلیم/ 16 سال تک تعلیم وغیرہ) .....

(ج) آپ کا پیشہ کیا ہے؟ یا ریٹائرمنٹ کی صورت میں آپ کا سابقہ پیشہ کیا تھا؟ .....

(چ) آپ کی مادری زبان کیا ہے؟ (مادری زبان سے مراد آپ کے خاندان/ قبیلے کی وہ زبان جو آپ آغوش مادر میں سیکھتے ہیں نہ کہ سکول یا کالج میں اکتسابی طور پر)

(i) اُردو (ii) پنجابی (iii) انگلش (iv) کوئی اور (زبان کا نام لکھیے)

Subjective Vitality Questionnaire (Urdu Translated version)

Part-2

سوالنامے کے اس حصہ میں براہ کرم اعتماد کے ساتھ اپنی رائے دیجئے کہ ان سوالات کا کوئی درست یا غلط جواب نہیں ہے۔ آپ کی فراہم کردہ معلومات انتہائی صیغہ راز میں ہے۔
آپ کو اس سوالنامے میں کہیں بھی اپنا نام یا پتہ نہیں دینا ہے۔

1۔ پاکستان کے پنجاب میں پنجابی زبان آپ کے خیال میں کتنی کثرت سے بولی جاتی ہے؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
بالکل بھی کثرت کے ساتھ نہیں	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	بہت کثرت کے ساتھ

2۔ آپ کے اپنے گاؤں/علاقہ میں پنجابی زبان کتنی کثرت سے بولی جاتی ہے؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
بالکل بھی کثرت کے ساتھ نہیں	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	بہت کثرت کے ساتھ

3۔ آپ کے خیال میں درج ذیل عمر کے لوگ کس حد تک پنجابی زبان بولتے ہیں؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
بالکل بھی کثرت کے ساتھ نہیں						بہت کثرت کے ساتھ
25 سال سے کم عمر	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
25 سال سے 45 سال	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
46 سال سے 65 سال	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
65 سال سے زیادہ عمر	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

4۔ آپ کے خیال میں درج ذیل عمر کے لوگ کس حد تک پنجابی زبان بولنے کے لیے پرجوش ہیں؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
بالکل بھی نہیں ہیں						بہت زیادہ پرجوش ہیں
25 سال سے کم عمر	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
25 سال سے 45 سال	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	
46 سال سے 65 سال	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

	5	4	3	2	1	
65 سال سے زیادہ عمر	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	

5۔ آپ کے خیال میں پنجاب پاکستان میں پنجابی کو کتنا اونچا مقام دیا جاتا ہے؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	بالکل بھی نہیں

انتہائی اونچا

6۔ آپ کے خیال میں بین الاقوامی سطح پر پنجابی کو کتنا اونچا مقام دیا جاتا ہے؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	بالکل بھی نہیں

انتہائی اونچا

7۔ آپ کے خیال میں پاکستان کے پنجاب میں پنجابی بولنے والوں کو کتنا اونچا مقام دیا جاتا ہے؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	بالکل بھی نہیں

انتہائی اونچا

8۔ آپ کے خیال میں پنجاب میں پنجابی بولنے والوں کو ثقافتی تاریخ اور کارناموں پر کتنا فخر ہے؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	بالکل بھی نہیں

بہت زیادہ

9۔ جہاں آپ رہتے ہیں وہاں درج ذیل گروہ آپ کے خیال میں کتنے دولتمند ہیں؟

	5	4	3	2	1	
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	بالکل بھی نہیں
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	پنجابی بولنے والے
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	اُردو بولنے والے

بہت زیادہ

10۔ آپ کے خیال میں درج ذیل شعبوں میں پنجابی زبان کی نمائندگی کس حد تک ہے؟

کوئی نمائندگی نہیں ہے

بہت اچھی نمائندگی ہے

	5	4	3	2	1
ذرائع ابلاغ (ٹی وی، ریڈیو، اخبارات)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
تعلیم	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
حکومتی خدمات (ہسپتال، عدالتیں وغیرہ)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
صنعت (معاشی اور کاروباری معاملات)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
مذہب (مساجد، مذہبی وعظ و دیگر) مذہبی اجتماعات	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
ثقافتی واقعات (تہوار، محافل، نمائشیں وغیرہ)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

