SIRAIKI: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF LANGUAGE DESERTION

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To

Abbi

who believed in dedicating life to the pursuit of knowledge and

whose happiness was in seeing us pursue knowledge

Mama

who has always put our education before her comfort and happiness

Asif

who respects me as a spouse and as an individual

Abstract

The main focus of this thesis is the phenomenon of Siraiki language maintenance language shift in Multan. This is the first study of its kind carried out on any Pakistani language.

The study examines the speech practices of rural and urban Siraiki Multanis in the home domain in the light of various demographic, social, political, and affective factors. It highlights the complex relationship of these factors with regard to change in the language use patterns of the Siraikis.

The major sources of data for this study comprise of results from a matched-guise test, recorded speech of Siraikis in the home domain, and interviews. Triangulation of data and methods have been used in this research. The findings suggest that the phenomenon of Siraiki language maintenance/shift is differential in rural and urban Multan and no single factor can be held responsible for any changed or changing speech practices of the Siraikis. The conclusion argues that the attitude of the speakers towards their language is equally important in this process. It also brings to light the inadequacy of both the terminology and the so-called universal models that attempt to account for this complex sociolinguistic phenomenon.

This research has educational and social implications and makes a theoretical and methodological contribution to the field of sociolinguistics. It is hoped that it will raise the awareness of Pakistanis in general and Siraikis in particular about the fate and the treatment of their mother tongues by themselves and by the general society. This study also hopes to broaden our understanding of the phenomenon of language maintenance/shift.

Acknowledgements

Transcription Conventions

One type of data for this research consists of naturally occurring conversations of Siraikis in the home domain. For reasons of confidentiality, the recordings of these conversations are not being submitted with this research report. These, however, are with me and can be borrowed for research purposes. For the practical purposes of exposition, some extracts from these conversations have been transcribed and included in the main text.

The most characteristic feature of the speech of majority of the Siraikis, whose home conversations I have recorded, is a switch between languages. It is, therefore, necessary to make clear which language is being used when they speak. A common practice among linguists is to distinguish the language involved through the choice of transcription conventions. This has been done here through *italicization*, **bold type** and plain characters. To facilitate referencing, each cited speech extract and the turns within it are numbered. The English translation is given under each utterance in parenthesis. The home conversations have been translated into a colloquial form of English and in doing so I have tried to avoid the 'formal stilted translations that characterize so much of ethnographic writing and that generally work to create an impression that non-Western peoples speak in an abstruse and archaic manner' (Kulick, 1992: xv).

In this thesis the following transcription conventions have been adopted to present the home speech. In the speech extracts:

- Each turn is numbered for easy reference
- The speakers are indicated before presenting each turn
- The participants' utterances are transliterated in conventional English spellings
- Urdu is presented in plain characters
- Siraiki in **bold type**
- English in *italics*

- Translation of each utterance into English is given after each turn

The alphabetic correspondence between Siraiki and Urdu, and Roman symbols is being given below:

	Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman	Siraiki	Roman
Vowels:	ا, آ	a, aa	ی	i, ii	أ,واً	u, uu
	ﮯ	ei,e ,ay			او	o, oo
	ﮯ	ai			ﮯ آ	ae
	آوَ	au			آ و	ao
Consonants:	ب	b	پ	p	ت	t
	ٹ	t	ٹ	s	ج	j
	چ	ch	ح	h	خ	kh
	د	d	ڈ	d	ذ	z
	ر	r	ڑ	r	ز	z
	س	s	ش	sh	ص	s
	ض	z	ط	t	ظ	z
	ع	a	غ	gh	ف	f
	ق	q	ک	k	گ	g
	ل	l	م	m	ن	n
	ݨ[1]	nr	ن	n	و	v
	ھ, ہ	h	ی	y		

The transliteration of certain Urdu and Siraiki words is different from the standard form because I have tried to be as true as possible to how that word is uttered by the speaker.

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[1] This sound is peculiar to Siraiki.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I briefly describe the general background of this study and discuss my motivation for undertaking this research. I also present an overview of some definitions of language maintenance and language shift before reviewing two models used in evaluating a language shift situation. Later in the chapter I define some key terms that I have used in this thesis. Towards the end of this chapter I describe the research questions which lead my research and finally I present an overview of the structure of this thesis.

In the following section I present the general background to this study.

1.2 General Background to Study

Siraiki[1], the language of approximately 25—40 million people, is spoken in central Pakistan, encompassing the southwestern districts of the Punjab province and the adjacent districts of the provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, and North-West Frontier Province (Shackle, 2001). The principal city where Siraiki is spoken is Multan—a region of antiquity, the centre of power for centuries, having enjoyed the status of an empire, a kingdom, a province, a state, a capital and now a mere divisional head quarter. Multan lost its power and independent status in the nineteenth century when the British, after conquering it in 1849, for administrative convenience placed it under the subordination of Lahore. Since Multan had always been under foreign rule (Raza, 1988) the administrative and cultural languages of the region have been Persian, and later Urdu and English (Shackle, 2001). Siraiki remained, however, the language of the locals who used it amongst themselves informally and as a home language. This status of Siraiki persisted even after the partition of India in 1947 when it continued to be ignored by the administration and was neither recognized as a regional language nor was any effort made to develop this language. The language situation was further complicated by the dominance of the English language in the official and judicial fields. In higher education, as well as in private schools catering for the children of the elite, English was the sole medium of instruction. In state schools English was taught as a compulsory subject from grade six (equivalent to year six in UK schools). The present situation in the Punjab province is more or less similar with minor changes, like the use of Urdu to some extent at the official level and the introduction of English as a compulsory subject from year one in state schools. The number of private English medium schools has grown very quickly in the last two decades. English still remains

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[1] Siraiki is also written as Seraiki and Siraeki.

a dominant language and proficiency in English is a necessary 'password' to be able to advance socially. Without having a good command of written and especially spoken English one cannot enter good jobs. A conversational ease in English with a 'good' accent certifies you as an educated and competent person. After English, the second most important language is Urdu. Like English, a good command of Urdu is also considered a must for good jobs and social success. In this scenario Urdu seems to be replacing Siraiki in the home domain where it has enjoyed an unchallenged position of the only home language for centuries. It is observed that some Multanis in their Siraiki speech densely code switch from Urdu and English. It is also observed that Siraiki is not being transmitted to children in all Siraiki families (Wagha, 1998). Nobody really knows when the non-transmission of the Siraiki language by parents to their children began but during my field work I was told by several Siraikis that it started in the 1960s, mostly by the educated middle class. Now there is a generation of Multani adults, who can understand Siraiki, which they learnt when they were growing up through socialization with older relatives, family friends who speak Siraiki, and domestic help. However, when they have to use it they do it with a dense code switching from Urdu and English.

The situation appears to be different in the rural areas where the literacy rate is much lower than 43.9%, the general literacy ratio among Pakistanis aged ten and over (Population census organization[2]). The reasons attributed to low literacy rates are the presence of very few schools in the rural areas and poverty. The majority of the children in villages either work on farms or learn some vocational skill through an apprenticeship. One possible factor for the maintenance of Siraiki in the villages is that the villagers do not need Urdu or English for any purpose. Inaccessibility to

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[2] www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/pco/index.html 24.09.2004.

electricity and media also seem to be contributing to the maintenance of the Siraiki language in the home domain.

These are only general observations about the language situation in Multan among Siraiki families that I have experienced and observed in the capacity of being a Siraiki, having lived in Multan all my life and later as a researcher researching the sociolinguistic situation of the Siraiki language in Multan district. Such observations are, therefore, quite impressionistic and warrant more rigorous study.

In the sociolinguistic context of South Asia multilingualism is considered a norm, whereas monolingualism is taken as an exception. Generally, inter-language boundaries in Pakistan and India are considered to be highly fluid. As a result, code-switching evidence for language shift could be subject to suspicion. It remains to be seen whether the language usage practices of the Siraikis conform to this general belief of stable multilingualism or any form of language shift is taking place.

In the following section I discuss my motivations for carrying out this study.

1.3 Motivations for the Study

So far no sociolinguistic study has been carried out on Siraiki language usage in Pakistan. The aim of this study is to closely observe the language practices of the Siraikis in the home domain in rural and urban Multan and discern their attitudes about Siraiki language to see how far Siraiki language is being maintained and/or abandoned. My aim is to provide an ethnographic study of these phenomena and to see how much Siraiki is being maintained in the home domain. Furthermore, I want to account for the reasons as to how and why Siraiki is being maintained by some

families and being 'abandoned' or 'semi abandoned' by the others (if that is the case). As well as providing a substantial amount of systematically collected data on the bilingual/trilingual behaviour of the Siraiki people, a major concern of the current study is to present the relationship between language choice patterns and code switching strategies by individual speakers (at the interactional and conversational level) and the relation of both to the broader social, economic and political context. My aim is to highlight the complex relationship between language and societal change processes, government policies and people's attitudes.

My research setting is Multan and its suburbs. There are a number of reasons for this choice. Firstly, Multan is the principal and the most developed city of the Siraiki region and the word 'Multani', used synonymously with Siraiki to refer to the variety of Siraiki spoken in this part, takes its name after the city. The Siraiki spoken in Multan is considered to be the standard variety of Siraiki (Shackle, 2001). Secondly, it would be interesting to study the language practices of the inhabitants of the region which has enjoyed a glorious past and who believe their language to be the original language of the Indus civilization[3] spoken long before the arrival of the Aryans in this part of the world. Finally, I believe myself to be among the first generation of Siraikis who were not transmitted Siraiki directly by their parents. I, along with many other Multanis who I know, picked up this language at home while growing up. I feel I owe it to my language and culture to explore and observe systematically whether this kind of Siraiki language learning process is common among my generation and the generation after me and if so then to examine the reasons for it. Besides, I wanted to carry out research in my setting, among my people,

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[3] The ancient Indus civilization which probably flourished in 2300-2000 BC, extended over a vast territory from the present Pakistan-Iran border to the foot of the Himalayas and to the Gulf of Combay (Marshall, 1931).

on my language. Even though I did not learn Siraiki as a first language, I identify myself as a Siraiki and I feel I owe it to my language to carry out research on it.

I consider this study unique in several ways. Firstly, this is the first study of its kind carried out on any Pakistani language. Secondly, no study so far has documented or examined the speech of Siraiki women. Thirdly, among other studies of language shift, this is the first study being carried out on the language of 25—40 million people. Fourthly, the beginning of the process of language shift of any language has so far not been studied in detail. And finally, no study in this particular field has been carried out in rural and urban areas simultaneously to compare the language practices of the families living in these different settings.

Before discussing the terms *language maintenance* and *language shift* I would first like to discuss the terminology used in relation to studying the viability of languages.

1.4 The Terminology of Language Decline

Krauss (1992) believes that 90% of the world languages are under threat of extinction in this century. Graddol (1997: 39) attributes this trend towards reduced linguistic diversity as the outcome of 'global demographic and economic trends'. Not only is the existence of small languages under threat but large languages like Javanese spoken in Indonesia, which has around 85 million speakers, are under threat of language shift.

With a focus on socially constituted linguistics in the 1950s and 1960s, the phenomenon of language shift gained central position as shift 'presented a dramatic

instance of how social function, socio-political context, and cultural evaluation can affect language' (Gal, 1996: 586). Since then a number of studies have been carried out in this area using different methods and strategies. The aim of researchers in carrying out research on language maintenance and shift is not only to document the state of certain language(s) and make some predictions about their future but also to enhance the awareness of speech communities about their languages on which that research is carried out and to sensitise others to these issues.

Researchers have related the issues of bio-diversity with that of linguistic diversity and have argued that there exist remarkable overlaps between areas which have the greatest linguistic diversity and the greatest bio diversity and that a threat to former inevitably results in a threat to the latter (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The issues of language maintenance/shift/death, however, have not attracted much public attention like the issues of environment have perhaps because, 'The loss of a language is not self-evidently life threatening' (Crystal, 2000: 32). Crystal (ibid: 33-65) advocates for a 'green linguistics'[4] because not only do we need linguistic diversity but also because languages express identity, are repositories of history, contribute to the sum of human knowledge and are interesting in themselves.

The studies on language maintenance/shift/death have used a number of terms and metaphors to describe the state of languages. 'Death hath so many doors to let out life' said John Fletcher in the seventeenth century. In research, any choice of terms provides a particular perspective on the object of study whereas, metaphorical labels suggest implicit theoretical models that guide research (Gal, 1996). The employment of different terms by the researchers not only 'highlight[s] different aspects of the

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[4] Named after the green movement which has been successful in raising the public consciousness about its biological heritage (Crystal, 2000).

changes occurring during the process of language shift, they often imply different evaluations of the process named and studied' (ibid: 587). In many such studies languages are presented like organisms that live and die when metaphors like *language death, rise, decline, competition, and conflict,* and *endangered languages* are used. These, however, shift the focus from the beliefs and activities of the speakers of these languages who produce these general sociolinguistic patterns through their changing speech practices (Woolard, 1989). It is due to this very fact that many studies reject such organic metaphors, focusing instead on the speakers as social agents and this approach tends to explain the processes of language maintenance/ revival/shift/obsolescence/death in terms of the 'sociopolitical practices, cultural understandings, discursive processes, goals, and cognitive constraints that motivate the speakers and social groups who bring about the linguistic changes' (Gal, 1996: 587). Gal objects to the metaphors of language decline, loss and death as they 'are part of the larger rhetorical tradition of "pastoral" in Western social thought…[and] this tradition has blinded investigators to simultaneous tendencies of linguistic innovation and creativity in language shift' (ibid: 587). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1996: 667) also object to the metaphor *language death* but on the grounds that it has the disadvantage of not implying a causal agent.

The use of metaphors like *linguistic genocide, killing language, language murder* in the context of such studies has been objected to by researchers. For example, Dorian (1994:118) recommends avoiding the 'loaded terms "murder" and "suicide" in instances of language death'. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: xxxi) however finds the term *language death* 'equally loaded' as the other three terms mentioned earlier in this paragraph on the premise that 'languages do not cease to be spoken' rather they are 'pushed into not being spoken'. She advocates the use of such

metaphors for a number of reasons (ibid: xxxii-xxxiii). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1996: 667) distinguish between the terms *linguicide,*[5] *language death,* and *linguicism. 'Linguicide* is the *extermination of languages,* an analogous concept to (physical) *genocide. Language death* is the *withering away of languages,* an analogous concept to *natural death...*because of circumstances beyond the control of any agents'. *'Linguicism,* an analogous concept to *racism, sexism, classism'* (ibid), is defined as 'ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988: 13). Skunabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1996) further state that the terms *linguicide* and *language death,* which are the end result of processes and not the processes themselves, pertain to languages and not their speakers, 'the speakers will experience language shift or loss at an individual level, but language loss only leads to linguicide or language death if ALL speakers of a certain language experience language loss' (ibid: 668). *Linguicism,* on the other hand, precedes (but may not lead to) *linguicide* and/or *language death* and can relate to both languages and their speakers. The agents of *linguicide/linguicism* can be 'structural' i.e. a state, an institution, laws and regulations or 'ideological' i.e. values and norms associated with different languages and their speakers (ibid).

In this entire scenario, however, the speakers of a language experiencing *linguicism* are taken as passive agents. Just as in the process of reversing language shift, the most important actors are the speakers of that particular language which is being revitalised (Fishman, 1991), similarly the role of the speakers of a language undergoing language shift cannot be ignored. While examining any language shift

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[5] Skutnabb-Kangas (2000: 365) uses the terms 'linguistic genocide' and 'linguicide' synonymously.

situation the researcher must keep his/her mind open about the role of speakers of that language as well as other social factors as causal agents in its decline.

As I am focusing on the language practices of Siraikis in terms of *language maintenance* and *language shift*, I present different definitions of these and discuss different facets of language shift in the following section.

1.5 Language Maintenance and Language Shift

In the context of studies on language viability, terms like *language maintenance, language shift,* and *language loss* are often used. Fase et al. (1992) suggest the following distinctions: Language maintenance refers to the continuing use and proficiency in a language both in individuals and groups, despite competition from another language. Language shift relates to the reduction in the use of language among a language group. Language loss refers to reduced language proficiency and is particular to an individual. Nijmegan (1996), on the other hand, defines language shift as loss of linguistic skills between generations and language loss as all types of decline of linguistic skills both in individual and speech communities. Clyne (1991) observes that the terms *language maintenance* and *language shift* can refer to the behaviour of the whole community, a sub-group within that community or an individual. Fishman (1965: 73) also believes that language shift is closely linked with language choices, 'Language choices, cumulated over many individuals and many choice instances, become transformed into the process of language maintenance or language shift'. In the present study the term *language shift* follows Clyne's and Fishman's definitions.

The term *language shift* in itself is vague. Commenting on the ambiguity of the term *language shift*, Clyne (1991: 54) notes that it can 'designate a gradual development, a *shifting*...or the fact that a language previously employed is no longer used at all by a group or individual'. He further argues that *language shift* can also mean a change in the main language, the dominant language, the language of one or more domains, and exclusive language for between one and three of the four language skills. This term also does not illustrate the reasons of language shift i.e. whether the speakers are shifting or have shifted from one language to another due to social and psychological pressures or whether it is a voluntary shift or the shift has taken place due to some physical disaster. In the term *language shift* the onus of responsibility does not seem to be on the speakers but what comes in the foreground is the language.

Two types of language shift have been identified by Jaspaert and Kroon (1988). Using Bourdieu's (1982) concept of the linguistic market-place,[6] they differentiate between a shift where the only interlocutors available use L2[7] which can be the result of a drastic change (like migration) in the social environment of the speakers, and a shift where the members of a minority group use L2 among themselves as part of their integration process.

Is has been argued that the factors responsible for language maintenance and shift are outside language itself, for example, demographic factors, perceived or objective status of group, language needs, power sharing, functions of the language in public life, and education. (Clyne, 1991; Fishman, 1965, 1985, 1991, 2001; Giles, et al., 1977; Jaspaert & Kroon, 1991; Kloss, 1966). Dorian (1994) considers disparities of power and economic and social status as the obvious conditions of language shift.

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[6] According to this concept language is taken as a form of cultural or at a more general level a symbolic capital which is exchangeable in the market place of social interaction.
[7] L2 is defined as second language.

About the process of language shift, Edwards (1985) observes that on the macro-level, language decline is usually symptomatic of social-group contact between populations of unequal political and economic status and on the micro-level the minority groups and individuals perform a kind of cost-benefit analysis to assess their relationship with larger society. Dorian (1981), in her study of the decline of the Gaelic dialect of the East Sutherland fisher-folk also shows that linguistic decline accompanied economic decline in the east-coast fisheries.

Graddol (1996: 198) observes that 'Language shift usually occurs from a small, low-status vernacular to one of the languages higher in the hierarchy, usually one with a larger number of speakers and wider currency in the region'. This brings us to the concept of diglossia[8] which is very important in relation to language maintenance and language shift. 'Language shift involves bilingualism (often with diglossia) as a stage on the way to monolingualism in a new language' (Romaine, 1995: 40). Romaine, however, argues that in certain situations the existence of diglossia and code switching need not result in language death; rather in some cases, diglossia and code switching act as positive forces in maintaining bilingualism (ibid).

It has been suggested that language shift in different communities may follow different orders, include different stages and above all may proceed at different speeds (Kallen 1981; Thomason, 1986 both cited in Gardner-Chloros, 1991). Dorian (1981, 1986) believes that the groundwork for the language shift from one language to

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[8] *Diglossia* is defined as 'a situation where two different varieties of a language or two distict languages co-occur in a speech community, each with a distinct range of social functions' (Li Wei, 2000: 495). Originally the term *diglossia* was used by Ferguson (1959/2000) for the specific relationship between two or more varieties of the same language used in a speech community for different functions. He referred to the superposed variety as *High* and the other(s) as *Low*. The concept of diglossia has since been extended from two varieties of the same language to different language in a single area and to the use of many languages or dialects as in the case of multilingual countries (Gardner-Chloros, 1991).

another encompasses generations and usually centuries. It took about six centuries to complete the process of language shift from Gaelic to English in East Sutherland (Dorian, 1981). Crystal (2003), who associates language shift generally with immigrant communities, believes that the move from one language to another may be gradual or sudden.

The numerical strength of a speech group is often taken as an important criterion for language maintenance or shift. Krauss (1992) declares languages with over one million speakers as safe but contradicts himself when he mentions the unsure future of Breton which in not-too-distant a past had more than one million speakers. Hornberger (1998) mentions a growing threat to even Quechua which has over ten million speakers. Crystal (2000) maintains that in this context an absolute population total makes no sense because such population figures without context are useless. In a survey it was found out that Karitiana had just 185 speakers of all ages in a total community of 191 thus, 96% of the total population spoke that language (Yamamoto, 1997). Therefore, in this case Karitiana, despite having only 185 speakers, is a healthy and not an endangered language. Romaine (1995) opines that what is more important is who speaks a language rather than how many speak it. Thus the degree of threat to a language cannot be directly predicted from the number of its speakers (Bereznek & Campbell, 1996). A concentration of large groups in a particular geographical area is also considered favourable for language maintenance, for example, American Chinese in New York (ibid). But again this criterion cannot be applied universally. Welsh is not 'safe' in areas where 80% of the people speak it (Ambrose & Williams, 1981). Blokland and Hasselblatt (2003: 112) also believe that the possibility of language maintenance cannot be judged through the mere number of its speakers, rather we need to answer the following questions, 'What is the political status of the language?

What is the social position of the language? Where and by whom is the language used? To which degree does the language function as language of (higher) education? How long is the text production and how old is the written tradition?'

In the studies on language maintenance and language shift researchers have used a number of models to account for such language situations. In the following section I discuss two of the well-established models.

1.5.1 The Investigation and Prediction of Language Shift

A number of descriptive and predictive factors have been identified as significant in relation to language shift. But although there is general agreement that different social, attitudinal and demographic factors are important in predicting or explaining language shift, it is also accepted that 'a straight-forward search for the social correlates or causes of language shift and maintenance has been unsuccessful' (Gal, 1996: 588). Fasold (1984: 217) also points out that there has been 'very little success in using any combination of [factors] to predict when language shift will occur' and admits that there is 'considerable consensus that we do not know how to predict shift'. Not only the lack of predictive but also the limited explanatory power of such macrosociological factors has been traced by the researchers (Gal, 1979).

Several scholars have developed theoretical or empirical models to describe language maintenance and shift and have more or less presented these models as applicable universally (e.g. Karen 2000; Li Wei, 1996; Li Wei & Milroy, 2003). It should be kept in mind, however, that 'neither our database nor our understanding of the impact of social variables is yet sufficiently complete for a mathematical formula

to be developed...which has predictive power for something as complex as language maintenance' (Clyne, 1991: 107). Here I will briefly discuss two such models.

1.5.1.i Perceived Benefit Model of Language Shift

The perceived benefit model of language shift (Karen, 1996 cited in Karen, 2000; Karen, 2000; Karen and Stalder, 2000) is an individual-based model which deals with individual's motivations that influence language choice. 'Individuals with certain language use motivations modify and exploit their linguistic repertoires in such a way as to bring about what they perceive to be their personal good' (Karen, 2000: 65). According to this model the cause of language spread or shift is the individual's decision, made at the conscious or subconscious level, to use certain languages in certain situations. The individuals motivated by the consideration for personal perceived benefit exploit, modify, and expand their linguistic repertoires. These decisions comprise the basic elements of language shift. Language choice motivations, according to this model, are limited and comprise communicative, economic, social, or religious motivations. Karen (1996 cited in Karen, 2000) holds that the only way to influence language shift in a society is to alter the motivational fabric of the language community. Implicitly this model seems to assume that the adults use different languages simultaneously with younger members in a society where language shift is taking place, and out of these languages the children choose a certain language. Their decision is influenced by their own language use motivations which Karen calls the 'subset' (ibid: 74) of the motivations of older generation.

1.5.1.ii Network Analysis

The second model of language maintenance/shift, network analysis in social systems relates to 'a research strategy which is primarily concerned with the relations amongst individuals in social groups' (Li Wei, 1996: 805). The network concept has been applied in many studies to account for the social mechanism underlying language maintenance and language shift (see, for example, Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994). Li Wei (1996: 810) declares the social network perspective to be 'a dynamic and coherent social model of language contact'. He argues that 'social networks exert pressures on their members to use language in different ways in different contexts. Speakers with the same social network contacts would conform to certain norms of language use, while speakers with different network ties would differ in their linguistic behaviour' (Li Wei, 1994: 184). He further argues that the analysis of network structures enables us to understand and explain the social mechanisms underlying both synchronic variation and diachronic change in language choice patterns both within and across communities.

This model emphasises and presents networks as the most important factor influencing language choices and behaviour. The advocates of this model, however, do not recognise that in different speech communities other factor(s) may be more important than the social networks of the speakers in influencing their speech habits. It does not, for example, account for the ambitions of speakers or of parents about the language behaviour of their children. The individuals, at times, change their speech practices due to their desire to identify with a certain prestige speech group, or to be seen by others as a part of that group. They sometimes modify their speech practices even due to the hope of becoming a part of that speech group. Thus the study of social networks may not be claimed as the most important factor but this analysis together

with other broader social, attitudinal, economic and political factors can account for patterns of language choice.

Based on my general observations about the Siraiki language situation in Multan I suspect that there are some possible weaknesses in the above two models. After analysing my data in the later chapters of this thesis I will come back to these models and discuss if and how they fall short in their explanatory power in the context of my data.

A failure of similar mechanical theories of shift in finding universal patterns of causality led the investigators to realize that 'shift in language is caused, ultimately, by shifts in personal and group values and goals' (Kulick, 1992: 9). Such considerations resulted in the ethnographic descriptions of the process of language shift like Dorian (1981), Gal (1979), Hill and Hill (1986) and Kulick (1992).

In section 1.5, I defined and discussed the term *language shift*. In the following section I define the other key terms that I have used in my thesis.

1.6 Definition of Other Key Terms

A wide variety of terminology is used in sociolinguistics with varying meanings. To avoid ambiguity I would like to explain the definitions and the meanings of different terms that I have used in this study. I take *language attitudes* in terms of Crystal's (1987: 424) definition, 'The feelings the people have about their own language or the language(s) of others'. By *language transmission practices* I mean the language(s) used with young children by adults, which include, parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles and, older siblings living in the same household. The term

language practices refers to the language used by the speakers. It encompasses either or both *language choices* and *language transmission practices.*

The term *domain* in the context of language use has been defined by Romaine (1995: 30) as, 'an abstraction which refers to a sphere of activity representing a combination of specific times, settings and role relationships'. When I use the constructions 'language(s) in home domain' and 'language(s) in family domain' I refer to the language(s) used at home among the family members.

The concept of *language choice* is a complex one (Daoust, 1997). The 'choice runs between subtle structural features of phonology, syntax and lexicon to sometimes dramatically divergent local varieties or even between standard literary languages and altogether different social varieties' (ibid: 437). Li Wei (1994) observes that language choice may occur at many different levels, which range from small-scale phonetic variables like the one studied by Labov (1966; 1972a), to discourse patterns at a large scale, such as politeness strategies, address systems, and choices between languages. It is believed that the psycho-social dynamics underlying these choices are similar (Fasold 1984; Milroy, 1987b). In my study I take *language choices* as the choice between languages and I am concentrating on the more visible process of language choices.

By *patterns of language choice* I mean who speaks which language(s) to whom in the family. These language choice patterns are based on focusing chiefly on speakers' choices of language(s) according to different interlocutors. Following Bell's (1984 cited in Li Wei, 1994) audience design theory I am concentrating solely on speakers' language choices in response to different interlocutors instead of analyzing extra-linguistic factors like topic and setting individually. The assumption behind this

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approach is that 'non-audience factors are subservient to audience types (Li Wei, 1994: 88).

I have used the term *code switching* with regard to the speech practices of different speakers. The term *code switching* is generally described as a process of speech that alternates between two or more than two languages or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation (Hoffman, 1991: 110; Morais, 1995: 33; Trudgill, 1974: 82). Huang and Milroy (1995) and Muysken (1995) divide code switching into two types, *insertional* and *alternational*. The term *insertional* switch refers to the insertion of a lexical item or phrase by a speaker from a donor language into a matrix language whereas by *alternational* switch they mean a change of a language that may occur at the inter- or intra- clausal level. In other words, code switching can take place within or between sentences, involving phrases or words or even parts of words (Spolsky, 1989). For different researchers there are variations in the term code switching because it comprises borrowing, code mixing, code alternation, and code shifting (Appel & Muysken, 1987; McLaughlin, 1984; Poplack, 1988; Spolsky, 1989). Pfaff (1979: 29) uses the term 'mixing' as a neutral cover term both for code switching and borrowing. Chana and Romaine (1984) include whole sentences, clauses and other chunks of discourse as well as single words in code switching. In this work the term *code switching* will encompass both insertional and alternational switching. The term *code* will be taken to mean language and code switching will be used as one umbrella term to include variations such as *borrowing, language mixing, code switching, code mixing, code alternating*, and *code shifting* as they have been described by various researchers (David, 1996 cited in Hei, 2002; Li Wei, 1994; Myers-Scotton, 1992; Weinrich, 1968). My aim in this research is not to make a detailed study and categorization of the kind of code switching

participants are making but only to point out the mono-, bi-, or trilingual speech practices of the families under study. The term *English loan words* has been used to describe those English words which do not have a common substitute in Urdu or Siraiki; likewise the term *Urdu loan words* refers to such Urdu words which do not have a common substitute in Siraiki.

Besides these terms I also want to elucidate the context of some other terms used in this study. I take urban Multan to be Multan city and not the whole district, whereas by rural Multan I mean villages situated in the periphery of Multan city. Consequently, rural families are those families who permanently reside in the village and urban families are those families who have always lived in the city. The term *family* encompasses all adults, for example, grandparents, parents, uncles, aunts) and both young and older children living in the same household. The term *economic group* refers to the four income groups (cf. 4.2) to which the families participating in my research belong.

Some of the terms that I have discussed in the above sections will help clarify the research questions which led this research. In the following section, after briefly discussing the process and criteria of formulating good research questions, I present the research questions which this study is addressing.

1.7 My Research Questions

Developing appropriate research questions is one of the most crucial steps in a successful research undertaking. Once generated, these define the investigation, set boundaries and act as a blueprint for the project (O'Leary, 2004). Well-articulated research questions define the topic and the nature of research endeavour, the questions

the researcher is interested in, and indicate whether the researcher foresees a relationship between concepts he/she is exploring (ibid). The research topic defines the general area being examined and the research questions define what aspects of that topic the researcher plans to investigate. O'Leary (2004) observes that going from topic to well defined research questions is not an easy task. As shown in figure 1.1, the researcher needs to move from a topic to an issue, then has to narrow it down to a manageable scope before finally generating and specifying researchable questions.

Researchable Questions
Narrowing and clarifying

↑

Generating Questions
Finding an angle

↑

Defining a Topic
Using creativity and curiosity-minding practicalities
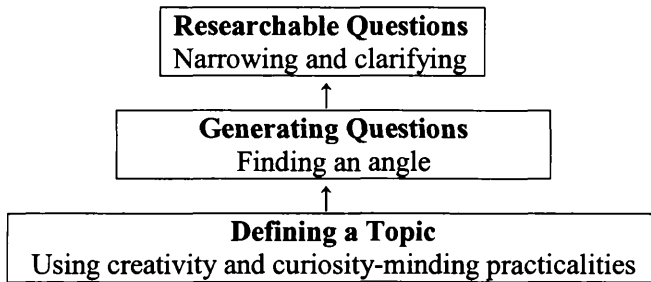
Figure 1.1 From topic to researchable questions

(adapted from O'Leary, 2004)

Research questions should not only suggest the field for study but also the methods for conducting the research and the kind of analysis required, 'Research questions are like objectives, rather than aims: they should contain within themselves the means for assessing their achievements' (Blaxter et al., 1996: 35). Research questions thus indicate the theory and literature to be examined and explored, and point to the data to be collected and the methodology in its collection and analysis. O'Leary (2004) presents the following characteristics for good research questions. The research questions should be:

- Right for the researcher (i.e. the researcher should assess his/her level of commitment to the research)

- Right for the field (i.e. the research should advance knowledge in a particular field and the research questions need to be significant to a wider academic or professional audience)

- Well articulated (i.e. clear research questions should make the direction of study much more defined)

- Doable (i.e. the question should be feasible and the researcher be able to undertake the research necessary to answer the question)

Keeping in view the above mentioned criteria and guidelines, I set my research questions. In this process I first of all set the overarching research question that defines the research. It is:

Is Siraiki language shift taking place in Multan? If yes, to what extent, and for what reasons?

The general background and motivations for undertaking this study have already been discussed in sections 1.2 and 1.3. My observations and personal experiences, and theoretical inspiration led me to this general research question. The overarching question is useful in providing the research a focus, but it is still too wide for the researcher to answer. It, therefore, needs to be broken down into operable questions. Different aspects of this main research question were thus narrowed down and developed into well-defined research questions, each investigating a different facet of the main question.

To explore the first part of the main research question i.e. if Siraiki language shift is taking place in Multan, I first need to study the general attitudes of Multanis

towards Siraiki and Urdu because Urdu is observed to be replacing Siraiki in the home domain. The other part of this question relates to exploring the factors which are responsible for generating, changing and/or sustaining these attitudes. Hence my first operable research question is:

> Research Question 1: What attitudes exist towards Siraiki and Urdu and what factors are responsible for them?

The second facet of this study is to look at the languages that are spoken by the Siraikis in home domain in rural and urban Multan. As stated earlier, Urdu is observed to be replacing Siraiki in the home domain but to confirm this I need to look at the languages that are spoken by the Siraikis at home. The reason I plan to study the speech practices of both rural and urban families is because of the social, cultural, and demographic differences in both. Unlike many developed countries, rural and urban ways of life in Pakistan are exceedingly different from each other. I would like to ascertain whether these differences influence the language practices of rural and urban Multanis. Besides, with 57.8% of the population of Multan district living in rural areas (1998 District Census Report of Multan, 1999) I could not focus only on the speech of either rural or urban Multanis or make generalisations about the speech practices of the Multanis as a whole. All these considerations lead to the following research question.

> Research Question 2: What range of language choices exists among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?

The third dimension of this study is to examine the language transmission practices of Siraikis. Intergenerational mother tongue transmission can mean a

difference between language maintenance and language shift. Keeping this in view my third research question is about the language transmission practices that exist among the Siraiki families living in Multan.

> Research question 3: What language transmission practices exist among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?

The fourth dimension of this study is to investigate the relationship between different variables and patterns of language usage in home domain. This question builds on the answers of the first three research questions and aims to examine the relationship between different variables and language practices of the Siraikis.

> Research question 4: What is the relationship between different variables: namely, age, location (rural/urban), education and economic group in terms of language choice patterns among Multani families?

The fifth and the final research question aims to link up the answers of the first research question and explore which social and political factors are influencing the language behaviour of the Siraikis and how they are influencing it. The answer to this question will also explain the reasons behind certain attitudes held by the Siraikis and non-Siraikis towards Siraiki and Urdu in Multan.

> Research question 5: What social, political, and affective factors are influencing the status and usage of Siraiki language in Multan and how and why are they influencing it?

These research questions will again be discussed in chapter three in relation to the data and methodology that will be used to explore these. In the following section I give a brief overview of the structure of this thesis.

1.8 The Structure of the Thesis

This thesis has six chapters including the introduction and the conclusion. In chapter two I describe the historical, geographical, political and sociolinguistic background of the Siraiki language, along with some details about its speakers. I also discuss the efforts of the Siraikis in creating a collective identity among the people living in the Siraiki region. An overview of academic literature on Siraiki language is also presented.

In chapter three I present the procedure, analysis and findings of a pilot study carried out for this research. I also describe in detail the data used for this study and the method of its collection. The methodology used for data analysis in this study is also discussed in this chapter.

In chapter four I present and analyse the data that I collected in the homes of my eight case studies, which is in the form of natural speech in home domain and interviews with the members of these families. This data has also been tabulated in order to show patterns of the language practices of the Siraikis.

In chapter five, using the data generated from the answers of the first four research questions (cf. 1.7), I identify and analyse the social, political, and attitudinal factors which are contributing significantly to the changing language practices in family domain in Multan.

In the final chapter I present and reflect on the findings of the study which directly address the research questions. In the light of this discussion, I examine the terminology used to describe the language shift situation and establish the need for carrying out research in the field of language maintenance/shift. I also outline future research directions in the light of the issues raised in this study.

1.10 Summary

In this chapter, after presenting the history and significance and my motivations for carrying out this study, I discussed the terminology used in studying viability of languages in a society. I also discussed different facets of the concept of language maintenance and language shift and demonstrated the inadequacy of the umbrella term *language shift* in describing different situations. I also argued that there exists no universal mathematical formula or model to study a language in its social context. I illustrated my point by reviewing two such models. I then went on to define the terms used in this study before presenting the research questions leading this research and the overall structure of this thesis. In the following chapter I present background information about the Siraiki language and review academic literature written on it.

Chapter 2

The Siraiki Language

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one I discussed the background of this research and different terms and metaphors used in the study of language viability. I also discussed language shift and briefly reviewed two models used in its study. I also defined the keys terms that I have used in this study. Towards the end of the chapter, after giving my research questions, I presented an overview of the chapters of this thesis. In this chapter, I provide historical, geographical, political and sociolinguistic information about the Siraiki language and some details about its speakers. The information provided in this chapter will help in understanding and appreciating the present status of Siraiki. I also briefly review the academic literature on the Siraiki language. The issue of how the Siraiki language has been used to create and assert a collective identity among the

people living in the South of Punjab, who spoke different dialects with different names of what we call Siraiki today, is also discussed.

The following section briefly describes the origin and history of the Siraiki language and its speakers.

2.2 Siraiki

"There is a flavour of wheaten flour and a reek of cottage smoke about Multani (Siraiki) which is infinitely more natural and captivating than anything which the hide-bound language of the eastern part of India can show us...a language loving thorny paths of its own, but there hangs about it, to my mind, somewhat of the charms of wild flowers in a hedge whose untainted luxuriance pleases more than the regular splendour of the parterre."

(O'Brien, 1903)

'Siraiki' is the name of an Indo-Aryan language widely spoken in central Pakistan (see map 1). The term Siraiki is now also used to identify a people and a territory called 'Siraiki **vasaib**' (area/region), 'Siraiki area', Siraiki belt' or 'Siraiki region'. Before 1962, Siraiki was only the name of a dialect of the language of the northern Sindh (Khuhro, 1930; Husaini, 1972), which Shackle (1976) calls Sindhi Siraiki. In the 1960s various linguistically close local varieties were embraced under this heading to achieve a uniform collective national identity (cf. 2.5); this name was used to refer to a collective identity only in the second half of the 1980s (Wagha, 1998).

Shackle (1976: 5) classifies the present day Siraiki into six local varieties which, according to him, should be regarded as 'broad regional groupings of localized varieties'. These varieties are: Central variety, Southern variety, Sindhi variety, Northern variety, Jhangi, and Shahpuri. The areas where each of these varieties is spoken have been indicated in map 2.

In medieval historical texts there have been a number of references to the people and the region (for the history of the region, see Durrani, 1991; Khan, 1983; Raza, 1988), however, it emerged as a distinct ethnic region only after linguistic research carried out by British researchers in the 19th century.

Shackle (1976) gives a precise outline of the area in which this language is spoken. It is spoken in the south western parts of Punjab. Some Siraiki writers and activists of the Siraiki movement (cf. 2.5.4) extend the linguistic boundaries of the area where Siraiki is spoken to some districts in Baluchistan, Sindh and North Western Frontier Province (NWFP), which are duly pushed back by their respective neighbours. Among the modern Siraiki researchers, Husaini (1972) gives a more balanced sketch of the Siraiki area which comprises the existing Siraiki speaking districts and excludes the districts now dominated by speakers of neighbouring languages (see map 3). Wagha (1998) believes that undisputed territorial claims are only centred on some districts in Punjab and NWFP. The Siraiki area in these two provinces is calculated as 122, 575 sq. km. which constitutes 15.39% of the total Pakistani territory of 796,095 sq. km. (Wagha, 1989 cited in Wagha, 1998).
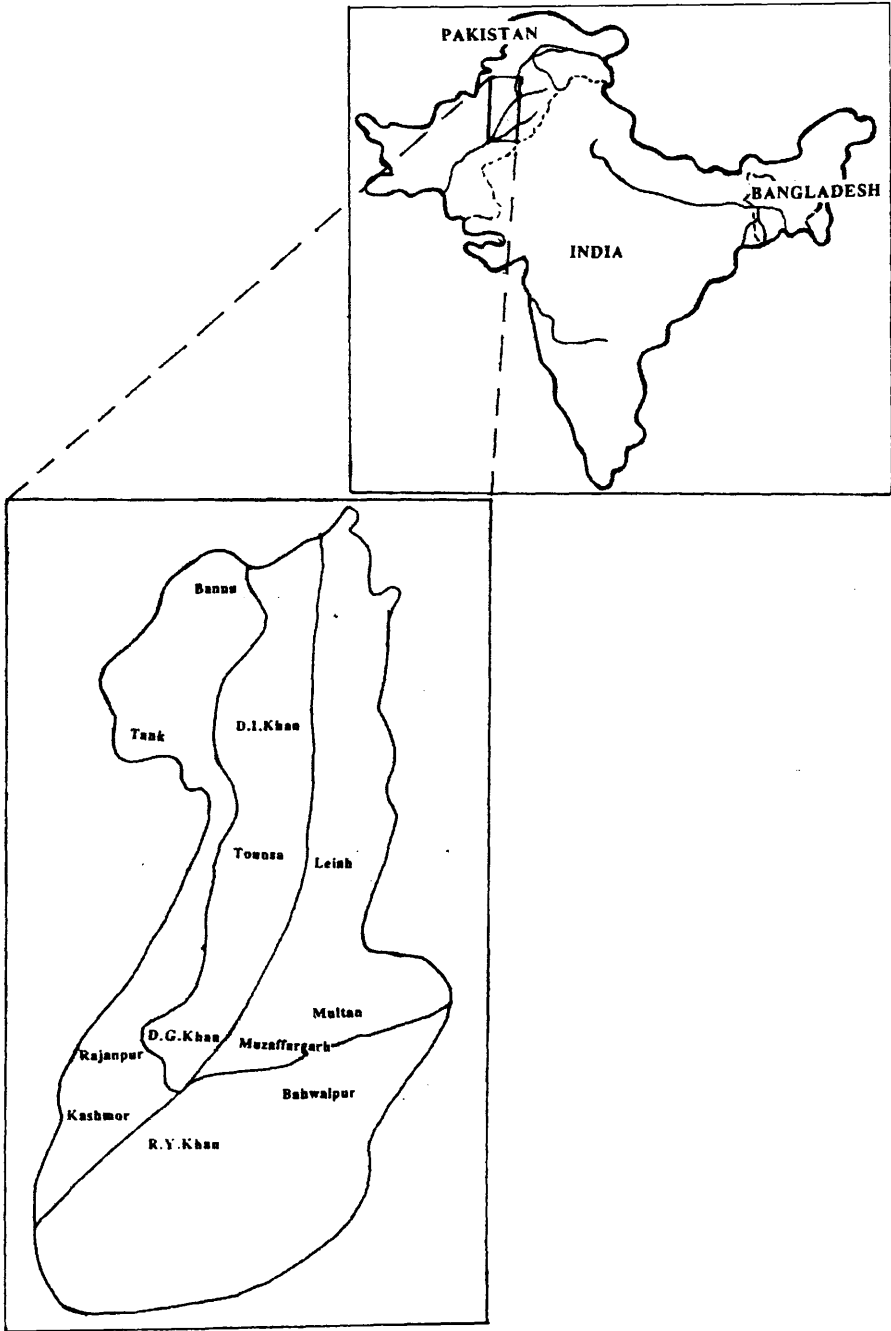
MAP 1   The Siraiki area in the Indo-Pak subcontinent

(Asif, 1992)

PESHAWAR

RAWALPINDI

LAHORE

MULTAN

BHAWALPUR

SUKHAR

CENTRAL

SOUTHERN

SINDHI SIRAIKI

JHANGI

NORTHERN

SHAHPURI
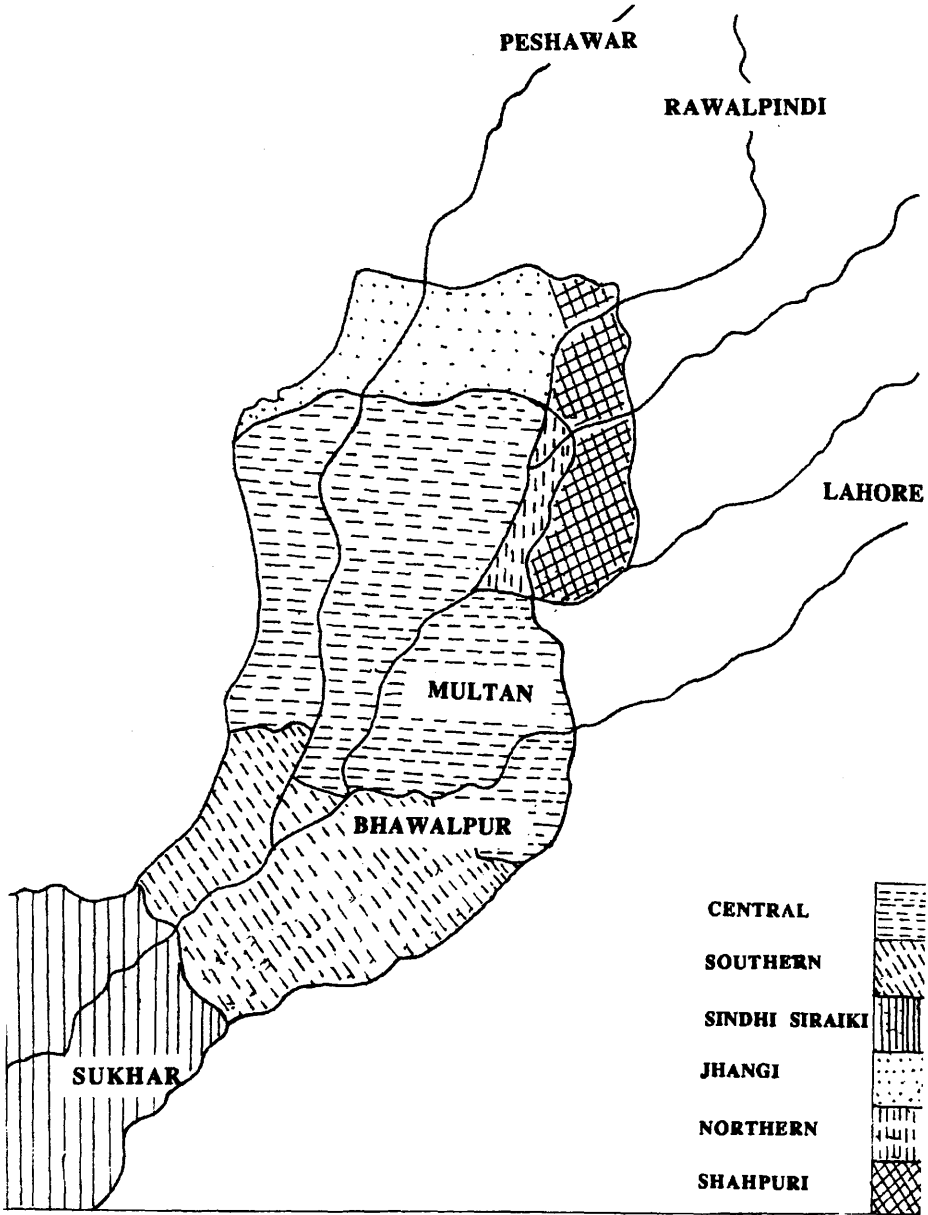
MAP 2   Local varieties of Siraiki

(Asif, 1992; adapted from Shackle, 1976a)

MAP 3   Siraiki and its neighbouring languages

(Asif, 1992; adapted from Shackle, 1976a)

2.2.1 The Name Siraiki

The origin and etymology of the term Siraiki has been a matter of controversy among researchers. A theory put forward by Shano (1983) is that the word is derived from 'Aserki' or 'Asurki' which refers to the 'Asury' or 'Asvir', a ruling dynasty of Multan approximately 3000 years ago. They were the worshippers of the sun which was called 'suriya' in Sanskrit and Siraiki was originally their language. Siraiki is also believed to be related to the ancient people of Iraq: the 'Asuris' or 'Assyrians' (Pervaiz, 2001). Another popular opinion is that the word Siraiki originates from the word 'serai' which meant 'belonging to the north' and which was an honorific title for the Kalhorra rulers of Sindh who originally belonged to Multan, a region in the north of Sindh (Lambrick, 1964). Zami (1970) believes that in Sanskrit and Hindi a ruler, a thinker or a scholar is called 'shri' or 'sri' and since the people of Multan in India, especially in Sindh, held prominent and prestigious positions centuries ago, therefore their language came to be known as Siraiki—the language of the rulers. It is also held that the word has originated from the word 'sarayaki' meaning reality or in other words a language of reality or mysticism (Fikri, 1971).