سیاست (سیاسی تقریریں وجلوس پنجاب اسمبلی وغیرہ)

11۔آپ کے خیال میں اس علاقے میں جہاں آپ رہتے ہیں درج ذیل گروہ کس حد تک اکثریت/اقلیت میں ہیں؟

	انتہائی اقلیت				انتہائی اکثریت
	1	2	3	4	5
پنجابی بولنے والے					
اُردو بولنے والے					

12۔پنجاب کی آبادی میں درج ذیل گروہوں کے تناسب کا اندازہ لگائیں۔

	صفر فیصد				سو فیصد
	1	2	3	4	5
پنجابی بولنے ووالے					
اُردو بولنے والے					

13۔پنجاب میں درج ذیل گروہوں کی شرح پیدائش کا اندازہ لگائیں۔

	بہت زیادہ کم ہو رہی ہے				بہت زیادہ بڑھ رہی ہے
	1	2	3	4	5
پنجابی بولنے ووالے (جن کی ماں بولی پنجابی ہے)					
اُردو بولنے والے (جن کی ماں بولی اُردو ہے)					

14۔دوسرے لوگ بذات خود آپ کی نسبت خود کو کتنا پنجابی محسوس کرتے ہیں؟

	1	2	3	4	5
بالکل بھی پنجابی نہیں					بہت زیادہ پنجابی

15۔آپ کے نزدیک پنجاب کے لوگوں کے لئے درج ذیل ہر ایک زبان کتنی اہم ہے؟

	بالکل بھی اہم نہیں				بہت اہم
	1	2	3	4	5
اُردو					
پنجابی					
انگریزی					

16۔پنجاب میں زیادہ تر لوگوں کے لئے پنجابی بولنے کے قابل ہونا کتنا اہم سمجھا جاتا ہے؟

	بالکل بھی اہم نہیں				بہت اہم
	1	2	3	4	5

17۔ پنجاب کے لوگ کس حد تک اہم سمجھتے ہیں کے وہ پنجابی کو سیکھیں؟

بالکل بھی اہم نہیں 1 2 3 4 5 بہت اہم

18۔ آپ کس حد تک سمجھتے ہیں کہ 20 سال پہلے کی نسبت اب پنجابی زبان زیادہ یا کم اہم ہے؟

اب بہت کم اہم ہے 1 2 3 4 5 اب بہت زیادہ اہم ہے

19۔ آپ کے خیال میں اگلے 20 تا 30 سال میں پنجابی زبان اب سے کتنی زیادہ اہم ہوگی؟

بالکل بھی اہم نہیں 1 2 3 4 5 انتہائی اہم

انٹرویوسوالات

روزمرہ زبان کا استعمال

1۔ براہ کرم کیا آپ اپنا تعارف کرا سکتے ہیں؟ (عمر، جنس، پیشہ، تعلیمی پس منظر)

2۔ آپ اپنے سماجی حلقہ احباب کو کیسے بیان کریں گے؟ (ان کی عمر، جنس، تعلیم معیار وغیرہ)

3۔ کیا آپ ان لوگوں کے ساتھ اپنی استعمال کرنے والی زبان کے بارے میں کچھ بتا سکتے ہیں؟

4۔ کیا آپ ان لوگوں سے بات چیت کے دوران کسی دوسری زبان کی طرف مائل ہوتے ہیں؟ کیا آپ کوئی ایسا واقعہ بتا سکتے ہیں جب آپ نے بات چیت کرتے ہوئے اچانک کسی دوسری زبان میں بولنا شروع کر دیا ہو؟

5۔ کیا آپ نے ان لوگوں سے بات چیت کے دوران استعمال ہونے والی زبان میں تبدیلی کبھی نوٹ کی ہے۔