The most plausible explanation given so far is that the word Siraiki originated in Sindh from the word 'siro' meaning 'head' which in its geographic sense is used for 'north' in the Sindhi language. The north of Sindh refers to the upper part of Sindh therefore the term Siraiki meant the language of the people of the north (Husaini, 1972; Shackle, 1977). Wagha (1990) postulates that if this name had originated in Sindh then it would have been 'Siraiji' instead of 'Siraiki' because 'ji' not 'ki' is the Sindhi post position for 'of' but Allana (1995), refuting this claim, says that this suffix

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does exist in Sindhi and gives several examples from Sindhi language to support his point.

2.2.2 The Origin of the Siraiki Language

Just like its name there are many theories put forward about the origin of the Siraiki language. Several Siraiki researchers, 'with the marked partiality of a group striving for identity' (Wagha, 1998: 224) have made different claims about the origin and antiquity of this language, unsubstantiated by objective systematic research. The geo-historic realities about the antiquity of the present day Siraiki region, which once formed an important part of the Indus valley, are confused with linguistic realities. The origin of the language has been linked with the ancient centres of civilization of Mesopotamia and Iraq (Faridkoti, 1972; Fikri, 1982; Kazi, 1993). Zami (1970), declaring Siraiki an ancient Dravidian language, claims that the languages spoken in the two ancient cities Taxila and Mohenjodaro which flourised 5000 years ago in the Indus civilization (Marshall, 1931; Possehl, 1991; Wheeler, 1968) was Siraiki. He believes that languages like Tamil, Telugu, and Brahvi originated from Siraiki. Husaini (1972) not only agrees with Zami's claim about Siraiki being the language of the ancient pre-historic cities but goes a step further to claim that this was the language of 'Ashaab-ur-Ras', 'the keepers of the Holy Well' mentioned in the Quran and also of a people mentioned in Torah. Fikri (1971) traces its origin in the Prophet Abraham's time and links its name with Hazrat Sarah, the wife of the prophet Abraham. It has also been claimed that the language of the Indus civilization which

flourished in 2300-2000 BC (Marshall, 1931) was Siraiki and that the seals excavated in Harappa (Marshall, 1926) include Siraiki words (Mirza, 1996).[9]

The Indo-Aryan classification of Siraiki has been challenged by a number of researchers. Caldwell (1875) opines that after comparing the syntax and grammar of the local languages he can safely conclude that local languages of the Indus valley were non-Aryan and that the syntax and grammar of the languages of North India were similar to that of the Dravidian language. Four implosive sounds present in the Siraiki language have also been taken as a badge of its antiquity and as proof of it being a non Indo-Aryan language (Mughal, 2002; Rasoolpuri, 1980). Allana (1995) postulates that the original language of the valley of Sindh, which he calls 'Sindhu' (not to be confused with present day Sindhi), was the language of Mohenjodaro. Over time the Parakrits of Aryans, Dardic, Iranian, Sanskrit, Pali and later Arabic language left their imprints on this language. Allana believes that Siraiki could well have been the dialect of 'Sindhu' with subdialects like 'Multani', 'Derawali' and, 'Riyasti'.

The presence of non-Sanskrit elements in the non-Arabo-Persian portion of Siraiki does invite researchers to examine its links with Dravidian or proto-Dravidian afresh but the material as it stands at present is quite insufficient to accept any alternative theory of its origin.

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[9] It is interesting to note that the Harrappan seals have so far been undeciphered. With the publication of the comprehensive, computerized concordances to the texts in the Indus script (Koskenniemi. & Parpola, 1979; 1980; 1982; Koskenniemi et al. 1973; Mahadevan, 1977), some positive results have emerged but most of the initial results obtained from the study of the concordances are negative in character, clearly indicating that the Indus script is not alphabetic or quasi-alphabetic and none of the published claims of decipherment of the Indus script are valid (Mahadeven, 1982). It is also suggested that even if the script is deciphered, it seems unlikely that it would tell much because known writing is limited to short inscriptions (Hawkes; 1973).

2.2.3 Siraiki Speakers

In the absence of any scientific anthropological research about the origin of the present day Siraikis it is difficult to say with precision who Siraiki speakers originally were. Some native researchers (Mughal[10], PC[11]; Wagha, 1998: 34-35) believe that a good portion of present day Siraikis are the descendents of 'Austro-Asiatic black skinned aboriginals and the Munda tribes who were joined by Dravidian stocks during the later second to early first millennia BC, laid the foundation of Indus civilization, and were later on joined by the early Aryans to form the Indo- Aryan and Dravidian community in this region'. The early Indo-Aryan and Dravidian community expanded to the southern and eastern parts of South Asia due to the climactic hazards and the influx of newcomers in the region but some groups who stayed behind 'make a good portion of the present day Siraikis particularly in Cholistan, the parts adjacent to Sindh and the less disturbed pockets of the river Indus.' (ibid: 35).

During the British Colonial rule in India (1840s—1947), Siraiki in Sindh was categorized as a dialect of Sindhi. Riasati, Multani, Lahnda and other western dialects in Punjab were classified as dialects of Punjabi. The Government of Pakistan in the 1951 and 1961 censuses continued the same practice. The census conducted in 1981 during the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq, however, for the first time recognized Siraiki as a separate language which consequently reduced the majority of Punjabis in the total population of Pakistan which came down to 48.2%. Siraiki was reported to be the language of 9.8% of Pakistani and 14.9% of Punjabi households. The most recent 1998 census has shown Siraiki to be the language of 10.5% of Pakistan's total

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[10] As a part of my triangulation of data I held interviews with Siraiki scholars and researchers (see section 3.9.4.ii and appendix IV). I will refer to these interviews from time to time in this chapter.
[11] Personal Communication.

households. In Punjab the percentage of Siraiki speaking households is 17.4% as opposed to 71.5% Punjabi speaking households.

The following table gives the percentage distribution of households by language usually spoken in different provinces/regions of Pakistan, according to the 1998 census.

Table 2.1 Percentage distribution of households by language usually spoken and region/province, 1998 census

Province/ Region	Total	Language						
		Urdu	Punjabi	Pushto	Sindhi	Balochi	Siraiki	Others
Pakistan	100	7.6	44.1	15.4	14.1	3.6	10.5	4.7
Islamabad	100	10.1	71.6	9.5	0.6	0.1	1.1	7.0
Punjab	100	4.5	75.2	1.2	0.1	0.7	17.4	0.9
Sindh	100	21.1	7.0	4.2	59.7	2.1	1.0	4.9
N.W.F.P.	100	0.8	1.0	73.9	-	-	3.9	20.4
Balochistan	100	1.0	2.5	29.6	5.6	54.8	2.4	4.1
FATA[12]	100	0.2	0.2	99.1	-	-	-	0.5

(Pakistan Statistical Year Book 2004)

The census figures of 1981 and 1998 are quite disappointing for the Siraiki nationalists who claim themselves to be the largest linguistic group in Pakistan. Calling these figures unacceptable, these nationalists attribute this reported 'small' percentage of Siraikis to lack of linguistic awareness among the Siraikis living in different regions of Pakistan and speaking different dialects and varieties of Siraiki (Ahmad, PC) or the political conspiracy of the dominant Punjabis.

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[12] Federally Administered Tribal Areas.

Unacceptable or disappointing, these census figures prove one thing, which is that Siraikis are prevalent enough to make them the fourth largest speech community in Pakistan after Punjabis, Pushtoons, and Sindhis.

Looking at the figures of Siraiki speaking households of the 1981 census with those of 1998, one might argue that the figures show an increase in the latter census of the Siraiki speaking household which should not be the case in a language shift situation. It should, however, be kept in mind that 'one sees an inevitable measure of *fluidity* in mother tongue claims in certain regions of India and Pakistan. In such situations one's total repertoire is influenced by more than one normative system, and language labels are not rigidly identified with fixed stereotypes' (Khubchandani, 2003: 246). Moreover in the context of Pakistan and India the term *mother tongue* is mainly 'categorized by one's *allegiance* to a particular tradition, and it is societally identifiable' (ibid, 1983: 45). It, therefore, is yet to be seen whether the identification as a Siraiki speaking household takes into account Siraiki language usage quantitatively in comparison with the other languages, if any, spoken in the home domain. The intergenerational variation of Siraiki language usage within the same household is another crucial factor in defining and describing the Siraiki language situation in Multan. The speech practices of the Siraikis, which will be discussed and analysed in chapter four, would be helpful in throwing light at this factor.

In the above sections I gave some background information about the history of the Siraiki language and the Siraiki speakers, now I will briefly review the academic literature on Siraiki language.

2.3 Literature on the Siraiki Language

Broadly speaking, the writings about Siraiki language can be classified as histories, glossaries/dictionaries, and grammars. Very few writings have studied Siraiki language in the socio-political setting. The systematic investigation of the Siraiki language began after the British conquest of the Indian subcontinent. Before this there have been scattered references to the language and the people of the Siraiki speaking region in ancient and medieval historical texts. The modern concept of the area as a distinct ethnic region stems from the linguistic research carried out mostly by the British officials and Orientalists in the 19th century. Some Persian-Siraiki glossaries had also been compiled before the arrival of the British in the region for educational purposes as Persian was the official language of united India.

In the past few decades, local writers have produced some work on Siraiki language but the writings of some of the Siraiki writers and the activists of the Siraiki movement are 'full of a proud partiality and ethno-national bias' (Wagha, 1998: 29). Their writings are, 'often vitiated by excessively inflated claims for the language…or by a disregard for Indo Aryan philology in the search for a more ancient pedigree' (Shackle, 1976: 5). They make claims about the antiquity of the language without substantiating the claims with any solid evidence (cf. 2.2.2). Even if any evidence is provided, their lack of proper training in the field of linguistics affects the quality and eventually credibility of their research. If the writings of the native speakers of Siraiki are ethnocentric, then the works of the non-native researchers are at times constrained by the limited exposure to the language they are writing about. Wagha (1998: 29) notes two other problems with some Siraiki publications: 'the decentralized rapid growth in literature offers many inconsistent standards in reference, orthography,

language and presentation' and 'A large number of publications do not have any name, date, and place written on them'.

The language that we know as Siraiki today has appeared in different works with different names like 'Wuch', 'Southern Lahnda', 'Lahndi', 'Western Panjabi' 'Mooltani' and 'Jataki/Jatki'. I will, however, use the name Siraiki for all these. The first dictionary of Persian-Siraiki language, 'Nisaab Zaroori' was written by Khuda Buksh in 1475 (Abdul Haq, 1967). It was written for children for educational purposes. This book has thirty-one chapters and gives Siraiki meanings to one thousand four hundred and ninety words. The word Hindi is used for Siraiki in that dictionary (Pervaiz, 2001). Several of its editions have been published in the 19th and 20th century.

Siraiki appeared in print for the first time with the name 'Wuch' in the Serampore missionaries' "Sixth Memoir" on their work of Bible translation dated March 1816 (Shackle, 1984). Grierson (1903) reports that in this memoir, specimens of thirty-three Indian languages including 'Wuch' are published consisting of the conjugated present and past tenses of the verb 'to be', and a version of the Lord's Prayer. These specimens are later taken up and analyzed separately to demonstrate that they are not specimens of a dialect but of independent languages. This is believed to be the first printed version of Siraiki and also its first published grammatical description (ibid).

The first published account of the Siraiki language was by Burton (1849) in which he provides a clear and comprehensive account of the Siraiki of Upper Sindh, 'accurate in most details although including large numbers of variant forms without local reference...his ethnological observations on the Siraiki–speaking groups in

Sindh are of considerable interest' (Shackle, 1976: 3). He was working on the premise that Gypsies originally belonged to this area.

After Burton, brief descriptions of the Siraiki language appeared in the Settlement Reports of different districts of Punjab (1876-1894). The first glossary of Siraiki prepared by a British man was by Edward O'Brien (1881), who was a Settlement officer of Muzaffargarh. He, with the help of notes collected by his colleague in Multan, compiled a glossary of the Siraiki language consisting of four sections. This glossary gives a word list along with a collection of rustic sayings and proverbs. Although the word list only consists of about 1,800 words, they are rich in detail. A brief unsystematic grammatical sketch prefaces this work. The grammatical description of Siraiki by Bomford (1895), the first contribution of a missionary in this field, though comprehensive is ill organized (Shackle, 1984). It is by far the most exhaustive study of the Siraiki pronominal suffixes. He further elaborated his work on pronominals in another grammatical article (Bomford, 1897).

James Wilson, a British official, compiled a grammar and glossary in collaboration with Kaul of the dialect of Siraiki spoken at Shahpur in which he discusses the main points of difference from central Punjabi (Wilson, 1899). This grammar is only 'Handicapped by a confusing vowel-notation that records sub-phonemic differences' (Shackle 1976: 3).

The next contribution coming from a missionary was Jukes (1900). This is the first comprehensive bilingual dictionary in which Jukes has drawn from the glossaries compiled by O'Brien and Wilson. The dictionary contains about 10,000 entries. This work is still unmatched in the field of Siraiki lexicography. In it Jukes, for the first time, recorded the implosive consonants of Siraiki systematically. In 1903, Wilson

published the revised edition of O'Brien's grammar (Wilson & Kaul, 1903). The book

begins with a new 57-page comprehensive grammar. The proverbs, sayings and verses

were expanded and the dictionary portion comprising of 5,000 words is arranged in

order of the Roman script (Shackle, 1984).

George Grierson, the first serious philologist to turn his attention to Siraiki

drew on the works of the above-mentioned writers and produced an article (Grierson,

1895) in which he has described the genetic relationships between the languages of

the area. In the same article he distinguished between the language of the western

Punjab and of the central and eastern districts. He later elaborated this distinction in

two volumes of the *Linguistic Survey of India* (LSI, 1916; 1919) in which he used the

invented term 'Lahnda' for the languages of western Punjab. In LSI, Grierson, for the

first time sharply distinguished Lahnda from Punjabi and sub-classified it. His

classification did not find much acceptance because he chose Shahpuri—a peripheral

dialect as his standard.

After LSI, the next significant contribution came in French language by a

Multani Hindu Bahl (1936). This thesis is mainly about the phonetic and historical

analysis of the implosive consonants and their incidence and distribution in the

language.

Varma (1936) and Bahri (1962; 1963) have criticized Grierson's awkward

classification while discussing northern dialects. Smirnov (1970) written in Russian

language and later translated in English (Smirnov, 1975) gives an advanced and more

reasonable classification of dialects. The main focus of the book however is a further

rendering of the secondary material of the LSI.

Chatterji (1969), a prominent Indian linguist, places Siraiki in the same row as other modern Indian languages. Pointing to the peculiarities of the language he contrasts it and Sindhi to the other languages of the group. Among other Indian linguists Arun (1956; 1961), Chandar (1959) and Sandhu (1968) cited in Smirnov, (1975) have argued about Siraiki as an independent language.

Both Indian and Pakistani linguists have pointed out Siraiki's considerable influence on a number of modern Indian languages, including Punjabi and Urdu. Singh (1971) writes about Lahndi's (Siraiki's) influence on Urdu; Advani (1956) has an interesting discussion on the influence of Siraiki upon the northern dialect of Sindhi and Abdul Haq (1967) writes of the influence of Multani on Urdu, Punjabi and some other modern Indian languages. Shackle (1976) criticizes him on the excessive inflated claims for the Siraiki language.

Zami (1965) is a glossary in Siraiki language. The first section of the book consists of Urdu meanings of Siraiki words, the second section gives Urdu meanings of Siraiki idioms, proverbs and riddles and the third section is about the folk literature. The other Siraiki-Urdu dictionaries compiled by Pakistani researchers are: Rasoolpuri (1977), Kalanchwi (1979; 1981), Athar & Qureshi (1980). Abdul Haq (1984a) has 7,816 entries and all these words have been taken from Khawaja Farid's poetry. Mughal (1987; 1990) are collection of Siraiki words which have been borrowed by the Urdu language. Mughal (1992; 1996) are extensive collections of Siraiki idioms and phrases.

One of the most influential works in Urdu about Siraiki is Abdul Haq (1967), in which fresh material is combined with the work of earlier Muslim sources and

Western writers. Abdul Haq (1977; 1985) are also significant contribution to the field of Siraiki linguistics.

The earlier work on Siraiki grammar by the local writers is in the form of short grammatical sketches written as elementary primers, for example, Razi, K. (1890), Razi, M. (1933), Zami (1963; 1964) Bhaiya (1984), and Abdul Haq (1984b) are detailed descriptions of Siraiki grammar. Shackle (1976), a reference grammar, describes a new internal classification of Siraiki and gives a phonetic, morphological and syntactic description of standard Siraiki.

Among the more recent works is Shackle (1984), which gives a succinct review of the development of Siraiki studies in English until 1919. This is followed by a brief anthology of the specimens of Siraiki folk-literature. Shackle (1977) and Rahman (1996a) present an overview of the Siraiki movement. Wagha (1990) briefly encompasses the growth and development of Siraiki. Asif (1992), after describing the sound system of 'Central' Siraiki, deals with the areas of disparity between the phonologies of English and Siraiki at the segmental and suprasegmental levels. Some teaching techniques are suggested in the final part for the specific problem areas encountered by the Siraiki learners. Wagha (1998) is a detailed study of the development of the Siraiki language in Pakistan. The first part of this thesis examines the evolution of Siraiki identity and ethno-national movement and the second part discusses the linguistic features of the contemporary written language and critically analyses the representative selections from modern literary texts.

As mentioned earlier, very few writings have studied the Siraiki language in the socio-political setting. The situation is still the same as it was when Shackle (1976: 5) lamented the paucity of fresh material, stating 'much energy has been devoted to

the interpretation of existing material for semi-political purposes'. One of the possible reasons for this is that although the Pakistani government, under intense pressure from the Siraiki activists, included Siraiki in the list of languages in the national census taken in 1998, in all its documents and websites Siraiki is shown as a dialect of Punjabi, again a political issue which will be discussed later in my thesis. The Siraiki writers and scholars therefore, are still trying to solve this 'identity crisis'. I believe they are still not aware that Siraiki is facing a gradual language shift; if they are aware of it they do not realize its full implications for they are still lost in the debate about establishing its antiquity. So far no detailed sociolinguistic study has been undertaken on Siraiki language usage. The present research has been carried out to fill in this gap. This study is both descriptive and analytical in nature. I believe, therefore, that it will not only contribute to the descriptive studies on present day Siraiki language but will also document the kind of Siraiki spoken by three generations across different economic groups in rural and urban Multan at the beginning of the twenty-first century. No such record presently exists about real life Siraiki language usage at any moment in time. I also hope that the analysis of the speech of 'real life' Multanis will draw the attention of the Siraikis towards the issue of language shift. As a result of this pioneering work on language shift in Pakistan I foresee other such studies being undertaken on Siraiki as well as other regional languages of Pakistan.

Now I will discuss the role of language and education policies of the British in united India and the Pakistani governments, which have directly and indirectly influenced the present status of Pakistani regional languages.

2.4 The Sociolinguistic Situation in United India and Pakistan

Trudgill (1976-7) and Gardner-Chloros (1991) suggest that it is a mistake to study code-switching without associating it with other aspects of the linguistic setting. Likewise, I also believe that the true significance of different aspects of language shift can only become apparent if done in connection with the general linguistic situation of the region. To understand and appreciate the present status of the Siraiki language in comparison with Urdu and English, we would have to go back a few centuries.

2.4.1 Language and Education Policies of the British

Before the arrival of the British in India, Persian was the court language. Proficiency in Arabic was also considered desirable for seeking employment under the Muslim rulers. After the arrival of the British in India, as part of the political strategy, Warren Hastings, Governor General of India from 1774-1785, who held Orientalist views, favoured indigenization for effective governance (Davies, 1935; Mukherjee, 1968; Pachori, 1990; Spear, 1958). Under the influence of the Orientalists, the Indian classical languages were cultivated and the British themselves learned the Indian vernaculars. These policies were adopted to control the Indian subjects efficiently and to fortify the British Raj over India.

A few noteworthy steps taken to implement these policies included launching a proposal for the establishment of a Chair of Persian at the University of Oxford (Dittmer, 1972) for the British officers to learn Persian and Hindustani before coming to India, the establishment of Fort William College in Calcutta by Lord Wellesley and the setting up of a system of language testing examinations for civil and military officers (Rahman, 1996).

Later Anglicists like Macaulay, Warden and Trevelyan, holding Oriental learning in contempt, asserted the superiority of English and Western learning. Also with a view that writings in the indigenous Indian languages tended to be anti-imperialistic, the English language and its literature were promoted as one of the vital means of controlling the minds of Indian subjects (Viswanathan, 1990). It was also decided that English should be taught to the Indian elite to create anglicised Indians who would uphold Colonial interests, 'We must at present do our best to form a class who may become interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern—a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and intellect.' (Macaulay, in Dobbin 1970: 18)

In the higher levels of administration and judiciary, English replaced Persian. The abolition of Persian was regarded as a great triumph of the Raj. Travelyan's comment, 'The abolition of the exclusive privileges which the Persian language has in the courts and affairs of courts will form the crowning stroke which will shake Hinduism and Mohammadanism to their centre and firmly establish our language, our learning and ultimately our religion in India', (cited in Philips, 1977: 1239) proves this point. Thus by the first quarter of the 19th century, qualification in Persian and Arabic ceased to be of much importance in the job market (Haq, 1945). Travelyan (1838) notes that in 1835 the total number of sold English schoolbooks was 31,649 as compared to 3,384 in Urdu and 1,454 in Persian.

The British wanted English to become the language of business throughout India but even they with their imperialistic designs could see the impossibility of the task as English could not be taught to all, due to the limited means of the rulers (Macaulay, 1835). Vernacular languages were officially recognized and standardized

for educating the masses with a view to producing cheap Indian labour instead of expensive British labour (Basu, 1952), for administrative and political expediency and for the convenience of the people. Consequently the vernaculars replaced Persian— the last symbol of Muslim rule in India (Abdullah, 1976; Naushahi, 1988) at the lower levels of administration and judiciary. In some parts of south Punjab though, Persian was retained for some time (Shackle, 1978). For a long time, even in the days of British, the official business of the municipality of Multan was run in Persian (Haidari, 1971 cited in Wagha, 1998). Believing that the promotion of vernaculars resulted in creating language-based ethno-nationalist identities, Rahman (1996a; 1996b) speculates whether this was part of a deliberate attempt on the part of the British to divide and rule the Indians. Consequently the groups who spoke these vernaculars began to see themselves as nationalities.

The vernaculars were standardized through activities such as carrying out linguistic surveys (Grierson, 1903-1921), choice of a single dialect, and standardizing of script and orthographic norms, 'the British...in that sense created the modern vernaculars' and they were in fact a 'British construct' (Rahman, 1996a: 39). Since the Indian Muslims regarded Urdu as a symbol of Muslim identity, the Punjab Education code recognized Urdu as well as Punjabi and Hindi for Sikhs and Hindus, respectively, as the vernaculars of Punjab (PUE, 1933: 78). In Sindh the vernaculars meant Sindhi, Urdu, Gujrati and Marathi, with Sindhi used far more extensively than the other three because even as far back as 1843 when the British took over Sindh, the Sindhi language was taught in schools as a subject and there existed some poetical and religious works and textbooks in this language. In NWFP,[13] Baluchistan and Kashmir, Urdu was used for schooling. Siraiki did not receive any official recognition or

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[13] North Western Prontier Province.

patronage; in Sindh it was categorized as a dialect of Sindhi and in Punjab 'Riyasti', 'Multani', 'Lahnda' and other western dialects were classified as dialects of Punjabi.

A noteworthy result of the language and education policies of the British was the creation of 'Brown Sahibs' (Vittachi, 1987), a term used for the anglicized native Indians who were social and linguistic snobs and who held vernacular educated people in contempt. Throughout the British rule a sharp discrimination was made between the vernacular educated people and 'local Englishmen'. This resulted in people generally striving for English education to claim their right of way to climb the social and economic ladder and enter the corridors of elitism. Gandhi (1872-1948), a strong supporter of vernaculars as a symbol of indigenous identity as early as 1922, felt the threat posed by the language of power to the vernaculars ironically wrote (for could have been constructed by some as a 'brown sahib' himself), 'I know families in which English is being made the mother-tongue. It is unbearable to me that vernaculars should be crushed and starved as they have been' (cited in Rahman, 1996a). Two studies relevant to this context are Gal (1979) and Gardner-Chloros (1991). The former study presents the picture of the Hungarian-German speech community in eastern Austria. The members of this speech community rejected Hungarian because of their rejection of the status of peasant agriculturists which this language symbolized. Their gradual adoption of the German language was the result of its association with high status, public power, and economic success. Gardner-Chloros (1991) presents a similar picture regarding the use of the Alsatian dialect in Strasbourg. She argues that the erosion of this dialect is taking place because of 'an accumulation of social and economic factors...[and] the influence of the media, professional and social mobility, urbanization, and the struggle for jobs' (ibid: 15).

After the independence in 1947, the Pakistani governments continued with the British policies for the regional languages. In their desire to create a sense of national integrity, the governments refused to accept that Pakistan was a multilingual state. Such policies resulted in marginalizing the regional languages even further. A discussion on the language policies of the Pakistani governments is presented in the following section.

2.4.2 Language Policies of the Pakistani Governments

In Pakistan the symbols of religion and language have been used for creating a sense of unity and national integrity (Rahman, 2002a). In the newly formed state Pakistan, Urdu was declared as the national language. This was perhaps done to disfavour plurality, combat sectionalism (Smith, 1983) and serve the cause of nationalism. An attempt was made to achieve a forced uni-nationalism with a complete disregard for linguistic and cultural diversity (Kazi, 1993). The establishment was not prepared to accept that Pakistan was a multilingual country, 'composed of six historically evolved legitimate nations, i.e. Sindhi, Siraiki, Baloch, Pathan, Punjabi and Bengali' (ibid: 26). This act, however, led to agitations in Pakistani Bengal which forced the government to officially recognize the Bengali language in 1954 (Rahman, 1996a). The case of regional languages remained weaker in the western wing because of the diversity of spoken dialects not matching the administrative/provincial boundaries drawn by the British as compared with the struggle in Bengal (Shackle, 1985). Only in the Punjab province, the legislative assembly approved Urdu as the official language of the province in 1953 (Khokhar, 1988 cited in Wagha, 1998). In this scenario Urdu prospered at the expense of the regional languages. As a continuation of earlier British policy Sindhi and Pushto were

made the languages of instruction at primary and secondary level in their respective regions.

During the Urdu-Hindi controversy[14] in united India, Urdu had become a symbol of Muslim identity just as Hindi for the Hindus and Punjabi for the Sikhs, 'Urdu became associated with Islam and the Muslim community all over India' (Rahman, 2002a).

Under the circumstances, the Muslims chose to ignore their mother tongues. For the creation of Pakistan, Muslim League (the political party struggling for an independent state for the Muslims) successfully used this Urdu-Hindi cleavage. The ethno-nationalists feel that the government of Pakistan could have got rid of this 'burden' of language after the creation of Pakistan but it was retained to serve the interests of merely 5% of Pakistan's population, mainly consisting of well-educated and articulate immigrants to facilitate the concentration of power in the hands of a smaller group (Wagha, 1998: 25). Wagha (1998) argues that there were several factors behind the formulation of language policy of the government of Pakistan. The first major factor was the opposition of the theme of a national multiplicity in India to justify the existence of Pakistan and to present it as a unitary state. The other important factors were: the education and language policy of the former colonial rulers, the dimension of gaining power through language and the paradox of the gradual recognition of provincial languages Bengali and Sindhi despite upholding the concept of unitary state.

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[14] Urdu came to be associated with the Muslim identity and Hindi with the Hindu identity in united India. Several scholars have written about this controversy from the point of view of Hindu-Muslim politics, group mobilization, and identity creation e.g. Brass, 1974; Dittmer, 1972; Gupta, 1970; Rahman, 1996a.

In the constitution of 1956, Urdu and Bengali were declared as State languages with English as the official language for the next twenty years. It guaranteed freedom to provincial governments to replace English after a review of the situation with either of the two state languages at any time. In the constitution of 1962, the status of state languages remained the same. English was again retained as the official language but with a note that it would remain so until arrangements for its replacement were made. The last constitution, formulated in 1973, allowed provincial assemblies to legislate for the promotion of regional languages and taking measures for their use as a medium of instruction in education.

An education commission set up in 1959 recommended Urdu as the medium of instruction in West Pakistan (Then one of the two provinces of Pakistan) for primary classes except for the regions in the former NWFP and Sindh where Pushto and Sindhi were to be kept as the medium of instruction in the primary classes but with Urdu as a compulsory subject from grade 3 onwards. Declaring the regional languages a source of enrichment for Urdu, the commission recommended the promotion of Pushto, Sindhi and Punjabi. Urdu was promoted at the cost of other languages spoken in Pakistan which were given the non-prestigious label of 'regional languages' which resulted in slighting their status (Report of the Commission on National Education, 1959). This was the continuation of the policies of the British with an extra emphasis on Urdu especially in Sindh where the role of Sindhi was reduced both in administration and education and its place taken by Urdu much to the resentment of Sindhi nationalists (Joyo, 1990 cited in Wagha, 1998) whose power base in Sindhi urban cities was already seriously threatened by the Urdu speaking immigrants who had disturbed the majority of Sindhi speakers in the major urban cities of Sindh. It has rightly been observed that 'in Pakistan the official discussions on languages were

restricted to the forum of education with political implications to follow' (Wagha, 1998: 113).

During the regime of General Zia-ul Haq in the late 1970s and 1980s, Urdu's status was further strengthened against regional languages and also against English. Arabic was imposed as a 'prestigious' subject in a political move to win the favours of Mullahs and Urdu was declared as the medium of instruction in all schools. Not only during his own regime was this ruling not fully implemented but also in the education policy of 1991 statements like the adoption of, 'either an approved provincial language, or the national language or English as medium of instruction' (National Education Policy, 1991) were added to protect the status of English in the education system.

To this day English remains the most powerful language used in the domains of higher levels of administration, judiciary, military, commerce and some sectors of education. After English, Urdu is the second most important language with Pushto and Sindhi taking the third place in their respective provinces.

All the factors mentioned above contributed towards determining the status of the Siraiki language in Pakistan. Besides the discriminatory education and language policies, the people of the Siraiki region experienced social and economic inequalities in the hands of central and provincial government. These circumstances lead some sections of the society in the Siraiki region to unite in the name of language and struggle for their 'rights'. In the following section I will discuss how language was used as a symbol to create the Siraiki identity in an attempt to mobilize people for equal opportunities with the Punjabis of the upper Punjab.

2.5 Language and Ethnic Identity

Language is intrinsically connected with ethnic identity and it 'interweaves the individual's personal identity with his or her collective ethnic identity' (Liebkind, 1999: 143). Among the multitude of markers of group identity, like age, sex, social class and religion, language is considered essential to the maintenance of group identity. The issue of language and identity is extremely complex: the terms *language* and *identity* are open to discussion and their relationship fraught with difficulties (Edwards, 1985). Liebkind (1999: 150) observes that in the mainstream perspective, language is not seen as an, 'essential component of identity. But language and ethnicity are seen as negotiable commodities to the extent that they hinder a person's security and well being.' From the early 1980s, however, this notion has been challenged and different studies have shown the importance of language for many ethnic minorities (ibid). Ethnicity is defined as a 'sense of group identity deriving from real or perceived common bonds such as language, race or religion' (Edwards, 1977: 254) and ethnic identity is defined as '... allegiance to a group ... with which one has ancestral links' (Edwards, 1985: 10). He further states that for the continuation of a group 'some sense of boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.)'.

Two theories regarding language and ethnicity are quite relevant here, the *Instrumentalist* and the *Primordialist* theory of ethnicity. According to the instrumentalist theory of ethnicity, language-based ethnicity is meant to pursue political power (Deutsch, 1953; Williams, 1984). This theory holds that the leaders, who aspire for the power to obtain a larger share of goods, consciously choose language as a symbol of group identity. Mobilizing the masses in the name of

ethnicity in terms of language and culture can fulfil their desire for power. The Instrumentalists see languages as 'instruments, tools only, and mother tongues…in no way…special' and for them 'Language is socially constructed learned (or acquired) behaviour, possible to manipulate situationally, almost like an overcoat you can take on and off at will' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000:136-137). The Primordialist theory of ethnicity (Conner, 1993; Shils, 1957), on the other hand, states that people form ethnic groups to resist being assimilated in the other culture because of their deep, extra-rational, and primordial sentiments for their language or other aspects of identity. For primordialists, the mother tongue is 'more like your skin and later languages like the overcoats (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000:137). Primordial arguments are often labelled by the instrumentalists as 'emotional, romantic, and traditional, and pre-rational or irrational' (ibid). In the light of these two theories it will be seen whether the Siraikis' awakening was motivated by instrumental or sentimental reasons or both or whether something else was the cause of this phenomenon.

2.5.1 Why was the Siraiki Identity Created?

Central Punjab saw a colossal mobilization of people at the time of the construction of canals under a scheme that the British started in 1886 (Mirani, 1994). A huge number of Punjabis from central Punjab were settled in the western parts of the Punjab province, mainly the present day Siraiki areas.

Later, in the 1947 partition of India, the exchange of population was mainly between the Indian Punjab and surrounding areas and the Pakistani Punjab (Symonds, 1950). In this migration Pakistani Punjab had to accommodate 5.3 million Muslims against the 3.9 million Muslims who had migrated to India from here. This migration, which appeared to be non-disruptive linguistically and culturally for the upper Punjab,

had a disharmonizing effect in the Siraiki region linguistically as the non-Siraiki speaking population replaced the Siraiki speaking population. Even after the main migration of 1947, the internal migration of the people of Punjab to the Siraiki areas, which had already seen a large cultural and linguistic upheaval in the late 19th century, continued (Wagha, 1998). The new settlers chose urban areas for better job opportunities and living standards (Ahmad, 1985). Multan, the biggest urban centre of the region accommodated the most migrants comprising 44% of its total population (Elahi & Sultana, 1985).

Soon the trade and transport of Multan went into the hands of non-Siraiki migrants. In the rural areas, the Siraiki tenants had to vacate the lands belonging to Hindu departees, which they had been cultivating for generations but which were declared state properties after the partition and allotted to the migrants against the properties they had left behind in India. In some of the Siraiki areas 12.5 acres of land was allotted per head to the landless migrants (Symonds, 1950). In the 1950s, under the Thal irrigation scheme, hundreds of thousands of acres of barren land were allotted to Punjabi speaking migrants for cultivation. This too brought a feeling of deprivation among the Siraikis living in the districts of Muzaffargarh, Layyah and Bhakkar (Mirani, 1994). All these factors gave rise to a 'local versus migrant' or 'local versus Punjabi' division which replaced the existing 'Hindu versus Muslim' division (Wagha, 1998: 51).

The result of this influx was that the Punjabi language became the language of the marketplace, transport and certain government departments in the Siraiki areas. Consequently, the Siraiki working class in the major cities and towns of the Siraiki area became bilingual to actively participate in the daily affairs outside homes. Wagha

(ibid: 28) notes that the reaction of the locals was, 'more of recognition of differentiation...[however] linguistically convenient emergence of a mixed speech...in the direction of assimilation...did not take place.' The reasons that can be attributed to the absence of mixed speech or lack of obvious code switching from Punjabi in Siraiki speech could be that Punjabi, despite being the language of market place, is still considered a low status language in Punjab compared to Urdu and English; the main language of media is Urdu; and finally Punjabi could not enter the speech of women because they are generally excluded from businesses. Hence we do not find Punjabi language responsible for the erosion of Siraiki.

The first influential voice to be raised at the floor of the National Assembly in 1963, against the deprivations of the Siraiki region while referring to it in terms of a linguistic entity was that of Sajjad Qureshi.[15] 'Multani [Siraiki] is spoken in 10 districts of West Pakistan and so far there is no provision for a radio station at Multan. There is no road link between Karachi and Multan and Lahore. This strip of 800 miles [is] lying as it is, without any modern means of communication' (NAPD II pp.766-7 cited in Rahman, 1996a: 181).

Independent studies show a wide gulf between the development of infrastructure between the Siraiki districts and the rest of the Punjab. After Multan, the most developed Siraiki district Rahim Yar Khan is rated in terms of infrastructure at number twenty-seven, which is even lower than the lowest developed district among non-Siraiki districts which comes at number twenty-one (Hussain, 1994). Several comparative studies carried out by independent economists (Helbock & Naqvi, 1976; Khan & Iqbal, 1986; Pasha & Hassan, 1982, Zaman & Iffat Ara, 2002) of the

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[15] The then head of a very influential Pir dynasty in lower Punjab and Sindh. He later became the governor of Punjab as well.

development of districts place most of the districts of the Siraiki speaking areas lower on the basis of development indicators than those of the Punjabi speaking areas of the upper Punjab. The rich districts of upper Punjab take a disproportionate share out of the budget allocated for the whole province (Wagha, 1998; Aslam, 1987). The inequality and unevenness of the distribution of resources was also seen in the 1960s during the decade of green revolution when nine out of nineteen districts of Punjab got a share of 80% of the fertilizers and 76% of the total tube wells constructed in the Punjab province (Wagha, 1998). In industrial development twelve out of nineteen districts accounted for 94% of the industrial production in the province (Hamid & Hussain, 1975); needless to say these districts belonged to the non-Siraiki region. The same is the case with opportunities for technical and professional education: in seventeen Siraiki districts there are only two medical colleges as opposed to eight in the fifteen districts of upper Punjab. Although predominantly an agricultural region, there is no Agricultural University in the Siraiki belt. Agricultural, Engineering, Information, Medical, Naval, Textile, Veterinary and Women's universities have all been set up in the upper Punjab—the non-Siraiki region (Dhareeja, 2003). This sense of deprivation continues even today which is expressed from time to time at different forums. Siraiki nationalists jokingly call Lahore, the capital of Punjab 'laa hor' a Punjabi phrase which means 'bring more'.

This sense of injustice and deprivation led the Siraikis to use the Siraiki language as the most powerful symbol to assert their separate identity, 'the basic reason was deprivation either economic or lack of identity' (Chandio, PC).

The other strong reason for creating the Siraiki identity is the rift between the Punjabi and the Siraiki language which is examined in the following section.

2.5.2 Siraiki Versus Punjabi

Siraikis strongly feel the resentment at Punjabis' not recognizing Siraiki as a language in its own right and relegating it to the status of a dialect of Punjabi. Punjabis on their part see the activities of Siraiki enthusiasts as, 'treacherously weakening the integrity of Punjab and impeding its proper re-identification under the aegis of a single provincial language' (Shackle, 1977: 402).

Siraikis complain of three types of encroachments by Punjabis, namely on Siraiki linguistics, poetry and folk music. They are quite bitter about the inclusion of works of Khawaja Farid (who is a Siraiki poet) in the M.A. syllabus of Punjabi which claims him to be a Punjabi poet (Chandio, PC). As for the claims on other classical poets, Shackle (1977) observes that the famous Sufi poets of the region like Shah Hussain (d[16].1593), Sultan Bahu (d.1691) or Bullhe Shah (d.1758) were eclectic in their choice of diction from different dialects to suit their metre and rhyme so in this sense their works to some extent are open to claims from Siraiki as well as from Punjabi.

Confusion has also arisen over the name of the Punjab province. Anything belonging to the Punjab province and presented as Punjabi, like literature, culture, heritage might be interpreted as representing not Punjab the region but Punjabi language and this is unacceptable to the identity conscious Siraikis because they believe that, 'when reference is made to Punjabi culture it doesn't refer to administrative unit but to cultural unit...you are being deprived of your social, cultural and linguistic identity legally and officially' (Chandio, PC).

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[16] Year of death.

Some writers tend to take Siraiki as a dialect of Punjabi, 'The explanation lies either in the fact that they are not adequately informed, or in their desire to exaggerate the importance of Panjabi' (Smirnov, 1975: 16). Kohli (1961: 62) also states, 'Lahndi [Siraiki] and Sindhi are the sister languages which have a near relation ...with Punjabi'. Baily (1904), while comparing Siraiki with Punjabi, points to a great difference existing even between the sub-dialects of Punjabi merging into Siraiki which he terms Western Punjabi. Smirnov (1975) after declaring that Punjabi and Lahndi are kindred to each other, has outlined the basic differences between them. Both Siraiki and Punjabi despite having grammatical, phonological and phonetic differences share many morphological, lexical and syntactic features and are mutually intelligible (Smirnov, 1975; Shackle, 1977). Siraiki differs radically from the Punjabi of Lahore area in tone and consonant sounds. The differences in rhythm and stress have not been studied by any linguist but the consonant sounds have been used instead in creating an awareness of linguistic difference as well as requiring modifications in the script, and in the context of South Asian languages as a 'marker par excellence of linguistic boundaries' (Shackle, 1977: 389). Siraiki activists make the most of these differences to assert their separate linguistic identity.

The emphasis on the difference from the Punjabi language also means an escape from the clutches of the all-inclusive label of Punjabi which activists fear would swallow their own culture and identity. Rahman (1996a) believes that the Siraikis emphasize their differences from Punjabis in order to stress their specific cultural and ethnic identity and it would be counter productive for them to accept Siraiki as a dialect of Punjabi. He further states that both Siraikis and Punjabis use the functional definition of language which takes language as a 'super imposed norm' in Haugen's (1972: 243) sense, according to which all mutually intelligible varieties of it

are considered deviations from it. However, if we use Haugen's structural definition, then a language would be the sum of all intelligible varieties of it with the most prestigious norm as one of them. In such a case both Siraiki and Punjabi can be called varieties of 'Greater Punjabi' (Rensch, 1992: 87) or 'Greater Siraiki' (Rahman, 1996a: 175).

2.5.3 How was the Siraiki Identity Created?

Dorian (1999: 25) rightly observes 'People will redefine themselves when circumstances make it desirable or when circumstances force it on them'. The Siraiki middle class reacted to the threat to their language and identity and set out to develop an ethno-national consciousness in order to resist the assimilation of their ethnic group and language. The efforts towards this cause were directed towards creating a Siraiki identity. Initially this was done to counter the fear of identity extinction and to get rid of the 'misleading' label of Punjabis. These endeavours have been termed as the 'Siraiki movement'.

2.5.4 The Siraiki Movement

The Siraiki movement was the combination of the phenomenon of language planning and efforts to establish a collective identity to convince the Siraikis and others of the status of Siraiki as a separate language distinct from Punjabi. It also aimed to establish Siraikis as a separate nationality by invoking shared awareness of the local past among the people living in different cities and towns of the Siraiki region speaking different dialects of the Siraiki language (Rahman, 1996a; Shackle,

1977; Wagha, 1998). The movement was started[17] to create the language bound regional unity obscured previously by the use of different names given to it locally, like 'Hindki, 'Jatki', 'Multani'. Consensus on the name Siraiki for all the dialects spoken in the Siraiki region was a part of this reaction, 'The process of the creation of a Siraiki identity in south-western Punjab involved the deliberate choice of a language called Siraiki, as a symbol of this identity' (Rahman, 1996a: 174). Language was chosen as a unifying symbol because 'an ethnic language serves its speakers as an identity marker...language is the only one [behaviour] that actually carries extensive cultural content' (Dorian, 1999: 31) and also because 'the leaders of ethnic movements invariably select from traditional cultures only those aspects they think will serve to unite the group and will be useful in promoting the interests of the group as they define them' (Brass, 1991: 740).

The locals of south Punjab consciously created the Siraiki identity by renouncing the local names of regional dialects like Multani, Muzaffargarhi, Uchi, Bahawalpuri (also called Riyasti), Derawali, Hindko, (also called Yaghdali)' Jataki (also called Balochki) and Serai in favour of the term Siraiki, 'thus enabling one to dispense with the confusing varied earlier terminology, including vague terms such as 'Jataki' or 'Hindki', local names such as 'Multani', the 'Serawai', of Dera Ghazi Khan or the 'Riyasti' of Bahawalpur, as well as philologists' inventions without any local currency like Griersan's 'Southern Lahnda' (Shackle, 1976: 2). The common name Siraiki was proposed in 1962 and within a couple of decades it gained common currency, 'No such example can be found in history when millions of people living in different regions agreed on one name—a word which did not exist at this level

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[17] Wagha divides the movement into two phases. He estimates early 1960s to mid 1970s to be the first phase and mid 1970s to mid 1980s to be the second phase of the movement.

before'(Chandio, PC). Most of the names of the regional dialects reflected the regions where they were spoken, but the term Siraiki was chosen so that it, 'could appeal to all the ethno-nationalists' (Abdul Haq cited in Rahman, 1996a: 174).

Shackle (1977: 379) states two aims of the Siraiki movement namely: 'to assert the language's separate identity and to secure for its increased official recognition'. One important objective was to establish Siraikis as a group and to create an awareness of a collective sense of identity among them. Initially the emphasis of the writers was to prove the language's antiquity and determine its status as a distinct language and not a dialect of Punjabi. The Punjabi writers reacted (see e.g., Khan 1973) and despite its official recognition as a separate language (though at a very limited scale) this debate continues to this day. In answer to Shackle's (1977) observation that the Siraiki movement was launched as a reaction to the Punjabi movement (Rahman, 1996a; Shackle, 1976) in Lahore, Wagha (1998: 82) states that this is more true of the second phase of the Siraiki movement which started in the 1970s rather than the first phase of the 1960s. Wagha argues that the interest in investigating the local past was, 'self-propelled and spontaneous' admitting however, that the demand of Punjabi activists to have the Punjabi language as a medium of instruction in the province did act at this stage as a spur to the Siraiki activists. It is, however, misleading to call the interest in the past purely self-propelled. In the 1950s, a pioneer group of Sindhi nationalists, allegedly convinced of the idea of unity of Sindh with the Siraiki belt included in Punjab, contacted the influential Siraiki nationalists on the subject through the spiritual leaders residing in Multan. They used the slogan, 'the original language of Sindh is Siraiki'. The post partition crises in Pakistan (Dunne, 1952; Snyder, 1982; Wagha, 1998) had given rise to these Sindhi nationalists who had been raising their voice against the Punjabi monopoly. They

were against, 'a new Panjab urban Sindhi axis of power which dominated the Muslim League, the bureaucracy and the army' (Waseem, 1994: 34). A number of Siraiki activists came in contact with Sindhi scholars and nationalists and to promote the idea of unity between Sindh and Multan, a series of seminars were organized in Multan and Sukker (Sindh) in the late 1960s and early 1970s on *Sufis* (mystics) revered in both the regions. It is noteworthy that the Sindhis who came forward with extended hands for relationship with Siraikis made geo-historic relations between the two regions and their people the basis for such brotherly claims while knowing that their respective languages namely, Sindhi and Siraiki did not hold much similarity.

Like many such movements, the Siraiki movement also started in the name of cultural revival and promotion. The early phase of the Siraiki movement is marked by the publication of a journal, the establishment of some literary and cultural organizations and the organization of cultural events at the national and regional level, on the name of Khawaja Farid,[18] organized in the 1960s. It is believed that such events, which used the name of a local poet and were met with approval of both the public and dictator government, helped Siraikis to find some ethnic and linguistic identity.

The articulation of the economic conflict with the upper Punjab which was given second priority in the first phase, came to the forefront in the second phase in the 1980s after the language identity was established. Rahman (1996a) believes that factors like geographical, cultural and linguistic differences with Punjabis and the settlement of Punjabis in Siraiki areas before and after the partition on their own do not account for the need of Siraikis to assert their separate identity through the Siraiki

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[18] The most revered Siraiki mystic poet.

movement in the 1960s. What really lay behind it was the lack of development of the Siraiki region which was not voiced in the first phase, 'ethno-nationalism is generally a response to perceived injustice' (ibid: 179). In general, the slogans and demands of the Siraiki nationalists have been coupled with linguistic rights and economic grievances, but in the late 1990s and the present decade the linguistic issue has ceased to have much importance, at least in the eyes of Siraiki political leaders. The proof is in the charter of demands made at the end of a Siraiki conference held in December 2003 in which out of twenty-one demands made from the government only one pertained to language (*Daily Khabrain*, 2003).

In both the phases, this movement has mainly been the business of intelligentsia belonging to the middle class who were later joined by relatively less known and not-so-successful politicians. Ordinary people have never had an active role in this movement and the aristocracy, which has always had its fair share in power at the national and provincial level, has been content with their status as politicians from Punjab, 'this movement is not the problem or involvement of a common man' (Ahmad, PC). Leaders of Siraiki political parties have tried to mobilize the masses for their support in the name of ethnicity but without any success. The main reason is that being a part of agrarian society, the Siraiki voters support the feudal landlords who, as stated earlier, have never shown any involvement with the movement.

2.5.5 Siraiki Script

In the process of creating a distinct identity of Siraiki language, Siraiki activists turned their attention to creating a standard Siraiki script and orthographic norms. The emphasis was on the creation of markers which would reflect the

independent status of Siraiki sounds. Although Siraiki shares four implosive sounds[19] with Sindhi, care was taken so that the Siraiki script and the representation of these symbols should be different from that of Sindhi 'so that the Sindhis should not lay any claims over Siraiki literature as theirs' (Mughal, PC).

Before the conquest of Multan in the eighth century, Siraiki was written in variants of the Brahmi script (Rasoolpuri, 1976; Shackle, 1984), which was replaced by the Arabic *naskh*. After the eighteenth century Persian *nastaaleq* was used for Siraiki writings. The Hindus, however, used a variant of the Brahmi script called *Landa* or *kirikki* until before the partition of United India in 1947 (Masica, 1991; Mughal, 2002; Rasoolpuri, 1980; Shackle, 1984). In 1819, the New Testament was also published in Siraiki in the *kirikki* script. This first printed book in Siraiki did not gain much popularity among the masses mainly because of the choice of script (Shackle, 1984).

It is believed that Qazi Razi attempted to create new orthographic symbols for distinct Siraiki sounds for the first time in 1893 (Rasoolpuri, 1976; Mughal 2002). The first printed attempt to record distinct Siraiki sounds with special diacritics on letters is Jukes (1888 cited in Shackle, 1984). In the 1940s, Aziz-ur-Rehman in Bahawalpur made efforts for marking the additional Siraiki sounds systematically. Various primers have been published from time to time between 1943 and 2001 by a number of people. For example, Ansari, Bhatti, Gabool & Faridi, Kalanchvi & Zami, Mughal, Pervaiz, Qureshi, Rasoolpuri, Sindhi, Siyal, each proposing a different system of representing the distinctive Siraiki sounds (Mughal, 2002). Several collective efforts after the partition have also been made to standardize the Siraiki script. For example, script

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[19] Siraiki has the following four implosive sounds: / ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ɠ /

committees were formulated in 1975 and 1979 but despite reaching a general consensus on five diacritically marked Persian letters, the members of those committees themselves published their own versions with slight modifications to these diacritic marks (see e.g. Mughal, 2002).

It seems that there are more changes to come because despite the claims of the Siraiki language planners on the agreement and use of a standard Siraiki script (Fahim, PC), writings with modified diacritics are still common. The main controversy is over five letters that were added to the Urdu alphabets to represent peculiar Siraiki sounds. Different writers have and are still using different diacritical marks on different places in these letters. This controversy is evident by the writer's appeal in the concluding chapter of Mughal (2002) to Siraiki writers to refrain from using any other but only the 'agreed' diacritic marks. He also appeals to them not to take up the matter of changing the Siraiki script in future. Wagha (1998) blames this problem regarding the standardization of script on the lack of any effort by the government regarding the language planning of Siraiki.

One interesting factor regarding the standardization of the Siraiki script is that the major emphasis and controversy among the Siraiki scholars is only about the representation of peculiar Siraiki sounds. Other aspects like Urdu alphabets falling short of fulfilling the requirements of Siraiki or the inconsistency of spellings, especially when the writers in Siraiki writings try to write words, borrowed from Urdu, with Siraiki pronunciation are generally ignored. Under the circumstances one is justified in thinking that, 'orthographic and linguistic standardization of Siraiki seems more connected with the politics of identity and antiquity' (Wagha, 1998: 238).

2.5.6 Siraiki Writings[20]

Since the start of the consciousness raising efforts about common ethnic language in the 1960s, the number of Siraiki publications has increased. The 1970s and 1980s saw a flood of Siraiki publications, both standard and substandard, in the form of periodicals, anthologies—both of poetry and prose, and booklets. Most of the writings from the 1960s to the 1980s were political in nature and are 'tarnished' with the ethno-political aims of the writers (Wagha, 1998: 205). Rarely do we find a balanced approach in the works of these decades. In the 1990s and the present decade Siraiki writings are carried out in all genres of literature and some excellent poetry is being written. But although the number of publications has increased in the last and present decade (Malghani Vol. III, 1995; Pervaiz, 1996; 2001; Taunsvi, 1993) the Siraiki intellectuals themselves admit that there is not much readership (Ahmad Int.), except perhaps for the works of some renowned contemporary poets, especially of the revolutionary poet Shakir Shujaabadi 'which sell like hot cakes' (Fahim, PC). Although writings in all the regional languages are 'suffering' from lack of readership due to similar reasons, in the case of Siraiki there are two added reasons. Firstly, most of the writers bring in colloquial phraseology (which varies from one variety to the other) in their writings and secondly, many writers, in their zeal to prove the antiquity of Siraiki language and to promote its Indo-Aryan feature, tend to use more Sanskrit words instead of the more common Arabic/Persian words in order to distinguish it from Punjabi and Urdu, thus blocking the understanding of the general readers (Ahmad, Int.).

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[20] Details about the Siraiki publications can be obtained from the following sources: Malghani 1993-1996; Pervaiz, 1996; 2001; Taunsvi, 1993.

2.5.7 Outcome of the Siraiki Movement

The Siraiki movement has been successful at some levels. It is responsible for creating a sense of collective identity among the Siraiki speakers even if it has not been successful in forming a pressure group like that of Bengalis, Sindhis, Mohajirs (Urdu speakers) and Pakhtoons (Rahman, 1996a). Now the Siraikis are counted as one of the five indigenous nationalities and Siraiki as a distinct language at some official and unofficial levels. Siraiki was also included in the question about languages in the censuses of 1981 and 1998. Despite all this, however, the symbol of language which came out as the most powerful symbol in this movement 'has not yet acquired much evocative power' (ibid: 190). The Siraikis are still not as emotionally attached to their language as the speakers of some other regional languages of Pakistan are; 'The Siraikis do not have a strong emotional attachment with their language as they are not ready to kill for it' (Fahim, PC). The Siraiki movement helped to give a collective name 'Siraiki' to different dialects and made people embrace this name for their collective identity but it ultimately failed to influence ordinary Siraikis to take pride in their language or consciously increase its usage in different domains.

2.6 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented a literature review of writings on the Siraiki language which are either historical or descriptive. I have also described the factors which have contributed to creating the need and later to asserting a collective identity in the South Punjab. Language has been a very powerful uniting symbol for the people living in the Siraiki region in their struggle for establishing their ethnic identity. The language policies of the British in India and later the language policies of the Pakistani governments as well as geo-historical and socio-political factors led to the present day

status of Siraiki. What becomes evident is that in establishing the Siraiki ethnicity, language, which played the key role at the beginning of the struggle, has receded to the background in the past two decades. Different activists belonging to different walks of life are taking part in this struggle with different aims and objectives. Nettle and Romaine (2000: 19) argue that 'disputes involving language are not really about language, but instead about fundamental inequalities between groups who happen to speak different languages'. Although this observation fits quite well into the Siraiki linguistic situation, we cannot completely rule out the emotional attachment of ordinary Siraikis in general and nationalists in particular with their language. Their emotional attachment with their mother tongue has prevented the assimilation of Siraiki with Punjabi. It is therefore difficult to label the overall approach of the Siraiki nationalists as either purely instrumental or solely emotional. What needs to be seen is whether these approaches have influenced the language practices of the Siraikis. This issue will be addressed in chapters four and five.

As mentioned already, the researchers have so far largely 'described' Siraiki (cf. 2.3). These writings are descriptive and not analytical in nature. They only present 'what' rather than 'why' and 'by whom' in relation to the Siraiki language and its usage. So far no detailed sociolinguistic study has been carried out on actual Siraiki language practices. The writings that already exist give a general overview of the 'socio-politico linguistic' situation of Siraiki. These studies fail to give an account of actual language practices in Siraiki homes as they do not address the issue of what is happening to the Siraiki language today. My study incorporates the review of the 'socio-politico linguistic' situation of Siraiki and examines its influence on the present usage of Siraiki in the home domain which I try to make sense of in the light of several factors. It is generally accepted that at present no one single universally

accepted paradigm exists for examining language maintenance and language shift (David, 2002). With no example of any study carried out on language shift in Pakistan, or anywhere in the world on a language of about forty million people in rural and urban settings, I had to carve out a path for myself and find my own way; 'the range of variables and their relative values in different social and cultural contexts remain too diverse for one framework to be universally applicable' (ibid: vii). Organizing the contents of this thesis proved to be a constant challenge for me. It is very difficult to separate the speakers' attitudes and speech practices from each other. Similarly it is hard to label whether a specific language choice is the direct result of a particular factor or a combination of factors. It is equally difficult to determine whether a particular attitude is resulting in certain type of language practices or whether a particular type of language usage is influencing certain types of attitudes. I have tried my best to organise the contents of the remaining chapters in the way that I deemed most logical, sensible and appropriate. The contents and the organisation of the remaining thesis are briefly discussed below.

I started my research with a pilot study (cf. 3.2). This pilot study was conducted to confirm what I had intuitively known by virtue of being a Multani living in Multan. It also made me aware of gaps and impossibilities in my original plan of research. After presenting the procedure and results of this study at the beginning of chapter three, I discuss in detail my research methods and data on which this study is based. I also reflect upon my position in this research and explore its implications on my data and methods. In chapter four I concentrate on the Siraiki language usage in the home domain. With the majority of the Siraiki population living in rural areas I could not ignore the possibility of exploring differences in the language practices of the rural and urban population. Hence the Siraiki language usage and transmission

practices of an equal number of rural and urban families are presented in this chapter. In chapter five, I explore the social, political, educational, economic, and affective factors that are influencing its status and usage. I also link these factors to the actual speech practices of the members of the participating families and their views regarding Siraiki and other languages spoken in Multan, presented in chapter four. In the final chapter I discuss the findings of this research and demonstrate the methodological strengths and contributions of the present study. Directions for further research are also given in that chapter.

Chapter 3

Data and Methods

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        3.2.1.ii Language Attitudes and Stereotypes
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3.1 Introduction

In chapter two I explored the sociolinguistic situation in Multan and reviewed the historical and socio-political factors which have affected the status of the Siraiki language in Pakistan. In this chapter I am going to discuss the data on which this thesis is based and the type of research I conducted in order to study the process of language shift in Multan. To begin, I report on the procedure and results of the pilot study that I carried out in order to study the attitudes of speakers of three major languages spoken in Multan namely, Siraiki, Punjabi and Urdu towards the Siraiki and the Urdu language. After describing and justifying the use of triangulation of data and methods for my research, I have linked the data gathered for this study with the research questions this thesis set out to explore. Before discussing different types of data that I gathered for this study, I have explained why I located my research in the traditions of ethnography and have discussed at length my experiences and the decisions that I had to take during the process of data collection in the field. I have also described the problems and the limitations that I experienced in the field during my research. Ethical issues relating to participants' consent and confidentiality also form a part of this chapter. Towards the end of this chapter, I have reviewed briefly how the collected data has been analysed to address my research questions.

3.2 Pilot Study

The over-arching question (cf. 1.7; 3.4) which led my research was: Is Siraiki language shift taking place in Multan? If yes, to what extent, and for what reasons? What guided me to this research question was that living in Multan, I had observed that Siraiki is generally given a lower status in comparison to the Urdu language. I had also observed that not only Punjabis and Urdu-speaking Multanis, but also the Siraikis themselves were not very positive about their mother tongue. They believed in the 'inherent superiority' of the Urdu language. These attitudes, I felt were perhaps an important factor in some Siraikis abandoning their language in favour of Urdu in the home domain. To confirm my hypothesis about the status and usage of the Siraiki language I narrowed down my main research question into further 5 researchable questions (cf. 1.7). My first step then was to measure the attitudes of the Siraikis and non-Siraikis living in Multan towards the Siraiki and Urdu language. For this I carried out a pilot study which addresses the first part of my first research question which is:

What attitudes exist towards Siraiki and Urdu and what factors are responsible for them?

The pilot study consisted of conducting a matched-guise test (cf. 3.2.2). In the following sections, after establishing the importance of attitudes towards the maintenance of a language I discuss in detail the matched-guise test and its results which will help in deciphering the attitudes of Siraikis and non-Siraikis towards Siraiki and Urdu.

3.2.1 Attitudes

Attitudes have been defined as a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event (Ajzen, 1988). It is, therefore, an intervening variable between a stimulus and a response (Fasold, 1984). The attitudes of the speech community concerning their language are a crucial factor in language maintenance. Attitudinal factors disfavouring language maintenance may lead to language endangerment (Bradley, 2002). It is argued that attitudes can be discerned from people's responses to social situations. Language attitudes have been linked with a stereotypical perception of a group and it is held that when a stereotype of a particular group is negative, the person and his or her speech is normally downgraded and vice versa. The following subsections explore these two issues.

3.2.1.i Attitudes and Behaviour

Attitudes, according to behaviourists, can be directly observed by the responses people make to social situations. Bem (1968; 1972) stressed that because we could deduce our own attitudes through our behaviour, we could likewise deduce the attitudes of others by observing their behaviours. Coleman (1996) states that because of cognitive and affective components, attitudes tend to be deep-rooted and persistent even though sometimes they are modified by experience and reflection. Additionally, they are often culturally acquired in the home environment.

Gardner (1985) considers attitudes as components of motivation. The preference for the speaker's choice of a language, dialect or accent is influenced by attitudes and motivation. Learning and using the language of an attractive group can provide affiliation and thus a satisfactory self-identity (Tajfel, 1974), which in turn enhances the speakers' self-esteem and/or social status (Aronson & Linder, 1965;

Homans, 1961). Studies carried out on native and non native speakers utilizing the matched-guise technique (cf. 3.2.2) or an adaptation of it (e.g. Alford & Strother, 1990; Birnie, 1998; Giles & Powesland, 1975; Lambert, 1967; Lawson & Sachdev, 2000; Williams et al., 1970) have shown that speakers who use prestigious accents, dialects or languages are given higher ratings on dimensions such as intelligence, expertise and confidence whereas regional and lower-class varieties, though considered 'low status', are associated with greater speaker attractiveness and group solidarity (Ryan, Giles & Sebastian, 1982).

Potter and Wetherell (1987: 45) do not, however, believe in the 'enduring homogenous nature of the supposed internal mental attitude'. They argue that attitudes measured by attitude researchers are in fact responses which 'locate objects of thought on dimensions of judgement' (McGuire, 1985: 239) i.e. what is measured is the position that people take in an evaluative hierarchy. They oppose the assumption made by the traditional attitude researchers that attitudes are enduring entities which generate equivalent responses from occasion to occasion, as for them a certain attitude expressed on one occasion may not be expressed on the other. Attitudes expressed in certain behavioural forms are influenced and modified by various other variables. Individuals in their actions are partly influenced by their relevant attitudes and partly by their judgement of the desirability of that behaviour in that particular situation (Fishbein & Azjen, 1975). Thus for them, 'the attitudinal object can be constituted in alternative ways, and the person's evaluation is directed at these specific formulations rather than some abstract and idealized object' (ibid: 54).

These contrastive views on attitudes, however, do not completely diminish the importance of their study to judge the behaviour of the individuals and

groups. Although I have attempted to map the attitudes of individuals in this research, it is has been done only as a pilot study, the results of which I do not consider conclusive. The data from this study will supplement the other type of data and its analysis which is used for this study. Triangulation of data is the best compromise that one can make in such situations and I have adopted this strategy for my research (cf. 3.3).

3.2.1.ii Language Attitudes and Stereotypes

In most multilingual societies the power of a particular social group is a very important variable in determining its prestige. When a stereotype of a particular group is negative, the person and his or her speech is normally downgraded (Street & Hopper, 1982). Sledd (1969) believes that perceived stereotypes have a tremendous influence on the model preferred in a particular speech community because membership of a socially attractive group is required for the development of a positive self identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

The 'stereotyping hypothesis' claims that people's reactions to speech reflect their attitudes toward the speaker's reference group (Williams, 1970). To classify others into groups, listeners use the language as a cue (Gallois & Gallan, 1981); when they know a little about the speaker they tend to attribute those traits to the individual that they associate with the group which they think the person belongs to (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Very often people's judgement of a certain language/dialect is mediated through a stereotypical perception of a group, which speaks that particular language. Quite often in the surveys of urban social dialects the informants will condemn the language of a person or a whole group as 'sloppy' and/or 'rough' (Chana & Romaine,

1984: 449). Thus language use becomes a symbol of a more generally stigmatised social identity. In studying language shift, contraction or loss, the study of language attitudes is important because attitudes represent an index of intergroup relations and also play an important role in mediating and determining them (ibid). Wetherell et al. (1986) argue however, that people do not carry around biased images, ready to be produced on demand; rather the same person can produce quite different stereotypical categorizations depending on the demands of the situation. This opinion nonetheless, does not rule out the importance of attitudes in the study of language shift.

3.2.1.iii Attitudes Towards the Siraiki Language

As discussed earlier (cf. 2.4), after English, Urdu occupies the place of the second most prestigious language in Pakistan. To a varying degree, both these languages are associated with class, sophistication and 'good' breeding. One possible reason as to why Siraikis are giving up their language could be because they no longer want to be associated with Siraiki. As a part of pilot study I conducted a matched-guise test to explore the issue of attitudes of Siraikis and non-Siraikis towards the Siraiki and the Urdu languages. The reason why I wanted to compare the attitudes of the judges (cf. 3.2.5) towards Siraiki and Urdu languages was because Urdu seems to be replacing Siraiki in home domain.

3.2.2 Matched-Guise Test

The matched-guise test was developed by Wallace Lambert and his colleagues at McGill in late 1950s to investigate speakers' views of speech (Lambert, 1967; Lambert et al., 1960). In the matched-guise experiment, judges listen to a number of different voices reading the same passage in different speech styles. Although judges are unaware of the use of guises, the different speech styles are represented by the

same reader(s). The judges have to evaluate each of them on rating scales or bipolar-adjective scales on the source's attributes like personality and credibility. In cases where believable matched guises were unavailable, different speakers were recorded representing different speech styles. Cooper (1975: 5) called the original procedure, as well as the adaptation, a 'verbal-guise' technique. The assumption behind the test is that there is a set of shared attitudes often formed unconsciously and revealed unknowingly, including social stereotypes about a language within a speech community. Criticism for its lack of realism (e.g. Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970; Lee, 1971; Williams, 1989) led to an adaptation using natural accents with considerable success (e.g. Ryan & Carranze, 1975; Tucker & Lambert 1969; Williams et al., 1976).

The matched-guise technique has been used in many studies across the world (e.g Morocco: Bentahila, 1983; Hong Kong: Gibbons, 1987; U.K.: Sachdev et al., 1998). The results of the majority of such studies suggest that on the evaluative dimensions of 'status' and 'solidarity', attitudes towards language varieties vary. In general terms, language varieties associated with the dominant groups in society are usually ranked more highly on status dimensions, and regional varieties on solidarity dimensions (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

By focusing on the language and its use, through this test, I tried to gauge the views that both Siraikis and non-Siraikis living in Multan hold towards Siraiki language in comparison with Urdu. I also wanted to get some indication of the status given to Siraiki and Urdu speakers in urban Multan as the evaluations of language not only express social convention but also reflect the awareness of the status granted to the speakers of certain varieties (Giles et al., 1974; 1979).

3.2.3 Procedure

For the matched-guise test, I wrote a 'neutral' passage in Siraiki and Urdu (Giles & Coupland, 1991: 54-55) so that nothing should explicitly reveal the speaker's social class, background or any personal characteristic. The English translation of the passage is as follows; for Siraiki and Urdu version see appendix 1.

'With the sighting of the moon of the month of Baqar Eid, everywhere the goats and cows were sold. In our area the prices of goats and cows were very high. People would gather in the cattle market at the daybreak and it seemed as if some marriage procession had arrived. Even the small goats were very expensive. The owners of the goats held that if we estimate the cost of the fodder of the animal at ten rupees per day even then it comes to about 3500–3700 rupees. Besides, the cattle market people were also charging rupees twenty-five per day for each cattle. I have heard that a pair of goats was sold at the price of rupees 1, 25000 and a cow at rupees 3, 00000. The thieves and robbers did not spare the cattle dealers and many of them were robbed. Due to cold weather a large number of animals got ill as a result the dealers suffered. All said and done, may Allah accept the deed of all those who sacrificed animals.'

The same speaker read the Siraiki version first and then the Urdu one for the recordings. The recordings were produced in a professional recording studio to control for overall sound quality, where 'each' speaker took 1.10—1.15 minutes to read the text. For the test, I first gave the typescripts to the respondents to read before listening, in order to shift their attention from the text to the speaker during the test. The respondents were then asked to listen to 'both' the speakers and evaluate 'their personalities' on a five-point scale on five dimensions of competence (education, intelligence, confidence, professionalism, competence), four dimensions of personal integrity (kindness, sincerity, humbleness, dependability), and four dimensions of social/physical attractiveness (see appendix 2). For the evaluation of 'both' the

speakers the procedure of Likert scaling was adopted which is a popular approach to the creation of multiple-item measures (Bryman & Cramer, 2001). With Likert scaling, respondents are presented with a number of statements which appear to relate to a common theme; they then indicate with a degree of agreement on a five- or seven-point range. The answer to each constituent question, which in statistics is often called an item, is scored. I used a five-point scale for thirteen items. The individual scores were later added together to form an overall score for each respondent.

Before the actual test began, the respondents were also asked to give information about their age, gender, and linguistic background in the space provided on the evaluation sheet. First the Urdu recording was played twice for the listeners before they rated the Urdu speaker and then the same procedure was repeated for the Siraiki recording.

3.2.4 Profile of the Respondents

The respondents for the test consisted of a group of thirty postgraduate students of English literature and language, fourteen male and sixteen female. The respondents were all from an urban background but belonged to different linguistic backgrounds. Nine (five females and four males) were from the Urdu speaking families, ten (five females and five males) from Punjabi and, eleven (six females and five males) from Siraiki families. All the respondents had learnt the languages of their respective families as their first language. There were two main reasons for choosing respondents studying English at postgraduate level. Firstly, a vast majority of them join schools as teachers; graduates in English are preferred for the job of teachers in schools. I considered it important to evaluate their views and attitudes about Siraiki and Urdu because I felt that as teachers they would transmit these to their students.

Secondly, I assumed that these respondents aged 20+, studying at the last stage of their formal education would, in the not-so-distant future, start their own families and their views about Siraiki and Urdu language would influence their decision to transmit one language or the other to their children; consequently their perceptions and stereotypes about the speakers of these languages would be likely to be conveyed to their children.

3.2.5 Analysis

The analysis of the data obtained through the matched-guise test comprised the following:

- Calculating the mean scores of the responses of the judges for each speaker.
- Attempting to group thirteen items in the evaluation sheet under three categories through validation with the help of the evaluation score of the judges for each speaker.
- Creating a box-and-whisker plot (cf. 3.2.5.iii) of this data for a visual representation of how the data is spread out and how much variation exists in it.
- Performing appropriate analysis of variance tests (ANOVA) on the data with respondents' sex and speech groups as factors.

Now I discuss these four stages of data analysis separately.

3.2.5.i Mean Scores

As a first step, from the data obtained through the responses of the thirty judges evaluating each speaker at a five-point scale (cf. 5.6.1), I calculated the average scores of the responses of the following group of judges for thirteen items given in the evaluation sheets both for the Urdu and the Siraiki speaker (for detailed scores, see appendix 3):

- Siraiki females

- Siraiki males

- Siraiki females and males

- Punjabi females

- Punjabi males

- Punjabi females and males

- Urdu speaking females

- Urdu speaking males

- Urdu speaking females and males

- Total females

- Total males

- Total Judges

The average total mean scores[21] of the respondents' evaluation of the Urdu and Siraiki speaker are being given in the following table.

Table 3.1 Average total mean scores of the thirteen items for Urdu and Siraiki speaker.

Items	Urdu Speaker	Siraiki speaker
1. Educated—Uneducated	1.57	3.26
2. Intelligent—Unintelligent	1.80	3.01
3. Confident—Unconfident	1.74	3.13
4. Professional—Unprofessional	1.82	3.65
5. Competent—Incompetent	1.83	3.37
6. Kind—Unkind	3.00	2.01
7. Sincere—Insincere	3.04	1.77
8. Humble—Arrogant	3.08	1.73
9. Dependable—Undependable	2.89	1.79
10. Friendly—Unfriendly	2.09	3.06
11. Pleasant—Unpleasant	1.86	3.00
12. Polite—Impolite	1.89	3.29
13. Handsome—Not Handsome	1.96	3.15

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[21]The 1-5 scale goes from positive to negative. Thus the lower the mean score is the more positive the evaluation of the speaker is and vice versa.

From the average total mean scores we can see a fairly clear pattern emerging from the evaluations of 'both' the speakers. In the first five items (1—5), which relate to competence, the Urdu speaker is being evaluated more positively. He is declared better educated, more intelligent, more confident, more professional, and more competent in comparison with the Siraiki speaker. However, overall, the Siraiki speaker has been rated more positively in the next four items (6—9) which relate to personal integrity. He is declared kinder, more sincere, more humble, and more dependable compared to the Urdu speaker. In the last four items (10—13) which can be placed in the category of social/physical attractiveness, the Urdu speaker has received a better mean rating and is judged as being friendlier, politer, more pleasant, and more handsome than the Siraiki speaker.

These results appear to be partly conforming to the patterns of evaluation reported in various language attitude studies (Edwards, 1982; Giles & Powesland, 1975; Ladegaard, 2000). According to this general pattern of assessment, standard varieties are usually rated high on status and competence but fairly low on social attractiveness and personal integrity. I have used the word 'partly' earlier in this paragraph because in the case of my test results the Urdu speaker has been evaluated more positively than the Siraiki speaker on the dimensions of social/physical attractiveness.

Seeing this clear pattern in the evaluations, I decided to group the thirteen items into three categories to reduce complexity and simplify the data for further analysis and ensuing discussion; this meant having three items instead of thirteen. This, however, had to be justified statistically, which meant carrying out a reliability test to see if an internal consistency exists among the items which I had proposed to

group together. The details of how this test was conducted and what the results were are given below.

3.2.5.ii Reliability Test

The reliability of a measure refers to its consistency. Internal reliability is particularly important in connection with multiple-item scales as it raises the question of whether each scale is measuring a single idea and thus whether the items that make up the scale are internally consistent (Bryman & Cramer, 2001).

The thirteen adjective scales in the evaluation sheet that I had given to the judges could be grouped under three categories namely, competence, personal integrity, and social/physical attractiveness. The proposed three categories along with the items that I had proposed to group under each are being given below.

Table 3.2 The proposed three categories in the evaluation scale.

Competence	Personal integrity	Social/physical Attractiveness
Educated	Kind	Friendly
Intelligent	Sincere	Pleasant
Confident	Humble	Polite
Professional	Dependable	Handsome
Competent		

The three proposed categories needed to be validated with the help of the evaluation score of the judges for each speaker and this meant checking the internal reliability of the items. For the reliability analysis I used Cronbach's alpha. This measures how well a set of items (or variables) measures a single uni-dimensional latent construct.[22] Cronbach's alpha is not a statistical test but it is a coefficient of

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[22] www.ats.ucla.edu/stst/spss/faq/alphs.html 5.10.2004.

reliability or consistency. If the inter-item correlation is high, then there is evidence that the items are measuring the same underlying construct. If the items measure a single uni-dimensional construct well then they are said to have 'high' or 'good' reliability. In most social science applications a reliability coefficient of .80 or higher is considered as 'acceptable' (ibid). The following results support the hypothesis that the items in each proposed group were not consistent with each other to justify creating three categories instead of having thirteen. The summary results of the reliability coefficient of the thirteen items are given in table 3.3 The reliability coefficient of the consistent items has been given in bold script.

Table 3.3 Summary results of reliability coefficient

Respondents	Items	Alpha/Reliability Coefficient	Consistency
Siraiki Female	1—5	**.8428**	Consistent
	6—9	.7281	Not consistent
	10—13	**.8811**	Consistent
Siraiki Male	1—5	.4056	Not consistent
	6—9	**.9245**	Consistent
	10—13	-3.033	Not Consistent
Punjabi Female	1—5	**.9071**	Consistent
	6—9	.4343	Not Consistent
	10-13	**.9011**	Consistent
Punjabi Male	1—5	**.8478**	Consistent
	6—9	**.8896**	Consistent
	10—13	.5964	Not Consistent
Urdu-Speaking	1—5	**.9313**	Consistent
Female	6—9	.1601	Not Consistent
	10—13	.7104	Not Consistent
Urdu-Speaking	1—5	**.8934**	Consistent
Male	6—9	.6586	Not Consistent
	10—13	.3232	Not Consistent

Since the proposed categorization could not be justified statistically, I therefore, treated each question as a separate scale or category for further analysis. As a next step in my evaluation of the results, I created a box-and-whisker plot of this

data for a visual representation of how the data is spread out and how much variation exists in it.

3.2.5.iii Box-and-Whisker Plot

Designed by Spear, the box-and-whisker plot was originally called a range bar1. Tukey later modified the display and named it box-and-whisker2, which is now commonly called as 'box-and-whisker plot' or simply 'box plot'[23]. A box-and-whisker plot is a visual representation of how the data is spread out and how much variation there is. Box and whisker plots are considered an excellent tool for conveying location and variation information in data sets, especially for detecting and illustrating location and variation changes between different groups of data (Chambers et al., 1983). The plots allow researchers to explore the data and to draw informal conclusions when two or more variables are present. The main advantage of the box-and-whisker plot is that it is not cluttered by showing all the data values. It only highlights the important features of the data. It indicates skewedness[24] and highlights unusual distributions. A box plot (as it is often called) is especially helpful for indicating skewness and highlighting unusual observations (outlier[25]) in the data set. The box-and-whisker plot, therefore, makes it easier to focus attention on the median, extremes, and quartiles and comparisons among them.[26]

Figure 3.1 illustrates how the distribution of the difference in mean scores (DIFFMEAN) of the responses of the judges varies by both gender and observer language group (obr_language). By looking at this box-and-whisker plot we can tell a

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[23] www.qualitydigest.com/oct97/html/excel.html, 05.10.2004.
[24] Skewness is defined as asymmetry in the distribution of the sample data values. Values on one side of the distribution tend to be further from the 'middle' than values on the other side.
[25] An outlier is an observation in a data set which is far removed in value from the others in the same data set. It is an unusually large or an unusually small value compared to the others.
[26] http://mathstar.nmsu.edu/investigation1/box_wisker.html, 05.10.2004.

more coherent story from this exploratory analysis all the way through more formal analysis. This descriptive view of the data gives an evidence of the effect of gender and speech group on the evaluations of 'both' the speakers.
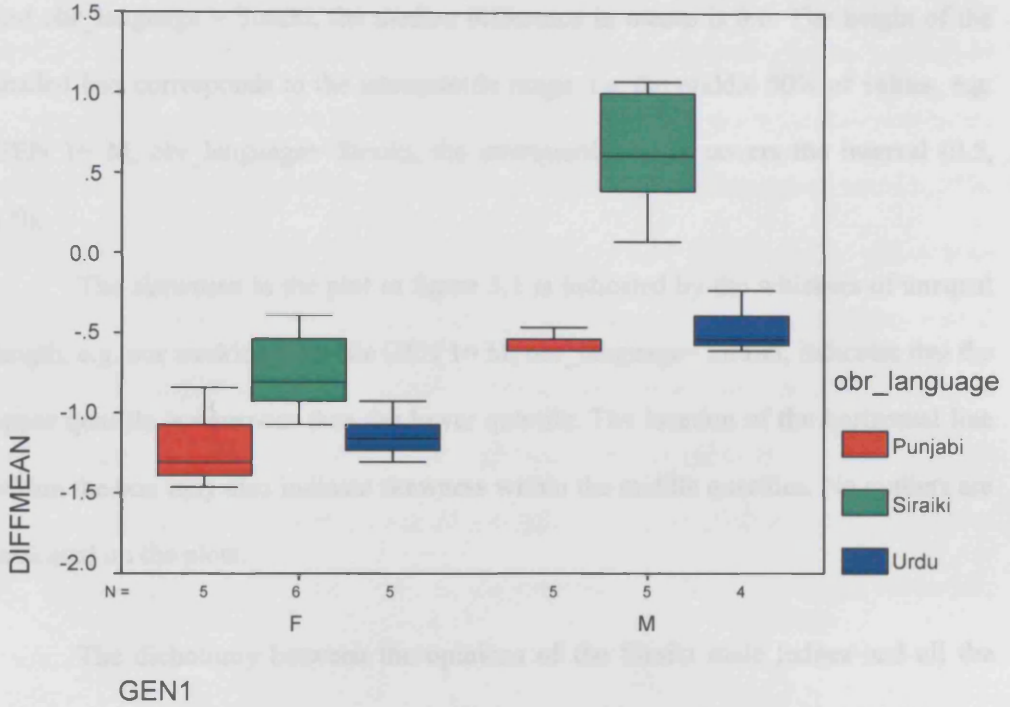
Figure 3. 1 Box-and-whisker plot of gender and observer language groups

In Figure 3.1 each plot comprises a shaded box and two whiskers; represented by two vertical lines connecting the box to two horizontal lines. The horizontal lines of the whiskers indicate the minimum and maximum values, e.g. GEN 1= M, observer language= Siraiki, the box-and-whisker plot tells us that the minimum difference in means is approximately zero, while the maximum difference in means is just above 1. The length of the vertical lines correspond to the upper quartiles,[27] i.e. the interval caused by the highest 25% of values, and the lower quartile i.e. the interval caused by

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[27] Quartiles are values that divide a sample of data into four groups containing (as far as possible) equal numbers of observations.

the lowest 25% of values, e.g. in GEN 1= M, obr_language= Siraiki, the upper covers interval (1.0, 1.1) while the lower quartile covers interval (0.1, 0.5). The horizontal line within the shaded box represents the median (or middle) value, e.g. GEN 1= M and obr_language = Siraiki, the median difference in means is 0.6. The height of the shaded box corresponds to the interquartile range, i.e. the middle 50% of values, e.g. GEN 1= M, obr_language= Siraiki, the interquartile range covers the interval (0.5, 1.0).

The skewness in the plot in figure 3.1 is indicated by the whiskers of unequal length, e.g. our working example GEN 1= M, obr_language= Siraiki, indicates that the upper quartile is narrower than the lower quartile. The location of the horizontal line within the box may also indicate skewness within the middle quartiles. No outliers are indicated on the plots.

The dichotomy between the opinions of the Siraiki male judges and all the other judges is evident from this plot. The major difference between the Siraiki male judges and all the other judges lies in the location of the distribution, e.g. the median for the Siraiki male judges is 0.6 compared to the medians of all the other judges which lie within the interval (-1.5,-0.5). Considering only the female judges, the difference of the response of the female Siraiki judges also appears to vary from that of the Punjabi and the Urdu speaking female judges but to a lesser extent than the male judges.

This telling evidence of gender and observer language effect on the evaluations of the two speakers necessitated carrying out an analysis of variance on the data. My next step, therefore, was to confirm through ANOVA the gender and observer language effect on the evaluations, which was evident from the box-and-whisker plot.

3.2.5.iv ANOVA

As the thirteen items in the evaluation sheet could not be grouped under three categories, appropriate ANOVAs were carried out separately for the thirteen items. The two factors in this analysis were respondents' sex and speech groups. Analysis of variance, commonly known as ANOVA, is used to uncover the main and interaction effects of categorical variables, called factors, on an internal dependent variable. The chief statistic in ANOVA is the F-test of difference of group means which tests whether the means of the groups formed by values of the factors (also called independent variables) or the combinations of the values for multiple factors or independent variables are different enough not to have occurred by chance. If the analysis shows that the group means do not differ significantly then it is deduced that the factor(s) did not have an effect on the response variable (also called dependent variable). However, if the F test yields that overall the factor(s) is (are) related to the response variable, then Post Hoc tests or Multiple Comparison Tests of significance are used to investigate which value groups of the factor(s) is (are) greatly affecting the relationship.[28]

In ANOVA a 'main effect' is defined as the direct effect of the factor on the response variable. Main effects are the unique effects of the categorical independent variables. If the probability of F is less than 0.05 for any independent variable then it is inferred that the variable does not have an effect on the dependent variable. An 'interaction effect' is the combined or joint effect called 'interaction' of two or more factors on the response variable. When there is interaction, the effect of a factor on response variable varies according to the values of the other factor. If the probability

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[28] www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/anova.htm, 05.09.2004.

of F is less than 0.05 for any such combinations then it is concluded that the interaction of the combination has an effect on the response variable.

The ANOVA results show significant gender and/or observer language effect on the difference in the evaluation in eleven items out of thirteen. Only in item thirteen (Handsome—Not Handsome), gender, observer language as well as the interaction of these factors has a significant effect on the difference of the evaluation of the speakers by the judges. These results necessitated post-hoc tests on items which showed a significant observer language effect. Post-hoc tests cannot be performed on the gender factor because these are fewer than three groups. The results of these analyses are discussed below.

In item one (educated—uneducated) and two (intelligent—unintelligent) the results indicate that in comparison with the Urdu speaker the Siraiki speaker is judged negatively (cf. table 3.2). The ANOVA results suggest that gender is significantly affecting the difference in evaluation with $F (1,24) = 10.622$, $P = 0.003$ in item one and with $F (1,24) = 4.841$, $P = 0.038$ in item two. Furthermore, the means suggest that female judges, compared with the male judges are evaluating the Siraiki speaker more negatively. In other words, the female judges compared with their male counterparts, have a lower opinion of the Siraiki speaker on the dimensions of education and intelligence.

In item five (competent—incompetent), it is the observer language factor which is significantly affecting the difference in the evaluation of the two speakers with $F (2, 24) = 15.087$, $P = 0.000$. Observer language refers to the grouping of the judges according to their speech groups which are Siraiki, Punjabi and Urdu. The judges belonging to all speech groups have evaluated the Siraiki speaker negatively in

comparison with the Urdu speaker. Punjabi judges have given the most negative rating to the Siraiki speaker, after them the Urdu speaking judges and then the Siraiki judges. The results of the post-hoc test for this item reveal that in the pair-wise comparisons, there is a significant difference between the ratings given by the Punjabi and the Siraiki judges but not between the Punjabi and the Urdu-speaking judges. The variation between the opinions of the Siraiki and the Urdu-speaking judges is also significant.

In contrast to what we have observed so far, for item six (kind—unkind) the evaluation has reversed. Here the Siraiki speaker has been rated positively in comparison with the Urdu speaker. For this item, both gender and observer language factors significantly affect the difference in the evaluation of both the speakers with $F (1,24) = 5.309$, $P = 0.030$ and $F (2,24) = 5.644$, $P = 0.010$ respectively. Compared to the female judges, the male judges have evaluated the Siraiki speaker more positively on this scale. For the observer language factor, among the three groups of the judges, the Siraiki judges have given the most positive rating to the Siraiki speaker followed by the ratings given by the Punjabi and the Urdu-speaking judges. The results of the post-hoc test of this factor illustrate that the difference between the ratings given by the Siraiki and the Urdu-speaking judges is significant. The difference in the evaluation given by the Siraiki judges in comparison with the Punjabi judges is also significant.

In item 7 (sincere—insincere), again it is the Siraiki speaker who is rated positively in comparison with the Urdu speaker and here only the observer language factor significantly affects the difference in the evaluations with $F (2,24) = 4.107$, $P = 0.029$. The results show the same pattern as we saw for item 6. The Siraiki group of judges have given the most positive rating to the Siraiki speaker followed by the

ratings given by the Punjabi and then the Urdu-speaking judges. The results of the post-hoc test for observer language effect also reveal the similar results as we saw for item six.

In items eight (humble—arrogant) and nine (dependable—undependable) in which the Siraiki speaker has been judged more positively, the gender factor significantly affects the evaluations with $F_{(1,24)} = 5.303$, $P = 0.030$ for item eight and $F_{(1,24)} = 8.351$, $P = 0.008$ for item nine. In both the items, compared to the female judges, the male judges have given a better rating to the Siraiki speaker.

In items ten (friendly—unfriendly), eleven (pleasant—unpleasant) and twelve (polite—impolite), the Siraiki speaker has been evaluated negatively in comparison to the Urdu speaker. The gender factor, across all these items, significantly affects the difference in the evaluations of the judges with $F_{(1,24)} = 8.666$, $P = 0.007$, $F_{(1,24)} = 4.536$, $P = 0.044$ and, $F_{(1,24)} = 7.694$, $P = 0.011$ for items ten, eleven and twelve, respectively. In each case the evaluation of the Siraiki speaker by the female judges is more negative as compared to the one given by the male judges.

Item 13 is the only scale in which the difference in the evaluation of the speakers is significantly affected by gender with $F_{(1,24)} = 12.300$, $P = 0.002$, observer language with $F_{(2,24)} = 3.676$, $P = 0.040$, as well as the interaction between gender and observer language with $F_{(2,24)} = 6.293$, $P = 0.006$. The Siraiki speaker in this scale is evaluated negatively in comparison with the Urdu speaker. For the gender factor, the female judges have evaluated the Siraiki speaker more negatively in comparison with their male counterparts. Among the three groups of judges, the Punjabi judges have given the most negative evaluation of the Siraiki speaker. The second most negative rating is given by the Urdu-speaking judges followed by the

rating given by the Siraiki judges. The results of the post-hoc test reveal that among the pair-wise comparisons, only the difference between the ratings given by the Punjabi and the Siraiki judges is significant.

The interaction between gender and the observer language is illustrated in the following line chart[29].

Estimated Marginal Means of MEANS
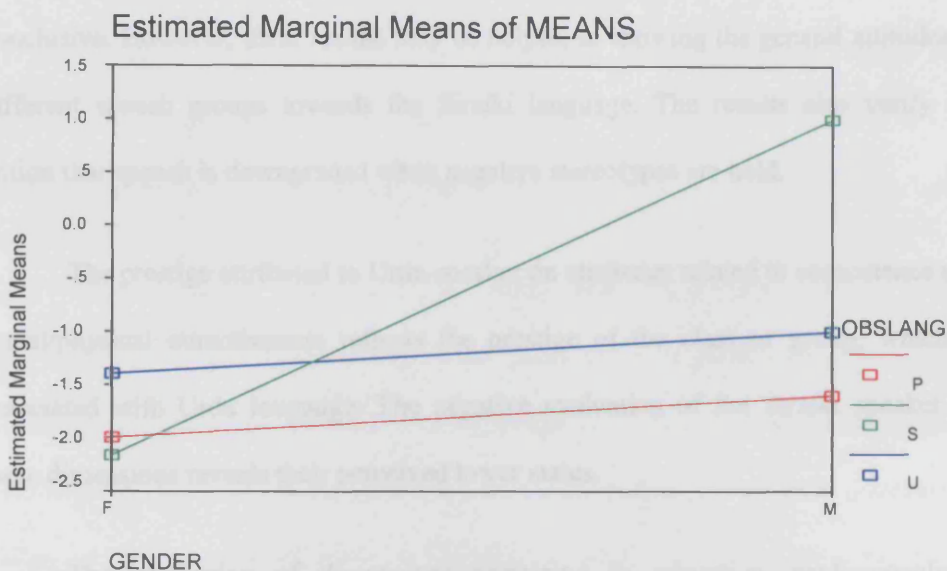
Figure 3. 2 Line chart of interaction between gender and observer language effect for item thirteen

Figure 3.2, the graphic representation of the interaction illustrates the combined effect of the gender and observer language factors which are significantly affecting the difference in the evaluation of the Siraiki and the Urdu speaker. In this figure the lines representing the gender effect for the Punjabi and the Urdu speaking judges are parallel to each other which means that the gender effects for these two groups of judges are similar. However, the line representing the gender effect for the Siraiki judges is clearly not parallel to the other two lines. Indeed the slope of this

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[29] Line charts contain more data than do the other types of charts. In these charts multiple lines can be plotted to provide comparison and trends of two data values over the same time period. www.state.pa.us/hpa/stats/techassist/linechart.htm 7.01.2005.

third line is steeper. This third line crosses the other two lines which indicates that the gender effect for the Siraiki judges is markedly different from gender effects of the other judges.