زبان کی منتقلی اور تبدیلی/ زیر استعمال زبان کو متاثر کرنے والے عناصر

6۔ کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ پاکستان میں لسانی رویہ تبدیل ہو چکا ہے؟

(پاکستانی کوئی دوسری زبان بول رہے ہیں، کسی دوسری زبان کی طرف منتقلی/مختلف زبانوں کی آمیزش وغیرہ)

اگر ہاں تو کیا آپ کوئی مثال دے سکتے ہیں/ کیا آپ کسی ایسے واقعہ کی وضاحت کر سکتے ہیں جب آپ کو احساس ہوا کہ ایسا ہوا ہے یا ہو رہا ہے؟

7۔ آپ کے خیال میں ایسا کیوں ہوا/ ہو رہا ہے؟

8۔ کیا آپ کو کئی سالوں کے دوران اپنے لسانی رویہ میں کسی مخصوص تبدیلی کا تجربہ ہوا ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو یہ تبدیلی کیسے رونما ہوئی ہے؟ اگر نہیں تو آپ کے خیال میں یہ تبدیلی کیوں نہیں ہوئی ہے؟

مختلف جنس اور گروہوں میں زبان کے استعمال میں فرق

9۔ کیا آپ نے عورتوں اور مردوں یا لڑکوں اور لڑکیوں کے انداز گفتگو میں کوئی فرق محسوس کیا ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیا فرق محسوس کیا ہے؟ کیا وہ یہ فرق اپنے گھر، سکول یا کام کاج کی جگہ پر برقرار رکھتے ہیں؟

10۔ کیا آپ نے نوجوانوں اور بوڑھوں کے انداز گفتگو میں کوئی فرق محسوس کیا ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیا فرق محسوس کیا ہے؟

دیہی اور شہری علاقے

11۔ آپ کتنے عرصے سے اس گاؤں میں رہ رہے ہیں؟

12۔ کیا آپ کبھی لاہور یا پنجاب میں کسی اور بڑے شہر میں رہائش پذیر رہے ہیں؟ کیا آپ اس کے بارے میں بتا سکتے ہیں؟

13۔ آپ کیسے یہ سمجھتے ہیں کہ آپ کی زندگی لاہور یا بڑے شہر میں رہنے والوں کی زندگی مختلف ہے؟ وہ کون سی چیز ہے جو آپ کو لاہور یا کسی اور بڑے شہر میں رہنے والے لوگوں سے مختلف بناتی ہے؟

14۔ کیا آپ نے کبھی دیہاتیوں اور شہریوں کی زبان کا استعمال میں کوئی فرق دیکھے ہیں؟ کیا اس سلسلہ میں کوئی اپنا دلچسپ واقعہ بیان کر سکتے ہیں؟

15۔کس طرح آپ اپنی روزمرہ زبان کے رویہ کا لاہوریوں کی زباں کے رویہ سے مقابلہ کریں گے؟ کیا اس سلسلہ میں آپ کو کوئی واقعہ یاد ہے؟ کیا آپ اس کے بارے میں بتا سکتے ہیں؟

سماجی طبقہ اور تعلیمی پس منظر

16۔شریک کار کے تعلیمی معیار کے بارے میں دریافت کریں۔(خاندان یا ہمسائیگی میں کوئی بھی تعلیم یافتہ شخص)

17۔کیا آپ کی نظر میں ایک پڑھے لکھے اور ان پڑھ شخص میں کوئی فرق ہوتا ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیا فرق ہوتا ہے؟ آپ کے خیال میں یہ فرق کیوں ہوتا ہے؟

18۔کیا آپ کی نظر میں ایک پڑھے لکھے اور ان پڑھ شخص کی زبان کے رویہ میں کوئی فرق ہوتا ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیا فرق ہوتا ہے؟ یہ فرق کیوں ہوتا ہے؟