3.2.6 Discussion

Due to the small sample size the results of this study cannot be considered conclusive. However, these results may be helpful in showing the general attitudes of different speech groups towards the Siraiki language. The results also verify the notion that speech is downgraded when negative stereotypes are held.

The prestige attributed to Urdu speaker on attributes related to competence and social/physical attractiveness reflects the prestige of the class or group, which is associated with Urdu language. The negative evaluation of the Siraiki speaker on these dimensions reveals their perceived lower status.

The attribution of dimensions pertaining to education, professionalism, competence, social attractiveness, and aesthetic qualities to the Urdu speaker and personal qualities to the Siraiki speaker reflects the roles and status of Urdu and Siraiki language in a Pakistani society where competence in Urdu after English is considered highly desirable for achieving social and economic power and prestige. In Pakistan, 'language…is a coin and what it buys in the market is power' (Rahman, 2002a: 4); since personal integrity does not serve any utilitarian purpose directly, for example, granting entry into the domains of power, it is associated with the Siraiki language.

In eight items out of ten, which have shown significant variation of evaluation the gender of the judges is affecting the difference either independently or along with

the observer language factor. Compared to the male judges, the female judges across all speech groups have evaluated the Siraiki speaker more negatively and the Urdu speaker more positively. There is ample evidence in the sociolinguistic literature that the language of women (allowing for other variables such as age and social class), in comparison to that of men, is closer to the prestige dialect and this split is, 'the single most consistent finding to emerge from Sociolinguistic studies over the past 20 years' (Trudgill, 1983: 162). If we follow Beckler (1984), who argues in favour of some degree of positive correlation between attitudinal components, we can see in these results also that female subjects have expressed more positive attitudes towards Urdu.

Another striking feature of these results is that even though the Siraiki speaker was rated negatively, the evaluation by the Siraiki male judges was the least negative in comparison with the judges belonging to the other speech groups. The negative evaluation of the Siraiki speaker by the Siraiki judges suggests low self-esteem on their part on the one hand, while on the other, it speaks of divided loyalties between group solidarity (Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian, 1982) and social approval. Edwards (2003) with reference to immigrant or minority-group situations states that language tensions have been seen to contribute to emotional strains and low self esteem among other things in individuals which suggests strongly that such stresses are essentially not linguistic in origin but can be the result of broader pressures associated with factors like different cultures, cross-group antagonism, prejudice, poverty and disadvantage. In the case of Siraiki, which is a 'majority minority language' (Tickoo, 1995: 319) in Multan, these broader pressures seem to have resulted in causing low self-esteem among the Siraikis. The least negative evaluation of the Siraiki speaker on some dimensions by the Siraiki male judges may also be reflective of gender loyalty as the 'speakers' whose speech the judges evaluated 'were' male.

This study was carried out to confirm what I had intuitively known that compared to the Urdu language, the Siraiki language is given a lower status. The results of this study confirm that the Siraiki language is generally downgraded not only by the speakers of other languages but also by the Siraikis themselves. These results also revealed some weaknesses of the data that I had collected through this test. Firstly, this study only measured the attitudes of the respondents and language attitude research, like other social psychological endeavours, has been criticised for its lack of authenticity. Wicker (1969) suggests that not just the individual's attitudes, but also different personal e.g. the respondents' verbal, intellectual and situational factors are likely to influence behavioural patterns. Secondly, all the respondents of this study belonged to the same generation and were from urban backgrounds whereas the majority of the Siraiki population of Multan resides in the rural areas. These limitations lead me to review and refine my research questions and adopt the strategy of triangulation of data to explore these questions. In the following section I justify why I opted for 'triangulation', as a research strategy, for this study.

3.3 Triangulation as Research Strategy

Research methods are more powerful when chosen deliberately, for being seen as best suited to the purpose at hand (Arksey & Knight, 1999). It is argued that the research methods must be capable of reflecting the overall research strategy as well as the larger society in which they are located and deployed (Silverman, 2000). Due to the complexities of the social world, which arise out of the interconnectedness of things, researchers need to find alternative methods capable of matching or meeting the complexity of the world (Sechrest & Sidani, 1995). Researchers need to be both

creative and innovative in deciding on the methodological approach and strategy to be employed to study the social world, without reducing its complexity (Byrne, 1998).

It is argued that the use of *triangulation* enables a researcher to gain a better, more complete, and holistic picture of the social world (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1992; Decrop, 1999; Punch, 1998). The main assumption of triangulation is that the multiple views and approaches to understanding the same social phenomenon are complementary to each other rather than rivals (Jick, 1979). The use of triangulation is recommended because the best way to develop knowledge of a subject is to study it from a number of points of view (Denzin, 1989).

Triangulation of methods (Ackroyd & Hughes, 1992; Byrne, 1998; Sechrest & Sidani, 1995) and triangulation of data from different sources (Brewer, 2000; Fetterman, 1998) is highly recommended to improve the validity of the research. Silverman (2000) sees it as an attempt to search for one truth through all possible ways. The assumption behind employing multiple methods is that 'no single method is free from flaws—no single method will adequately handle all the problems of causal analysis…Consequently, the researcher must combine his methods in a process termed triangulation; that is, empirical events must be examined from the vantage provided by as many methods as possible' (Denzin, 1970: 3). Both quantitative and qualitative methods have inherent weaknesses, 'both give only a partial description. Neither are 'facts' in anything but a very subjective sense' (Blaxter et al., 1996: 177). Thus these can potentially threaten the validity of research findings, and hence the analysis and interpretation of those findings. Whilst quantitative data provides evidence for general causal connections, only qualitative methods can give reliable insights into meaning. The use of such methods together to understand the same social

phenomenon considerably enhance the researchers' accounts of these (Ackroyd & Hughes 1992; Bryman, 2000, 2001; Cunningham et al., 2000; Decrop, 1999; Paul, 1996; Scandura & Williams, 2000; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998; Wadsworth, 2000).

'Triangulation of data is required to compare and cross check the information before it becomes the foundation on which to build the knowledge base' (Fetterman, 1998: 9). To improve the validity of my research I used triangulation of data. Yin (1994) recommends using multiple data sources for converging lines of inquiry and for increasing internal validity. Arksey and Knight (1999) believe that triangulation not only confirms findings but also, more importantly, provides with a more complete understanding of various aspects of the phenomenon under study. It is argued that ethnographers are like 'bricoleurs' or jack-of-all trades who collect data from all sources and in all ways as best fits the purpose (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998: 3). This 'methodological pragmatism' (Burgess, 1984: 163) or 'kitchen sink' approach to data (Miller, 1997:24) is recommended in ethnographic research in order to ensure a 'more rounded picture of the one symbolic reality because various sources of data are used to explore it' (Brewer, 2000: 76).

A mixed strategy approach makes it possible to compare researcher and research participants' perspectives as well as crosschecking observations and the validity of findings. Layder (1993) has argued that a multiple strategy also provides a basis for developing theory based on systematic documentation and analysis instead of chance discovery. I have used triangulation of data and methods in my research because I felt that this mixed strategy approach would ensure the validity of my research and enable me to form a richer and more coherent picture of the language

scene in Multan. Additionally, this strategy may also address some of the limitations of the pilot study and provide a deeper analysis and insight beyond attitude scales.

In the following section I describe the different types of data that I gathered during my fieldwork and link them to the research questions that led this research.

3.4 Data and the Research Questions

To study the phenomenon of language shift and to explore the research questions (cf. 1.3), using different methods and techniques, I collected data from the following sources, in Multan and Bahawalpur from October 2002 till March 2003. This data was supplemented by the results from the pilot study (cf. 3.2).

- Field notes
- Web sites and published material
- Speech in the home domain
- Interviews

A discussion on each type of data is given in the later sections of this chapter.

The data mentioned above was collected to address the research questions which lead this study. The first part of the following first research question was addressed through the pilot study (cf. 3.2).

1. What attitudes exist towards Siraiki and Urdu and what factors are responsible for them?

The following three research questions have been addressed through the recorded speech in home domain, my field notes and, formal interviews with the members of the families participating in my research (cf. chapter 4).

2. What range of language choices exists among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?

3. What language transmission practices exist among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?

4. What is the relationship between different variables: namely, age, location (rural/urban), education and, economic group in terms of language choice patterns among Multani families?

The second part of the first and the following research question have been dealt with through all categories of interviews, my field notes and, the data from different websites government reports and newspapers (cf. Chapter 5).

5. What social, political, and affective factors are influencing the status and usage of Siraiki language in Multan and, how and why are they influencing it?

The selection of appropriate research sites for the data collection is crucial in the process of research. The following section focuses on this issue.

3.5 Selection of Research Site

On the selection of field 'site' (Brewer, 2000) or research 'setting', (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) Burgess (1984: 61) identifies five criteria, warning that few sites fulfil them all and researchers have to make compromises for their research. These criteria are:

• Simplicity (selecting a site that offers the opportunity to move from simple to more complex situations and sub-sites);

• Accessibility (selecting a site that permits access and entry);

• Unobtrusiveness (selecting a site that permits the researcher to be low profile;

• Permissibleness (selecting a site in which the research is permissible and the researcher has free entry);

• Participation (selecting a site in which the researcher is able to participate in the ongoing activities).

Hammersley and Atkinson (1995: 41) note that it is important not to confuse the choice of settings with the selection of cases for study. They define a setting as a 'named context in which phenomena occur that might be studied from any number of angles' while 'a case is those phenomena seen from one particular angle'. My research questions necessitated conducting research in Multan as 'the research problem and the setting were closely bound together' (ibid: 36). I chose the city of Multan as my research setting to collect data from urban Multan and a village (the name is not given due to the considerations of confidentiality cf. 3.12.2) at a distance of twenty-five kilometres from Multan city. The selection of this village depended on easy access to the village, my contact[30] promising full support in selecting case studies, and her help in getting their full cooperation in my research. All of the data except for some interviews was generated from these two sites. Some interviews were conducted at the Siraiki Department, Islamia University situated in Bahawalpur.[31] The reason for interviewing the members of the teaching faculty and the students of this department was that in Pakistan this is the only teaching department offering an M.A. in Siraiki.

In the following section I discuss why I chose ethnography as a research method to conduct fieldwork.

3.6 Ethnography as Fieldwork

Since fieldwork is exploratory in nature, 'classical ethnography requires from six months to two years or more in the field' (Fetterman, 1998: 8). I started my

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[30] My main contact in the village where I conducted my research was my school friend whose husband owns most of the land in that village.

[31] Bahawalpur is the second largest urban centre in the Siraiki region.

research in rural and urban Multan from the last week of September 2002 and conducted it until the end of April 2003. Due to the time constraints and the terms of my award I could not spend longer in the field. In this period however, I was able to collect the data I had decided on and planned in Lancaster before flying to Pakistan.

The qualitative ethnographic research methods developed by anthropologists are well suited to a social and discourse perspective in speech practices. For this reason, much of the research that has taken a social view of bilingual/trilingual language practices has applied ethnographic principles to their research design (e.g. Li Wei 1994). My familiarity with studies such as these shaped the design of this study both directly and indirectly. Before describing how and why I want to locate my research in this tradition, I would like to discuss what ethnography is.

Ethnography is defined as, 'the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'fields' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner but without meaning being imposed on them externally' (Brewer, 2000: 6). Ethnography, 'the art and science of describing a group or culture' (Fetterman, 1998: 1) is, 'a holistic perspective, contextualization, and emic, etic, and nonjudgmental views of reality (ibid: 18). Sociologists tend to call it 'participant observation' or 'field research' but it means the same thing in the way research is conducted (Brewer, 2000).

Ethnographic research has a distinguished history in academic work (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Traditionally, particularly in the field of anthropology, ethnography is associated with the fieldworkers exploring exotic foreign places to study the customs and habits of 'other' societies. In recent times, however, there has been a tendency to

conduct ethnographic study in one's own environment (Jackson, 1987). Now social researchers are increasingly utilizing these methods in studying their own complex localities, settings, and identities (Warren & Hackney, 2000). It is believed that this renewed interest in ethnographic methods in social research has been stimulated by both 'contextual considerations' and 'epistemological reflections' (Hughes, Morris & Seymour, 2000: 1). The increasing complexity of social contexts, especially the dissolution of 'old' social inequalities into the new diversity of milieus, subcultures, lifestyles and ways of living requires a new sensitivity within empirical study (Flick, 1988). The use of ethnography is upheld over other methods of social research (Brewer, 2000; Fetterman, 1998; Hamersley & Atkinson 1983; 1995) because it does not neglect 'the fact that we are a part of the social world we study...By including our own role within the research focus and systematically exploiting our participation in the world under study as researchers' (Hamersley & Atkinson 1983: 25) we can reconstruct the social meaning which occurs in these social contexts. Yates (1987: 62) also seconds this view, 'What an ethnographer attempts is the reconstruction of an observed reality. This requires selection, translation and interpretation'.

I situate my research within the 'new ethnography' (Hughes, Morris & Seymour, 2000: 3) because in this tradition, ethnography centres on a very particular epistemological standpoint which concerns the subjectivity of knowledge. Rejecting the idea of value-free[32] science, this approach acknowledges the researcher's subjectivity as an explicit part of knowledge production. The researcher's positionality, thoughts and feelings are accounted for in the interpretation process. Instead of taking the researcher as an objective/neutral observer or participant,

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[32] The notion of completely objective research.

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ethnography takes him/her as equally positioned in, and interconnected with the research context as the researched (Cook & Crang, 1995). This 'new ethnography' is influenced by post-modern,[33] post-colonial[34] and feminist discourses[35] in the social sciences which reject objectivity, notions of universal truths and meta-theories (Clifford & Marcus, 1986).

While there is some disagreement over the main purpose of ethnography (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983; 1995), my study followed a number of the key tenets of an ethnographic approach to social enquiry, which I describe below.

Firstly, ethnographic methodology is flexible in its approach to data collection and data analysis. Unlike most quantitative methods, which adhere to pre-defined research strategies, ethnography permits the researcher to re-evaluate and make decisions regarding the appropriacy of specific research methods on an ongoing basis. I had to take certain decisions in the field about my research strategies and data to be collected which were not what I had initially planned, so this approach enabled me to be flexible in my research strategies. I will give two examples here to illustrate my point. I had initially planned to ask the families to record their home conversations in my absence to ensure natural conversation and male participation. I could not do so with all the families because some insisted that I be present during the recordings

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[33] The term postmodernism first used by Lyotard in 1979, 'denies the existence of all universal truth statements, which are replaced by variety, contingency and ambivalence, and plurality in culture, tradition, ideology and knowledge' (Brewer, 2000 :4).
[34] It is argued that the two ways in which post-colonialism can be characterized are: 'one which constructs it in terms of those societies whose subjectivity has been constituted in part by the subordinating power of European Colonialism, and another which conceives it as a set of discursive practices involving resistance to colonialism and colonist ideologies and legacies' (Childs and Williams, 1997: 232). Suleri (1992: 21) believes that, 'the idiom of post colonialism is necessarily reactive and…must engage in the multiplicity of histories that are implicated in its emergence'.
[35] Talbot (1998: 15) states that, 'Feminist interest in language and gender resides in the complex part language plays, alongside other social practices and institutions, in reflecting, creating and sustaining gender divisions in society'.

which eliminated the chances of male participation (cf. 3.11.1). I, therefore, had to give up the idea of including gender as a variable (cf. 1.3) as I realized that I would not get enough male participation in the recorded data of home conversations. For the interviews I had planned to audio record all the interviews of the school heads and teachers because some of my questions demanded lengthy answers and it was not possible for me to transcribe every single word. What I encountered in the field was that the teachers and heads of the government schools were not comfortable with the idea of my recording their interviews. As a result, I took notes during these interviews in order to elicit 'honest' responses from them which they might not have given had I insisted on audio recordings.

The second key tenet of an ethnographic approach to social enquiry is that it typically approaches the investigation of particular social phenomena such as bilingualism or code switching through the participation of the researcher in the daily life of a designated group of people over an extended period of time. In this way, ethnography provides a means of researching language choices in a holistic sense and as a part of people's everyday lives. An important part of this holistic and situated approach is that the perspectives and understandings of the people being researched are taken into account and incorporated within the analysis of the given phenomena. My participation in the lives of the Siraikis living in Multan during my research helped me in understanding the reasons behind the language choices the Siraikis make in their speech in home domain. I could see their acceptance or rejection of certain languages in a different perspective, which I am sure would have remained obscure had I not spent an extended time with them. In my analysis also, I have tried to look at each interpretation and explanation of the data from a holistic point of view by

locating it in its own cultural ethos. These interpretations make sense if placed within the perspective of the socio-cultural context of Multan.

Thirdly, documenting multi-perspectives of reality in a given study is crucial to an understanding of why people think and act in the different ways they do (Fetterman, 1998). The *emic* perspective is the insider's or native's perspective while the *etic* perspective is that of the external, social scientific perspective. I have tried to ground my work in an emic understanding of the situation and Siraikis as a group by collecting data from the emic perspective and then have tried to make sense of the situation both from emic and etic perspectives.

Finally, ethnographic research typically combines the use of multiple research strategies, commonly referred to as 'triangulation' (Denzin, 1970), 'mixed strategies' (Douglas, 1976) or 'multiple strategies' (Burgess, 1984). As discussed already (cf. 3.3) I have used this as a research strategy in my study.

The following section deals with my decision to adopt the technique of participant observation for data collection and what it entailed.

3.7 Participant Observation

The 'methodology' of participant observation (Blom & Gumperz, 1972; Cheshire, 1982; Gal, 1979; Li Wei, 1994; Milroy 1980; 1987b) or the 'technique' of participant observation (Brewer, 2000) was adopted because of the flexibility that this approach provides to the researcher for obtaining data. Participant observation combines participating in the lives of the people in the field and maintaining a professional distance that allows adequate observation and recording of data (Fetterman, 1998). Burgess (1984) is of the view that the main instrument of data

collection in participant observation is the researcher and he/she has to carefully maintain a balance between 'insider' and 'outsider' status to identify with and get close to the people under study, but at the same time maintain a professional distance which permits adequate observation and data collection. Maintaining a proper balance in these dual roles will enable the researcher to participate as well as reflect critically on what is observed and gathered while doing so. In my case this approach was especially useful because the phenomena of language shift is still obscured from the public in the sense that the 'insiders' or the 'outsiders' (Jorgenson, 1989) of the Siraiki community have not yet thought in these terms about the Siraiki language. This technique also enables the researcher to constantly define and redefine her research questions according to the unforeseen, unexpected situations that might arise during the course of data collection (Spradley, 1980).

In ethnographic research the concepts of 'intercultural diversity' and 'intracultural diversity' are of particular importance and relevance to my research. Intercultural diversity refers to the difference between two cultures and intracultural diversity refers to the differences between subcultures within a culture (Fetterman, 1998). It is believed that compared with intracultural differences the intercultural differences are easy to see whereas the former are more likely to go unnoticed (ibid: 24-25). This stands true for my research, as the difference between the language practices of the rural and urban populations is reasonably easy to see but within the rural and urban subcultures the case studies need to be observed minutely and this is possible by participating in the lives of the members of both rural and urban communities.

Although participant observation has been widely adopted as a useful method for data collection by ethnographers, there are only few accounts (e.g. Gafaranga, 1998) of any research where a sociolinguist worked in his/her own community among his/her own people, relatives, friends and friends of friends. Milroy (1987b: 66) used her status of second order network contact, or 'a friend of friend', in her fieldwork in Belfast to become enmeshed in the community of network of rights and obligations.

I closely observed and recorded language practices in a specific setting i.e. the home domain and conducted interviews with the members of the families participating in my research in their homes. I participated in many conversations recorded in different homes for my data. In this sense my methodology is closer to Gafaranga's (1998) 'doing research in and as ordinary interaction'. However, unlike Gafaranga I did not mainly participate in the production of all the data and my identity as a researcher did not become part and parcel of all settings in all contexts. At times I left my tape recorder and cassettes with the families asking them to record their interaction in it because with some families I felt that they were not interacting naturally among themselves during my presence.

In this section I briefly discussed my role during the participant observation. In the following section I explain how I gained entry into the field for my research and how the research participants were approached. I also reflect upon my role as a researcher in the field.

3.8 Entry into the Field

'One of the conventional images of the fieldworker is as an outsider endowed with power or status derived from identification with earlier (or current) white

colonials' (Macintyre, 1993: 44) but in my case I was no stranger to Multan, rather I was a member of that community where I was going to conduct my research. I call myself a member of the Siraiki community in Multan because I was born into a Siraiki family in Multan, received all my early education and obtained my first M.A. degree from Multan and have been teaching at the local university for the last sixteen years. I have married into a local Siraiki family and can speak this language fluently. In this respect, getting access to the urban research site did not prove to be a problem. At least in this sense I was lucky because one of the main issues involved in the implementation of fieldwork is getting access to the research site (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

Jorgenson (1989) identifies two basic entry strategies, 'overt' and 'covert'. When permission to study is sought openly, the strategy is overt; in the case of covert entry strategy the fieldworker assumes some participant role first, provided by the setting, and begins formal research only when some kind of positive relationship is established with the people in the field. Another category: 'semi-covert' entry strategy has been used by Milroy (1987a) who assumed the role of a second-order member of the localized social networks. Kerswill (1985 cited in Li Wei, 1994) also used a similar approach in his study in Bergen, Norway. It is generally believed that compared to covert entry, overt entry is easier to seek but in practice it may not always be possible to do so. Even if the researcher's intention is made known in the field, he/she may initially be suspected as a 'government spy...[to] gather information about the land to resettle us (the local inhabitants) elsewhere' (Karim, 1993: 78) or may be seen as a 'detective or spy' (Wade, 1993: 208). Pong (1991, cited in Li Wei, 1994: 75) reports about the difficulties she faced in gaining access to the Chinese families who she wanted to interview for her study of language use and attitudes.

Neither her official introduction letters helped her in any way (these in fact led the families to link her with government-sponsored agencies) nor her attempts to contact them through leaders of community organizations worked as she did not have any personal contacts with the families she wanted to interview. In the end she had to seek the help of a Chinese health worker who had personal contacts with the families, which resulted in her obtaining the consent of the Chinese families to take part in a questionnaire survey.

My decision to choose either an overt or a covert entry strategy was not just a choice of a theoretical stance. I had to take into account the target setting, subcultures of rural and urban Multan, the norms and values of the people who were going to participate in my research, as well as my position in that community, established prior to my role as an ethnographic researcher.

Because gender norms within the chosen setting shape the researcher's entry and relationships, fieldworkers have to make vital decisions about the ways and degree to which they conform to local expectations (Warren & Hackney, 2000). Kreiger (1986) notes that in a given culture, conformity to gender and deviation are processual, dialectical, and reflexive i.e. they are not constant but change over time, they are inter-related and they affect relationships with respondents as well as categories used in interpretation. My being a 'Multani woman' and being born and bred in Multan helped me in winning a kind of 'respect' and 'acceptability' that would not be accorded to any strange woman belonging to another country, culture or ethnicity (cf. 3.11). But because of this fact that I am a Multani, I needed to approach these families through a friend, otherwise my 'moral values' would have been seriously questioned. A Multani woman belonging to a 'respectable' family would not

endeavour to spend hours in strange houses in the presence of male members of those families, let alone talk to them and interview them. Furthermore, due to all these factors the speakers would have been self conscious in my and the tape recorder's presence – an instance of 'observer's paradox' which is discussed in section 3.9.3.iii. The kind of research that I was doing did not necessitate my hiding the research objectives so due to this and all the other reasons stated above I decided upon overt research.

3.8.1 Gaining Access to Case Studies and Participants

My research questions shaped the selection of place and people in my study. For a major part of my data (cf. 3.4) I had to find eight families (cf. 4.2), four living in rural and four in urban Multan who suited my requirements and who were willing to participate in my research. There were several reasons for my decision to have eight families as my case studies. Ethnographic work involves detailed description and participant observation requires close, long-term contact with the people being studied (Fetterman, 1998). My research questions necessitated a microlevel study i.e., 'a close-up view...of a small unit or an identifiable activity within the social unit' (ibid: 27). It is argued that the in-depth study of one particular social setting sometimes yields a more useful perspective than a large-scale study of individuals from a whole population. After thinking long and hard, I decided on eight families as my case studies because I felt that I could not manage more during my six months period of data collection. I also did not want to sacrifice 'depth' at the altar of 'breadth'. Li Wei's study of the Chinese/English speaking community in Tyneside, Britain also provided me with a model where he studied the speech habits of ten families in order to 'link micro-interactional behaviours of the speaker with macro-societal structures and social relations' (1994: 3).

I used 'snowball sampling' (Brewer, 2000: 81) to locate the families. In this technique, key informants who in my case were my familial and social contacts, provide ethnographers with contacts to other group members. Different individuals can then be selected in this way, who in turn provide access to different sites or open difficult corners of access in one site (ibid). Li Wei (1994: 2) calls using this type of strategy 'a prerequisite for the community-based studies'. I used my friends and friends of friends in Multan for this purpose to access different families and for the selection of these case studies I used 'judgmental sampling' (Fetterman, 1998: 33) i.e. I relied on my judgment to select the most appropriate families. It is argued that an introduction by a member is the ethnographer's best ticket into the community (Fetterman, 1998). Likewise, I felt that an introduction or recommendation by a mutual friend or friend of a friend would ensure the same trust extended to me that my contact enjoyed with that family. I would thus benefit from a 'halo effect' (ibid: 34) if introduced by the right person. This in turn would strengthen my capacity to work with that family and thus improve the quality of that data. I knew that my gender would allow me an entry into the homes of Siraiki families (cf. 3.11.1) but my being a woman was not enough. I needed introduction through mutual friends because I knew that only then would these families accept me into their houses and extend the same trust to me that they had for my friends. They might have refused any cooperation with a stranger but they would want to oblige a friend. In such a situation a covert strategy was not suitable since I wanted to participate in the lives of these families, record naturally occurring speech in the home domain and interview them; I would not have been allowed to do so unless the family 'knew' me even if only through a friend, and my research plans.

With two participating urban families I had personal relations and contacts prior to my research. The other two were approached through common friends or friends of friends. In the village my contact was the wife of a landlord who owned land in that village. She introduced me there as her 'first cousin' which was done, she later explained, to win me respect, trust and cooperation because in rural culture kinship relations are stronger than other relations. In the city I used several contacts from among my friends and relatives to get in touch with different families. From now onwards in my thesis, I would refer to the four urban families as 1U, 2U, 3U and 4U and the rural families as 1R, 2R, 3R and 4R. A detailed description of these families follows in chapter four.

I was very fortunate during the collection of interview data in the sense that nobody refused an interview. The interviewees were very cooperative and some very supportive of my research for they felt that my research would help the cause of Siraiki language. The head of the state primary school of the village (the only school in that village), to which my rural case studies belonged, was approached through my village contact's husband. When he came for the interview (cf. 3.12.2) I explained to him the purpose of my research and he answered my questions without asking a single question of his own. The other three school heads that I interviewed were from urban schools, two from private and one from a state school. For my interviews with the schoolteachers, I first held meetings with the school heads, explained to them the purpose of my research and sought to interview their teachers. I had some contacts in the private schools so meeting the principals and getting consent to interview them and their teachers, after I had explained the purpose of my research, was not difficult. In the state primary school I just walked in one day and introduced myself to the head and explained the purpose of my research. She was also very cooperative and gave me

time to interview her the next week and allowed me to interview whichever teacher I liked. With some interviewees of category two which were Siraiki teachers and researchers (cf.3.9.4), my husband and/or I had personal contacts while others were approached through mutual friends. All the respondents of the matched-guise test conducted as a pilot study (cf. 3.2) came from my university. The respect given to a teacher in our culture ensured that no student refused to participate in the test.

In the following section I reflect upon my role and status in the field during my ethnographic research.

3.8.2 'Insider' as an 'Outsider'

A clear distinction is often maintained between 'members' (or insiders) and 'non-members' (outsiders) in a research setting (Edwards, 1986). At times, because of the researchers' different backgrounds in terms of their socially defined roles and sometimes their appearance, it becomes difficult for them to be accepted as an 'insider'. For example, Moffatt (1990 cited in Li Wei, 1994) in a study conducted in a Pakistani community felt that she could not become an 'insider' of the target community. She further states that her 'outsider' status allowed her to come and go in the houses of Pakistanis freely, a privilege that even a male young Muslim 'insider' wouldn't have enjoyed. I think this had more to do with the gender of the researcher. A Pakistani family, even if it were living in Britain, would not allow a young male stranger, even a Muslim, to enter their houses freely—a fact Moffatt herself admits. The fact that I am a woman gave me a privileged status which was a great advantage. No Multani family would allow a strange male researcher free entry into their homes. The studies carried out so far on the Siraiki language are based only on the language

of men and the researchers have explained that due to strict *purdah*[36] it is not possible for them to have access to the speech of women (Shackle, 1976).

Since I was fortunate enough to be an 'insider' (Jorgensen, 1989) of the Siraiki community, I knew that this status would accord me the right to obtain dependable and accurate information as my research is primarily based on the speech practices in the home domain. I call myself an 'insider' of Siraiki community because of the reasons stated already (cf. 3.8).

The point that I want to make here is that although I would be considered an 'insider' in the Siraiki community of Multan in terms of Jorgensen's (1989) definition could I really be considered an 'insider' by all the families belonging both to rural and urban settings and to different socio-economic set-ups? I belong to an upper middle class family and have always lived in the city. In some homes, despite my efforts to be like them, I could not help my general appearance in terms of what I would be wearing. In the homes of some case studies I was the only one among the people present wearing shoes appropriate to the weather and which were not torn or had never been mended. Sometimes, among the members of these families I was the only one wearing warm clothes appropriate to the cold winter of December. I doubt that the girl from family 1U (cf. 4.4.2.i) considered me an 'insider' who sat next to me shivering with cold because she was not properly attired while being told by her mother that children are not supposed to feel any cold. One might argue that why I did not make any effort to dress up like them. I know for certain that if I had done so they would have ended up mistrusting me because even those who 'knew' me indirectly

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[36] The concept of *purdah* has more than one meaning in the religious and cultural context. Here I use it in the sense of male-female segregation.

expected from me to follow a certain dress code and any violation of that would have had negative effect on our field relations.

For the rural families, except for family 4R, I was a 'city dweller', not one of them. In the recording of family 1R, one participant is heard telling her brother about me **'ustaani hay tay shahruun ai hay'** (she's a teacher and has come from the city). Both these factors are sufficient to accord me the status of an 'outsider' in that family. I was only an 'insider' to an extent in the homes of my friends and relatives in the city. My being a Siraiki and belonging to Multan also contributed to my being an 'insider' in other homes but despite being born and bred in Multan and having spent all my life there I cannot claim to be a complete 'insider' in all settings. It is rightly observed that '...most commonly the field-worker is incorporated with a dual status of insider and outsider, a familiar deviant, a stranger within' (Warren & Hackney, 2000: 20).

During my contact with the families who I knew prior to my research I was not a complete 'insider' because during my field research I was constantly on my alert and tried not to lose my critical faculties. I did not lose sight of this fact that I was there with a research purpose. 'Going native' (Brewer, 2000: 60) is a constant danger in such situations thus in the field, 'Ethnographers...must strenuously avoid feeling at home' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995: 115). In the field I tried to maintain a proper balance in my participant observer's dual role as part insider and part outsider, simultaneously a member and a non-member in order to 'participate while also reflecting critically on what is observed and gathered while doing so (Brewer, 2000: 60).

In the following sections I discuss the data used for this study and the methodology I adopted for its collection.

3.9 Types of Data

In the following sections I discuss the four types of data that I collected for this study which are:

1. Field notes
2. Web sites and published material
3. Speech in the home domain
4. Interviews

I also discuss the methods used in its collection. The first two types of the data which are, 'field notes' and 'web sites and published material' will be discussed briefly as these do not constitute the major sources of data for this study compared with the other data; 'speech in home domain' and 'interviews'. The latter two will be discussed in detail in sections 3.9.3 and 3.9.4.

3.9.1 Field Notes

Field notes have been described as the, 'brick and mortar' of an ethnographic edifice (Fetterman, 1998: 114). These notes consist mainly of data from informal interviews and daily observation. It is argued that informal interviews present the most natural formats and situations for data collection and analysis. These are useful in, 'discovering what people think and how one person's perceptions compare with another's. Such comparisons help identify shared values in the community—values that inform behaviour' (ibid: 38). This field notes data consisted of the notes that I took during my field research. A major part of these consist of observation and participation in the lives of the four rural and four urban families participating in my

research and the informal interviews that I conducted with the family members from time to time. These interviews proved to be useful in establishing and maintaining a good rapport with the participants of my research. Besides, this necessary raw data proved to be very useful for more elaborate analysis, for filling in the gaps and furnishing information that the other type of data could not give. I have used this data in this study at various places. The discussion on the difference in my and the participant's attire (cf. 3.8.2), the information given about my embodiment during the fieldwork (cf. 3.11.2), activity during the mealtimes in rural homes (cf. 3.10.3) and the behaviour of the interviewees (cf. 3.9.4.ii) are a few examples of the use of this data. The passages cited below are two short extracts from my field notes.

December 20, 2002
The head of X[37] school seems to be very supportive. She questioned X (my contact) about the purpose of my research and on getting assurance from X that my objective is purely academic she conceded for an interview. X (my contact) told me that her head was worried that she might have to seek the permission from the head office before giving an interview.
The administrator of X school did not have any such reservations. Today, on my second visit to her school, she asked me a few questions about myself and when she realized that she knows my sisters quite well she became more cordial and said that I am welcome to come to her school anytime.

January 10, 2003
For the last five days there has been no electricity from 8.a.m till 4 p.m. in the area where X and X schools are located whose heads and teachers I am interviewing. I call these schools everyday to check for electricity. My cassette recorder cannot be operated with batteries so I have to wait for the power system to regulate before I can conduct more interviews.

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[37] For reasons of confidentiality, the names of schools are not being given.

3.9.2 Websites and Published Material

Information relevant to my study was also gathered from different websites, government reports and newspapers. I have taken care to include information from the official websites only, for example, the websites of the government of Pakistan or the website of the official television channel to guarantee the authenticity of the information. Some information regarding the population census was downloaded from the official websites of the concerned departments. Obtaining these reports in a published form would have been time consuming and expensive so I downloaded some information via the internet. For the provincial census data I had to get the published reports from Pakistan, as it is not available on the web. Similarly when I quote from the Pakistani newspapers, in some cases this information is from the newspapers which I gathered during my fieldwork in Multan while all the information that I gathered from Pakistani newspapers after March 2003 (when I came back to England after my fieldwork) is from their web editions.

A major part of my data that I gathered in the field consists of the recordings of speech in the home domain. In the following section I discuss how and why I made these recordings and also the 'observer's effect' on this data.

3.9.3 Speech in the Home Domain

This data was collected to study how and what language(s) is/are being spoken by the Siraikis in home domain in rural and urban Multan. It consists of tape recordings of the naturally occurring speech of eight families participating in my research. Recorded on different occasions in each house, a total of four hours of conversation of each family was recorded.

The decision to use the home domain as a setting for audio recordings and investigation into the issue of transmission practices was taken because the home is the most important place where languages are transmitted to children. To study the language choice patterns of rural and urban Siraikis I was also influenced by Li Wei's (1994) choice of the home domain for his research. He quotes Goffman's (1959, 1963a) views about social life who likening collective existence to a drama, distinguishes between visible 'frontstage'[38] and concealed 'backstage'[39] regions of human settings. Generally speaking it is easy for anyone to enter and become a participant in the visible 'frontstage' situations but an entry to the 'backstage' aspects of social life, family being one of them, is 'most difficult and demanding' (Li Wei, 1994: 74). This aspect of social life is usually invisible and allows entry only to the most trusted members.

Since I was fortunate to be enough of an 'insider' (Jorgensen 1989) of the Siraiki community, this status accorded me the right to obtain dependable and accurate information as my research is primarily based on the speech practices in the home domain. I was not only an 'insider' but also a woman and at times 'being a woman is an enormous advantage' (Measor, 1985: 74). For the reasons already stated in 3.8.2 it was possible for me to research from the 'backstage' about the language practices of the rural and urban Siraikis.

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[38] Settings such as public dinning rooms and, spectator sports are considered frontstage settings as they are open to anyone willing to become a participant (Jorgenson, 1989).
[39] Backstage regions are considered those settings which are not open to everyone e.g. non-public bathrooms, and sport's locker room where entry requires special permission (ibid).

3.9.3.i Using Audio Recordings

In this section I will try to justify my decision to audio record naturally occurring family conversations. The theoretical approach that I have adopted in this study requires the researchers to base their claims on, 'transcriptions of actual occurrences in their actual sequence' (Sacks, 1984: 25). The home conversations were audio-taped in order to meet this requirement. Research conducted within the frameworks of ethnomethodology and conversation analysis is essentially data driven. Transcripts lead researchers 'from a matter of a particular interaction done by particular people, to a matter of interactions as products of machinery' (ibid: 26). Thus the transcripts of the recorded conversation enable the researcher to account for the 'machinery' through which the participants accomplish their linguistic or other social activities. The description of the speech practices of the participants required such accuracy and details that only field notes and interview data would not have provided.

The possibility of video taping the conversations was out of question. Firstly, because of the strict *purdah* requirements in Siraiki families and secondly, the video equipment would have been too conspicuous compared to an ordinary tape recorder and a microphone and would have affected the communicative behaviour of the participants.

Silverman (1998) states three reasons why the use of audio-recorded data is preferred. Firstly the audio-recorded data are a public record, available to the research community. Secondly, it can be replayed to improve the transcriptions and finally, other researchers are able to inspect sequences of utterances instead of being confined only to the extracts chosen by the first researcher.

It is due to all the reasons mentioned above, that the decision to audio record the home conversations was taken.

3.9.3.ii Recording and Observation

Home conversations and interviews were recorded through Sony Walkman Professional (S/N: P0816679G) and PZM microphone. I participated in the conversations with some families during some recording sessions while in the recording sessions with other families I was absent. The reason I fully participated in some conversations and not in others was that in some homes where I did not have relations prior to my research I felt that either some members would be too self-conscious in my company to speak naturally or given the traditional hospitality of Pakistani families my presence would affect the natural family conversation in the sense that I would be involved more in the conversations. Thus to avoid monopolizing the conversation I would either leave the room at certain times or set up the tape and leave the house or request the family to record their own conversation whenever they wanted. I made sure to spend time with each family to get to know its members better and to take notes about their speech habits. During the recordings I also took field notes at times when I would not be participating in the conversation.

It is argued that that the presence of a researcher may affect the real mode of speech of the researched resulting in an unauthentic data. This researcher's effect on the data has been termed as 'observer's paradox'. In the following section I describe how I perceive this issue in my research situation.

3.9.3.iii Observer's Paradox[40]

Agar (1980) argues that much more attention should be devoted to the role of researcher in fieldwork, the researcher's relationship with the people in the field, and the effects on the data being collected and ultimately analysed. Poplack (1983; 1988) states that this lack of explicitness can result in different methods of data collection and eventually to quite different findings on code switching behaviour, sometimes even of the same speakers. Gal (1988), while talking about the question of data comparability, stresses the need to embed small-scale ethnographic descriptions within a wider social, political, and historical context. Li Wei (1994: 87) also stresses that 'adequate specifications' of the role of the researcher in the field and his/her relations with the researched and of the fieldwork procedure are required to interpret the linguistic data appropriately.

Labov (1966, 1972a, b, c) discuss in detail the role of the observer in terms of the 'observer paradox' in the sense that the presence of a researcher may affect the real mode of speech of the researched. Hymes (1974) and Gumperz (1982) have also emphasized the sensitivity of language to situational context. What is required then is either a field method that turns the researcher into a 'fly on the wall' or an analytic procedure that accounts for his/her interactional role. If the researcher wants to obtain authentic data then one of the major tasks that he/she has at hand is to reduce this effect or find a way of getting round this issue.

Li Wei (1994) is of the opinion that the observer's paradox is particularly acute if the investigator is not an 'insider'. Milroy et al. (1991) have also taken up this

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[40] Although observer's paradox is at times seen as a potential problem, as I will discuss in this section, it did not prove to be so for my study.

issue. Gafaranga (1998: 49) states that if the researcher 'is interested in investigating the way members talk among themselves, ideally, he/she will have to be a member him/herself, he/she will have to have the member's competence to participate in those situations where those competences are displayed.' He further states that those researchers who are not 'fortunate' enough to be fluent in the codes of the researched may employ different methods as 'compensatory strategies' (ibid: 50). Since I was fortunate enough to be an 'insider' to an extent—well-versed in the members' code, during the recording sessions in different homes I sometimes became a full-fledged member in the settings under study 'a complete participant' in the sense of Ackroyd and Hughes (1981: 107). At other times, I sat in one corner of the room where the family would be present, reading something or taking notes or sat out in the courtyard on my own trying to 'fade into the background' (Milroy 1987a: 42) to allow group dynamics to carry along the interaction. However, I was never able to make my presence completely unobtrusive.

I had visited the participating families, whom I did not know well before starting my research, several times and spent hours with them each time to win their trust and to make them used to my presence before starting recording them.

For the recording I could not hide the tape recorder or the microphone because I needed very clear recordings, besides in some settings it was impossible to do so. On some instances the recorded data reveals that the participants were aware of the presence of the microphone as they refer to it at times like, **'Amman aye ayda kuula aye, aye kiivain alla chikaynday'** (mother, it is so soft, how can it suck the voice?) or 'is it still recording', or 'are the spools of the tape recorder moving'. A very interesting instance of participants' awareness of the recording and their not paying

any heed to it is found in the recorded data of family 3U when Son 2 pointed out to me that I should have recorded the conversation of the family secretly to maintain 'objectivity' and if the participants know about the recording they would speak 'wrong words'. For him the 'right words' was the authentic natural language which I expected to hear and record. His mother at once answered him saying, **'Assan aaprin boli bulaynday pai hain iin vaastay sidhi hay'** (we are speaking our own language therefore it is right). On several occasions during my recording the participants talked on such topics, which they normally would not have discussed, had they been self-conscious. All this proves that the participants were aware of the tape recorder but they got used to it quickly and it did not interfere in their natural speech style and language choices.

Along with speech in home domain, interviews formed a major part of the data collected for this study. In the next section I discuss my methodology of conducting interviews during my fieldwork.

3.9.4 Interviews

These interviews constitute the fourth part of the data triangulation. The other three that I have used in my research have already been discussed (cf. 3.9.1, 3.9.2, 3.9.3). Although ethnography and interviewing are epistemologically rather different (Harkess & Warren, 1993; Warren, 1987), in practice they are used as supplements for traditional fieldwork (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Interviews explain and put into a larger context what the ethnographer sees and experiences (Fetterman, 1998: 37). Conversations in the field become 'intensive', 'active', 'long', or 'ethnographic' interview. For researchers who are not a part of the culture under study the interview may decrease distance i.e. it may bring more understanding of that culture whereas, in

studies where the researcher is studying her or his 'own people' it may bring distance between the interviewer and the interviewees (Warren & Hackney: 2000).

I conducted two types of interviews for this study.

1) Interviews with four members of each family participating in my research. The interviewees belonged to different age groups.

2) Semi-structured in-depth interviews with school heads, primary school teachers, both of rural and urban Multan, and teachers, researchers and writers of Siraiki.

I had to juggle with the time of the interviews to suit the schedule of the interviewees. The interviews in category one (cf. 3.9.4.i) were held in the homes of the participants while others (cf. 3.9.4.ii) were conducted in the respective schools or institutions of the interviewees. I took two trips to Bahawalpur to interview the teaching staff of the Siraiki Department, Islamia University.

Before I discuss this data in detail, I would like to comment on the responses given by the interviewees in the interview process. Whyte (1982) believes that the researcher must weigh the validity of statements made by the informants as a first step in research data analysis and 'must know in what respect an informant's statement reflects his personality and perception and in what respects it is a reasonably accurate record of actual events' (ibid: 115). Whyte proposes that the following factors may also influence an informant's reporting in the interview situation:

- Ulterior motives
- The desire to please the interviewer
- Idiosyncratic factors (e.g. mood, wording of question, extraneous factors)

I was aware of these factors when I conducted my research interviews and during several interviews I felt the influence of these factors on the responses of the

interviewees. In the case of some responses, I had no way of judging their authenticity e.g. the observation made by Dr. Ahmad about the Vice-Chancellor's reasons for opening a Siraiki research centre (cf. 5.5) and the claim of Mr. Sindher that the opening of the Siraiki department was a political decision (cf. 5.2.2). Such examples may or may not be categorised as instances of the interviewees' agendas who try to support their cause. Researchers are advised to exercise caution in such cases, 'All language, even language which passes as simple description, is constructive and consequential for the discourse analyst' (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 34).

In several cases though, I could judge the authenticity of such accounts through the accounts given by the other interviewees, and through the data that I had collected from multiple sources (cf. 3.4). I will cite a few examples here of how I was able to verify the authenticity of some of the interviewees' accounts. When I interviewed the head of the English medium schools (cf. 5.3), they all questioned me thoroughly about my research. During my interview with one school head I felt that my area of research affected her responses when she tried to claim that her school is very supportive of the Siraiki language, 'it's a rich heritage of our culture, we don't want to lose it' but her statement was shown to be false when I judged it in the light of the responses of the teachers of the same school given in their interviews (cf. 5.3.2). Son 1 in family 3R claimed—perhaps to save face in front of me (cf. 5.6) that his grandfather and father spoke Siraiki as well as Urdu with them at home (cf. 4.4.1.iii), but his claim was nullified in the light of the recorded data of their home conversations. Keeping these idiosyncratic factors in mind I took a number of steps in my interviews. I tried to hold the interviews at the place of the interviewees' choice. I also did not insist on completing each interview in one sitting. The interviews which I conducted in the workplace of some interviewees were interrupted several times due to telephone calls

or some callers. However, the flexibility of not completing each interview in one sitting helped to some extent in not affecting the responses of those interviewees. With several interviewees belonging to the families participating in my research, I had to change the wording of the questions in order to make them understand exactly what I was trying to ask.

3.9.4.i Interviews with Members of Participating Families

I conducted structured interviews with four members of each family. These interviews were structured with some open-ended questions but not all the questions were asked to each respondent because some were not relevant to their context, as the ages and background of the respondents varied. The interviewees belonged to different age groups. Their ages ranged between ten and seventy-six years. Initially, I recorded some interviews but later felt that recording about thirty-two interviews would be expensive and their transcription time consuming. I, therefore, took notes during the rest of the interviews.

Below are the questions that were prepared for these interviews. These were tentative questions prepared by me in advance to maintain some uniformity in the responses. As the number of interviewees was going to be too small for a quantitative analysis I had decided to carry out a qualitative analyses of their responses. The interviewees were encouraged to give lengthy and detailed responses to some questions. In some cases I probed further and asked for more details and clarifications. Due to this, at times I did not strictly adhere to the order of the questions within each broad category. Since I interviewed people of different ages and different social and educational backgrounds, no special attention was given to keeping the form and

language of the questions identical. Care was taken, however, to ask most of the questions to all interviewees.

LANGUAGE AT HOME AND LANGUAGE TRANSMISSION PRACTICES

1). Which language was taught to you first?

2). In case of two/three simultaneous early languages which language was/is used at home mostly? With you?

3). Which language did/do you parents/grandparents/siblings/relatives/neighbours/ friends/servants spoke/speak with you mostly?

4). (As a child) Which language did/do you like best?

5). If Siraiki was taught to you as a first language do you feel that some other language should have been taught instead?

6). If not, then do you feel that this went to your advantage?

7). Which language do you use now to speak to your parents/children siblings/relatives/neighbours/friends/family friends/servants?

8). Have you transmitted/do you intend to transmit Siraiki to your children? If not what were/are the reasons for this?

9). Do you think your children will learn as much of Siraiki as they need to know from the family?

RELIGION

1) In which language does the 'Imam' (one who heads the prayers) of your mosque/mosque of your vicinity deliver his 'Khutba' (address to the congrgation in the mosque)?

2) In which language would you prefer him to deliver his 'Khutba'?

3) In which language do you do 'duaa' (to pray)?

4) In which language did your Qari/Qaria spoke to you while teaching you Quran? What was their mother tongue?

WORK

1) If you are not self-employed then in which language do you normally talk to your bosses? (Children: school/teachers)

2) In which language do they talk to you?

3) Do you use any language other than what you have just stated?

4) In which languages do your colleagues speak to you in your work place? About official matters? Gossip?

5) Do you respond to them in the same language?

6) Do you have the kind of job where you are in contact with the public? When clients come to talk to you which language do you use with them?

GENERAL ATTITUDES

1) Which language do you find is most comfortable for you?

2) Which language do you normally prefer? Do you have a favourite?

3) Are there some things that sound better in Siraiki? Are there some things that just sound better in Urdu/English? Like what? Give an example.

4) Do you find that one language is easier for you to express yourself in? Can you bring your thoughts better in one language? Which one?

5) What are the things that you prefer to do in Siraiki? e.g. watch Siraiki movies, watch and listen to Siraiki dramas, talk shows, other Siraiki programmes on radio, Siraiki songs, and Siraiki poetry.

6) If somebody/stranger speaks to you in Siraiki what do you think of him/her?

7) If somebody/stranger speaks to you in Urdu or English in a Siraiki accent what do you think of him/her?

8) Should children be encouraged to use Siraiki in domains other than home?

9) Do you think Siraiki should be taught as a subject in schools?

10) If this is done will you study it/will you persuade your children to study it?

11) Do you think there should be more time devoted to programs in Siraiki on TV and radio? If so, what type of programmes?

12) If your children do not know anything about the Siraiki language how would/do you feel about it?

13) If the Siraiki language died how you would feel about it?

14) If we stop using Siraiki altogether, do you think we can maintain the culture and identity of our community?

15) Is the maintenance of Siraiki important? Is it a difficult task?

16) As a Siraiki, how important is Siraiki language to you for your cultural identity?

17) What do you think of those Siraikis who either use Urdu all the time or most of the time?

18) What do you think of those who do a lot of mixing of other languages in Siraiki?

19) What do you think of those who speak Siraiki in the accent of some other language?

LITERACY PRACTICES

1) In which language(s) do you normally read?

2) In which language do you like reading?

3) Do you ever read in Siraiki? If yes, what and how often?

4) Do you ever write in Siraiki?

5) In which language do you count?

OTHER LANGUAGES

1) Are you fluent in Urdu/English?

2) If yes, has it given you any advantage?

SELF-RANKING

1) If you had to describe how well you speak Siraiki which would you say:

   1=Perfect Siraiki as well as any native monolingual Siraiki

   2=Very well but not perfect

   3=Moderately well

   4=Not so good

   5=Hardly at all

2) If you had to describe how well you speak Urdu which would you say:

   1=Perfect Urdu as well as any native speaker of Urdu

   2=Very well but not perfect

   3=Moderately well

   4=Not so good

   5=Hardly at all

3) If you had to describe how well you speak English which would you

say:

   1=Perfect English as well as any well educated speaker of English

   2=Very well but not perfect

   3=Moderately well

   4=Not so good

   5=Hardly at all

The interview questions were grouped under different headings, namely: language at home and language transmission practices, religion, work, general attitudes, literacy practices, other languages and self-ranking. There were several objectives behind these questions for the interviews. The questions grouped under the heading 'language at home and language transmission practices' were asked to find out about the language practices and language choices these interviewees make while speaking to different interlocutors in the home domain. Since the tape-recorded data of the speech practices of each family was only four hours long, it did not contain full information about their language choices while interacting with different interlocutors. Questions related to transmission practices were intended to help me understand the language transmission practices among Siraiki families and this in turn helped me in determining whether Siraiki is a 'healthy' language or not, for a language which is transmitted to children is considered a fully healthy language (Schmidt, 1990). The questions under the heading 'religion' were asked to determine how much the Siraiki language is protected by religion for it is believed that the chances of language maintenance are very high if it is crucial for religious rites and practices (Miller, 2000). The questions related to language at work were asked to see if Siraiki language has any role in work environment. This was helpful in determining its status in larger society. As I have argued elsewhere (cf. 3.2), attitudes of a speech community towards their language are considered vital for its maintenance or shift. The questions that

probed the attitudes of the interviewees about Siraiki and other languages spoken in Multan gave an insight into what the Siraikis themselves think of their language. Their views helped in explaining their language choices and where applicable, language transmission practices. The questions under the heading 'other languages' also supplemented this information. To get first-hand information about the use of Siraiki for different literacy practices, especially reading, the questions grouped under the heading 'literacy practices' were asked. The answers to these questions helped in determining its present status and usage and in establishing if the Siraiki language is suffering due to its non-inclusion as a subject in the school curriculum. The questions under the heading 'self-ranking' were included to get information about the interviewees' knowledge of or fluency in three major/influential languages used in Multan. This information was helpful for categorizing the interviewees into different types of speakers. Information about the other members of participating families regarding their self-ranking was gathered through informal interviews (cf. 3.9.4.i).

3.9.4.ii Interviews with School Heads, Teachers and Siraiki Researchers

A total of four school heads and ten schoolteachers of the government and private primary schools in rural and urban school in Multan were interviewed to investigate the influence of schools upon language use in Multan. The reason I chose to investigate the language policies and practices in primary schools was that it is in the early stages of one's life that one is influenced to opt for one language or the other. Stereotypes, negative or positive, about different languages are formed at this stage and primary school teachers influence the parents' decision to continue or discontinue using any language with their children.

These interviews were also structured with open-ended questions which demanded lengthy responses. I had planned to record all of these interviews because I knew that some of my questions would lead to other questions and would require longer answers but I ended up audio recording only a few. I took notes during the rest of the interviews. The interviewees working in the state schools asked me not to audio record their interviews because perhaps they felt threatened that anything said against the government policies may cost them their job or at the minimum may start disciplinary proceedings against them. Hence they did not want me to have a 'proof' or a permanent record of their views.

The main interview questions for the school heads and schoolteachers were as follows. In some cases though, I probed further and asked more questions. For each question I encouraged the interviewees to give a detailed answer.

1) What is the school's policy towards the use of certain languages by teachers in classrooms?
2) What is the school's policy towards the use of certain languages by students in the classrooms? In the playgrounds?
3) Which language(s) do the teachers in and outside classrooms use with students?
4) Which language(s) do the students use with teachers in and outside classes?
5) Which language(s) do the students use among themselves in the classroom/playgrounds?
6) Do students ever use Siraiki in the classroom? If yes, what age-group of students? How do you/your teachers respond?
7) Should Siraiki be taught as a subject in schools?
8) Should the students be taught to read in Siraiki?

I also conducted interviews with five Siraiki researchers, scholars and teachers. These were semi structured, in-depth interviews because I wanted to give myself the

latitude to ask whatever I wanted, in the form and order I determined. I could prompt, probe and ask supplementary questions as the respondents warranted. While interviewing them I wanted to keep my mind free to concentrate more on the responses which in many cases generated more questions. I wanted to be able to keep track of exactly what was said during the interview, therefore I used audio recording. The interviewees were comfortable with my recording their interviews on the tape recorder and using their names in my thesis. They openly talked about and criticized government policies and general attitudes towards the Siraiki language (cf. 5.2.1, 5.2.2, 5.6). They did not object to my keeping a permanent record of their opinions because all of them have been working for the cause of Siraiki language for several years, some even for decades and many of them pointed out that they are past the stage when just taking the name of Siraiki was sufficient to label them as traitors. In the past many of them had faced the investigations of the special agencies so by now they had become 'bold' enough to be interviewed by a researcher who had an academic and not political interest in Siraiki language.

For the researchers and writers of Siraiki there was no uniform questionnaire as each interviewee had a different field of interest. The aim of these interviews was to get a picture of the Siraiki language in Multan from the Siraiki intelligentsia to analyse the language situation in Multan. The questions were prepared keeping in view their expertise and research interests. Some sample questions asked during these interviews are as follows:

1) What is your view about the origin of the Siraiki language?
2) Why was the Siraiki movement started?
3) What is/was the role of ordinary people in the Siraiki movement?
4) What do you think of the support of the government for the Siraiki language?

5) What is the Punjabi-Siraiki controversy?

6) What changes, if any, have occurred in the Siraiki language due to its contact with Punjabi, Urdu and English?

7) Has the Siraiki language usage increased/decreased during the recent times?

8) In which genre is the literature being written in the Siraiki language?

9) Please comment on its standard.

10) What is the major incentive for the writers writing in the Siraiki language?

11) What do you think of the readership?

12) Should Siraiki be taught as a subject in schools and colleges?

13) What efforts are being made to include Siraiki as a subject at the B.A. and F.A levels?

14) Why has the number of students studying Siraiki at the M.A. level decreased?

15) Are parents transmitting Siraiki to their children?

16) Is Multani/Siraiki identity possible without the Siraiki language?

17) Is the Siraiki language dying?

18) Are the Siraikis emotionally attached to their language?

19) Why hasn't there been a consensus on uniform script for the Siraiki language?

As evident from the above questions, the interview questions encompassed different themes e.g. the Siraiki movement, Siraiki identity, Siraiki literature, Siraiki language usage, politics related to the Siraiki language, and Siraiki as a subject at different educational levels. The answers given in response to these questions gave a first-hand knowledge about what the Siraiki intellectuals think of Siraiki language and its present status in Multan.

The process of data collection is not without problems, some of which were anticipated while others were unanticipated. In the following section I discuss the problems that I encountered in the field.

3.10 Problems in the Field

I encountered some problems in the field, some expected, others unexpected and unforeseen but all of which played an important part in helping me develop as a researcher and a fieldworker. These experiences taught me not to take anything for granted—anywhere. Among the anticipated and unanticipated problems, which I discuss in the following three subsections in detail were mistrust, synchronizing the timing of my research with that of the availability of the participants, problems with electricity and audio recording, and some emotional problems. Some of these problems made the data collection process slow and lengthy, which at that time was frustrating but in hindsight I feel that it did not affect the overall quality of the data.

3.10.1 Mistrust

I started my fieldwork with the presumption that my insider's status and 'non threatening' research would accord me the trust of all the potential participants of my research. However, contrary to my expectations, I faced some mistrust in the field during the course of my research. These kinds of experiences challenge the neat divisions that experts make between 'members' and 'non-members', for members or insiders are not supposed to face this type of attitude from their 'home crowd' in their 'home ground'. I had some problems accessing low-income group families both in the urban and rural setting. In the case of other income groups I did research among my friends and relatives or friends of friends. Two low-income families that I approached through some friends initially in the urban setting promised to get back to me but after several reminders they never gave a straight answer about their participation, perhaps because with an outright refusal they did not want to offend my friend who had introduced them to me. The women of the third family that I approached said that they

would like to seek the permission of their men before consenting to any such undertaking. These women then came to me and said that with my research I would be able to 'solve my problems' but their condition would remain the same, implying that I would be getting a huge monetary gain by their participation in my research and they will not be given their due share in it. When I again explained to them what I planned to research, not trusting me, they refused to take part in it. A male member of one low-income group family with whom I had already started my research approached me one day and again sought explanation about my research saying that 'we are poor people and would not like to get involved in any trouble'. Brewer (2000: 86) justly observes that 'Trust has to be continually worked at, negotiated and renegotiated, confirmed and thereafter repeatedly reaffirmed'. At that time that I felt that the mistrust I was encountering sprang from my belonging to a different social class or income group but now when I look back I feel that this mistrust of me and my research was also the result of the mistrust that they have in the status of the Siraiki language itself. This mistrust is reflective of the general status that Siraiki language 'enjoys' in Multan. The women from the village did ask 'what would you gain from researching the language of the poor?' but because my contact was their landlord's wife and I was introduced to them as her first cousin they extended to me the trust that they had for her. Ganesh (1993: 136) reports a similar sentiment which the women of Kottai Pillaimar, Tamilnadu expressed as to what she was going to get out of 'wandering around the KP villages?' The situation was different in the city. The families I approached were through mutual contacts and those families did not 'depend' on these contacts for their living. These families, therefore, voiced their mistrust in me and my work more explicitly, as already stated in this section.

3.10.2 Timing

By the time I had made my selection of the families and obtained their consent, the Holy month of 'Ramadan' had started during which the daily routine of the Muslim families in Pakistan changes completely. Although the family gets together in the evening for breaking the fast, this is a hurried affair as one has to get up and pray soon after. During the day women spend their time praying or cooking so the possibility of recording the conversation of families was very slim during this month. Some members of two participating families and my two important contacts in the village and city went for *Haj* (pilgrimage) for forty days in December 2002-January 2003. This also slowed down the pace of my work.

3.10.3 Other Unforeseen Problems

The tape recorder that I was using could only be run with electricity so constant load-shedding (cutting of the power supply for a limited time by the power station to save energy) during the month in which I had scheduled all my interviews with the school heads and schoolteachers proved to be a nuisance.

Another fact, which I had not anticipated, was the activity during the mealtime in rural families belonging to the middle-income and low-income groups. I had planned to turn the tape recorder on during the mealtime when all the family members would be present but in reality what I observed was that the mother sat near the stove and the oven in one corner of the courtyard making fresh bread and all the children came and got their food from her and sat on different *charpais* (a kind of a bed or couch) in another corner making it effectively impossible to do the recording of the conversation of the whole family.

Belonging to the same place and community where I was doing my research posed a further unexpected emotional trauma for me. Cruel murderers snatched my father away from life and us just three months before I came to England for my doctoral studies. While being away from my home and family, during my time in England, I could not fully come to terms with this atrocity and irrevocable loss. One of the families, which participated in my research, lives adjacent to the graveyard where my father is buried. This situation was further complicated by the fact that the house of this family was opposite to the house of the parents of my father's murderer's wife. I was caught in a real dilemma and thought hard about whether to search for another family which suited my specifications or begin my research with this family. At last professional considerations won the day and I decided to stick to this family. Needless to say that my professional self could not help in controlling my anxiety or from stopping a lump from forming in my throat when I headed towards this family's house during the first couple of visits. This feeling eased down later on. In fact to some extent, it helped me in coming to terms with the reality of my father's death.

In the following section I discuss the influence of my gender in the field and on the data collected for this study.

3.11 A Multanan in the Field: Gender and the Ethnographer

'The myth of the ethnographer as any person, without gender, personality, or historical location, who would objectively produce the same findings as any other person has been dispelled...In both Western and non Western culture. Being a woman or man is at the core of our social lives and our inner selves' (Warren & Hackney,

2000: ix-1). Before I discuss how my gender and, to some extent, social class affected my research and field relations I would like to discuss my general position in this research.

As stated already (cf. 3.8), I conducted this research on my language and in my own community. Now the question that arises is whether my being a Multani affected my research negatively or positively? But before that we have to see whether scientific objectivity is at all possible in social research. Burr (1995: 160) argues that it is impossible to achieve objectivity within a social constructionist framework, 'since each of us, of necessity, must encounter the world from some perspective or other'. Cameron et al., (1992: 5) succinctly state that 'researchers cannot help being socially located persons. We inevitably bring our biographies and our subjectivities to every stage of the research process'. Dorian (1994) disagrees with Edward's (1984) argument that it is possible to maintain dispassionate positions on the issue of language and ethnicity. I do not make any claim of maintaining 'superior objectivity'. I have already made it clear (cf. 3.8.2) that even though I am an outsider in my research setting, in certain respects nevertheless, I am an insider. I am a Multani and although my first language was not Siraiki, it is the language I identify with. Therefore, at times, it becomes difficult to keep my Siraiki identity separate from my total identity, 'The ethnographer enters the field with an open mind, not an empty head...The ethnographer also begins with biases and preconceived notions about how people behave and what they think—as do researchers in every field. Indeed the choice of what problem, geographic area, or people to study are in itself biased' (Fetterman, 1998:1). Nevertheless, 'subjectivity of the observer should not be seen as a regrettable disturbance but as one element in the human interactions that comprise our object of study' (Cameron et al., 1992: 5).

Although I am personally located within this study in a number of ways, I feel that I have used these personal relations as a means to explore broader issues. In exploring the status of Siraiki in present-day Multan I have tried to understand and make sense of the process myself. My training as a researcher, my experience of 'picking up' Siraiki from the environment rather than learning it as a first language gave me a better understanding of what is happening in Siraiki homes at the language front. Fetterman (1998: pp.1-2) believes that the researcher's biases serve both positive and negative functions, therefore, 'To mitigate the negative effects of bias, the ethnographer must first make specific biases explicit. A series of additional quality controls, such as triangulation, conceptualization, and a non-judgemental orientation, place a check on the negative influence on bias.' In this study I do not see my role as that of only a sympathizer of the Siraikis. Being a teacher of English, I feel myself to be both as a colonizer and colonized (cf. 5.3.1). Burr (1995: 160) suggests that the researchers should acknowledge and, 'work with their own intrinsic involvement in the research process and the part this plays in the results that are produced.' I do not claim to take the objective position but see myself adopting a relativist position (ibid: 162) i.e. my aim in this research is not the discovery of facts or search for truth about people or society but my goal is a 'pragmatic and political one' as I aim for any usefulness that my 'reading of a phenomenon might have in bringing about change for those who need it' (Burr, 1995: 162).

In all the cultures there is no escape from the influence of gender which is a key organizing device. Warren & Hackney (2000: vii) treat this device as both 'essential' and 'negotiated'. They believe that the researchers in the field must be continually aware of the gender impressions they are more or less giving off and

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taking in as the gender of the researcher shapes entry, trust, research roles, interactions, and relationships in the field.

My image in the field was that of an educated, urban, upper-middle class Muslim Multani woman. With all these attributes there was a well-defined role model with a high positive value available to me. I was expected to conform to this model and in this very conformity lay my acceptance as a researcher both in rural and urban Multan, something which I needed from the participating families and the interviewees. Living up to this image was not very difficult for me as I was a part of that culture and was well aware of its demands and specifications. In the following few sections I will talk about these at some length.

3.11.1 Limitations Posed by my Gender in the Field

Gurney (1985: 45) believes that at times female researchers conceal fieldwork problems, 'to avoid having her work appear unsound' and to avoid 'the added embarrassment of acknowledging that one's status as a scholar overshadowed one's identity as a female'. Being a woman imposed some limits on interaction with male participants but I feel that the rewards of being a female researcher were far higher. I can claim with certainty, based on my knowledge as an insider and outsider, that no male researcher can conduct this type of research in the socially conservative set up of Multan.

The main limitation that I faced in my fieldwork was that compared to females there was lesser adult male participation in conversations in home domain. Coming from the same culture I had already anticipated this 'problem'. In Multani culture women and men who are not closely related to each other do not interact freely, even in the home environment. I knew that during my presence in the homes of the

participating families, men would avoid coming to the room where I would be. This is their way of giving respect to their female family guests. I also knew that if I would insist on male participation then firstly there would be some raised eyebrows about my 'modesty' which might result in their mistrust in me and secondly the conversation in the room would not be natural as men would be self-conscious in my presence and it would also affect the interaction of the other family members. Brewer (2000: 84) rightly remarks, 'the ethnographer's behaviour must cement relationships with the people whose natural environment it is'. In three homes men came and joined us in the room but their position in relation to me was different and 'safe'. Family 4U are my relatives and very good friends so it was natural for the father of that family to join us in their home. Son 2 in family 3U has been my student in the university so he, unlike his elder brother (Son 1), did not mind coming and talking to me on different occasions during the time I spent with that family. The grandfather of family 3U also came and spent some time with us in his home. This was by virtue of his age which gave him the status to call me his daughter.

I intentionally did not make this comparatively lesser adult male participation in my research a big issue because my intention was to observe and record naturally occurring speech in the home domain and for this I did not want to stage an artificial scene. Nor did I want to compromise the quality of the data by conducting the whole of the research among my relatives or close friends which would have ensured sufficient male participation. The result is that there is lesser participation by adult males in home conversations but I know that this is a real reflection of the family life in Multan.

3.11.2 Embodiment

Fieldwork, like all other experiences, is an embodied one and this embodiment has consequences for our research. Relationships in the field apart from behaviour also depend on monitoring and perhaps modification of the researcher's body and its uses (Warren & Hackney: 2000). 'a woman with a traditional profile puts people at ease' (Ganesh, 1993: 136). In the field I had to keep up with the external propriety. I had to wrap a big '*chaddar*' (a piece of cloth) around me and cover my face outside homes in the village. In all the village houses, except for the house of family 4R, I kept my head covered even while only women and children were present in the house, following the practice of the women of those families.

It is argued that 'sensitivity to the appropriate protocol can enhance the interviewer's effectiveness' (Fetterman, 1998: 44). I never sat alone in the room to interview male participants. While interviewing the village school head I kept my eyes downcast just as he had his gaze low most of the time even while we were talking to each other. Considering how important eye contact is in communication in the Western world, I can understand how some readers might think that this was not a successful communication. I remember the frustration of an American colleague teaching in my University when at times her male students would keep their gaze low while talking to her. She always felt that they were hiding something from her or were being dishonest to her. It was neither. In conservative setups in Pakistan when the members of the opposite sex who are '*na mehrum*' (with whom one is allowed by religion to marry) communicate, they keep their gazes low. This is in keeping with the teachings of Islam. In cases where power relations are involved then sometimes during communication, even among the members of the same sex, the person in the subordinate position keeps their gaze low. This is a social norm. In the city neither my

interviewees nor I had done so but here the situation was completely different. Here I was the landlord's guest and to some his wife's relative. I had to follow the norms which the women of the landlord's family follow, for different reasons. I did not want to embarrass my friend's family by my 'misbehaviour' leading others to think that I was not a 'modest' woman. It would not only have jeopardized my reputation in the village but it might have negative repercussions for my relationship with my friend. I have discussed this interview in detail because in ethnographic interviewing there is much less information on gender than on ethnographic fieldwork. What I experienced in the field was that even in interviewing I could not escape the 'implications of my gender' nor achieve the position of 'genderless neutrality' (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 84).

The difference in my gender and that of my interviewee also played a role in where this interview was conducted. Instead of my going to the school head, my friend's husband invited him to their home for the interview. Because this head was going to meet a woman from the landlord's 'family', we sat in the women's quarters; not in any room, rather in the open courtyard because it was not appropriate for a strange man to enter the rooms in the women's quarters. My friend's husband 'chaperoned' me through the interview. Being a part of Multani culture I fully understand why he did so; I do not call it an instance of Eastern male chauvinism. This was his way of extending respect to me which he would have accorded to his sister, wife or daughter. My father, brother or husband would have done the same in these circumstances.

I want to make one thing clear here; there was no external pressure on me to conform to the local norms nor did this limit my findings because being a part of

Multani culture I fully understand and respect the social norms. Besides, this kind of behaviour came naturally to me because I am used to practising it in certain situations. In my everyday life I conform to some and deviate from others but during the research I had to win the trust in the field as an 'insider outsider' so I felt that conformity was an easy solution. Phillips (2000) rightly observes that during the research process in the field we have to play up or play down aspects of our identity to maintain the flow of good quality information.

In the following section I discuss the ethical issues that I had to deal with during the course of my research.

3.12 Ethics

Ethical issues are pervasive in ethnography. Ethnographers do not work in a vacuum; rather they participate in the lives of other human beings which puts a responsibility on them to follow a code of ethics that respects their informants (Fetterman, 1998). Several associations and researchers have given guidelines to researchers on the issue of ethics in research (e.g. BAAL;[41] BSA;[42] Fetterman, 1998; Lidz & Roth, 1983; Silverman: 2000). In keeping with the ethical guidelines laid down for researchers I gave the participants and the interviewees a detailed description of the aims of my research. However, I could not tell the participants of the matched-guise test about the true purpose of the test, due to the nature of the data I had aimed to get. I used extremely general statements about what I aimed to analyse from the responses of the participants. The nature of this test is such that had I told the respondents what I wanted to achieve out of this test it would have invalidated the

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[41] www.baal.org.uk/goodprac.htm
[42] www.britsoc.org.uk/ethgu2.htm

data. For such situations harmless 'white lies' which assist in collecting valid and reliable data have been allowed by the experts (Burgess, 1984: 201). Apart from this, there are other issues related to participants' consent, and anonymity, and confidentiality. In the subsequent sub sections I discuss how I tackled these.

3.12.1 Participants' Consent and Ethical Dilemma

The guidelines generally provided on dealing with participants' consent emphasize that informed consent should be sought by the researcher from the participants before he/she starts the research. In most of such guidelines, however, the implication is to give information sheets to the participants, which may be written in their first language and obtain their signatures on the 'Informed consent forms' showing their willingness to participate in the research. Such researchers do not take into account the differences in various cultures and in various settings even within one culture.

In my research setting, information sheets would not have worked with illiterate or semi-literate participants. I also could not dare ask for the signatures or the thumb impressions of most of my research participants because of their prior negative associations with malpractices associated with signatures on forms. I explained the purpose of my research to the participants verbally; taking their signatures or thumb impressions on the 'Informed consent forms' was simply out of question. These participants would have thought that I was involving them in some fraud or using their names and consent to gain some monetary benefit for myself. I have already talked about this feeling of mistrust in section 3.10.1. Maxey (2000) rightly states that the suitability of informed consent in a particular setting should be assessed and modified accordingly.

Another guideline which is provided to the researchers on the issue of informed consent is that they should 'Give information about the research to the participants…Makes sure that participants understand the information given' (Ethical guidelines for Social Researchers, Faculty of Social Sciences, Lancaster University) or 'Ethnographers must formally or informally seek informed consent to conduct their work (Fetterman, 1998: 138). So even when there is no compulsion for formal written consent from the participants as in the latter quotation surely there is no escape from what 'informed' implies and necessitates. This rule also cannot be followed in its true spirit in all situations. Even though I explained the purpose of my research to the participants, that I wanted to study the language choices that people make in their home domain, I had no way of ensuring whether the participating families had fully understood the objective of my research. I am quite positive that the illiterate or semi-literate rural families, belonging to the low-income group, had consented to participate in my research only to honour the request of my friends and contacts without really understanding what it was all about.

Initially when I went to a village with my friend, she gathered some women of that village in her house and I explained to them the purpose of my research and their possible role in it as participants. When I was asking these women questions about their families to prepare their profiles to choose the ones which suited my criteria of participating families, I noticed the eagerness with which they were making sure that I write the names of all their children and their ages, thinking that possibly this research will benefit them somehow in material terms. I came to this conclusion because during my later conversations with them they told me about the work of some NGOs working in the social and educational sector in the nearby villages and these women had heard

from the inhabitants of those villages how the women workers of those NGOs came and worked in their villages and gave different kinds of aid to the villagers. As a result I again explained to them the scope of my research and this explanation was repeated to the two families who consented to participate in my research, to remove any misunderstanding about the purpose of my research. This raises an ethical issue; although I had explained everything about my research and had obtained verbal consent for participation in my research, was I justified in going ahead with my research in the wake of such misplaced, 'unsaid' expectations? Can my data in this sense be called a 'legitimate datum'? The Faculty of Social Sciences in its 'Ethical Guidelines for Social Researchers' states that a legitimate data is the one 'for which consent has been obtained'. How can we say with certainty that all the participants who give their verbal and written consent to participate in the research are really 'informed' i.e. they fully understand what the research is about? Gafaranga (1998) questions the sincerity of permission granted to the researcher by the participants in carrying out the research. My point is about whether the participants really 'know' and 'understand' the objectives of the research and how the data recorded with their help would be used? The way I resolved this issue is that I did not misguide them. After selecting the families who were to participate in my research I explained to them to the best of my capacity what my research was about and what cooperation I expected from them. All the 'consents' were given of their 'free will' and I also knew that my research would not have any harmful consequences for their lives as I planned to keep their names confidential.

Another noteworthy issue in this context is whether participants felt pressurized to give their consent or were these given with their 'free will'. So how 'free' is free will? Lipson (1994) questions the ethics of using such socially produced

consent. As stated already, some of the rural families participating in my research were approached through their landlord's wife who invited the women living on her farm to her house and told me to talk to them and 'choose' whichever families suited my research. In such circumstances could the families 'I chose' to participate in my research say 'no' to their landlord's wife and refuse to participate in my research? This kind of situation was not just confined to the rural setting. In the city I encountered a more or less similar situation. The schoolteachers who I interviewed were approached through their school heads following the proper decorum. The question that arises here is that when an employee is 'told' by his/her employer or boss that he/she is to be interviewed by a researcher, can that employee refuse? Does that employee not feel pressurized into giving his/her consent? Such instances can happen anywhere and in any kind of research. I feel that the guidelines generally provided on the issue of consent fail to take into account the power relations in different research situations.

3.12.2 Anonymity and Confidentiality

In my data I have used pseudonyms for the members of the families participating in my research to disguise their identity even though at the beginning of my research, upon my assurance of maintaining the participants' anonymity and confidentiality, some of them had stated that I was free to use their real names wherever I wanted. The name of the village where I partly carried out my field research and those of the educational institutions whose teachers and heads I interviewed as well as those of the interviewees from these schools are also not revealed. The consideration behind this is that I do not want to disturb the delicate web of relationships of these participants and respondents in their schools or

community. The names of the Siraiki researchers, and college and university teachers that I interviewed are given with their permission.

In the following section I discuss how I have analysed the data discussed earlier in this chapter to answer my research questions.

3.13 Data Analysis

The data gathered during my fieldwork, has been analysed through different methods and techniques to answer the five research questions driving my research (cf. 3.4). Qualitative, quantitative, and descriptive analyses have been carried out on my data. Not all the gathered data could be presented and analysed in the thesis nor did it correspond to the research questions on a one-to-one basis. Part of the analysis, therefore, is in choosing which data to use and put together at different points to account for and explain how the Siraiki language is being used in Multan. This selection involved 'reading between the lines', making inferences and deciphering the true implications of those particular choices on the problem being addressed.

The family conversations have been analysed in chapter four in order to demonstrate the speech practices and range of language choices made by the participating families in home domain, to highlight the language transmission practices found among these families and to illustrate the relationship between different variables, namely, age, location, education, and economic group of the speakers, with the patterns of their language choices. The analysis of the conversations recorded in home domain involves the following:

1. Choosing relevant illustrative examples from the conversations
2. Giving reasons for choosing that particular speech extract

3. Trying to explain language choices of the participants

4. Demonstrating how different types of code switching occur in them

5. Explaining why they occur

6. Relating these choices to attitudes about languages, transmission practices, and educational background

The analysis of the speech extracts together with information gained through interviews with the members of the participating families has been used in the creation of a typology of bilingualism/trilingualism of the members of the participating families (cf. 4.6).

A similar process has been carried out with the interview data. Apart from using some of the interview data of the families participating in my research for giving a general description of the family and in creating the typology of the speaker types, the analysis of the data from all interviews involves the following:

1. Choosing relevant illustrative quotes from the interviews

2. 'Reading between the lines' and inferring from these examples

3. Relating these to illustrate and account for the general phenomenon

4. Juxtaposing some quotes with colonial discourses[43] (cf. 5.3.2)

The interviews of the members of the participating families have been analysed in chapter four as well as in chapter five to illustrate the views of the interviewees as well as their attitudes towards the Siraiki and the Urdu language. The interviews of the school heads and schoolteachers have been analysed in chapter five to demonstrate that schools can play a major role in language maintenance and shift. The analysis of the teachers' discourses has been made to illustrate the role of schools in influencing the attitudes about Siraiki and its usage in home domain. Extracts from

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[43] The discourses of different documents written during the colonial regime in India emphasising the superiority of the English language and Englishmen over the natives of India and their languages.

some of these interviews have been juxtaposed with colonial discourses (cf. 5.3.2) to demonstrate a parallel between the two. The interviews of the Siraiki researchers and the college and university teachers of Siraiki have been analysed in the same chapter to demonstrate the present status of Siraiki, especially in the south of Punjab. I have also quoted from these interviews in chapter two which is about the historical, social, and political position and status of the Siraiki language in Pakistan in general and the south of Punjab in particular.

As already seen, quantitative analysis of the responses obtained through the matched-guise test conducted as a pilot study (cf. 3.2.2) was carried out using ANOVA to demonstrate the attitudes of Siraikis, Punjabis and Urdu speakers towards the Siraiki and the Urdu language. The field notes, which consist of my observations in the field and informal interviews have been used to supplement the analysis of the other data. Information from the websites and other published material has been used in chapter five to explore the reasons for language shift taking place in Multan.

3.14 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the pilot study, which I carried out, and the data collected for the present study. I have outlined the methodological framework which led my research. I have justified the use of data and the method of triangulation in my research and have argued that the strategy of triangulation validates the research. I have also dealt with the practical and ethical issues regarding access to the data and the actual process of data collection like gaining access to families, my status as a researcher and position in their homes, observer's paradox, implications of my gender, participants' consent, and confidentiality.

Like the lesson that Gulliver learnt from the first two voyages in 'Gulliver's Travels' that 'nothing is absolute, everything is relative' what I learnt from my research is that in the field also, nothing is absolute. The neat classifications made by the experts about researchers like 'members' versus 'non-members' or 'insiders' versus 'outsiders' are in fact two sides of the same coin. The same researcher is often called to play these dual roles, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes one after the other.

Another lesson that I learnt from my research process was that the researcher cannot live a genderless existence in the field. I have discussed in detail the advantages and the limitations I faced due to my gender.

On the issue of ethics, I have argued that at times in certain contexts and settings neatly laid down rules cannot possibly be followed and have to be adapted or even relinquished when we come face to face with reality. The reality of the writers of the guidebooks about research practices may sometimes be quite different from the reality of the researchers. So in the end it falls upon the researchers to choose what is best in the interest of their participants and their research without compromising their humanity or their research data.

In the following chapter I examine and present my findings on the language practices and changing patterns of language usage among the Siraiki families living in Multan in the light of different variables, namely: age, location (rural/urban), education, and economic group.

Chapter 4

Language Practices and Changing Patterns of Language Usage

4.1 Introduction

In chapter three I discussed the data on which is this thesis based and the methodology I adopted to conduct my research to study the process of language shift in Multan. This chapter addresses the following research questions:

> What range of language choices exists among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?

> What language transmission practices exist among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?

> What is the relationship between different variables: namely, age, location (rural/urban), education, and economic group in terms of language choice patterns among Multani families?

In this chapter I examine a range of individual and family factors to study the language practices and changing patterns of language usage across generations in my eight case studies in home domain in rural and urban Multan. The data for this chapter was collected through ethnographic observation and participation, detailed interviews with the members of the participating families and four hours of recordings of each family in their home domain. Four rural and four urban families belonging to different economic groups were selected for the research. Information about the economic group of each family is given in sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2. These families are a mix of extended and nuclear. Seven out of eight families consist of three generations.

Fishman (1991) suggests that the three aspects that should be considered in evaluating a language shift situation are: habitual language use, behaviour towards

language and socio-cultural change processes. Although the language situation in the Siraiki community in Multan does not fully conform to the definition of language shift, whatever changes are occurring in the status and use of Siraiki and the resulting changes in the Siraiki language itself can be accounted for if we study these three factors. The present chapter is a study on habitual use of Siraiki. All the information presented in the tables given in this chapter is based on the speech practices of the members of the eight families who participated in my research. This information is based on the self-reports of the speech habits of the participants, my observations and thirty-two hours of audio recordings of the home conversations of these families.

Gardner-Chloros (199:188) observes that when a language is disappearing and giving place to another language in a society, the transitional period can be short or long. During this period some form of bilingualism prevails which can take at least two forms at the community level:

i)   There may be a large number of bilinguals in a community, with each new generation shifting its preference and competence slightly in favour of the new language until the complete loss of the old language;

ii)   The bilinguals may be only in the middle age group, the older people being monolingual in the old language and the younger generation monolingual in the new language.

Gardner-Chloros further states that the study of language shift should be treated synchronically as well as diachronically and the ages of the speakers in analysing their language choices should be considered.

In presenting information about the use of Siraiki by the members of participating families across a range of individual and family factors I have partly

followed the model presented by Li Wei et al. (1997) which they used in studying language shift taking place in the Teachew Chinese community in Singapore. They looked at the age and educational level of individual speakers and economic status and religion of the families. In an attempt to present the language choice and changing patterns of Siraiki language usage I have first looked at the general set-up and networks of families and individuals. On the basis of the information collected through different means, namely, observation/participation, recorded data of naturally occurring speech and interviews, I have categorized the speakers into different types and have cited examples from the data recorded in their households to demonstrate different types of language choices that these members make in the home domain. Patterns of language choice across the grandparent's, parent's, and children's generations are systematically presented to demonstrate cross-generational language variation. Fishman (1991: 40) states that as language shift is often a slow process, for the most convincing study of language shift, a comparison between the incidence of language use in time A and corresponding use in time B is required, 'that can serve as a bench mark for a currently contemplated comparative study'. In reality however, we rarely find such data, therefore what Fishman proposes is, 'to conduct a single 'cross-sectional' study *now*, and to build into it those intergenerational comparisons that will enable us to draw inferences' (ibid). I have also looked at the age of the members of participating families to examine how far this factor is affecting language choice and determining the kind of language used by each speaker. I have also discussed the level of education of each participant, especially with reference to the kind of schools they have or are attending.

With only eight families as my eight case studies (with mainly women interviewed and women and children recorded) I do not claim to present a fully

representative picture of the language choices and patterns of language usage of the urban and rural Siraiki speech communities in Multan, but the aim of this analysis is to show the general trends in language choice and practices in family context through a faithful picture of such interactions recorded in eight rural and urban families. This recording has been complemented by information provided by the members of the participating families in interviews and my field notes. Interviews or surveys can only provide information on the language patterns of individuals, whereas such recordings can give information on language choices in an interactive context, thus providing an additional angle to the research (Gardener-Chloros, 1991). I opted for the triangulation of data for this additional angle to my research (cf. 3.3).

In the following section I discuss the criteria for the selection of the families who took part in my research.

4.2 Selection of Families

The urban families selected for this study live in Multan city whereas, the rural families live in a village in the suburbs of Multan. These families were chosen from among my relatives, friends and friends of friends. Care was taken to select such families which had school-going children and which preferably consisted of three generations (Fishman, 1991). As economic group is one of the variables in my research, the families were selected from among different income groups. These income groups do not directly correspond to the social classes that neither exist in Pakistani culture nor are they based on any divisions made by the economists of the income levels of Pakistanis. These are just broad divisions of four income groups which I, living in that society have categorized using my common sense. There were several reasons for categorising the income groups myself. Pakistan has a largely

undocumented economy.[44] The tax base is narrow and skewed and the number of income tax filers is around one million—less than one percent of the total population.[45] Before calculating the income limit of each group I went through different economic surveys and other similar studies carried out and published by the government of Pakistan[46] and other sources. According to a rough estimate, about one third of the Pakistan's total population lives below the poverty line (Aziz).[47] Most of such surveys however, use the calorie-intake approach to assessing poverty and they do not take into account other needs of the individuals. Some economists and database companies have divided Pakistan's population into different income groups e.g. Ahmad[48] divides the population into four income groups, 'drawing less than Rs. 3,000 per month, 3,001 to 5,000, 5001 to 12,000 and people earning more than Rs. 12,000'. Paksearch.com[49] divides the population into the five income groups drawing per month, up to Rs. 1,500, Rs.1, 501 to Rs. 4,000, Rs. 4,001 to Rs. 7,000, Rs. 7,001 to Rs. 10,000 and above Rs. 10,000. Thus in absence of any authentic and reliable income survey data, I had to rely on my own observations. Besides, one of my variables in this study was education, which meant finding such families who send their children to school. In all the aforementioned surveys I could not find data about the income group of families, which distinguished between those families whose children attend schools and those whose children do not.[50] Such a survey, I believe, has not been carried out yet in Pakistan. Hence I had to rely on my own observation to

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[44] www.pakistaneconomist.com/database1/cover/c2003-11.asp. 18.11.04.
[45] www.cbr.gov.pk 18.11.04.
[46] For example, 'Household Integrated Economic Survey, Round 4:2001-2002' by Federal bureau of statistics, government of Pakistan, Islamabad and 'Profile of Poverty in Pakistan, 1998-99' by Pakiatn Institute of Development Economics Islamabad, Pakistan.
[47] www.adb.org/Annual Meeting/2000/board_governor/Pakistan.asp. 04.10. 04.
[48] www.jang.com.pk/thenews/sep2004-daily/13-09-2004/business/b3.htm. 29.09.2004.
[49] www.paksearch.com/Government/SBP/SBP_Annual/Sbp00/CH_IIIa.htm. 29.09.2004.
[50] According to a government survey, 51% of Pakistani children over ten years have never attended school. And, almost seven million Pakistani school-age children are not in schools (www.sparcpk.org/Publications-Newsletter%20June%202003%20%20(2)%20.htm).

determine and categorise different income groups. Before selecting families for my research, I made sure that I had chosen the families who fall into the right income category.

The reason I chose income group as one of the variables is that the income of the family largely determines the type of schooling the children of the family receive, as well as access to amenities like television, radio, video and computer. As we will see later in the chapter, these factors do affect the language choices and language transmission practices of Siraiki speakers.

The following table lists different income groups which my case studies represent. The total monthly income of each group is given on the right hand side.

Table 4. 1 The income groups and total monthly income

Income Group	Total Monthly Income
High income	20,001 to 40,000 Rupees
High middle income	10,001 to 20,000 Rupees
Middle income	2501 to 10,000 Rupees
Low-income	Up to 2,500 Rupees

4.2.1 Rural Families

The rural families belong to the following income groups:

Low-income (1R, 2R)

Middle-income (3R)

High middle-income (4R)

Two families belong to the lowest income group. I could not find any family from high-income group living in the village because I was told by my contact, who

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introduced me to the rural families, that the families belonging to high and high middle-income group do not stay in the villages. They leave the villages and move to the cities when their children reach school-going age due to the unavailability of elite English medium schools in the rural areas. The high middle-income group rural family, which participated in my research, was also planning to settle in the city in a year's time. All four families comprised three generations.

4.2.2 Urban Families

The four urban families belonged to the following income groups:

Low-income (1U)
Middle-income and (2U)
High middle-income (3U)
High-income (4U)

Three out of these four families comprised of three generations. Only the family belonging to high-income group consisted of two generations. The range of language choices that these families make in their repertoires is being discussed in the following section.

4.3 The Range of Language Choices

In this section I present information about the range of language choices made by the members of the families participating in my research in the home domain to address the first research question from the three (cf. 4.1) that I have set out to explore in this chapter. The research question is: What range of language choices exists among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan? The information presented in this section has been collected through the recordings of home conversations of the participating

families, my observations, field notes, and formal and informal interviews with the members of the participating families.

It is argued that in a situation of changing patterns of language usage, the description of how language choices are made by the individuals in a particular speech community takes on a particular importance (Gardner-Chloros, 1991).

Before discussing the range of language choices made by the members of families participating in my research, I want to define some terms which I will use in this chapter.[51] I have used the term *code switching* with regard to the speech practices of different speakers. In this study the term *code switching* encompasses both *insertional* and *alternational* switching (Huang & Milroy, 1995; Muysken, 1995) (cf. 1.6). The term *code* is taken to mean *language* and *code switching* is used as one umbrella term to include variations such as *borrowing, language mixing, code switching, code mixing, code alternating* and *code shifting* (cf. 1.6). The term *English loan words* has been used to describe those English words which do not have a common substitute in Urdu or Siraiki; likewise the term *Urdu loan words* refers to such Urdu words which do not have a common substitute in Siraiki.