19۔کیا آپ نے تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے بعد کسی دوسری زبان کو بات چیت کرنے کے لئے اپنانے کے بارے میں کبھی سوچا ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟

یا

کیا آپ نے تعلیم حاصل کرنے کے بعد کسی دوسری زبان میں بات چیت کرنا شروع کیا؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟ اور اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

یا

جب آپ کے بھائی بہن تعلیم حاصل کر رہے ہیں تو کیا آپ ان سے کسی اور زبان میں بات چیت کرنے کی توقع رکھتے ہیں؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟ اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

یا

جب آپ کے بھائی بہن تعلیم حاصل کر رہے تھے تو کیا آپ نے کسی دوسری زبان میں بات چیت کرنا شروع کیا؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟ اور اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

20۔کیا آپ سمجھتے ہیں کہ پاکستان میں زبان کسی مخصوص سماجی طبقہ یا درجہ کی علامت ہوتی ہے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟ اور اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

شناخت

21۔وہ کون سی چیزیں ہیں جو آپ کے پاکستانی/ پنجابی ہونے کا اظہار کریں گی؟ کیا زبان اس سلسلہ میں کوئی کردار ادا کرتی ہے؟ (اگر نہیں تو اپنا پہلا ردعمل بیان کریں)

زبان اور مذہب

22۔کیا آپ نماز ادا کرتے ہیں؟

23۔کیا آپ مسجد میں جاتے ہیں؟

24۔آپ کونسی زبان میں نماز ادا کرتے ہیں؟ اور کیوں؟ کیا آپ اس زبان کو سمجھتے ہیں؟

25۔کیا آپ کسی اور زبان میں نماز ادا کرنے کے بارے میں سوچیں گے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟ اور اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

26۔مذہبی وعظ (خطبہ) کے لئے ملاں کونسی زبان استعمال کرتے ہیں؟ (جمعہ کی نماز/عیدین کی نماز کے خطبہ کے لئے)

27۔کیا آپ کسی دوسری زبان میں مذہبی وعظ (خطبہ) کو سننا ترجیح دیں گے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟ اور اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

28۔کیا آپ قرآن پاک کا ترجمہ پڑھتے ہیں؟ اگر ہاں تو کون سی زبان میں؟

29۔کیا آپ کسی دوسری زبان میں جیسے انگریزی/ پنجابی میں قرآن پاک کا ترجمہ پڑھنا چاہیں گے؟ اگر ہاں تو کیوں؟ اور اگر نہیں تو کیوں نہیں؟

Appendix F

Table 13: Crosstabulation (Age and Mother-Tongue)						
Count						
		Mother_tongue				Total
		Urdu	Punjabi	English	Other	
Age	18	4	6	2	0	12
	19	1	1	0	0	2
	20	1	3	0	0	4
	21	1	3	0	0	4
	22	0	3	0	0	3
	23	1	2	0	0	3
	24	1	1	0	0	2
	25	1	2	0	0	3
	26	1	2	0	2	5
	27	0	6	0	0	6
	28	1	6	0	0	7
	29	0	3	0	0	3
	30	0	8	0	0	8
	31	0	1	0	0	1
	32	0	4	0	0	4
	33	0	3	0	0	3
	34	0	3	0	0	3
	35	0	4	0	0	4
	36	1	3	0	0	4
	37	0	2	0	0	2
	38	0	2	0	0	2
	39	0	2	0	0	2
	40	0	5	0	0	5
	43	0	2	0	0	2
	45	0	6	0	0	6
	46	0	1	0	0	1
	50	0	1	0	0	1
	54	0	1	0	0	1
	55	0	2	0	0	2
Total		13	88	2	2	105

Table 14: Attitudinal orientations and stances towards three languages spoken in Pakistan (Results of Question 4 of LAQ)								
	Urdu (U)	**Punjabi (P)**	**English (E)**	**U & P**	**U & E**	**E & P**	**Other language**	**No preference**
People who want to appear open-minded	**39%**	23.8%	10.5%	12.4%	12.4%			1.9%

should speak								
Religious sermons should be delivered in	**50.5 %**	25.7%		16.2%	3.8%		1.9%	1.9%
I would prefer my children to learn	**44.2 %**	5.8%	7.7%	13.5%	25%	1.0 %		2.9%
When I text message my friends, I use	**45.8 %**	15.6%	10.4%	10.4%	17.7%			
In their daily lives, Punjabis should use	18.3%	**55.8%**	1.9%	20.2%	1.9%			1.9%
The language(s) I prefer is/are	24.3%	23.3%	3.9%	**27.2 %**	20.4%	1.0 %		
I am willing to spend extra time and more money to learn	**27.2 %**	13.6%	**27.2%**	11.7%	16.5%		2.9%	1.0%
Teaching morals and religious values should be in	**45.7 %**	18.1%	3.8%	22.9%	8.6%		1.0%	
When at work, government employees should use	**51.9 %**	13.2%	1.9%	21.7%	8.5%		0.9%	1.9%
When at home, Punjabis should use	16.2%	**57.1%**		18.1%	4.8%	1.9 %		1.9%
Language of education from elementary school through	**39.6 %**	4.7%	7.5%	16%	30.2%	0.9 %		0.9%

university should be in								
The people who want to appear educated should speak	28.3%	11.3%	15.1%	7.5%	**35.8 %**	1.9 %		
When I joke, I use	15.1%	**58.5%**	4.7%	15.1%	4.7%			1.9%
The language(s) of business should be	**44.3 %**	11.3%	4.7%	22.6%	11.3%	1.9 %		3.8%

Table 15: Attitudinal orientations and stances towards three languages spoken in Pakistan (Results of Question 5 of LAQ)

	Urdu (U)	**Punjabi (P)**	**English (E)**	**U & P**	**U & E**	**E & P**	**Other**	**I don't know**
The best language(s) to teach science and technology is/are	37.7%	4.7%	24.5%	4.7%	25.5%			2.8%
The language(s) that best represent the Punjabi culture is/are	16.2%	62.9%	1.0%	16.2%			1.0%	2.9%
To obtain a good government job, I should master	30.2%	5.7%	24.5%	7.5%	30.2%			1.9%
To obtain a good private job, I should master	18.9%	7.5%	35.8%	12.3%	23.6%			1.9%
The language(s) rich in expression is/are	49.1%	25.5%	3.8%	12.3%	6.6%	1.9%	0.9%	
The most beautiful	31.1%	32.1%	1.9%	24.5%	5.7%	1.9%	2.8%	

language(s) is/are								
The language(s) that impact the listener most is/are	33%	28.3%	4.7%	20.8%	7.5%		4.7%	0.9%
To be a Punjabi, it's important to use	15.2%	54.3%	2.9%	18.1%	6.7%	1.9%		1.0%
People who want to appear modern should speak	19.4%	6.8%	24.3%	15.5%	33.0%			1.0%
If I had been given the chance to learn only one language in my life, I would have chosen	32.7%	13.5%	26.9%	10.6%	7.7%	1.0%	5.8%	1.9%
The dominant street language(s) is/are	11.5%	65.4%	2.9%	14.4%	4.8%		1.0%	
The language(s) that is/are least beneficial to Pakistan is/are	9.1%	23.2%	26.3%	13.1%	3.0%	4.0%	2.0%	19.2%
The language(s) Pakistani elite use in their daily communication is/are	43.7%	10.7%	2.9%	22.3%	15.5%	1.9%		2.9%
When I swear I use	30.5%	50.5%	2.9%	11.4%	1.9%		1.0%	1.9%
The language(s) that we should maintain is/are	28.3%	26.4%	5.7%	27.4%	10.4%			1.9%
The language(s) that I need most for my professional life is/are	34%	11.3%	6.6%	14.2%	28.3%			5.7%
The official language(s) in Pakistan should be	50%	3.8%	6.6%	22.6%	14.2%	0.9%		1.9%