The language choices in the home domain made by the members of the families participating in my research can be schematically represented as:

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[51] These terms have already been defined in chapter 1, section 1.6 but I felt that it is important to refer to them again here.

```
┌─────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────┐
│                 │          │   Urdu          │
│   Siraiki       │          │                 │
│                 │          └─────────────────┘
└─────────────────┘

┌─────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────┐
│ Siraiki   with  │          │ Urdu      with  │
│ Urdu     code   │          │ Siraiki   code  │
│ switching       │          │ switching       │
└─────────────────┘          └─────────────────┘

┌─────────────────┐          ┌─────────────────┐
│ Siraiki   with  │          │ Urdu  with      │
│ Urdu      and   │          │ English         │
│ English  code   │          │ code            │
│ switching       │          │ switching       │
└─────────────────┘          └─────────────────┘
```
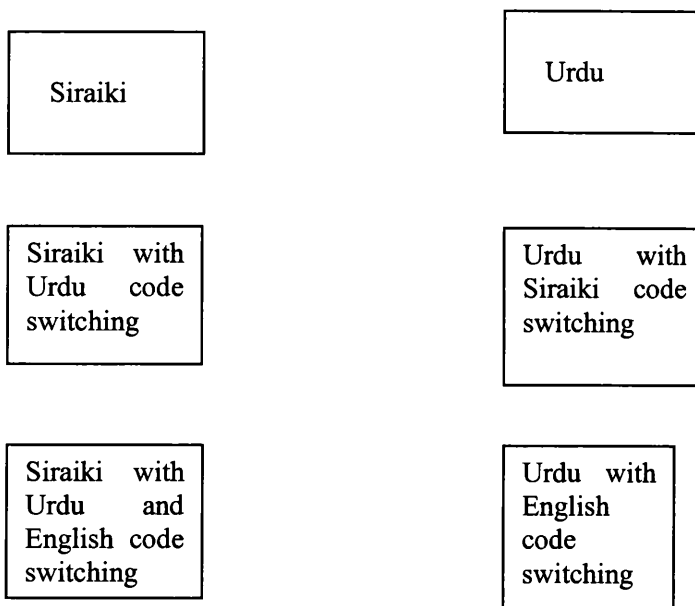
Figure 4. 1 Language choices in home domain

After having analysed the transcriptions of spoken data I collected, I worked out the distribution of language choices per family which is represented in the following diagrams:

Rural Families

```
                    ╱  Siraiki
1R  ◁
(Low-income    ╲  Siraiki with Urdu code switching
family)
```

```
                   ╱ Siraiki
2R  ◁───────── Siraiki with Urdu code switching
(Low-
income family) ╲ Siraiki with Urdu and English code switching
```

3R
(Middle-
income family)

Siraiki with Urdu code switching

Siraiki with Urdu and English code switching

4R
(High-
income
family)

Siraiki with Urdu code switching

Siraiki with Urdu and English code switching

Urdu

Urdu with English code switching

Figure 4. 2 The distribution of language choices in rural families

Urban Families

1U
(Low-
income
family)

Siraiki

Siraiki with Urdu code switching

Urdu

Urdu with Siraiki code switching

2U
(Middle-
income family)

Siraiki with Urdu code switching

Urdu

Urdu with English code switching

3U
(High
middle-income
family)

Siraiki with Urdu code switching

Urdu

Urdu with English code switching

4U
(High-
income family)

Siraiki with Urdu and English code switching

Urdu with English code switching

Figure 4. 3 The distribution of language choices in urban families

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Figures 4.2 and 4.3 show that Siraiki is spoken in all the rural and urban families while Urdu is spoken only in the urban families with the exception of family 4R which belongs to the high-middle income group. However, the choices written in front of each family do not reflect the language choices of all the members in home domain. The choices of different members vary owing to factors like addressee, age, education, exposure to a particular language, transmission practices of elders (which includes grandparents, parents and older siblings), networks, and the amount of time one spends watching television. The amount of code switching done by each participant also varies. The patterns of language choice of speakers across different generations are discussed in section 4.7 and tables 4.12 and 4.13 in the same section indicate the dominant language of the speakers from different generations in rural and urban Siraiki speech communities.

All these language choices are socially acceptable in Multan except for Urdu with Siraiki code switching, if at all it can be called a 'choice' because usually this type of speech is not consciously spoken as it is considered a sign of incompetence in the speaker's Urdu. The mother's comments at the speech of her children in extract 23 [13] (cf. 4.4.2.i) supports this point. There is no stigma attached, however, to code switching from Urdu or English in Siraiki speech.

In the above section I summarised the range of language choices that exists among the Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan. Now I briefly describe each family and with the help of extracts from the conversations of these families discuss who speaks what type of language with whom in home domain. I also explore why the individuals make certain language choices.

4.4 Family profiles, Networks and Speech Practices

This section explores the following research questions: What language transmission practices exist among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?, and What is the relationship between different variables: namely, age, location (rural/urban), education and economic group in terms of language choice patterns among Multani families? To address these research questions a brief description of the participating families, their networks, their speech practices and their views on the Siraiki language and its usage are given. The description of each family is preceded by the family tree of that particular family. The age of the family members is written in each box. The letter 'D' represents daughters and 'S' sons. Extracts from the conversations of the eight families recorded in the home domain are also given and analysed in the following sections to demonstrate the typical language behaviours and language choice patterns of the participants. For the analysis of the family conversations as a first step, I chose certain extracts to demonstrate certain points. Through these speech extracts I have demonstrated different types of language choices that are made by these families and certain type of code switching that occurs in their speech in home conversations. In the light of information gained from the families through formal and informal interviews, my observations and field notes, I have tried to explain the language behaviour of the members of these families.

On the technical side, a vast range of transcription styles are possible but I have tried to create a balance between accuracy and readability. Some transcriptions attempt to show overlapping conversations i.e. whenever two or more speakers are speaking simultaneously; these can become difficult for the reader to follow (Stubbs, 1983: 11); I have therefore transcribed simultaneous utterances one after the other.

The following transcription conventions have been adopted to present the conversations:

The participants' utterances are transcribed in conventional English spellings.

Urdu is represented in plain characters

Siraiki in **bold type**

English in *italics*

(these conventions have been followed for the isolated words also, quoted at different places)

Each utterance is numbered for the sake of any reference to it in its analysis and the English translation is given in parenthesis ( ) under each utterance.

For the purpose of confidentiality the following measures have been taken: Instead of identifying the speakers with their names I have identified all the members of the family with their status in the family, for example, grandmother, mother. I have, however, referred to one person in each family with a pseudonym for ease in referencing. The letter X has been used for the people's names that are uttered by the participants in their conversations.

4.4.1 Rural (R) Families

The above mentioned data about each rural family and the analysis of the home conversations is being presented separately in the following subsections. Section 4.4.1.v briefly discusses the general trends in rural speech in home domain observed through my four rural case studies.

4.4.1.i Family 1R (Low-income)
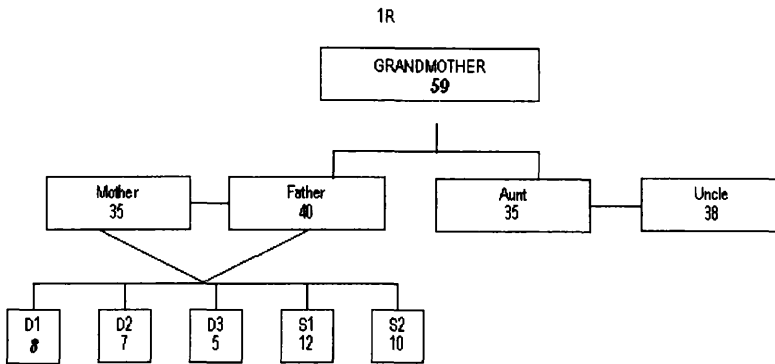
Figure 4.4 Family 1R: Members and their ages

Zarina's (mother) family belongs to the low-income group. The family consists of three generations, Zarina, her husband, mother-in-law, three daughters and two sons. Her husband's sister and her husband also live with them. All the adults in the family cannot read or write but they can 'read' the Quran without any understanding of its meanings. Except for the grandmother, they all work in the fields owned by their landlord. The ages of the children range between five and twelve. All the members of this family are Siraiki monolinguals except for the eldest son who has studied up until grade five in the village school and who now lives and works in the landlord's house in the city; he is bilingual in Siraiki and Urdu. The younger one is studying in the village school. All three girls go to the 'madrassa' (mosque school mainly imparting religious education). The family does not own a radio or a television,[52] however, sometimes the children go and watch television in the home of some friends in the village. They own a tape recorder on which they sometimes listen to Siraiki folk songs.

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[52] The television transmissions on all the Pakistani channels are predominantly in Urdu (cf. 5.4).

The family stays in the village all the time and speaks in Siraiki at home and with everyone in the village. The adults use Siraiki constructions and lexical items in their speech which in the cities have now been replaced by Urdu ones. Even in the village those families who are not so much isolated from the media or have received or are acquiring education in city schools have stopped using these constructions. At one point Zarina is heard telling her sister-in-law about one of their relatives' intention to get his son circumcised and the Siraiki terms that she uses for circumcision are **'shadi'** and **'khushi'.** From my own observation as a native Multani and from my interactions with the city and village dwellers I can say with some conviction that the former term is now used in villages only and the latter both in villages and sometimes in cities. At another point Zarina's sister-in-law uses the verb **'putiij'** for tooth extraction which literally means extraction but now is usually replaced by **'kudhvavrn',** the Siraiki translation of Urdu term 'nikulwana' which means 'to get it taken out'. Other Siraiki terms used by them are, **'sokra'** (physically weak), **'pala'** (cold), **'vaar'** (flood). The adults do use some English lexical items but most of them are a case of loan words like *'band'* (for the bands of radio), *'body'* (for the leather covering over the radio), *'cassette'*, *'tape'*, *'cycle'*, *'kilo'*, etc. Zarina at one point uses the word *'suit'* for dress which although has a common substitute 'jora', used both in Siraiki and Urdu but it seems that she has picked it up from the market where shopkeepers use this term often. Both Zarina and her sister-in-law Kausar consider Siraiki language essential for their Siraiki identity. Nevertheless, when I asked Zarina how she would feel if the Siraiki language were to die she gave a very interesting answer. She said that in that case they would be taught some other language to survive but sometimes they would crave for Siraiki language like they occasionally crave for **'bay mosmay phal'** (out of season fruit). She desires for her children to be fluent both

in Siraiki and Urdu so that '**Oo kithain khutta na khaven**', (they are not disadvantaged anywhere). In the village she does not see any instrumental value for her children being bilingual in Siraiki and Urdu. She associates the command of Urdu with being clever and smart. The children are taught in Siraiki in their school and '*madrassa*'. None of them understands or speaks Urdu except for the eldest son who has picked it up from the landlord's children and by watching TV in their home. In one instance, which was recorded during one of his visits home, he spells his name in English which he must have learnt in the city because when he studied in school English was not taught at the primary level in state schools. He believes that being bilingual in Siraiki and Urdu has given him an advantage in the sense that now he can communicate with everyone and the knowledge of Urdu comes handy when he goes to shops, post offices and banks in the city. He does not want to study Siraiki as a school subject if ever given a chance because he says he already knows the language but also admits that he finds it difficult to read Siraiki. The younger son uses some Urdu and English lexical items related to the school register which he must have picked up from school (cf. Extract 2). He is not familiar with the names of Siraiki or Urdu language. He calls Siraiki '**aaprin boli**' (our language) and Urdu '**shahar di boli**' (the city language). He is desirous to learn Urdu which he likes better than Siraiki so that, 'he can be like the city dwellers and can understand it whenever he hears it.' He wants to study Siraiki as a subject because he believes that he would understand it better than other subjects as he already knows the language.

The children of this household are heard singing Siraiki folk songs which they hear on the tape recorder at home, as opposed to the children of family 2R who sing Urdu pop songs and songs from the films, which they might have watched on television and heard on radio as that family owns both a radio and a television.

Analysis of Speech Extracts

In family 1R the two sons are the only members of this family who have studied in school. As a result of this they sometimes code switch from Urdu in their Siraiki speech and we also hear some English and Urdu loan words in their conversation relating to the school register.

In the following extract the siblings are discussing Son 2's school and the brothers mix English and Urdu loanwords in their Siraiki speech.

EXTRACT 1

[1] Son 1: Akhbaar **aych aya piya hai hun** *gormint*[53] *school* **aych hun roti daysen tay** *fees* **ei kayna ghinsen dah toriin** taliim **moft. Haa** akhbaar **aych aya pay** *fees* **ei kaina tay roti ei**

(It has come in the newspaper that in government schools they will give food and won't charge any fee. Yes, it has come in the newspaper, no fee and food too)

[2] Son 2: **Wal ithay kain kuun haali patta kaina hoosi. Patta lag gaya tay val**

(Then nobody here knows about it. Once they know it then)

[3] Daughter 1: **Roti vi daysein**

(They'll give food also)

[4] Son 1: **Jiya**

(Yes)

[5] Son 2: **Tuhaaday** *school* **aalay dayndein pein?**

(Are your school people giving food?)

[6] Son 1: X **da** *private* **hay uunday aich keiney deindey**

(X's [the landlord's son] school is private, there they don't give any)

In utterance (1) English words like *'school'* and *'fees'* are English loan words and do not have a common substitute in either Urdu or Siraiki. The word *'government'* has a common Urdu substitute 'hakumat' but the government schools

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[53] Son 1 pronounces the English word 'government' as 'gormint'.

are commonly referred to with its English equivalent. Although instead of the word 'government' the Urdu term 'surkari' (belonging to the government) is used but usually the school authorities and students refer to their schools as 'government schools'. Similarly in utterance (6) Son 1 uses the term *'private'* as opposed to 'government' to refer to the school of his landlord's son.[54] The term *'private'* also, in the context of schools, does not have a common Urdu or Siraiki substitute. Son 2 seems to be familiar with this term, as he does not ask for any clarification from his brother in the ensuing conversation.

In extract 2 we see code switching of Urdu lexical items.

EXTRACT 2

[1] Son 1: **Ustaad kiho jai hein?**

(How are your teachers?)

[2] Son 2: Achhay **ustaad hein**, Achhii *classan*[55] **purhaynein**

(The teachers are good, they teach well)

[3] Son 1: Achha, Achha **biya kitti baal hein?**

(OK, how many students are there?)

[4] Son 2: **Assi** taadad **hay**

(They are eighty in number)

[5] Son 1: **Assi! kuur na maar**

(Eighty! don't lie)

In utterance [2] Son 2 uses an Urdu adjective 'achhay' (good) in place of its Siraiki substitue '**chungay**', which though common, is obviously not used in the school discourse, therefore the boy has used the Urdu adjective. Later in the same utterance he uses a loan blend for the noun *'class'* and pluralises the English word according to the Siraiki rules. In utterance (2) he uses another Urdu word, 'taadad' meaning number; this lexical item also does not have a common Siraiki substitute.

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[54] In English cultural concept, private schools are often called prep schools or public schools.
[55] The English word 'class' is pluralised in the manner of Siraiki nouns.

What we can infer from the above two extracts is that the few Urdu and English lexical items that the boys have used belong to the school register, hence both the boys seem to have picked these up in school. Even though Son 1 knows some Urdu, which he has picked up in the city, he does not speak it at home nor does code switch from it frequently in his Siraiki speech.

The adults in this family rarely code switch in their Siraiki speech but sometimes use Urdu and English loan words in their speech. In the following conversation, which takes place between the aunt and uncle, we hear some English loan words.

EXTRACT 3

[1] Uncle: **So rupiya ghindayn**

(They charge one hundred)

[2] Aunt: **Du** *band* **da?**

(For two bands?)

[3] Uncle: **Du** *band* **da kiya hay aapran, du so**

(Is ours of two bands? Two hundred)

[4] Aunt: **Accha wanj aan hun taikuun du so**

(Come now, they give you for two hundred!)

[5] Uncle: **So rupiya heik** *band* **da**

(A hundred rupees for one band)

[6] Aunt: **Saadhay char so mungay nay iiha jainday uttay chumray di** *body* **churhii hoi hondy aye. Chottay, chottay honein saadhay char so du** *band* **da jayrha hay na**

(They have asked for four hundred and fifty rupees for the one which has leather covering on it. They are small, four hundred and fifty rupees for the two-band one)

In Siraiki there exists no substitute for the English word '*band*'[56] with reference to radios, therefore, we cannot say that the speakers possess some knowledge of English language. Similar is the case with the English word '*body*' which is used here to refer to the outer covering of the radio.

By looking at the speech practices of this family, what can be concluded is that because in this village Siraiki is the only language used and because in village primary schools in the south of Punjab education is imparted in Siraiki, even though Urdu is taught as a compulsory subject from year 1, this family (with the exception of Son 1) knows and uses Siraiki only. Due to the education in school some Urdu words belonging to school register have entered in the repertoire of Son 2. Having no access to television or radio has also played a role in this family not learning or using any Urdu.

4.4.1.ii Family 2R (Low-income)
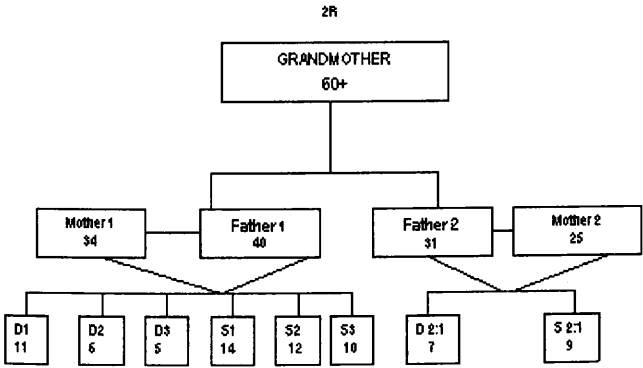
Figure 4. 5 Family 2R: Members and their ages

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[56] The term '*band*' is used in the same sense as in English cultural concept.

Shamimo's (grandmother) family consists of three generations. She lives with her two sons, their wives and children. Shamimo and her daughters-in-law go to the houses in the city to work as maids. Her sons also work in the city. The language of the households where Shamimo works is Punjabi but she uses Siraiki with her employers even though they speak to her in Punjabi. The mothers work in the city in Siraiki-speaking households so they, like Shamimo, have never felt any need to learn the Urdu language. The fathers, in the course of their work, have to deal with different people; therefore, they have a functional command of Urdu. Shamimo says that she would like her grandchildren to learn Urdu even at the cost of Siraiki because she believes that this would enable them to meet 'good' people. Her sons speak both Urdu and Siraiki at work in the city. Her daughters-in-law can understand Urdu and speak some with their employers. With their children though they speak Siraiki only; according to them they want their children to learn Urdu. On one occasion, Mother 2 is heard repeating several times the Urdu form used to address father 'abbu' to her husband's one-year-old niece instead of the common Siraiki equivalent **'abba'** which all the children in the family use. The Grandmother in her speech does not code switch from Urdu but the rest of the elders do use some Urdu lexical items in their Siraiki speech.

The grandparent and parents of this family have taught Siraiki to their children as a mother tongue. The ages of the children range from six to fourteen. The boys go to the city school and girls to the village school. The medium of instruction in the city school is Urdu and they speak to the teachers in Urdu. With their peers at school they converse both in Siraiki and Urdu according to the preference of their friends. At home the conversation among the siblings is mainly conducted in Siraiki. The children at times utter full English phrases in their Siraiki speech like, *'not at all'*. They also

mix a few common English loan words, some of which belong to the school register like *'nursery'*, *'primary'*, *'middl'* and *'number'* which they seem to have picked up from school. Some are from sports like *'catch-catch'*, *'point'*, *'match'*, *'final match'* and *'team'* which they might have picked from watching cricket matches on television and listening to the commentary, as the family owns a television and children love watching sports, especially cricket, on it. Some Urdu code switching in the form of isolated words and short sentences is also observed in the speech of children when they are talking among themselves.

During the interview, Son 1 expressed the opinion that the only advantage of learning Siraiki is that it can be used at home and the command of both Siraiki and Urdu enables him to survive and cope everywhere, in all situations. Daughter 1 expressed her desire that television should telecast more Siraiki programs, especially dramas.

Analysis of Speech Extracts

From the conversation of the children it is evident that the knowledge of Urdu and English that they demonstrate through code switching in their Siraiki speech has mainly been learnt at school and from watching television. The following three extracts support this finding. The speech of the children of this family stands in sharp contrast to the speech of the children of family 1R. Although both the families live in the same village and belong to the same income group, by virtue of city schools for the boys, the adults working in the city and having a television at home, the children of this family can speak Urdu and often code switch from Urdu and English in their Siraiki speech.

The following conversation takes place between the three brothers who all attend city school.

EXTRACT 4

[1] Son 2: **Yaar maykun** *match* **khaydna nai aanada na** *ball* **kurvavriin aandi hay**
(I can neither play the match nor know how to ball)

[2] Son 3: **Mein tay** *match* **nai khayda tun** *player* **hein tay tayday naal nai khaydda** *match* **ha**
(I didn't play the match; you are a player so I will not play a match with you)

[3] Son 1: **Kiyun nai khaydda?**
(Why don't you play with me?)

[4] Son 2: **Tuun bhai** *player* **hein**
(Because you are a player)

[5] Son 1: **Yaar mein** *fast ball* **kurvayna tuun maykun iiho jaya** chukka **maar day taan wal?**
(I'll throw a fast ball and if you hit a six on my ball then?)

[6] Son 3: **Ha** chakka **maar ghinana mein! Aap maykun phirai vudda honein, naaliyan paar karai vudda honein,** nudiyan **paar karvai vudda honein.**
(Oh yes I can hit a six! You yourself take me around; carry me over the drains, carry me over the canals)

[7] Son 1: **Tain** *hard ball* **kurvai taykun** chukka **maaray mein** *hard ball* **da**
(You threw a hard ball and I hit a six of the hard ball)

In the above extract the brothers are mixing English lexis related to the cricket register, some of which come in the category of loan words. Words like *'player'*, *'match'*, and *'fast ball'* do have common Siraiki substitutes but the boys choose to mix English words in their Siraiki speech.

In extract 5 the brothers and sisters are talking about their respective schools with each wanting others to listen to him/her.

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EXTRACT 5

[1] Son 1: **Mein kutaysan, haik ghat daayvan, chop ri,** baaji ya *uncle* meiri baat ghor say sunein. Humara *school* humaray *school* mein humara *school Nursery* ta hushtum tuk hai aur humaray ustaad Sajid sahib yaani kay mayray ustaad Saajid sahib accha **oo burra accha purhaynda ay meikuun**

(I'll hit you; keep quiet elder sister or uncle, listen to me attentively. Our school is from nursery till year eight and my teacher Mr Sajid teaches me very well)

[2] Son 2: **Chop kur**

(Keep quiet)

[3] Son 1:Burra achha **purhaynda ay**

(He teaches very well)

[4] Son 3:**Meida ustaad hivay meiday ustaad da na hivay oo ay Mohammad Mian Aslam** sahib

(The name of my teacher is Mr Mohammad Mian Aslam)

In this extract Son 1 in [1] while describing his school and teacher suddenly switches to Urdu—a language used in school. Like Son 2 of family 1R in [2] of extract 2 he also uses an Urdu construction 'burra achha' (very good) in his Siraiki speech to describe the teaching at school. These switches to Urdu when talking about school suggest that they associate Urdu with school and the school is the main source from where they learn Urdu.

The following extract is from a conversation which took place among the siblings and here again the topic of conversation is their respective schools.

EXTRACT 6

[1] Son 2: **Accha saada jayrha** *school* **hei naa uunda haik wudda saara** *ground* hei. *Ground* **day uunda vudda saara** *ground* **hay** *ground* **aich assan** tufreeh **aylay khaydday hain.** Tufriih **aylay sub khayd kay sub wal saadi kutaas lugdii hay. Saaday** *school* **aych** baagheecha **hein ay haik, duu, trai, char char** *plot* **hein** bohut burra accha **dirukht** sufayday **day dirukht hein tahli day dirukht hein** burray acchay **dirukht hein bhai uunday aich saah ghinun da burra muzza aanda ay.**

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(In our school there is a big ground. We play in the ground in the playtime. After we have played in the playtime we are given a good hiding. In our school there are little gardens, four plots in which there are very good trees like eucalyptus and acacia and it is very refreshing to breath there)

[2] Son 3: **Naa kar oo huth oo uunda**

(Don't do it, mind his hand)

[3] Son 1: Bahtreen *oxygen* **hoondi hay**

(The oxygen there is perfect)

[4] Son 2:1: Saaday *school* **aych** jhoolay **ei hein, assan jhootay khaanay hoonay aan roz**

(In our school there are swings and we play on them)

[5] Son 2: **Pur saaday** *school* **aich jhootay kainii**

(But in our school there are no swings)

[6] Son 1: **Saaday** *school* **aich ei** jhoola **kainii**

(In our school too there's no swing)

In this extract Son 2 in [1] while telling about his school switches to Urdu and English reflecting the vocabulary commonly used in his school. He uses the English words '*ground*' and '*plot*' and Urdu adjectives 'bohut', 'burra achha' (a lot, very good) to describe them. He uses Urdu to name one tree 'sufayday' (eucalyptus) and Siraiki to name the other, '**tahli**' (acacia). He also uses Urdu nouns 'tufreeh' (recreation) and 'baagheecha' (a small garden) to describe his school. In reply to his description Son 1 uses the technical word 'oxygen' instead of the more common Urdu word 'hawa' or English '*air*'. He might have learnt this word at school in a science class. Son 2:1 then talks about the swings which he has in his school and uses the Urdu noun 'jhoolay' (swings) for it but later in the same sentence uses the Siraiki verb '**jhootay**' (to play on the swings). At this Son 2, saying that they do not have swings in their school, uses the Siraiki noun '**jhootay**' for the swings but in the next utterance Son 1 uses the Urdu noun 'jhoolay' for the swings. In Urdu the word 'jhoolay' is used both as a noun and as a verb i.e. for 'swings' and 'to play on the swings', likewise in

Siraiki the term '**jhootay**' stands for both. This extract exemplifies how the use of Urdu in schools is influencing the Siraiki speech of these children.

In extract 7 the children are talking in Siraiki with code switching from Urdu about an accident.

EXTRACT 7

[1] Son 2: *Motor cycle* **aalay**?

(The motor cyclists?)

[2] Son 1: *Motor cycle* **aalay tullay aa gai han**

(The motor cyclists were run over)

[3] Son 2: **Duunha un** *time* **mar gai haavay saakun khabar hun vaylay mel gai hai**

(Both of them got killed right at that time. We got the news straight away)

[4] Son 2:1 **pehlay men ditha na**

(When I first saw)

[5] Son 2: **Achha saada jehra** maahol **hay na zara** ehtiat **nai karaynday** ehtiat laazmi hai, *aids* khatarnaak hai

(In our society they don't take care. Taking care is a must; aids is dangerous)

In this extract Son 2 in utterance [5] with reference to the accident comments that in our society they are not careful and the Urdu word he uses for being careful is 'ehtiat' (to take care). This word triggers in his mind a public announcement from the Health Ministry telecast on television (underlined in the extract) and finishes the sentence with an Urdu insertion taken from that public service announcement thus revealing the source from where he has picked up the whole of the Urdu insertion that he uses at the end of this utterance.

The following extract illustrates the code switching practices of the adults of this family.

EXTRACT 8

[1] Son 2: **Chaachi kiya haal hay**

(Aunt, how are you?)

[2] Mother 2: Theek **haal hay**

(I'm OK)

[3] Son 1: **Inhun aa**

(Come here)

[4] Mother 2: **Iiho** chiiz **hay?**

(Is this the thing?)

This conversation took place when Mother 2 enters the room after coming back from work where the children are sitting. Her husband's nephew, Son 2 greets her and asks her how she is. She answers him with an Urdu word 'theek' (OK) which in this context has a common Siraiki substitute '**chunga'.** Later in [4] she points to the cassette recorder and asks the boy if that is the thing and for the word 'thing' she uses an Urdu lexis 'cheez' which has a very common Siraiki substitute '**shai'.**

The above conversational extracts demonstrate that the main sources from where the children of family 2R have picked up Urdu and English are school and television transmissions. While only Siraiki is spoken in their village, the children attend the city school where Urdu is used for teaching, so code switching from Urdu has become an essential part of their speech habits. The adults who code switch sometimes from Urdu in their Siraiki speech have also influenced the speech habits of the children. The influence of television on their speech habits in the case of code switching both from Urdu and English has also been illustrated in these extracts.

4.4.1.iii Family 3R (Middle-income)
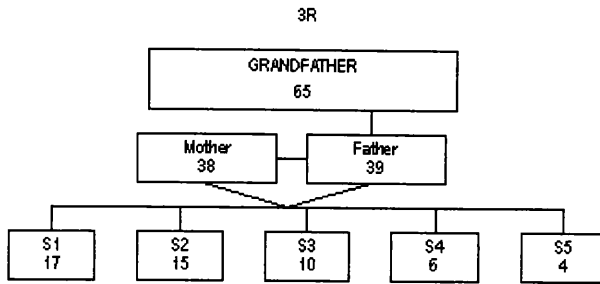
Figure 4. 6 Family 3R: Members and their ages

Nazneen's (mother) family belongs to the middle-income group and consists of three generations. The grandfather has studied up to grade ten. Her husband also holds the same qualification. She herself, who lived in a city before her marriage, has not attended formal school but has studied Urdu and some Arabic at home. They have five sons whose ages range between four and seventeen. All the boys except for the eldest, who left school in grade seven, study in the village primary and high schools. All the family members except for the youngest son are bilingual in Siraiki and Urdu with varying proficiencies in Urdu.

The family does not own a television but has a transistor radio. The family stays in the village all the time except for some visits by the grandfather, father, and the eldest son to the city for matters relating to their farm. There they speak Urdu with the city shopkeepers, otherwise with everyone in the village they all speak in Siraiki. When the grandfather visits different offices he also speaks Urdu with the office staff. At home the predominant language is Siraiki with a mix of very few English loan words. The grandfather code switches more often from Urdu and English in his Siraiki speech than any other member of the family. Partly it is because of his education and

partly because he is a member of the local Union Council and at its meetings he has to make formal Urdu and Siraiki speeches. Son 1 reported that the grandfather often uses Urdu with his grandsons while helping them in their studies but in the four-hour recording of this family's conversation the grandfather who was present for almost seventy minutes did not speak any Urdu except in the form of code switching. At one point Son 2 asked him to explain about different forms of past tense in Urdu and the grandfather explained it in Siraiki. The recordings are not consistent with the boys' claim that at home about 30% of the grandfather's speech is conducted in Urdu. In school the boys speak in Siraiki with their peers. The medium of instruction in the primary school is Siraiki whereas, in high school the teachers use Urdu in the classroom.

During my interviews with the members of this family the members expressed the following views. The grandfather said that he wants more time devoted to Siraiki programs about farming, cultivation and animal husbandry on TV and radio. He wants his grandsons to learn to read Siraiki so that they can read books on Islam written in Siraiki and also become proficient in Urdu so that they can 'move in good, educated society'; Siraiki for him is needed only to communicate with 'ordinary people'. The eldest grandson echoed a similar opinion stating that proficiency in Urdu is very beneficial and gives one confidence to move in 'good upper class company'. When the second grandson was questioned about his use of Urdu, his answer was that he uses it with 'educated people who speak Urdu'. The boys' mother does not want her sons to learn Urdu at the cost of Siraiki but along with Siraiki so that they can survive everywhere. She, however, wants them to use only Urdu and no Siraiki in school. As stated earlier, the conversation in this household is mainly conducted in Siraiki. They use English loan words like *'cycle', 'glass', 'machine', 'workshop', 'doctor'* and

'pencil' and also some English lexis like, *'check', 'time', 'master'* and *'boot'* which, though they have Siraiki equivalents, are quite common in the speech of urban Siraikis.

Analysis of Speech Extracts

Like family 1R, the speech of the adults in this family includes some elements which are specific to the rural areas. The following extract illustrates this point.

EXTRACT 9

[1] Mother: *School* **aich kerhi** chiiz **khaadi haavay. Heik rupay da tan gharra ghein aayay haavay; duujhay da?**
(What did you eat in school today when you bought a sharpener with one rupee and with the second?)

[2] My contact: **Gharra kiya**
(What do you mean by 'gharra'?)

[3] Mother: *Shopring*[57]
(Sharpener)

[4] My contact: Accha
(Right)

[5] Mother: *Pencil* **gharran vastey**
(To sharpen the pencil)

Here the mother asks her fourth son if he has bought the **'gharra'** and when my contact asked her what she meant by this word she said, 'shopring' (she knows the word 'sharpner' with an incorrect pronunciation). The grandfather also used this term a few times in his conversations with the boys but with a slightly different pronunciation; he pronounces it as **'ghaarra'** using a long vowel instead of a short one. The term **'gharra'** or **'ghaarra'** is not used for a sharpener in Siraiki speech in the urban areas but the English term is retained. The Urdu verb 'ghurna' (to sharpen)

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[57] The mother mispronounces the English word 'sharpner'.

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is used, so in the Siraiki speech of the village a noun has been made from this Urdu verb which seems specific only to the villages.

Extract 10 has been taken from the conversation which took place between Nazneen and another village girl who comes to her to learn sewing.

EXTRACT 10

[1] Mother: **Iiho garam kupray paavunr di chutty ay**

(They don't like wearing warm clothes)

[2] Student: **Nai paynday** *sweater?*

(Don't they wear sweaters?)

[3] Mother: **Nai** *sweater, sweater* **taan anj mein burai hoai hein** *jerseyan* **hein**

(No, what to talk of sweaters, I have made jerseys for them)

[4] Student: **Accha**[58]

(Right)

[5] Mother: **Uunda** *coat* **hay** *jacket* **hay nai paynday**

(He has a coat and a jacket but he doesn't wear it)

Here Nazneen uses English loan words 'sweater', 'coat', and 'jacket'. In [3] there is an example of 'loan blend' (Hamers & Blanc, 1989: 36) when she pluralizes the English word 'jersey' by adding a Siraiki suffix to it. This type of loan blend is very common in the Siraiki region. Words like 'jerseyan' and 'sweateran' are used commonly.

The following extract illustrates the Siraiki monolingualism of the youngest son who has just started school.

EXTRACT 11

[1] Son 5: **Kinu khaa ghinnu?**

(Can we eat the oranges?)

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[58] The word 'Accha' is used both in Siraiki and Urdu in the sense of 'right'. If it is used in the sense of 'good' then it is an Urdu word because the Siraiki word for 'good' is **'changa'**.

[2] Mother: **Mm**

[3] Son 5: **Ammi hunay aasein wal**

(Mum will she come again now)

[4] Son 1: **Ha ha**

(Yes, yes)

[5] Mother: Nai ab nai aayain gi

(No, she won't come now)

[6] Son 1: **Val ay na khaaun?**

(Then we shouldn't eat these?)

Here Son 5 asks his mother if he can eat the oranges which she had served to me earlier. The mother, perhaps busy in something else, does not understand what he has said so he tries to clarify if I was going to come back (so that he should keep the oranges for me instead of eating them). The eldest brother answers in the affirmative but the mother, unlike her usual language practice, answers in Urdu. I think it is the reference to me—a city dweller which has perhaps triggered this choice of Urdu language. Son 5 who is not bilingual yet, misunderstands the Mother's utterance [5] which is made in Urdu and asks his mother again if he should not eat the oranges after all.

As stated earlier, the grandfather in this family switches more often to Urdu and English in his Siraiki speech as compared to the other members of the family, owing to his education and involvement in the Union Council of that area. The following extract from the conversation which took place between the grandfather and Son 2 clearly shows that the grandfather's Siraiki speech is full of code switching from Urdu and English.

EXTRACT 12

[1] Grandfather: **Mein aj aye kiyta hay** murghiyan **di jahri aye jugga aye uthan da rah bund kur ditta hay. Accha tayri imtuhan di tuyari kivain hay hon?**

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(What I have done today is that I have blocked the way to the hens' shed. How's your preparation for the exam now?)

[2] Son 2: Acchi **hay**

(Good)

[3] Grandfather: **Accha hon iin vari** *class* **aych taykun kiya** umiid **hay kivain rahsain?**

(OK how do you expect to fare in the class this time?)

[4] Son 2: Accha **rahsan**

(I'll fare well)

[5] Grandfather: **Accha tay** riyazi **tay aye** chiizan duswiin **aych aasain?**

(OK Algebra and other things will be studied in grade ten?)

[6] Son 2: **Jiya**

(Yes)

[7] Grandfather: **Hon kiya keihra** *subject* hay **tuhaada**

(What is your subject now?)

[8] Son 2: **Hon** *English, Chemistry, Bio,* **tay** Islamiyat

(Now it's English, chemistry, biology and Islamic studies)

[9] Grandfather: **Accha assan jais vailay purhday haasay burra vaila ghuriibi da honda hai tay laikin aye hay kay ustaad** burri mehnut **kuraynday hun** *overtime* **daynday hun** *fees tuition fees* **wi na ghinday hun tay** burri **mayhnut kuraynday hun os zumanay aych** taalim burri **thori hai tay jahray purhay hoay honday hun oo** qaabil **honday han tussan wi** mehnut **kurayso tay gaal burnsey accha val** taleem **di** qudur **aye hay kay** insaan **aych** sumujh **aa vaindii hay** buujh **aa vaindii hay bundayan waich bahvun da** turiiqa **aa vainda hay.**

(Right, when I studied it was the time of poverty but the teachers worked very hard, gave extra time and charged no tuition fees. At that time there were very few educated people and those who were educated they were brilliant. If you work hard then you'll benefit. Moreover, the value of education is that a human becomes sensible and learns the art to join the company of sophisticated people.

In [1] the grandfather uses the Urdu word 'murghiyan' (hens) instead of the common Siraiki word '**kukriyan**'. Then in [2] he uses another Urdu word 'umiid' (hope), likewise he later uses Urdu loan blend like 'chiizan' (things) and other Urdu

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lexis like, 'Dusviin' (tenth), 'qaabil' (brilliant), 'burri' (a lot) 'mehnut' (hardwork), 'qudur' (value), 'insaan' (human), 'sumujh buujh' (know how) 'tureeqa' (style) in other turns instead of which he could have used their common Siraiki substitutes. He also code switches to English in this extract and uses words 'subject', 'overtime', 'tuition fees' instead of Siraiki constructions. Due to his involvement in the local politics he meets people from different language backgrounds with whom he converses both in Siraiki and Urdu. This to some extent explains his code switching from Urdu and English in his Siraiki speech.

The speech practices of this family show that even though most of the family members are bilingual in Urdu and Siraiki, Siraiki is the main language spoken at home with very little code switching from Urdu or English. The speech of grandfather though, as represented in extract 12, shows more code switching. The grandfather, father and Son 1 (by virtue of their education and work) and the mother (because of being brought up in the city) all know Urdu but they mainly speak Siraiki at home. Son 2, because of studying in high school where the language used in the classroom is Urdu and Sons 3 and 4 because of studying Urdu as a subject in school, know Urdu, though to a varying degree. Son 5 who has just started school does not know much Urdu yet as evident from extract 11.

4.4.1.iv Family 4R (High middle-income)
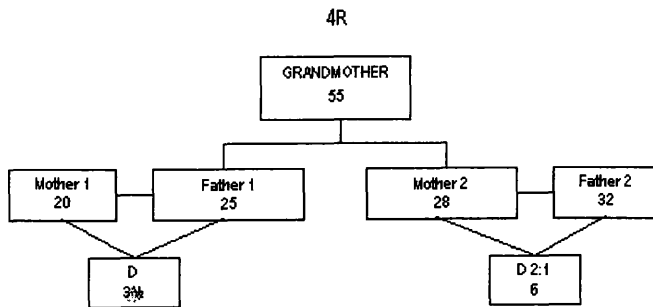
Figure 4. 7 Family 4R: Members and their ages

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Amna's (grandmother) family belongs to the upper-middle income group and consists of three generations. Amna herself has studied Urdu and the Quran at home. Her son holds a B.A. degree and his wife has studied until grade ten. Her son's daughter is three and a half-year old and has not started school yet. Her daughter with her husband and a six-year-old daughter also live with them. Amna's daughter holds a B.A. degree and son-in-law holds a Master degree. They all have studied in the city Urdu-medium state schools. Both Amna's daughter and daughter-in-law recall that when they joined school, they had a hard time initially, due to their Siraiki monolingualism, because in the school there was no place for Siraiki in the classrooms; they even had a hard time making friends in their respective schools due to their inability to converse in Urdu. Urdu eventually became their 'favourite' language in their childhood and 'seemed more attractive' than Siraiki because they did not know it but wanted to learn it. They say that they are now trying to protect their daughters from the same plight that they faced by teaching them both Urdu and Siraiki, along with English, because Amna's elder granddaughter attends an English medium school in the city and the younger one is shortly joining one. Amna's daughter says that when she started teaching both Siraiki and Urdu to her daughter as the first languages, many of her friends in the city warned her that she's going to 'spoil' the child's Urdu accent. However, like her mother, although she does not see any instrumental value of learning Siraiki, she is teaching it to her daughter due to emotional reasons. She firmly believes that the place of Siraiki is in the home. One day I heard Amna's daughter telling her sister-in-law to speak more Urdu and English with her daughter so that she should not feel any difficulty when she joins school. As stated by the family members during their interviews, the elders in this family except for the daughter-in-law consider the Siraiki language to be very important for their

cultural identity. The daughter-in-law stated that to lead 'a good life one needs Urdu, so if my daughter grows up without much Siraiki I will not mind' because according to her, even in villages, people have started giving up the Siraiki language in favour of Urdu.

About their language usage practices, I was told during the interviews that Amna speaks Urdu sometimes with the granddaughters, with shopkeepers in the city and with those friends and acquaintances who prefer to speak in Urdu. With others she speaks in Siraiki. During the time that I spent with the family I observed that she uses some English words in her speech which she might have picked up from her children or friends because she did not receive formal education in any school and also cannot read English. Her son and his wife reported that they speak Siraiki with everyone, except their school and college friends with whom they speak Urdu. At home they speak Urdu with their daughter and niece most of the time. Amna's daughter and her husband also speak Siraiki with everyone in the village. With their daughter they use Urdu most of the time but sometimes Siraiki with a lot of code switching in English. With most of their friends in the city they use Urdu. Her son-in-law speaks Urdu in the city school where he teaches but Siraiki with his tenants on his farm. The younger granddaughter can speak both Siraiki and Urdu. The elder granddaughter knows Siraiki but speaks Urdu most of the time with a lot of code switching in English. I observed this and the recordings of the conversation of this family also support this fact.

Analysis of Speech Extracts

All the members of this family are bilinguals, from the grandmother down to her second granddaughter who is over three years of age. Some of them, like Mother 2

and her husband, possess a good understanding of English. The adults only speak Siraiki among themselves at home with varying degrees of code switching from Urdu and English. With the little girls the adults sometimes choose to speak Urdu and sometimes Siraiki.

The following extract is an example of the speech practices of Mother 2 who code switches often from English and Urdu in her Siraiki speech.

EXTRACT 13

[1] Mother 2: X **di** *class* **ghinnii hay hun mein** unquriib **pohchurn aali han** *school*

(I have to question X, so I'm coming to the school soon)

[2] Mother 1: **Ghein aa**

(Do it)

[3] Mother 2: **Bhai** *weekend* **jo hay** kum az kum **baal kun** *homework* **taan deiyo**

(They should give homework to children at least on the weekends)

[4] Mother 1: Suhii **aye**

(That's right)

[5] Mother 2: **Itna taan** *right* **saada ii bunrday. X kuun mein aakhay X kolun meikun haik** *complain* **hay kay** *shy* **hay aadhi hay** tumhain kis nay kaha hai ye *shy* hai **aadhi hay** agar X shy hay to phir kamal hai. **Mein aakhay** nai hai **aadhi hai** nai mein nai maan sukti. **X uunvain** *school* **aych** *normal* **hay.**

(At least we have this much right. I asked X that I have a complaint regarding X that she is shy. She said, "Who told you that she is shy?" She said, "If she is shy then it is odd." I said isn't she? She said, "No, I can't believe it. X generally is normal in school")

This conversation took place between Amna's daughter-in-law (Mother 1) and daughter (Mother 2). In [5] Mother 2 relates to Mother 1 what had been said at her last meeting with her daughter's teacher. She quotes the teacher's conversation in Urdu which means that the meeting was conducted in Urdu but in the rest of the Siraiki speech she code switches such lexis from English like 'homework', 'right',

'complain', 'shy' and 'normal' which have common Siraiki and Urdu substitutes. Mother 1 by virtue of her education perhaps code switches densely from English in her Siraiki speech.

The following two extracts exemplify the bilingualism of the younger granddaughter who, at three, is capable of understanding and speaking both Siraiki and Urdu and has some understanding of English as well.

EXTRACT 14
[1] Mother 1: Challo baahur
(Let's go out)
[2] Daughter: *Bathroom* mein*?*
(To the bathroom)
[3] Mother 1: Haan *bathroom* mein chullo aa jaao aa jaao idhur aao idhur aao
(Yes to the bathroom, come, come this way)

The conversation in extract 14 takes place between her and her mother. In [1] the mother tells her in Urdu to come out of the room with her. The daughter asks a question in Urdu with code switching from English and the mother repeats (or perhaps reinforces) the word '*bathroom*' and answers in Urdu. This suggests that the English word '*bathroom*' instead of its Urdu substitute has been taught to this girl.

Extract 15 illustrates the girl's knowledge of Siraiki.

EXTRACT 15
[1] Mother 2: **Ken gein aaprain** *school*
(Where's he gone? To his school?)
[2] Grandmother: **Nai Multan gein**
(No he's gone to Multan)
[3] Daughter 2:1: **Multan gein**
(He's gone to Multan)

Here her father's sister asks her in Siraiki where her father has gone. The grandmother answers in Siraiki at which the child also replies in the same language. In extracts fourteen and fifteen she has shown her capability of responding in either language. She answers in that language in which she is spoken to.

Daughter 2:1, who at the moment is bilingual, is on her way to becoming trilingual as she is studying in an English medium school and the recordings show that she can understand some English. The following three extracts illustrate the speech practices of Daughter 2:1.

EXTRACT 16

[1] Daughter 2:1: Nano ruzai **ghinnii hay**

(Granny I want a duvet)

[2] Mother 2: X

[3] Grandmother: **Unhain pan** ruzaiyan **cha ghinno uthain pan**

(The duvets are there; take one, they are there)

[4] Mother 2: **Uddun cha ghinno chotti** ruzai

(Take the small duvet from there)

In the above extract, Daughter 2:1 is heard talking in Siraiki but the word that she uses for the duvet in [1] is 'razaai' instead of using its common Siraiki substitute **'suveir'**. She seems to have picked up this Urdu term at home as in the same extract her grandmother in [3] and mother in [4] use the same term.

The following conversation takes place between Daughter 2:1 and her mother.

EXTRACT 17

 [1] Mother 2: X *shoes* kahan say milay?

(X where did you find the shoes?)

[2] Daughter 2:1: Udher say

(From there)

[3] Mother 2: Udher kidher?

(Where's there?)

[4] Daughter 2:1: Mayray kumray say

(From my room)

This extract demonstrates the fluency of Daughter 2:1 in Urdu when she responds in Urdu to the question posed by her mother in the same language. Like her cousin, she also responds in the language in which she is spoken to. Due to this behaviour these two girls do not seem to have any favourites at the moment and seem to regard both Siraiki and Urdu equal.

Extract 18 illustrates Daughter 2:1's understanding of English.

EXTRACT 18

[1] Mother: **Aadhii hay** *plasic toy* dayn *teacher* nay maangay hain

(She says give plastic toy. The teacher has asked for them)

[2] Aunt: **Oo koi** *assembly* **day kittay chahiday hosayn inhan da** *topic* **hosii na** *shopping, shopping*

(Maybe they are needed for the assembly; they would have a topic shopping, shopping)

[3] Mother: **Koya na koyay na**

(No, no)

[4] Aunt: Kiya *topic* hai aap ka?

(What's your topic?)

[5] Daughter: *Animals around*

[6] Aunt: *Animals around us.* To in kay is pay *toys* jo hon gay is say *related* sahii. To tumharay pass hai koi *animal* vala *toy?*

(So the toy animals they have related with this, right. Do you have any toy animals?)

[7] Mother 2: *plastic* ka to koi nai hai is kay pass

(She doesn't have any plastic one)

[8] Aunt: *Stuffed toy?*

[9] Mother 2: *Stuffed toy* hain

(She has stuffed toys)

[10] Daughter 2:1: Nai hain

(I don't have them)

[11] Mother 2:1: Kiyun hain nai *elephant* hai aap kay pas

(Why, don't you have them? You've got an elephant)

[12] Daughter 2:1: Nai vo nai *teacher* keh ruhee hain vo jo *tiger* hotay hain

(No not that one; the teacher says the tiger)

[13] Aunt: Huun, unhain *zoo* valay chahiyain?

(Mm, do they want zoo animals?)

[14] Daughter 2:1: Haan, *zoo* valay chahiyain

(Yes, they want zoo animals)

[15] Mother 2: To *elephant* bhi to vo bhi to *zoo* ka hi hai

(But the elephant is also a zoo animal)

[16] Daughter 2:1: Nai us main phir *project* bunana ho ga us main phir vo *animals* luganay hon gay vo *packet* valay

(No, a project will be done in which animals will have to be placed, the ones which come in a packet)

The source of English, which is used here in the form of code switching, is what the girl has learnt at school. In this extract the mother is telling the visiting aunt about something the daughter wants to take to her school. The mother and the aunt are talking in Siraiki with a dense code switching from English. The girl demonstrates an understanding of all the English words used by her mother and aunt and uses others of her own like *'project'* and *'packet'* which she, most probably, has learnt at school.

The following conversation takes place between the grandmother and her daughter (Mother 2).

EXTRACT 19

[1] Grandmother: **Siiti taan baythii han putta kiiho jai hein**

(I've stitched them but don't know how they are)

[2] Mother 2: **Thiik siiti baythay ho**

(You've stitched them correctly)

[3] Grandmother: <u>Turiiqa</u> **hi nai aanda**

(I don't know the way)

[4] Mother 2: **Kiiyun tuhakun uun diinh dikha taan aai hum**

(Didn't I show them to you that day?)

[5] Grandmother: **Hai aai oo topiyan nii siitiyan. Maykun aye topiyan siivun da <u>daa</u> nai aanda**

(Haven't I stitched the those caps? I don't know how to stitch these caps)

Here the Grandmother talks to her daughter (Mother 2) in Siraiki but in the same stretch of conversation uses a word 'tariiqa' first in Urdu and later uses its equivalent in Siraiki **'daa'**. This illustrates that she uses both the languages in her repertoire regularly as her bilingualism intrudes in her conversation. Both the choices have been underlined in the passage.

As for the speech practices of this family, the language spoken at home among the adults who are all bilingual is Siraiki. Mother 2's speech shows a dense code switching from Urdu and English. With the children, the adults use both Siraiki and Urdu as a result of which the girls are also bilingual. Daughter 2:1 will eventually become trilingual as she showed her understanding of English words and phrases on several occasions (cf. Extract 18). The main source from which she has learnt and is still learning English is school and her mother reinforces this learning later at home when she uses these words in her conversation with her daughter.

4.4.1.v General Trends in Rural Speech

From the description of the rural families who participated in my research and the analysis of their speech practices what can be concluded is that Siraiki is very much present in rural homes and is actively transmitted to the children. Neither the social scenario of the villages, nor the schools functioning there make demands on the

Multanis to give up their language in favour of Urdu. The desire for their children to learn Urdu is present among the parents (irrespective of their economic status) living in the village. Their majority wants their children to learn it in addition to Siraiki. The Siraiki spoken by the vast majority in the village is without much code switching from Urdu or English. They are heard using such Siraiki lexis and constructions which we do not hear in the urban areas any more. The reason for the maintenance of 'pure' Siraiki can be attributed to Siraiki monolingualism of a vast majority of the villagers, lack of requirement of Urdu in any domain, relative isolation from the city dwellers and city life, and media as most of the village families do not possess a television and cannot read any newspaper.

4.4.2 Urban Families

The data relating to the four urban families and the analysis of their speech extracts (cf. 4.4) is being presented in the following subsections. Section 4.4.2.v presents the general speech patterns amng the four urban families that participated in my research.

4.4.2.i Family 1U (Low-income)
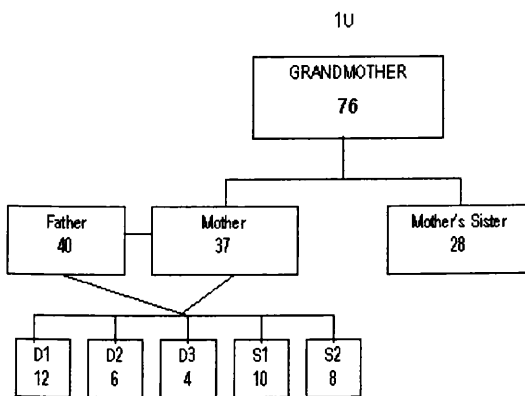
Figure 4. 8 Family 1U: Members and their ages

Kokab's (mother) family belongs to the low-income group and consists of three generations. She and her family live with her sister and mother. Her mother has never been to school but was taught to read the Quran at home. Her sister has studied until grade ten and teaches in a primary school. Kokab, who is a housewife, has studied up to grade five and her husband, who works as a sales assistant at a general store, has studied up to grade eight. They have five children, three girls and two boys, whose ages range between four and twelve. Except for the second child who goes to a 'madrassa' all the other children are studying at an Urdu medium private school. They got a television a year ago which they watch regularly. The children love to watch English cartoons on it but so far they do not seem to have picked any English from these cartoons as is evident from the data of their recorded conversations.

Everybody in Kokab's family speaks mostly Siraiki, except for the youngest daughter who is monolingual in Urdu and with whom everyone but the grandmother speaks in Urdu. About her husband's speech practices, Kokab reported that he generally speaks to the customers in Urdu but if someone speaks in Siraiki he replies in the same language. The first four children said that they use Urdu in school with teachers and other fellow students. At home they speak in Siraiki most of the time. With their relatives they use Siraiki but if some relatives or guests come to their home who speak Urdu they all speak to them in Urdu. This was verified when the two girls from their neighbourhood came to visit them and they all conversed to them in Urdu. The children reported that when they go to stalls and small shops in their vicinity they speak in Siraiki but if they go to some bigger shops they speak in Urdu. Kokab stated that she prefers to speak with shopkeepers and doctors in Siraiki but if they do not seem to understand Siraiki then she speaks Urdu with them. Although she and her

husband have taught Siraiki to all their children as a first language, except for the youngest daughter, she would not 'mind' if they forget it completely and start using Urdu instead because, in her own words, 'Urdu is our national language'. But at the same time she is critical of those people who are giving up Siraiki because she thinks that by doing so they are losing a link with their elders. The grandmother can understand Urdu but cannot speak it well. This, she says, has not caused much disadvantage to her because she does not move around much. She does not like people who speak Siraiki with a lot of code switching from Urdu and English and her advice to them is, '**heik bayrii tay churhein vurna bod mosein**' (they should ride in one boat otherwise they'd drown). She, like her daughter, is divided in her loyalty to Siraiki because on the one hand, she feels that if Siraiki were to die she would not like it but at the same time she would not 'mind' if her grand children grow up without any knowledge of Siraiki. Kokab's younger sister who is now fluent in Urdu recalls that being a sensitive child, her inability to communicate in Urdu in her school caused painful embarrassment to her. Her niece, Kokab's eldest daughter, who is twelve and who also faced the same fate in school, vowed the day her youngest sister was born that she will have a different fate from hers. On her insistence, everyone in the family speaks Urdu with the youngest child. She wants her parents as well to speak to the youngest daughter in Urdu instead of Siraiki because she believes that those people who can speak Urdu are considered smart. Moreover, in her private world she has associated Urdu with financial prosperity and better social status because during her interview she said that the parents of only those children in her school own cars who speak Urdu at home. Perhaps this is why in answer to my question that how would she feel if Siraiki were to die she said, 'I'd feel very good'.

Kokab is bilingual in Siraiki and Urdu. Her knowledge of English is confined to a few lexical items, some of which come in the category of loan words like, *'set'* (to refer to a jewellery set), *'polish'*, *'number'* (to refer to exam marks), *'powder'*, *'plastic'* and *'oxygen'*. While others like, *'check'*, *'cotton'*, *'clinic'*, *'result'*, *'store'*, *'season'*, *'regard'*, and *'profit'* do have Siraiki substitutes but are commonly used in the repertoire of city dwellers. The children do not seem to do much English code switching except for using some English loan words like, *'school'*, *'drama'*, *'doctor'*, and *'minute'*. The middle three children at times code switch to Siraiki in their Urdu speech. Their mother at one stage points out that this code switching is the result of their lack of fluency in Urdu (see extract 23: [13]).

Analysis of Speech Extracts

As stated earlier, the first four children talk in Siraiki among themselves and with their parents and grandparent but, except for the grandmother, the whole family takes great care to only speak Urdu with Daughter 3. The little girl can understand her grandmother who speaks to her in Siraiki but she replies in Urdu. The mother and the siblings at times talk among themselves in Urdu in her presence so as to include her in the conversation.

The following conversation took place in Urdu among the Mother, Daughter 3 and, Son 2.

EXTRACT 20
[1] Mother: Aap idhur aa jaao
(You come here)
[2] Daughter 3: Aap X ko bulao
(You call X)
[3] Mother: X ko bulaayun? X jaao

(Should I call X? X go away)

[4] Son 2: Mein nai jaata

(I'm not going)

[5] Mother: Aap ko sharam nai aati

(Aren't you ashamed of yourself)

In [2] the daughter asks her mother to call Son 2 away so the mother instructs her son accordingly in Urdu. Although she normally speaks to other children in Siraiki, here because the youngest daughter is in the conversation and the mother is saying to Son 2 what Daughter 3 has asked her to say, she speaks to the son in Urdu. Son 2 also chooses to reply to his mother in Urdu because the message in his reply is intended for his sister as he wants to convey to her that he will not go as desired by her. The mother admonishes him in Urdu and here also she chooses Urdu because she wants to convey to her youngest daughter that she does not like the way her sibling is teasing her and is being disobedient to his mother.

In the following conversation the mother uses a different language with Son 2 and Daughter 3.

EXTRACT 21

[1] Mother: X daadi amman **ghar giya haavin?**

(X did you go to the grandmother's home?)

[2] Son 2: **Jii aa**

(Yes)

[3] Mother: Accha aap gai theen? Daadi amman kiya ker ruheen theen? Aap nay jaana nuheen Quran Majeed purhnay hein?

(OK did you go? What was grandmother doing? Don't you have to go to study the noble Quran?)

[4] Daughter 3: Jaana hai

(I have to go)

The mother in this extract first asks Son 2 a question in Siraiki and he answers in Siraiki but when she turns to the youngest daughter she uses Urdu and the girl replies in Urdu. Unlike extract 20, here the mother uses a different code with each child because she is asking these questions for herself and does not think it necessary for the youngest daughter to undersatand what she is saying to Son 2.

The following extract is an example of how Kokab's family converses in Urdu if any guests come to their home who they know speak Urdu.

EXTRACT 22

[1] Mother: Aap aai hui ho. Aap aa gai ho. Aap salam karo, ye bhii meiry behen hai. Aap nay salaam nai kurna salaam to karo, salaam karo.
(You are here. You've come. Say salaam (Muslim way of greeting) she is also my sister. Aren't you going to say salaam, say salaam)

[2] Neighbor girl 1: Assalam Alaikum
(May you be blessed [A Muslim way of greeting])

[3] Mother: Idhur aa jaao. X **di** baytii **hay**
(Come here. [to me] She's X's daughter)

[4] Me: **Ha shukle uuvein hay**
(Yes, she resembles her)

[5] Mother: Aa jaao aap bhi aa jao. Bhai rozaana murghi daykhnay aatay hein na ye. X, X dost hain. Kuthay purhtee hain na
(Come, you also come. They come everyday to see the hen. They are friends of X and X; they study together)

[6] Son 2: **Oo kithay chuuza, oo kithay**
(Where's it, where's the chick)

[7] Daughter 2: X, X kay saath ye nai purhtee
(X doesn't study with X)

[8] Daughter 3: Ye ab na *one* mein jaaye gi *one* mein
(Now she'll go in class one)

[9] Mother: Oay isay nai hilana
(Don't move it)

[10] Son 2: Is ko neichay chor day

(Let it go on the floor)

[11] Daughter 3: Mein nai

(I won't)

[12] Neighbour girl 1: Is ko kiya huaa hai

(What's wrong with it)

[13] Son 2: Is ko chor do kiya hai tu aa ja

(Why don't you leave it alone, come here)

[14] Daughter 2: Tu apna *result* lay aai hai? **Aapran** *result* lay aai hai?

(Have you brought your result? Have you brought your result)

[15] Son 2: Mein upna lay kay aa gaya huun

(I've brought mine)

[16] Daughter 2: Ami, ami

(Mother, mother)

[17] Mother: **Ari** jor daytii hai, thoree juga hai bayta. **Khaydo na oay X**, aa jaei gi

(She'll fix it, there's plenty of space child. X play, she'll come)

[18] Daughter 2: Paani **taan bhurun dayo**

(Let me fill it with water)

[19] Mother: **Nai kaafi aye iikun itna** paani

(This water is enough for it)

[20] Son 2: **Mar vaysii**

(It'll die)

[21] Mother: **Nai mur sugdii. Kaafi aye** beita **itna** paani **oo deikh iikun maar na churaye iiho dhian kurai**

(It won't die. This water is enough son. Look there, take care, don't kill it)

[22] Neighbour girl 1: Kiya?

(What?)

[23] Mother: Mein nay kaha hai is ko maar na dayna jaisay aap nay pukra huua hai

(I've said that don't kill it the way you are holding it)

[24] Son 2: Ammi oay khuraab kur diya hai

(Mother she has spoiled it)

[25] Mother: Nai maartay

(Don't hit)

[26] Neighbour girl 2: Rukh di hai

(I've put it)

[27] Daughter 3: Mein nai

(I won't)

[28] Mother: Issay duur rukho na, isay duur rukho bayta han isay neechay nai bithaiya

(Keep it away, child keep it away yes, haven't you sat it on the floor)

[29] Neighbour girl 2: Nai

(No)

[30] Mother: Haan bitha do **toba aye tan itna tang kiita hoaye balan nay**

(Yes, make it sit. O my! These children bother me so much)

This conversation took place while I was at their home. The children were playing with their pets when two little girls from the neighborhood came. The parents of these girls are Siraiki-speaking but they have taught Urdu as a first language to these girls. So Kokab and her children talk to them and among themselves in Urdu instead of making them speak in Siraiki, even though these girls possess some command of Siraiki. The family, in the presence of these girls, speak in Urdu among themselves mostly but in [18], [19], [20] and [21] they speak Siraiki. The neighbour girl 2 in [22] says 'what' at which the mother repeats her utterance in Urdu and henceforth the family speaks in Urdu. The second part of [30] was addressed to me therefore, it was in Siraiki.

The following extract is an example of how switches from Siraiki in Urdu speech are not socially acceptable and looked down upon even in informal conversations taking place in home domain.

EXTRACT 23

[1] Mother: Roko deikho chukkur aa jayein gay aapko chukkur aa jayein gay

(Stop, look you'll feel dizzy)

[2] Daughter 2: Tu piichay ja, tum yahan say chulley jao

(You go at the back, go away from here)

[3] Mother: Nai, nai

(No, no)

[4] Daughter 2: Itni **nikki jai** hai

(She's so small)

[5] Mother: Haan ji

(Yes)

[6] Son 2: **Sukki, sukki** ho gai hai is ko bukhar tha

(She has grown weak. she had fever)

[7] Son 1: Kurwi **duva naal**

(Due to bitter medicine)

[8] Daughter 2: Ammi isay dhoo dein, churh ai hai

(Mother wash it, she has stepped on it)

[9] Mother: Haan ji

(Yes)

[10] Son 1: **Aa teikun dussan wal**

(Come, I'll teach you a lesson)

[11] Son 2: **Teikun Allah dusaysii**

(Allah will teach you a lesson)

[12] Son 1: **Kaina**

(No)

[13] Mother: **Aye wi ghulaabi Urdu, oo wi ghulaabi Urdu, duhein hiko jai Urdu bulaeinain. Itna tumasha leinain**

(Both of them speak 'pink Urdu' [they are not fluent in Urdu]. They both speak similar type of Urdu and cause hilarity)

[14] Son: 1 **Treivain, treivain. Ghulaabi Urdu kiya hei?**

(All three. What is pink Urdu?)

[15] Mother: **Ghulut mulut**

(The wrong type)

[16] Son 1: **Accha udhii Urdu tay udhii Multani**

(Right, half Urdu and half Multani [Siraiki])

[17] Daughter 2: **Dhaar dhaar oo Ammi**

(O mother, ouch)

[18] Son 1: **Ye kiivein** hota hai?

(How is it done?)

In this extract the mother and children are talking in Urdu in the presence of neighbour girls. The children in [4], [6] and [7] insert Siraiki lexical items in their Urdu speech because they do not possess a full command of Urdu. After this the boys start fighting using Siraiki and the mother makes fun of the Urdu proficiency of her children in [13] because first they code switched to Siraiki in their Urdu speech and then demonstrated their inability to continue the conversation in Urdu. The mother chooses to speak in Siraiki to point out this 'deficiency' of the children by using an Urdu phrase 'Gulaabi Urdu' literally meaning 'pink Urdu', the phrase meaning lack of proficiency in Urdu. The mother points to both the sons saying that both of them speak '**Ghulaabi** Urdu' (the Urdu word 'gulaabi' is pronounced as '**ghulaabi**'in Siraiki) and thus cause hilarity. At this Son 1 at once says that not just the two boys but Daughter 2 also speak this kind of language but in the next instance asks the meaning of this term used by the mother. The mother explains that it means 'the one that is not correct'; at this he shows his understanding of the term saying that it means 'half Urdu, half Siraiki' and the mother nods her head. It is interesting to note that a similar term does not exist for either Punjabi or Siraiki spoken with code switching from some other language. So here the social unacceptability of Urdu with code switching from Siraiki language is transmitted to the children, along with the notion that this type of language is the incorrect language and the one who speaks it causes amusement and laughter. Despite learning this, the boy continues to talk in the same manner which suggests that the boy is not yet fully proficient in Urdu.

The language mainly spoken in this household is Siraiki but with Daughter 3, everybody except the grandmother, speaks Urdu. With guests who prefer Urdu, the family speaks Urdu. The notion that social networks are mainly responsible for the

choice and preference for certain language (Li Wei, 1994; cf. 1.5.1.ii) does not fit in the situation of the youngest girl in this family. It is the ambition of the eldest daughter of this family to see her youngest sibling speak only Urdu, which has resulted in her monolingualism. Daughter 1 has the full support of her parents and her other siblings in this venture.

4.4.2.ii Family 2U (Middle-income)

2U

```
                    ┌──────────────────┐
                    │   GRANDMOTHER    │
                    │       60+        │
                    └──────────────────┘
                              │
              ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐
              │  Mother  │ │  Father  │
              │    41    │ │    43    │
              └──────────┘ └──────────┘

   ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐ ┌──────┐
   │  D1  │ │  D2  │ │  S1  │ │  S2  │ │  S3  │
   │  16  │ │  8   │ │  15  │ │  13  │ │  12  │
   └──────┘ └──────┘ └──────┘ └──────┘ └──────┘
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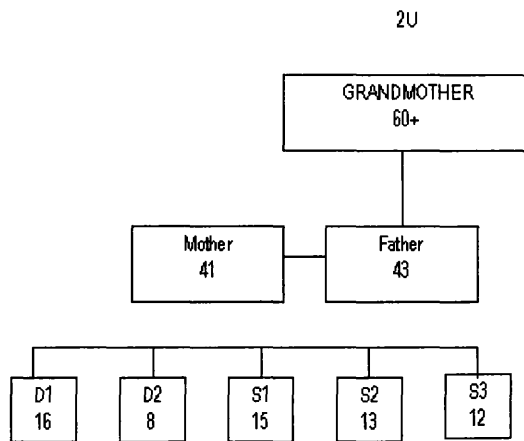
Figure 4. 9 Family 2U: Members and their ages

Shamin's (mother) family belongs to the middle-income group and consists of three generations. Shamin is a housewife and her husband runs a pharmacy. Her mother-in-law has studied Urdu and the Quran at home. She herself has done B.A. and B.Ed. Her husband entered the family business soon after leaving high school. Both the husband and the wife have studied in Urdu-medium schools and in college the subjects that Shamin studied were in Urdu, with the exception of the subject of English language. They have five children whose ages range from eight to fifteen. All of the children, with the exception of the youngest daughter, attend a private Urdu medium school. The youngest daughter attends an English-medium school.

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The family owns a television, which they watch regularly. When questioned, the family expressed their satisfaction with the time allocated to Siraiki programmes in television transmissions.

Both Shamin and her husband speak in Siraiki among themselves, with their respective mothers, with relatives of the parent and grandparent generation and with most of their friends. They have taught Urdu to their children as a first language, although later they picked up Siraiki from the home environment. With them they speak Urdu most of the time and also with young children of the extended family whose families have taught them Urdu as a first language. They also speak Urdu with shopkeepers and those friends who choose to speak in Urdu. The husband generally uses Urdu with his customers at the pharmacy. His mother uses Siraiki almost all the time, but Urdu sometimes with children, usually with shopkeepers and those family friends who choose to speak in Urdu. The children speak Urdu among themselves and at school. With their parents they speak Urdu most of the time but with their grandmother and other relatives of the grandparent generation mostly Siraiki.

Shamin stated that it was mainly her decision to teach Urdu as a first language to their children because of her own experience at school. When she left primary school, where the teachers taught in Siraiki, and went to high school where the medium of instruction was Urdu, for one full year she could neither understand the teachers nor express herself well. She recalls that she could not master the different forms of address in Urdu and for months kept addressing her teachers with the Siraiki 'tun' (used to address somebody younger to you or somebody with whom you have less formal relations) instead of Urdu 'aap' (a polite form used to address your

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seniors, elders or strangers). Since she knew that her children would learn Siraiki in the home environment, seeing their parents and grandmother talk in Siraiki meant that she did not make any effort to teach them Siraiki. The children did learn Siraiki but with varying degrees of proficiency. The siblings, among themselves and with their parents, converse only in Urdu with the exception of the eldest daughter who, I noticed, spoke a few times with her mother in Siraiki. With their grandmother they speak both in Siraiki and Urdu. Her eldest son believes that being bilingual in Urdu and Siraiki has given him the advantage of being able to communicate with all their networks and fluency in Urdu has helped him immensely in his studies. This advantage was also echoed by his elder sister who does not seem to have any emotional attachment to Siraiki as she said that she would not 'mind' if Siraiki were to die.

Analysis of Speech Extracts

In family 2U as well, it is the youngest daughter who is a different type of speaker when compared to her siblings. She never speaks Siraiki and is the only one in the family who speaks only Urdu with the grandmother. In her Urdu speech she code switches from English frequently. She is also the only one among all the siblings who goes to a private English medium school. The following is an example of her speech practices.

EXTRACT 24
[1] Daughter 1: Aap kay teen aayei na phir manu gi
(If you get three then I'll believe in you)
[2] Daughter 2: Abhi bhi hai *two* abhi hai *two*
(Still there is two, there is two)
[3] Son 3: Aik nikaal lay aik

(Take one out)

[4] Son 1: Ye dusrey X ki hai

(This second one is X's)

In this extract the siblings are playing Ludo.[59] Daughter 1 in [1] and Son 1 in [4] name the numbers in Urdu but unlike them, Daughter 2 in [2] uses English substitute instead. In the recorded speech of this family I noticed this as a constant feature of her speech that she uses English for naming the numbers. This can be attributed to her English medium schooling.

The following extract is an interesting example of different language choices that the members of this family make and the confusion that some face at times in making these choices.

EXTRACT 25

[1] Mother: *Result* kab hai?

(When is the result?)

[2] Son 2: **Ikutii** ko

(On the thirty first)

[3] Son 3: Ikutiis

(31^{st})

[4] Mother: **Ikutii** *march*?

(31^{st} of March?)

[5] Daughter 2: Ikutiis *march*

(Thirty first of March)

[6] Mother: Neechay kiyun hai paaon, **uthan piirhi nai pai** us pay beith ja

(Why do you have your feet underneath, isn't there a little stool there, sit on it)

[7] Grandmother: **Unhaan diyan qumiizan day aai hein?**

(Have you given their shirts?)

[8] Mother: **Ha day aai han tay aai keiny**

(Yes, I have given but they haven't been returned yet)

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[59] A board game.

Here the mother, in response to the grandmother's query about the children's exam result asks her children about the day of the result and Son 2, looking both at his mother and grandmother, uses a mixture of Siraiki and Urdu in [2] for telling the date and says 'ikutii ko' (on the thirty first). Son 3 at once provides the Urdu substitute 'ikutees'. The mother tries to confirm the date for her mother-in-law's sake using the Siraiki word 'ikutii' at which Daughter 2 confirms the date in Urdu. Then in [6] the mother instructs Son 3 with the utterance beginning in Urdu with Siraiki in the middle and then finishing off in Urdu. This mixture is perhaps because of the presence of the grandmother with whom the mother speaks in Siraiki only. Later the grandmother and the mother continue the conversation among themselves in Siraiki.

The following extract also illustrates similar practices.

EXTRACT 26
[1] Son 1: Bhai kurukki kay kitnay peisay hein?
(Brother, how much does the mousetrap cost?)
[2] Son 3: Kurruki kay?
(Of the mousetrap?)
[3] Grandmother: **Dayr thai pai hay kithan vaisii**
(It's quite late now, where would he go)
[4] Son 2: Dus rupai hon gay
(It will cost ten rupees)
[5] Son 1: Dus rupai?
(Ten rupees?)
[6] Mother: **O taan ithain ithauun behrun milsi Mughal kolun**
(This will be available out there from Mughal)
[7] Son 2: Accha ye hai
(OK, this is the one)
[8] Daughter 1: **Meidy aaprin shei hay na val tusaan daydhay keiny**
(This is my own and you are not looking at it)

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[9] Son 3: Na, na saaron kay saaron kay. **Hik hik** *cup* saaron **da hai**

(No, no it belongs to everybody. Each person owns one cup each)

[10] Daughter 1: O hut ye niichay gir jaaei ga

(Get aside this will fall down)

In this extract the brothers are talking among themselves in Urdu about going out and buying a mousetrap. The grandmother interrupts them in Siraiki and says that it is quite late to go out at which the mother replies to her in Siraiki. Meanwhile, Daughter 1 shows something to the grandmother and talks to her in Siraiki. The youngest brother joins in with an Urdu sentence [9] but at once remembering that he is talking to the grandmother switches over to Siraiki. However, because he is not very proficient in Siraiki he switches from Urdu the word 'saroon' (belonging to all) instead of using the common Siraiki word '**saarayan**'.

Extract 27 is an example of how both the Siraiki and the Urdu languages are spoken simultaneously in the family repertoire.

EXTRACT 27

[1] Grandmother: **X tuun ni uthdii pai tuun ni aapay khandii?**

(X, aren't you getting up, won't you eat by yourself?)

[2] Daughter 2: Aaj mein nay kha li thee

(I ate it today)

[3] Mother: **Wal aye taan khaao**

(Eat this then)

[4]Grandmother: **Mein hunrein kha kay aai haan**

(I've just eaten)

[5] Daughter 1: Haan Ammi mein nay Daadi Amman ki *plate* mein rukhee thee

(Yes, Mom, I put it in the Grandmother's plate)

[6] Grandmother: **Aaway aavay**

(Come, come)

[7] Mother: **Oo taan paiy hein paiy**

(There are some there)

[8] Grandmother: **Na, Na aa X aa**

(No, no, come X come)

[9] Daughter 2: Amman do zura

(Granny, give it to me)

[10] Grandmother: **Chul ri**

(no way)

[11] Daughter 2: Do X ki mujhay do

(Please give me X's)

[12] Mother: Idhur aur bhi purii hein

(There are some here also)

This conversation fully represents the language choices generally made by the family members in home domain. The grandmother talks to the mother and grandchildren in Siraiki, the mother talks to the grandmother in Siraiki and to her children in Urdu. The children generally speak to their mother in Urdu and to grandmother in Siraiki as represented in extracts 26 and 28 but Daughter 2 speaks Urdu with her grandmother as well. In [11] she replies to her grandmother's Siraiki in Urdu.

Extract 28 illustrates the speech practices of Son 3 who is not fluent in Siraiki. When he uses it with the grandmother he code switches from Urdu.

EXTRACT 28

[1] Son 3: Char pay ye **pugti** hai, char pay wo murtii hai

(This one reaches home with four while that one can be killed with four)

[2] Mother: **Kal qiima bunraia hai. Kal ithauun bhii mungain mein aakhay putta aye mildayn taan mildayn val mel gein**

(Yesterday I made mince meat and I got 'bhee' [a kind of vegetable] from the market. I wasn't sure if they are available or not but they were)

[3] Son 3: **Murchian** mehngi **thee gein. Aadhein chaliih rupai** paao

(Green chillies have become very dear. They say these are forty rupees for a quarter of a kilo)

[4] Mother: **Haa pehlay iivein daynday hun, hon taan keinii daynday**

(Yes previously they used to give these for free but now they don't)

[5] Son 3: **Chaliih rupei** *kilo*

(Forty rupees per kilo)

In this extract Son 3 who is playing Ludo with his siblings is talking with them in Urdu. Just then he hears his mother in [2] talk to his grandmother in Siraiki. He takes part in their conversation talking to his grandmother in Siraiki but with code switching from Urdu which suggests that he is not fully proficient in Siraiki. In [3] he uses the urdu word 'mehngi' (dear) instead of its Siraiki substitute **'mahaangi'** and Urdu 'paoo' instead of Siraiki **'paa'**.

Looking at the speech practices of this family, what becomes obvious is that the children, except for the youngest daughter, get some practice in speaking in Siraiki only because of their grandmother. The grandmother is the only member of this family who speaks in Siraiki at home almost all the time. Indeed Shamin and her husband speak in Siraiki among themselves but with their children they prefer to speak in Urdu. The siblings among themselves speak Urdu but they can speak Siraiki with varying degrees of proficiency. One exception is Daughter 2 though, who speaks in Urdu all the time, but can understand Siraiki. In her speech she also code switches from English often which can be attributed to the type of school that she is attending.

4.4.2.iii Family 3U (High middle-income)
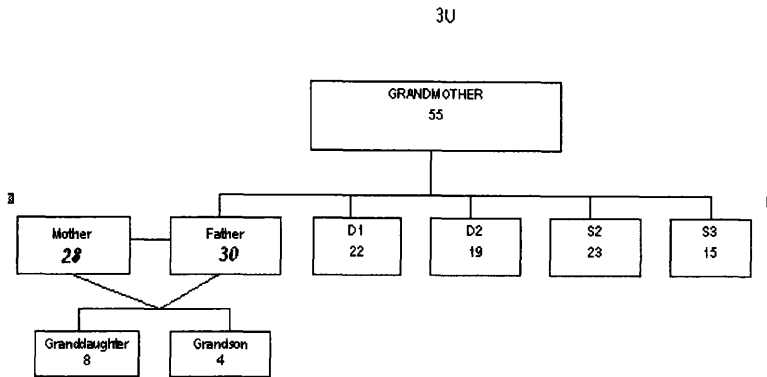
Figure 4. 10 Family 3U: Members and their ages

Noreen's (grandmother) family belongs to the high middle-income group. She herself studied Urdu and Arabic at home. Both her eldest son and his wife have done a B.A degree. The middle son is doing a Masters degree and the youngest one is studying at an elite English medium school. Her eldest daughter is doing a Masters and the youngest one is doing a B.A. Her granddaughter and grandson who are four and eight respectively are studying in grade one and grade four in the same school as her youngest son.

The family has a television and a video player, which they use regularly. The children and grandchildren also use the computer regularly. Noreen speaks Siraiki with her children, relatives, neighbors and some shopkeepers. She uses Urdu, however, with her grandchildren and those family friends who choose to speak in Urdu. Her older sons and daughters speak both Siraiki and Urdu among themselves and the younger ones speak in Urdu. All the sons and daughters speak in Siraiki with their mother and older relatives. Noreen taught Siraiki to all her children as a first language, except for the youngest son to whom she and her older children taught Urdu as the first language. All her children now speak Urdu in their schools and colleges,

with shopkeepers and with younger relatives. The eldest son talks to his business associates both in Siraiki and Urdu depending on their language and preference. The grandchildren cannot speak Siraiki but can understand it.

Noreen feels that her family only needs Siraiki to communicate with the relatives who live in the village. She is not desirous of her children to speak Siraiki at home because she is of the opinion that 'the whole world speaks Urdu' and by doing this they can 'get rid of the village culture in their home'. She does not want to have, in her own words, a 'rustic environment' at home but wants to move with the world and feels that changing the home language can be a very important step in this context. She says that she likes those Siraikis who speak Urdu all the time and wants her family to follow them. Her second son, however, said that Siraiki should survive 'because it is our heritage' but he also gives more importance to Urdu in the sense that he believes that television and radio transmissions should not devote more time to Siraiki programmes because 'regional languages should not be promoted at the cost of national language'. Daughter 2 said that even though she was taught Siraiki as a first language she finds it easier to express herself in Urdu. She never speaks Siraiki with her friends in the University because to her, 'it doesn't look nice.' The youngest son, who is fifteen, does not hold much emotional attachment with the Siraiki language and says that if it were to die he would not feel anything. He does not consider Siraiki to be an important part of his cultural identity and feels that the maintenance of Siraiki is not important and is a difficult task.

Analysis of Speech Extracts

As stated earlier, the grandmother's children speak to her in Siraiki but she speaks to her grandchildren in Urdu. Even though she expressed the desire that she

wants her children and grandchildren to speak Urdu at home so that they are not identified with the villagers because of their language, her pride in Siraiki and loyalty to her mother tongue is unmistakable in the following speech extract.

EXTRACT 29

[1] Son 2: Is mein to saarey *objectivity* to saarey khatam ho gai na. Ye to sub ko patta lug gaya. Her koi mun say ghalat lafz bolay ga, nai?
(This way no objectivity would be left in it. Everybody would know about this. Everyone will say wrong words, no?)
[2] Grandmother: **Assan aaprin booli bulaynday pai han ais vastay sidhi hay.**
(We are speaking our own language that's why it is right)
[3] Son 2: **Aye kum tay chuppa kay kurun aala hai**
(This should have been done secretly)

Here Son 2, speaking in Urdu, criticizes my method of recording the home conversations. He is of the view that the tape recorder should be hidden otherwise everybody would use unnatural speech. For unnatural speech he used the expression 'wrong words'. At this, his mother (grandmother) quickly intervenes and answers to his objection saying very proudly in the Siraiki language that they are speaking their own language that is why it is right. Addressing his mother, the son repeats his point in Siraiki. It is noteworthy that although the grandmother wants her children and grandchildren to speak in Urdu at home and considers Siraiki useful only to communicate with their relatives who live in the village, her loyalty to Siraiki is evident from the above example. Here we notice a strange love-hate relationship.

The following speech extract illustrates that in this home different codes are used for different people. I was present when this conversation took place.

EXTRACT 30

[1] Grandmother: **Mainu gaya hi bhol aye. Aye kiya hoonda piya hay?**

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(I have forgotten. What's going on?)

[2] Mother: Gir jao gay. Uunt **bunay hoain na.** Vo daykho vo daykho uunt ko haanknay vaalay bhi khuray ho guyay. **Is turfun**

(You'll fall down! They are pretending as if they are camels. Look there the camel riders have also stood up. On this side)

[3] Daughter 2: Kehta hai ye X ki kiya lugtey hain?

(He's saying that how is she related to X?)

[4] Mother: Idhur to aayo ye choti Khala hain.

(Come here, she's the younger aunt.)

[5] Grandmother: Aa bhai aa.

(Come here)

Here the grandmother is talking to her daughter-in-law. Daughter 2 is also present. The grandchildren are playing there with other children. The grandmother while talking to her daughter-in-law in Siraiki looks at the children and enquires from her that what was happening. The daughter-in-law (Mother) in [2] warns the children in Urdu that they might fall and explains the situation to the grandmother in Siraiki; she then looks at her sister-in-law and talks in Urdu. The grandmother is again brought into the conversation when the daughter-in-law finishes her utterance with Siraiki words. After this everybody, including the grandmother talks to the grandchild in Urdu.

The following extract is an example of the kind of Urdu spoken by the daughters and granddaughter.

EXTRACT 31

[1] Daughter 1: X *school* kub say jaana hai?)

(X when do you have to start school again?)

[2] Granddaughter: *Two days* baad

(After two days)

[3] Daughter 1: Accha aaj *sir* purha gai. *Homework* konsa kur ruhay thay?

(Has your tutor already taught, which home work were you doing?)

[4] Granddaughter: Ye *record* ho raha hai?

(Is it being recorded?)

[5] Daughter 1: *School* jaatay ho phuppo ko butaao

(Tell the Aunt if you go to school)

[6] Daughter 2: Humari *language* ye sumujhta hai, hum is say baat kurain ye juvaab deyta hai

(He understands our language, when we talk to him he replies)

[7] Grandmother: Aaj *school* gaya tha X gaya hai, hein X ka, aap X kay kiya lugtay ho?

(Did you go to school today? X went to school. How are you related to X?)

[8] Grandson: Dost

(Friend)

[9] Grandmother: Dost accha, accha aap ki *miss* ka naam kiya hai?

(Friend, OK what is the name of your teacher?)

[10] Grandson: Hain?

(What?)

[11] Daughter 2: *Teacher* ka naam kiya hai?

(What is the name of the teacher?)

[12] Grandmother: *Teacher* ka naam?

(Teacher's name?)

Here we see that they code switch often from English in their Urdu speech. The granddaughter chooses to code switch from English and says *'two days'* in [2] instead of using its very common Urdu substitute 'do din'. The grandmother also uses English lexis in her Urdu conversation knowing that the grandchildren may not understand their Urdu substitutes. Instead of making any effort to teach them Urdu or Siraiki lexis she adapts her speech according to what the grandchildren would understand. She seems to pick quickly the kind of language they understand. She, in [9], first refers to her grandson's teacher as *'miss'* instead of its Urdu/Siraiki substitute 'ustaani', but when the boy indicates that he has not understood the question,

Daughter 2 intervenes and in [11] uses the word '*teacher*' instead of '*miss*'. Then grandmother realizing that the boy is more familiar with this term uses it in [12]. She thus seems to be modelling her language to what the children have already learnt and are learning.

Extract 32 is from a conversation between Daughter 1 and Son 1.

EXTRACT 32

[1] Daughter 1: Aur phir risaala nai nikalna?

(Are you not going to bring out the magazine?)

[2] Son 2: Nai. Wo bus risaalay ka bhi humara burra ulta chukkur chulla tha. Hum nay shuru kiya tha. Humara *class* ka hota hai kay hur *department* hur *department class* mein na *final* mein nikalti hai risaala *previous* mein wo koi chukkur nai tha nikaalnay ka to wo hum nay kiya kiya hum *previous* mein nikaaltay kay nai vo kurtay hein naya kaam kurtay sara ijaazat vugheira lay lee. Saaray vo ikuthay kur liyay *articles* vughaira. Ikuthay *fund raise* ho gaya. Saari *feasibility* bun gai kay itnay paisay lugayn gay *cover*yun ho ga, itney *copiyan* chupvayein gay. Is ko aisay *sale out* kurein gayphir aik dum say phir wo musala ho gaya. Yahan saaray *department* mein *antigroup* nay huva khurra kur diya kay ye to *transport* kay khilaaf chaapein gay. Phir vo udhur *V.C.* nay aap na *explanation* humaary maang li unhon nay sara kuch

(No, the conditions got unfavourable. In our department each class brings out a magazine in the final year but we decided to bring it out in our previous year because we wanted to do something new. We had got the permission, had collected the articles, raised the funds, prepared the feasibility that this much would be the cost, cover would be like this, this many copies would be published, and how it would be sold. Then suddenly a problem cropped up. Our anti-group in the department created a storm that we are going to write against the transport system, the teachers and the department. Then the Vice Chancellor asked for an explanation from us and all that)

Here the siblings conduct the conversation in Urdu and the speech of Son 2, who is a university student, shows a dense code switching from English. The sister asks about the magazine that Son 1 and his class fellows were planning to bring out.

The brother gives a detailed answer in Urdu with a lot of code switching from English. The English words that he uses in Urdu speech like *'department'*, *'class'*, *'previous'*, *'fund raise'* and *'antigroup'* are commonly observed in the Urdu/Siraiki speech of university students. Another reason for this dense code switching from English in his Urdu speech could be that for the last six years he has been studying through the medium of English.

The older children in this family speak Siraiki with their mother (grandmother) but use Urdu among each other with a dense code switching from English. Their education may be said to be responsible for this kind of switching. The grandmother's youngest son, who is much younger than his elder siblings, never had much opportunity to learn Siraiki because of the language practices of his elder siblings who speak Urdu at home among each other. The grandchildren in this family are also spoken to, even by the grandmother, only in Urdu.

4.4.2.iv Family 4U (High-income)

4U
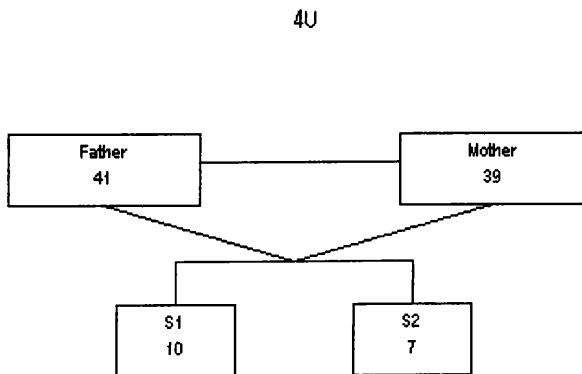
Figure 4. 11 Family 4U: Members and their ages

Naima's (Mother) family belongs to the high-income group and consists of two generations. Naima holds an M.Sc. degree in chemistry and teaches chemistry at the local girls college. She has studied in an elite English medium school and for her higher degrees the medium of instruction was also English. Her husband is a surgeon at the local hospital. He has studied at an Urdu medium school but for his higher degrees, which he obtained from Pakistan and the UK, the medium of instruction was English. Both Naima and her husband belong to Siraiki speaking families. They both are fluent in Siraiki but to varying degrees. The husband learnt Siraiki as his first language, whereas Naima learnt Urdu as her first language and later picked up Siraiki in her home environment. Their sons who are seven and ten years old go to an elite English medium school and are studying in grades three and six, respectively. The language generally spoken in their home is Urdu, with a dense code switching from English.

The family has a television with Sky channels, a video player and a computer. The whole family uses the computer and like watching television. In their recorded conversation the boys talk about cricket using English terms which they must have picked up from listening to the commentary.

The boys can understand Siraiki but do not speak it with anyone. Naima speaks Siraiki sometimes with her mother, always with elders of her own and her husband's family and with servants at home. She speaks Urdu with everyone else, which includes her husband, sons, siblings, friends, colleagues, students, and shopkeepers. She teaches chemistry in English. She sometimes speaks in English with her husband, sons, siblings and friends. Her husband speaks Siraiki with patients if they are Siraiki, his older relatives and with some close Siraiki friends. He uses Urdu

with a dense code switching from English with everyone else, which includes his wife, sons, in-laws, younger relatives, colleagues and some friends. At times he uses English with his colleagues.

Naima believes that learning English as a first language proved to be advantageous at school as she could easily make friends. Her husband stated that it was his 'unwilling but conscious decision to teach Urdu to his sons as a first language because Siraiki has no utility outside homes'. He calls it an 'unwilling' decision because he says that 'after all Siraiki is a part of our heritage, our culture and identity'. He believes Siraiki to be inferior to Urdu and English because it does not serve any utilitarian purpose and one has to turn to English for various professional and medical terms. Here, again like the grandmother of family 3U (cf. 4.4.2.iii), we encounter an interesting conflict of attitudes because on the one hand, the father in this family declares Siraiki as a part of his culture, heritage and identity while on the other he calls Siraiki inferior to Urdu and a language which he has not transmitted to his children. Even though while speaking Urdu one has to turn to English for the professional and medical terms, this father does not consider Urdu an inferior language. He feels that he should have been taught Urdu along with Siraiki as a first language which would have saved him from facing difficulties initially at school which infused in him an inferiority complex towards his mother tongue and which he does not want his own children to have at any cost. If Siraiki were to be introduced in schools as an optional subject, he believes that he would not want his children to study it because he says that this is the age of science and technology and since no books exist on these subjects in Siraiki language, his children will not benefit from studying it. Here again, a conflict in his attitutde towards the Siraiki and Urdu languages becomes evident. The science subjects in Pakistan are taught through the medium of

English. Therefore, very few Urdu books get written on these subjects and even if they exist they do not get read. What seems to be happening here is that it is the low status of Siraiki and the shame he holds in relation to it which have influenced his views about the Siraiki language. Naima's eldest son who is ten years old, when asked if more time should be devoted to Siraiki programmes on radio and television, very clearly distanced himself from the Siraiki speech community and said 'yes, it would be good for those who know and speak Siraiki'. Here also we see conflict in attitudes because Siraiki programmes on radio and television would be good for 'others' and not for him. He feels that fluency in Urdu and English has given him the advantage of reading good storybooks which, he thinks, do not exist in Siraiki.

Analysis of Speech Extracts

This family uses Urdu and English among themselves. Whenever the members use Urdu, it is spoken with a heavy mix from English. The parents speak with the maids in Siraiki but the boys speak to them in Urdu even though the maids only speak in Siraiki. The following three extracts demonstrate the normal speech practices of the family among themselves in which they use dense code switching, both of English lexis and phrases in their Urdu speech.

The influence of television and English medium schooling can be discerned in the speech practices of the boys as illustrated in the following extract.

EXTRACT 33
[1] Son 1: Wo kehta hai tum *bowling* kuro
(He says you bowl)
[2] Son 2: *Out* ho gaya hai
(He's out)
[3] Mother: Kon?

(Who?)

[4] Son 1: Men nuhiin huua. *Benefit of doubt batsman* ko milta hai aur wo men huun

(I am not out, the batsman gets the benefit of doubt and I am that)

[5] Father: *Out* ho gaya hai. Is nay day diya hai *out*

(He's out; he has declared him out)

[6] Son 2: Humari baat ho ruhee hai *match* vaalon ki baat nuheen ho ruhee, ye kiya hota hai?

(We are talking about ourselves and not about the match people, what is this?)

[7] Son 1: *Mama,* aap ko putta hai *stadium* ki *long leg* bhii hoti hai. Aik *long leg* hoti hai aik *short leg* bhee hoti hai

(Mama, do you know that a stadium also has a long leg. It has one long leg and also one short leg)

[8] Mother: *Stadium* ki?

(Of the stadium?)

[9] Son 2: Aik *silly mid point* hota hai aik *slip* hoti hai aik *gully* hoti hai aur aik khaali *mid point* hota hai

(There's one silly mid point, one slip, one gully and one just mid point)

[10] Mother: Accha, aaj to aap kay *sir* to purha kur chullay gaei hain na?

(OK,has your tutor taught you today?)

The boys in this extract demonstrate their command of register related to cricket which they have most probably picked up from television commentary and at school. They use words and expressions from English which are used frequently with reference to cricket; some of these like *'bowling', 'match'* and *'benefit of doubt'* have common Urdu substitutes but other words and terms like *'out'* (in the context of cricket), *'gully', 'slip' , 'long leg'* and *'silly mid point'* do not. Since their parents, especially mother, code switch often from English in their Urdu speech and these boys study in English medium schools we observe a dense code switching from English in their Urdu speech.

The following extract is also an example of the kind of language which is spoken between the parents and the sons.

EXTRACT 34

[1] Mother: Ye leiny hai jo tumhein pussund hai, *this one*

(Will you take this; the one that you like, this one)

[2] Son 2: *I think no, Mama*

Father: Ye to *tasty* chutney hoti hai

(This 'chutney' is very tasty)

[3] Mother: *Skin* hai

(This is skin)

[4] Son 2: Men muchlee ki *skin* bohut acchi turah khata huun

(I eat the skin of the fish quite well)

In this speech extract we see that all the family members use Urdu with code switching from English. In [1] the mother begins a sentence with Urdu word 'ye' but ends it using its English substitute *'this one'*. Son 2 answers her with an English sentence. The father and the mother in [2] and [3] respectively use English words *'tasty'* and *'skin'* both of which have very common Urdu substitutes. As a result, Son 2 who might have learnt from his parents to code switch from English for such common English words uses *'skin'* in his Urdu reply.

The following extract illustrates further the speech practices of the parents.

EXTRACT 35

[1] Mother: Kehti hai vo vaali *accommodation* bhii itni vo nuhiin hai jaisay bhai bohut aala durjay ki ho na bus minaasib si hai. Mein nay kaha ham nay sirf paanch chay ghuntay sona hai aur *toilet* aik do bar *use* karna hai.

(She says that that accommodation too is not of excellent category, it's just OK. I told her that we have to sleep only for five or six hours and have to use the toilet once or twice)

[2] Father: Bilkul hi *C grade* na ho

(It shouldn't be virtually C grade)

[3] Mother: nai, nai, vo to nai ho gi

(No, no it won't be like that)

[4] Father: *A grade* to nahiin *B grade* thiik hai.

(If not A grade, B grade is fine)

[5] Mother: *B grade* ka ye hota hai kay chalo guzara bhi ho jata hai, *cost effective* bhi rehti hai.

(As for B grade one can manage in it and it is cost effective also)

[6] Father: Aaj un ko bulaein

(Should we invite them today)

[7] Mother: Aaj aaein gi na shaam ko X, X wo meiray saath hajj waali *cassette* sununay unhon nay aana hai ab *second time* na. Abhi mein jaaun gi paanch *cassettes* hein itni acchi *cassettes* hein, mein nay to teen *TDK* ki yaad hai jab hum log *first time* gai thay to mein Peshawar say layei thay

(Today X and X will come in the evening to listen to the Hajj cassettes the second time. I'll go now. There are five cassettes and they are so nice. I have got three TDK ones. Do you remember we brought them from Peshawar when we went there the first time?)

[8] Father: Patta nai

(I don't know)

[9] Mother: Wo purry thiin to meira dil chahta hai tiin vo hain *total* aath *cassettes*. Is ki to pehli do nai ye jo beech vaali hai na ye mera dil chahta hai *record* kura lein. Agar humaray paas chota *cassette player* ho na to hum vahan Saudia bhii sun suktay hein. Kitab mein purhnay ka jeisay nai hota sun kay ya vo vaali *book* bhi mil jaei na un ki

(They were there so I want, they are three and the total number of the cassettes is eight. Out of these, not the first two ones but I want to get the middle ones recorded. If we have a small cassette player then we can listen to these there in Saudia also. Reading from the book is not like listening or if I can get hold of the accompanying book)

Here both the parents are talking among themselves in Urdu and their speech is replete with English words which have common Urdu substitutes like 'accommodation' and 'use' in [1], 'cost effective' in [5], 'second time' and 'first time'

in [7], and *'total'* in [9]. This kind of code switching can be attributed to their education and jobs. In the recordings of the speech practices of this family I noticed that, compared to the father, the mother code switches more frequently from English in her speech. This difference in their speech practices can be attributed to the difference in their schooling.

The following conversation takes place between the mother and the maid.

EXTRACT 36

[1] Maid: **Accha** Baaji **val vainday pai hein**

(OK, Baaji [term used to address older sister or to give respect to a woman older than the speaker] we are going then)

[2] Mother: **Accha X suvayray wal aa vunjiin**

(OK, do come in the morning)

[3] Maid: **Aa vaisan Baaji**

(I will come, Baaji)

[4] Mother: **Mein** *college* **vanjna hosi** *time* **naal aavin**

(I'll have to go to college, so come on time)

[5] Maid: **Accha** *bye*

(OK, bye)

[6] Son 2: *Bye*

In this conversation the maid is being instructed by the Mother in Siraiki with some code switching from English and the maid says *'bye'* to the boys before leaving because the boys say goodbye in English normally which the maid has picked up and which she uses with them. Two observations can be made about the extract. The first one is that the mother in her Siraiki speech also code switches from English and uses the word *time* instead of its very common Siraiki substitute 'waqt'; the second point is that the speech habits of the maid, who has never attended school, are being influenced by the family 4U's speech practices. This suggests that Urdu and English

are being transmitted to lower-class families through the upper-class families also. The lower-class families in turn associate English and Urdu with prestige and try to emulate the speech practices of the upper-class.

The following conversation takes place among the mother, the maid and the boys.

EXTRACT 37

[1] Maid: **Oo aadhi ay ussan ghar vanjun?**

(She's saying can we go home?)

[2] Mother: **Kiyun ghar kiya kurnay uun nay?**

(What's does she have to do at home?)

[3] Maid: **Aj jumma hay na**

(Today is Friday)

[4] Son 1: Mayray saath khaylo

(Play with me)

[5] Mother: **Accha oo zura halva tan daykh ghino, oo tan lug vaisy**

(OK, check the halwa it might get burnt)

[6] Maid: **Dodh khuray haali,** hulki aanch **tay pukda pay**

(There's still milk in it and it is being cooked at a low flame)

[7] Mother: **Tay X, X nal khaydna nai?**

(Aren't you going to play with X and X)

[8] Son 2: Haan chullo khaylo

(Yes, play)

[9] Son 1: Mayri baari do

(Play your turn with me)

[10] Maid: **Haik haik haan**

(One turn for each)

[11] Son 1: Ub yuheen chukka luga

(Now hit a six here)

In this extract the mother talks to the maid in Siraiki whereas the sons address her in Urdu but she answers to both in Siraiki. This extract illustrates that the maid has picked up Urdu from this family because she demonstrates her understanding of what

the boy is saying in Urdu and also uses the Urdu expression 'hulki aanch' (low flame) in [6]. At the same time this extract also illustrates that the boys possess a passive knowledge of Siraiki which they have picked up from hearing Siraiki being used around them but they do not make any attempt to speak it or code switch from it.

It is also worth pointing out that family 4U is the only nuclear family among my eight case studies i.e. it comprises two generations as there is no grandparent in this family and this is the only family in which none of the members speak in Siraiki with each other. The mother did not learn Siraiki as a first language but the father whose first language is Siraiki has deserted it as he speaks Urdu with his wife and children, even though the wife can understand and quite fluently speak Siraiki. The boys can understand Siraiki to a certain level but cannot speak it or do not try speaking it even if they are spoken to in Siraiki. Compared to the speech practices of father, the mother and the boys speak Urdu with a denser code switching from English.

4.4.2.v General Trends in Urban Speech

In all the urban homes of my case studies, Siraiki and Urdu are spoken. But as pointed out in the preceding section, Siraiki is not spoken among the family members in family 4U but is spoken with the maids only. The adults in the rest of the families and children in family 1U (except for the youngest daughter) speak in Siraiki among themselves. What can be concluded from this analysis is that Siraiki has not completely disappeared from the homes and lives of my urban case studies as yet but the proficiency in it is decreasing as the children in family 3U and 4U can understand but perhaps not speak it. They do not have any incentive or encouragement at home to speak Siraiki. In family 4U, the only nuclear family among my eight case studies,

there is no grandparent and there is no Siraiki among the family members. In family 1U (cf. 4.4.2.i), unlike the rest of the family members, the grandmother is the only person who speaks Siraiki with Daughter 3. In family 2U (cf.4.4.2.ii), the children speak with their grandmother, and sometimes in her presence with their parents, in Siraiki. In family 3U (cf. 4.4.2.iii) the grandmother's children speak to her in Siraiki. These speech practices suggest that Siraiki seems to be maintained, to some extent, in extended three generational families.

The children in family 2U speak Siraiki with their grandmother even though their parents do not speak it with them. Compared to the 'pure' Siraiki spoken among the majority of my rural case studies, the Siraiki spoken in the urban homes is interspersed with code switching from Urdu and English. This is an instance of language erosion, which is happening to the Siraiki language in urban Multan.

In the above sections I have touched upon the language transmission practices among my case studies. Keeping in view the importance of intergenerational mother tongue transmission in the process of language shift, in the following section I discuss in some detail the Siraiki language transmission practices that I observed among the participating families.

4.5 Language Transmission Practices

Language transmission practices are an important part of the general picture of language practices and changing patterns of language usage. To determine whether Siraiki language shift is taking place in Multan, I also need to examine the language transmission practices of the Multanis besides looking at their general language practices. This discussion addresses my third research question which is: What

language transmission practices exist among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan?

Kulick (1992: 12) observes that most of the studies on language shift concentrate on the speech of adults. Languages, however, cannot be said to be shifting unless it is established that children are no longer learning them. He further notes that work on language shift traditionally tends to focus on examining the end result of the shift rather than concentrating 'on the socialization of the first generation of nonvernacular-speaking children'. Convinced of its crucial role for language maintenance, Fishman (2000: 3-4) states that one should focus on intergenerational mother tongue transmission in the process of reversing language shift. He believes that in this process, the 'set of daily processes and interactions must be protected [because] people who speak a language don't necessarily transmit it, and that is *the* problem'.

In the following sections I discuss the intergenerational language transmission practices among my case studies. Kulick (1992: 14) advocates paying close attention to the ways in which language is used with children in order to approach the issue of the '(non-) transmission of particular languages in a community.' By quoting the speech extracts from the recorded speech of some families I will demonstrate the language transmission practices in these families.

4.5.1 Rural Families

The language spoken with children in family 1R is Siraiki as this is the language mainly used in the village and among the relatives of this family. In family 2R also, the adults speak Siraiki with children but unlike family 1R, the Siraiki spoken

here by the adults is interspersed with some Urdu vocabulary. In both families 1R and 2R the parents and grandparents desire for the children to be fluent both in Siraiki and Urdu, even though some of them either do not know any Urdu or are not very fluent in it. The grandmother in family 2R wants the children of her family to learn Urdu even at the cost of Siraiki. She herself, however, does not know much Urdu and speaks only Siraiki with them. In Family 3R, the adults speak Siraiki with the children but with Urdu code switching. They also want the children to be fluent in Urdu but not at the cost of Siraiki.

Among the rural families, only the children of family 4R are being taught both Siraiki and Urdu. In this family the adults, among themselves, speak only in Siraiki. Some do so with a dense code switching from Urdu and English. With the two girls in the family, whose ages are three plus (Daughter) and six (Daughter 2:1), they speak both Siraiki and Urdu. With the older girl, Urdu is spoken more often now with code switching from English, in the words of her mother, 'to meet the requirements of her school.'

In the following extract the adults speak to the younger girl both in Siraiki and Urdu.

EXTRACT 38
[1] Aunt: Baba kidhar hain?
(Where's father?)
[2] Grandmother: Baba?
(Father?)
[3] Aunt: Han
(Yes)
[4] Grandmother: Batao na baba kidher hain?
(Come on, tell where's father?)
[5] Aunt: **Ken gein aaprain** *school*

(Where's he gone? To his school?)

[6] Grandmother: **Nai Multan gein**

(No he's gone to Multan)

[7] Daughter 2:1: **Multan gein**

(He's gone to Multan)

In this extract, the visiting aunt and the grandmother begin talking to Daughter 2:1 in Urdu and ask her where her father has gone. Daughter 2:1 was being taught Urdu those days 'in order to prepare for the school which she is going to join shortly' her mother told me. The little girl does not answer her aunt or the grandmother. Then her aunt in [5] rewords the same question and asks it in Siraiki. The grandmother also interjects in Siraiki. At this the girl replies in Siraiki. This intercation suggests that perhaps Daughter 2:1 is not as fluent in Urdu as she is in Siraiki but with this kind of efforts from her family in teaching her Urdu she would soon become fluent in Urdu as well.

Extract 39 also illustrates the similar situation where the little girl is being presented with both Siraiki and Urdu.

EXTRACT 39

[1] Grandmother: **Aao aao bhuj aao** bhaag kay aao bhaag kay aao

(Come, come running, come running, come running)

[2] Aunt: Wah bhai wah X to aa gai hai

(Wow, that's good, X has come)

[3] Grandmother: **Aa ithuun khuro, Mami kun dusso**

(Come, stand here, tell the aunt)

[4] Aunt: **Aye kithun gidday vay?**

(Where did you get this?)

Here the grandmother starts speaking to the girl in Siraiki she then immediately repeats the same thing in Urdu. The aunt addresses her in Urdu. In [3] the grandmother, and in [4] the mother speak to the girl in Siraiki.

The following extract also demonstrates how Siraiki, Urdu and English are being taught to Daughter 2:1.

EXTRACT 40

[1] Daughter: Ammi, Ammi, Ammi **mein aani aan**

(Mother, I want to come)

[2] Mother 1: Ammi **mein aani aan goodi,** chotta *baby*

(Mother I want to come, in my lap, little child)

[3] Grandmother: **Aadhi aye sada kaka hay jo oo chaati baythayn**

(She says this is our baby who she is carrying)

[4] Mother 2: Chotta *baby* **assan chaa ghinnu**

(Should we hold this little baby?)

[5] Daughter: **Naa**

(No)

[6] Mother 2: **Kiyuun bhai assan ghayn vaynay hain** X gundee hai X ko hum lay lain

(Why not? We are taking her X is not good. Should we take X?)

[7] Daughter: **Naa**

(No)

[8] Mother 1: Nai *please*

(No please)

In this extract a very interesting choice of languages takes place. The child uses an Urdu form of address for her mother (which she always uses) but completes the sentence in Siraiki. Her mother teases her in [2] by repeating what she has said and then adding a word of Urdu and a word of English in the same utterance. The grandmother then tells Mother 2 about the child in Siraiki. At this, Mother 2 talks to

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the girl in Siraiki and the child answers in the same language. Then Mother 2 talks to the girl first in Siraiki and then in Urdu. The little girl again answers in Siraiki but her mother interrupts her and repeats the girl's utterance in Urdu, adding an English word 'please' to it, thus teaching her an Urdu reply with an English word added to it for politeness.

The older girl is also spoken to both in Siraiki and Urdu.

EXTRACT 42

[1] Mother: **Tun kein naal sumney ain?** Kis kay saath sotii hain aap?
(Who do you sleep with? Who do you sleep with)
[2] Daughter: Daado
(Paternal Granny)
[3] Mother: **Dado hovay na**
(As if paternal granny is there)
[4] Aunt: Konsi Daado? Daado to yahan nuhiin rehtin
(Which paternal granny? Paternal granny doesn't live here)

In this extract the older girl is spoken to both in Siraiki and Urdu simultaneously. In [1] the mother asks her a question in Siraiki and then repeats it in Urdu. The mother in [3] makes a general statement in Siraiki adressed to no one in particular. The aunt rephrases the same statement into question in Urdu for the girl.

In the following extract the elder child is spoken to in Siraiki.

EXTRACT 43

[1] Aunt: **Aao, aao na. X aj taan chop hay.** Khala **kuun nai milna?**
(Come come. X is quiet today. Won't you meet your aunt?)
[2] Mother: **X uray aa. Aye taan shohdi uun vein hi chop thi gai aye. Uun saara deenh bulaysan tay uun** *conscious* **thi vaysan. X aaprin** *friends* **day naan dusso na.**
(X come here. Poor thing, she has gone quiet. Otherwise she talks all day but now she has become self-conscious. X tell the names of your friends)

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Her mother here code switches from English in her Siraiki speech and uses the words *'conscious'* and *'friends'* in [2], thus teaching her English as well.

The grandmother also speaks to her in Siraiki and Urdu with code switching from English.

EXTRACT 44

[1] Grandmother: **Khayd aych uunday naal khaydun pai gai aye**

(She's playing, she's playing with it)

[2] Aunt: *Dinky* **naal?**

(With the dinky?)

[3] Grandmother: *Dinky* **naal futta fut aadhi hay bas kuro mein hon nai khur sugdii.** *Shoes* **mil gai, kahan thay aap kay** *shoes?*

(With the dinky. She says finish it quickly I can't stand any longer. You've found the shoes, where were your shoes?)

In this extract the grandmother and aunt are talking among themselves about the little girl in Siraiki but the grandmother in [3] breaks her Siraiki conversation with the aunt in mid sentence and talks to the child in Urdu using the English word 'shoes' twice in her Siraiki speech instead of using its Siraiki substitute. This example illustrates that all the adults in the family including the grandmother code switch from English such words, in the Siraiki or Urdu speech, which have very common Siraiki and Urdu substitutes.

The following extract also illustrates how Siraiki, Urdu and English are taught to daughter 2:1.

EXTRACT 45

[1] Mother 2: **Ajkal uuho** *quiz* **di tayaari thiindi pai hay tay itney** *slow speed* **hay.** X ye konsa **kerha pucchan** *question* **hi bhulli baythii hon**

(These days we are preparing for the quiz and the speed is so slow. X which question should I ask, I have forgotten the questions)

[2] Aunt: *Who was the founder of Pakistan?*

[3] Mother 2: *Hurry up, quickly* bataoo naa X

(...tell X)

[4] Aunt: Masroof **hay.** Saiqa khao sohan halva miitha ho jai ga muun

(She's busy. Saiqa eat this sweet, your mouth will get a sweet taste)

[5] Mother 2: Challo ye udhur *plate* mein rukho

(Put this in that plate)

[6] Aunt: Is mein rukho. Vo bilkul chup ho gai hei

(Put it in this. She has gone silent)

[7] Mother 2: X ye *Aunty* jaein gi na vahan sub ko sunaein gi ke ye X ki avaz hei

(X when this aunty will go there she'll play your voice and tell everyone that this is X's voice)

[8] Grandmother: Bolo na

(Speak up)

[9] Mother 2: Aap bolo gay to bayta jai gi na

(When you'll speak then it'll go)

[10] Aunt: Ye na is ko nai chayrna

(No, don't touch this)

[11] Mother 2: Is ko nai chayro

(Don't touch this)

[12] Aunt: Ye *mic* hai jaisay *school* mein humara itna burra dunday pay *mike* hota hai na ye ub is pay hai

(This is a mic. Just as in our school we have a mic on a big rod this one is on this)

[13] Mother 2: **X kuun mein aakhay mein aakhay X kuun meikun haik** *complain* **hay kay** *shy* **hay aadhi hay** tumhain kis nay kaha hai kay ye *shy* hai. **Aadhi hay** agar X *shy* hai to phir kamal hai. **Mein aakhay** nai hai **aadhi hay** nai mein nai maan suktii

(I told X that I have one complaint against X that she is shy. She said that who says she is shy. She said if X is shy then it's odd. I said is she not? She said no I can't believe it)

[14] Aunt: **X uunvain** *school* **aich baylkol theek hay** *normal* **hay**

(X otherwise is perfectly all right in school, is normal)

[15] Grandmother: **X meikun day**

(X, give it to me)

[16] Mother 2: **Ammi aaprin turfun puurii meiry jitney taaqut hay**

(Mother I'm trying with my full strength)

[17] Grandmother: **Gaal kuraan** X bolo na

(Should I talk to her? X speak up)

[18] Aunt: **Aye kiya?**

(What is this?)

[19] Grandmother: **Bol kay nai vanj sugdii**

(Can't she go after speaking?)

[20] Mother 2: **Aye hon na bulaysii. X Wal hi bolay aa cha aye nai bulayndii.**
Chullo aap yahan say chullay jaao. Wo laytay aao. **Eid day kupray bun gein?**

(She won't speak now. X would have spoken; she won't speak. OK you go away from
here and take that with you. Have you got clothes made for Eid?)

[21] Aunt: **Iin Eid day?**

(For this Eid?)

Here the grandmother, Mother 2 and a visiting aunt are talking among
themselves in Siraiki with switches from English like *'quiz'*, *'slow speed'* and
'question' while to the elder child they all speak in Urdu with a mix of English. Then
the aunt in [2] asks the child a question in English which the child has to learn for a
quiz to be held in her school. In [17] the grandmother utters half of the sentence in
Siraiki which is addressed to Mother 2 and the other half in Urdu which is meant for
the elder granddaughter; Mother 2 does the same in [20].

4.5.2 Urban Families

Except for family 1U among the urban families, the adults mainly speak to the
children in Urdu. As already demonstrated (cf.4.4.2.i), in family 1U the parents speak
to their four children mainly in Siraiki but they and their older children speak to the
youngest daughter in Urdu. The grandmother speaks to her in Siraiki while she girl
replies in Urdu.

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In the following extract, the mother of family 1U is talking to her children.

EXTRACT 46

[1] Mother: X daadi amman **ghar giya haavin?**

(X did you go to the grandmother's home?)

[2] Son 2: **Jii aa**

(Yes)

[3] Mother: Accha aap gai theen? Daadi amman kiya ker ruhiin thiin? Aap nay jaana nuheen Quran Majeed purhnay hein?

(OK did you go? What was grandmother doing? Don't you have to go to study the noble Quran?)

[4] Daughter 3: Jaana hai

(I have to go)

This speech extract illustrates how the mother uses different codes with Daughter 3 and the rest of her children. Here the mother first asks her son a question in Siraiki but the form of address that the she uses to refer to the grandmother is in Urdu language and he replies in Siraiki but when she turns to the youngest daughter she uses Urdu with her and the girl replies in Urdu.

I participated in the conversation presented in the following extract.

EXTRACT 47

[1] Mother: **Tay na,** nuhiin burey baat hai

(And, no it's bad)

[2] Daughter 3: X chayr raha hai

(X is teasing me)

[3] Mother: Nuhiin cheiro. Challo aaram say baitho. **Wal na aa kay murumtan kura gein. Heik nay muchlii paali hoi hay tay heik nay** murghii **da** chuuza

(Don't tease, sit in peace, and then after coming she got the renovations done and then left. One has fish as a pet and the other has a chick)

[4] Me: **Accha dusso tay suhii aapran**

(OK, tell about yourself)

[5] Mother: Bayta ye butaao na ye chuuza aap kitnay ka lay kur aaey ho? Chuuzay daa **dusso na kitnay da ghein kay aai havay?**

(Child, tell how much have you bought this chick for? Tell about the chick how much have you bought it for?)

[6] Daughter 2: **Hai punjaan rupei da**

(It was for five rupees)

[7] Son 2: **Veeh tay panj**

(Twenty and five)

Here the mother was talking to me in Siraiki and in the middle of the sentence she turns to the youngest daughter and admonishes her in Urdu saying that what she is doing is bad. The girl justifies her behaviour by saying in Urdu that her brother is teasing her. At this the mother tells her son in Urdu to stop teasing the little girl and continues the conversation with me in Siraiki. Here the reason why the mother chooses to reprimand her son in Urdu instead of Siraiki is because these words are meant both to appease the girl and check the boy. The mother then continues her conversation with me in Siraiki. Then on seeing their pets in her childrens' hands she tells me about them. I ask the children about them in Siraiki and the mother tries to explain to the children what I am asking by putting a question to the youngest daughter in Urdu and then repeating the same thing to the other children in Siraiki. At this both Daughter 2 and Son 2 reply in Siraiki.

In family 2U the parents generally speak with their children in Urdu and the grandmother speaks with them in Siraiki even though she can speak Urdu. The older children reply to the grandmother in Siraiki but the youngest daughter replies to her in Urdu.

Extract 48[60] is an example of how both Siraiki and Urdu language are spoken simultaneously in the family repertoire.

EXTRACT 48

[1] Grandmother: **X tuun ni uthdee pai tuun ni aapay khandii**

(X aren't you getting up, are you going to eat?)

[2] Daughter 2: Aaj mein nay kha li thii

(I ate it today)

[3] Mother: **Val aye taan khaao**

(Eat this then)

[4]Grandmother: **Mein hunrein kha kay aai haan**

(I've just eaten)

[5] Daughter 1: Haan Ammi, mein nay Daadi Amman ki *plate* mein rukhee thee

(Yes Mom, I put it in the Grandmother's plate)

[6] Grandmother: **Aavay aavay**

(Come, come)

[7] Mother: **Oo taan paiy hein paiy**

(They are lying there)

[8] Grandmother: **Na, Na aa X aa**

(No, no, come X come)

[9] Daughter 2: Amman do zura

(Granny, give it to me)

[10] Grandmother: **Chul ri**

(I won't)

[11] Daughter 2: Do X ki mujhay do

(Please give me X's)

[12] Mother: Idhur aur bhi purii hein

(There are some here also)

This speech extract fully represents the language choices generally made by the family members in home domain. The grandmother talks to the mother and grandchildren in Siraiki, the mother talks to the grandmother in Siraiki and to her

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[60] This extract has been given in 4.2.2.ii also as Extract 27.

children in Urdu. The children generally speak to their mother in Urdu and to the grandmother in Siraiki but the youngest granddaughter, even in reply to the grandmother's Siraiki utterances [8] and [10], speaks to her in Urdu in [9] and [11]. This girl now possesses a passive knowledge of Siraiki and can understand it easily. In a few years time she may learn to speak it as well because her grandmother and her parents speak in Siraiki among themselves.

In family 3U, the adults in the home domain speak only Urdu with the children. The adults also consciously switch to English lexis and loan words in their Urdu speech to teach them English as well. Extract 49 is an example of how English is taught to children to facilitate study at school.

EXTRACT 49
[1] Grandson: Naai, chaand in ka kon hai?
(No, how is the moon related to her?)
[2] Granddaughter: Chaand ki burhiya hain ye
(She is the old lady of the moon)
[3] Grandson: Ye kiya chaand chunda mamu?
(Is she the moon?)
[4] Grandmother: Chanda mamu,chand chanda mamu
(Moon, moon)
[5] Granddaughter: Haan *moon, moon*
(Yes, moon)
[6] Grandmother: *Moon* raat ko *moon* daykhtay ho na?
(Moon, you see moon at night, don't you?)
[7] Daughter 2: X *M for moon*
[8] Granddaughter: *M for moon*

In this extract the grandmother, Daughter 2 and granddaughter are talking to the grandson in Urdu. The moon is being discussed with its Urdu name. In [5] the granddaughter switches to the English word 'moon' after which the grandmother

repeats the word 'moon' in her utterance twice to the child. In utterances [7] and [8] Daughter 2 and granddaughter present this word to the child with the help of alphabet with which it begins. This again can be the result of the desire to teach English to the child.

As demonstrated already (cf. 4.4.2.iv) the speech in family 4U is carried out, among the family members, in Urdu with a dense code switching from English.

4.5.3 General Trends in Language Transmission Practices

What can be concluded from the language transmission practices among my case studies is that among the rural families, only the adults of high-middle income group family are teaching both Siraiki and Urdu to their children. The adults of the rest of the families, who themselves are not fluent in Urdu and who are under no pressure from their children's schoolteachers to teach them any particular language, speak only Siraiki with them. Among the urban families however, except for the low-income family 1U, the parents of the rest of the families have taught Urdu to their children. Even in family 1U erosion in intergenerational transmission of Siraiki is taking place in the form of Daughter 3 not being taught Siraiki. The children of family 2U know Siraiki because their grandmother speaks this language with them. Their parents consciously make an effort to speak only Urdu with them. Family 4U is the only example in my case studies in which Urdu was taught as a first language to the mother as a result of which she speaks only Urdu with her husband and children even though she can speak Siraiki fluently now, as demonstrated in her conversation with the maids (cf. 4.2.2.iv, extract 37 & 38). Her husband also speaks only Urdu with his family as a result of which their sons cannot speak Siraiki but can understand it as the maids speak to them in this language.

On the basis of what I learnt about the speech practices of the members of the families, who participated in my research, through observation, informal and formal interviews and their audio recorded speech in the home domain, I have proposed a classification of the Siraiki speakers in the following section. This classification would be used in section 4.7 to categorise the members of the participating families.

4.6 Typology of Bilingualism/Trilingualism

Li Wei (1994: 184) proposed a typology of bilingualism, which can be used as a tool to categorise and compare different language contact situations. This typology can be used at two levels, 'to identify similarities and differences in language choice patterns between speaker groups ... [and it] offers a framework for comparative analysis of code switching patterns of individual speakers'. I believe that this typology can also be applied to understand the speech practices of the individuals and their relation with the social norms of community and the society to which they belong.

Although Li Wei's typology of bilingualism (ibid: 181) can be, according to him, applicable to immigrant communities in western, industrialized countries, his categories and the description of the speakers who are categorized also fit with little variations to the speakers in my data. Due to the peculiar sociolinguistic situation in the Siraiki area the networks alone cannot account for patterns of language choice. A number of factors like residential area (rural or urban), age, generation cohort, income group, education (type of school, kind of degree and the medium of instruction), and general ambition of the parents for their children, all interact together with social networks to account for the language choice and transmission practices. Li Wei (1994: 184) states, 'social networks exert pressures on their members to use language in

certain ways in different contexts. Speakers with the same social network contacts would conform to certain norms of language use, while speakers with different network ties would differ in their linguistic behaviour'. Looking at my data, the networks of certain speakers do not fully account for the language choices they make. This description also does not account for the variation in the speech of certain speakers, enmeshed in the same networks, with different interlocutors (cf. 4.4.2.i).

I have adapted some of Li Wei's labels to describe some speakers in my data and have coined other categories for other types. The classification of the speakers is based on the information gathered through ethnographic observation, interviews, and recorded home conversations.

Type 1. The monolingual Siraiki language speaker
This category of speakers rarely ventures outside their village, family or ethnic community. Their social networks are entirely kin and ethnic based due to which they are not obliged or motivated to learn another language.

Type 2. The functionally monolingual Siraiki language speaker
These speakers possess a limited capacity to understand and speak Urdu language but they use Siraiki in all key social contexts. Their primary interaction is with Siraiki speakers and they have few opportunities to use Urdu. On rare occasions these speakers use Urdu and/or English words and phrases in their speech.

Type 3. The functionally bilingual speaker
These speakers, whose first language is Siraiki, which they use in many key social contexts also possess the 'functional' (ibid: 181) knowledge of Urdu, which they use in some contexts on regular basis. They also know some basic English lexis. These

speakers have the ability to code switch in general conversation or if the occasion demands, such as change in interlocutor. Such speakers have networks within the community and outside.

Type 4. The 'mixed' bilingual speaker

These speakers have such networks in which speakers code-switch frequently between their mother tongue, Siraiki, and Urdu. Although such speakers grew up learning Siraiki, they also possess good competence of Urdu. They have some command of English vocabulary as well. They can keep the two languages, Siraiki and Urdu, separate if the context requires but they are capable of producing mixed-code utterances.

Type 5. The functionally trilingual Siraiki/Urdu/English language speaker

Such speakers grew up learning both Siraiki and Urdu. They still use the Siraiki language with some members of their immediate and extended family and in some social contexts. They use Urdu, whose high competence they have achieved through education, media and/or employment with their family members and in some key social contexts. Some of them have a good command of English, which they either use on its own or code switch in their Siraiki and Urdu speech.

Type 6. The functionally bilingual Urdu/English language speaker

The language of the parents of such persons is Siraiki; they can only understand Siraiki but cannot speak it fluently i.e. have only a minimum knowledge of it. Urdu is their primary language for communication in almost all key social contexts, which some of them use with a dense code switching from English. In some social contexts some of them use English also. If they come in contact with Siraiki speakers, either those contacts use Urdu with them or these speakers answer them in Urdu.

Using this classification, I have categorized the members of the rural and urban families separately in the following sections to illustrate the trends of speech practices in rural and urban Multan.

4.7 Speaker types

The types of speakers in each of the eight participating families are being categorized according to the typology presented above in the following sections.

4.7.1 Rural Families

In table 4.2 the rural female and male participants of my research have been categorized into different speaker types. The letter 'T' refers to the type and the number given after it correspond to the classification discussed in section 4.6.

As evident from table 4.2, in Family 1R, Son 1 and Son 2 belong to the category of type 2 whereas, the rest of the family members belong to the type 1 category. Both these boys are the only members of this family who have studied in school due to which we hear some English and Urdu words related to school register in their Urdu speech as in extract 1 (cf. 4.4.1). The adults in extract 3 are heard using some English loan words which they seem to have picked up from the market.

In family 2R the grandmother and the mothers are type 2 speakers whereas, the fathers and all the children are categorized as type 3. The grandmother and the mothers work in city but they have been working in the homes of the Siraiki and Punjabi families for years. They, therefore, they have never felt any need to learn Urdu. The fathers in the course of their work have to deal with different people; therefore, they have functional command of Urdu. From the conversation of the children it is evident that the knowledge of Urdu and English that they demonstrate

through code switching has mainly been learnt from school and television as in

extracts 4, 5, 6 and 7 (cf. 4.4.1).

Table 4. 2 Speaker types in rural families

	Family Members	1R Low-income	2R Low-income	3R Middle-income	4R High middle-income
F	Grandmother	T1	T2	/	T3
	Mother	T1	/	/	/
E	Mother 1	/	T2	T2	T4
	Mother 2	/	T2	/	T5
M	Aunt	T1	/	/	/
	Daughter	/	/	/	T6
A	Daughter 1	T1	T3	/	/
	Daughter 2	T1	T3	/	/
L	Daughter 3	/	T3	/	/
	Daughter 2:1	/	T3	/	T4*
E					
	Grandfather	/	/	T4	/
	Father	T1	/	T3	/
	Father 1	/	T3	/	T4
M	Father 2	/	T3	/	T5
	Uncle	T1		/	/
A	Son 1	T2	T3	T3	/
	Son 2	T2	T3	T3	/
L	Son 3	/	T3	T2	/
	Son 4	/	/	T2	/
E	Son 5	/	/	T2*	/
	Son 2:1	/	/		/

*Daughter 2:1 is 3+ and at the moment her parents and grandparent speak Siraiki with her most of the time. Most likely they will use more Urdu with her at home when she joins school. So due to this combined with Urdu and English input from school she will most likely become a Type 5 speaker.
*Son 5 at the moment knows very little Urdu but he is only 4 years old and is expected to become a type 2 speaker in a few years' time, and eventually type 3 or type 4 depending on how much education he receives.

In family 3R the language spoken at home is Siraiki with a mix of very few

English loan words like 'cycle', 'school', 'glass' and 'machine'. The grandfather,

father and Son 1 by virtue of their education and networks in the city are type 3

speakers. Son 2 is also a type 3 speaker because in the village high school the medium

of instruction is Urdu and the teachers encourage the boys to speak in Urdu with them. The rest of the family belongs to type 2.

In family 4R there is a great deal of variation among the speakers. There is no monolingual speaker here. One couple are type 4 speakers and the other are type 5. This variation can be attributed to their education, jobs, and networks. Father 2 and Mother 2 are better educated as compared to Father 1 and Mother 1; Father 2 has a job in the city whereas Father 1, who is a landlord, deals mainly with the tenants in the village who are essentially Siraiki monolinguals. The daughter of the second couple is a type 6 speaker who has been taught both Siraiki and Urdu as first languages but to a varying degree with more emphasis on Urdu; after joining school her exposure to Siraiki has been minimized even further.

4.7.2 Urban Families

The members of the urban families participating in my research have been categorized into different speaker types in table 4.3.

As illustrated in this table, the most striking variation in the speaker types in family 1U is Daughter 3. Unlike her parents and all her siblings she is the only one who cannot speak Siraiki. As stated in section 4.4.2:i, here the case is not that of different networks or any pressure from the networks. The whole family has consciously made her a type 6 speaker on the request and desire of her eldest sister.

In family 2U as well, the youngest daughter is a different type of speaker as compared to the rest of her siblings who can communicate in Siraiki with ease but she can only understand Siraiki and not speak much. The rest of her family represents a very clear-cut cross-generational variation in speaker types. The grandmother is a type

3 speaker, parents type 4 and the children type 5. Daughter 2 is a type 6 speaker firstly by virtue of her parents' and siblings' decision to teach her Urdu only, and secondly, due to her schooling where there is no place for Siraiki even in the playgrounds.

Table 4. 3 Speaker types in urban families

	Family Members	1U Low-income	2U Middle-income	3U High middle-income	4U High -income
	Grandmother	T2	T3	T3	/
F	Mother	T3	T4	T5	T5
E	Mother's Sister	T4	/	/	/
M	Daughter 1	T3	T5	/	/
A	Daughter 2	T3	T6	/	/
L	Daughter 3	T6	/	/	/
E	GM's Daughter 1	/	/	T5	/
M	GM's Daughter 2	/	/	T5	/
A	Granddaughter	/		T6	/
L	Father	T3	T4	T5	T5
E	Son 1	T3	T5	/	T6
M	Son 2	T3	T5	/	T6
A	Son 3	/	T5	/	/
L	GM's Son 2	/	/	T5	/
E	GM's Son 3	/	/	T5	/
	Grandson	/	/	T6	/

In family 2U as well, the youngest daughter is a different type of speaker as compared to the rest of her siblings who can communicate in Siraiki with ease but she can only understand Siraiki and not speak much. The rest of her family represents a very clear-cut cross-generational variation in speaker types. The grandmother is a type 3 speaker, parents type 4 and the children type 5. Daughter 2 is a type 6 speaker firstly by virtue of her parents' and siblings' decision to teach her Urdu only, and secondly, due to her schooling where there is no place for Siraiki even in the playgrounds.

In family 3U the speaker types also change across generations. The grandmother is a type 3 speaker, her children who have achieved high proficiency in Urdu through their education are type 5 speakers and the grandchildren with whom the adults of the family speak only Urdu are type 6 speakers.

In family 4U, the parents who themselves grew up learning Siraiki and Urdu to varying degrees have not transmitted Siraiki to their children. Thus the children who are type 6 speakers are proficient in Urdu and English only and possess minimum knowledge of Siraiki.

4.7.3 General Discussion on Speaker Types

The variables for the families chosen for research were rural vs. urban background, income group, age, and educational level and type of schooling of the speakers. In the rural families, type 1 speakers are found only in the low-income family which has no networks in the city. The low-income family that has contacts in the city and the middle-income family comprise type 2 and type 3 speakers. The high middle-income family consists of speakers of types 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Among the urban families, the low-income family consists of speakers of type 2, 3 and 6. The members of middle-income family belong to type 3, 4 and 5. The high-middle income family comprises speakers belonging to type 3, 5 and 6 whereas, the members of high-income family are categorized as type 5 and 6.

In most of the cases, age, schooling, and educational level of the speakers account for the variation in types within one family. The type of schooling is directly related to income group as only the families belonging to the high-middle and high-income groups can afford to send their children to elite English medium schools. The

English medium schooling is evident from the speech of those who have studied or are studying there. Daughter 2 in family 2U attends an English medium school and this is evident from her speech in which she uses some English words which are not to be found in the speech of her other siblings. One exception though is Mother 2 in family 4R who although attended an Urdu medium school, switches to English quite frequently in her Siraiki speech. Either her social networks are responsible for this or her desire is to identify more with the educated city dwellers who code switch to English quite often in their Urdu or Siraiki speech. One other factor that can be attributed to her dense code switching to English is her daughter's school. The principal of the school which this girl attends, during her interview, told me that they tell the parents that if they cannot speak English exclusively with their children then they must at least mix a lot of English in their Urdu speech to facilitate their children learn English.

As far as the age factor is concerned we see that grandparents belong to type 1, 2 and 3. Among the parent generation the speakers belong to type 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. Only among the children's generation do we have some speakers belonging to type 6. The rest belong to type 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. What we have here is a mixed range of speakers in all three generations.

About the networks of the families we can say with confidence that in some cases like daughter 2 in family 1U, the decision and the ambition of the parents/elders transcend the influence of networks. The network approach does not account for the decision of parents to teach a particular language to their children. Apart from networks, the kind of schooling has a profound effect on the type of speaker one

becomes. Income group of the family thus indirectly affects the language choices of the speakers.

The following four sections address my fourth research question which is: What is the relationship between different variables: namely, age, location (rural/urban), education, and economic group in terms of language choice patterns among Multani families? The data gathered from the conversations in home domain and from the interviews with the family members has been encapsulated in the tables presented in the following four sections. Although the data is based on the speech practices of my case studies, it gives some insight into the Siraiki language situation in Multan.

4.8 Language Choice Patterns

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 below give the language choice patterns of speakers of three generations; grandparents, parents, and children (vertical), when they are interacting with members of their own and other generations (horizontal) in home domain. In cases where more than one language is given, the language given in bold type is the main language and the other(s) indicate the code switched language(s).

If we look at the language choice patterns of speakers in my data across three generations namely grandparents, parents, and children in rural families it becomes clear that there is some variation in the language choice patterns of members of grandparent generation with the interlocutors belonging to the children generation. All the grandparents speak in Siraiki with parents. Three out of four grandparents use the Siraiki language with all types of interlocutors whereas, only one grandparent uses both Siraiki and Urdu with her grandchildren. All the parents speak only Siraiki with grandparents and ten with their spouses and children. A dominant majority of the

speakers of the children generation use Siraiki only with their grandparents; a vast majority of them, i.e. eighteen out of twenty, use the same language with their parents; among themselves ten use Siraiki, nine both Siraiki and Urdu and only one child uses Siraiki and Urdu with code switching from English while talking to her peer.

Table 4. 4 Patterns of language choice within and across generations in rural families

Speaker*	Interlocutor					
	Grandparents		Parents		Children	
	Language spoken	Number of users	Language spoken	Number of users	Language spoken	Number of users
Grandparents (04 speakers)	-	-	S	04	S SU	03 01
Parents (14 speakers)	S	14	S SUE	10 04	S SUE	10 04
Children (20 speakers)	S SU	18 02	S SU SUE	18 01 01	S SU SUE	10 09 01

S = Siraiki; U = Urdu; E = English

*I will not analyze the sample of older children because: firstly, it is too small and secondly, the information in both the tables represents only one family each so it would be a mistake to generalize from it.

As clear from the table above, about one fourth of the grandparents and parents use Siraiki along with other languages with the children and they are transmitting Siraiki as the primary language to the younger generation. Half of the children use Siraiki exclusively at home and rest use Siraiki with code switching from other language(s) in home domain.

The language choice patterns of members of urban families are presented in table 4.5.

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Table 4. 5 Patterns of language choice within and across generations in urban families

Speaker	Interlocutor					
	Grandparents		Parents		Children	
	Language spoken	Number of users	Language spoken	Number of users	Language spoken	Number of users
Grandparents (3 speakers)	-	-	S	03	S SU	01 02
Parents (8 speakers)	S	08	S SE UE	04 02 02	S SUE UE	04 02 02
Children (15 speakers)	S SU U	04 05 05	S SU SE U UE	04 04 01 01 05	SU SUE U UE	04 04 01 06

S = Siraiki; U = Urdu; E = English

Different patterns of language choice emerge from table 4.5. The urban grandparent generation, just like their rural counterparts, uses Siraiki with the parent generation; only one third of them exclusively use Siraiki with the children and the rest use both Siraiki and Urdu. Parents use Siraiki only with the grandparents and four of them out of a total of eight use Siraiki with their spouses. A quarter of them use Siraiki with English code switching with their spouses and the rest use Urdu with English code switching. With their children, half of them use Siraiki only, and a quarter use Siraiki-English and Urdu-English. Among the children, about a quarter of them use Urdu with the grandparents; the rest use Siraiki. With their parents they show a large variation in language choice patterns. Four out of fifteen use Siraiki with their parents, four Siraiki and Urdu, five Urdu and English and one each uses Siraiki-English and Urdu respectively. Among each other none of them uses Siraiki only. Six

of them speak Urdu-English among themselves and four each Siraiki-Urdu and Siraiki-Urdu-English. Only one uses only Urdu with her siblings. It is noteworthy that as opposed to 90% of rural children in my data, only 26% of urban children use Siraiki only with their parents and among their peers no urban child uses only Siraiki.

4.8.1 General Discussion on Language Choice Patterns

What we can conclude from the language choice patterns presented in tables 4.4 and 4.5 is that in my sample of rural households Siraiki is being maintained as the dominant home language by all the generations. Those who use other languages use them in addition to Siraiki. About a quarter of grandparents and parents use other languages along with Siraiki with children. These adults are the ones who belong to the high middle-income group and whose children go to English-medium private schools. The rural children from other income groups who can understand and use Urdu have either picked it up from city schools which some of them attend, or from the media such as television and radio. This became clear during interviews with the family members.

As far as urban households in my study are concerned, only grandparents use Siraiki exclusively with children and that occurs only among one third of them. Although half of the parents use Siraiki among their generation, with their children they use it with other languages and a quarter of them have not transmitted Siraiki to their children. The majority of the children use Siraiki with their grandparents but with their parents, only a quarter use Siraiki and almost one third do not use Siraiki at all with their parents. Here too, the higher the income of the family, the lower the ratio is of parents transmitting Siraiki to their children and also of children using Siraiki among themselves. All the children belonging to higher income group families go to

English medium private schools, which discourage the use of Siraiki on their premises. They also discourage parents from using Siraiki with their children, rather they instruct them to use either English or Urdu with them. As a result of this we see no transmission of Siraiki generally in the higher income groups. Such examples are also found in the lower income groups. For example, in family 1U Siraiki has not been transmitted to the youngest daughter. The other income groups also use both Siraiki and Urdu with their children in the home domain.

If we compare the language choices of the rural and urban parents and children we see a great variation. This can be attributed to their social networks, education, type of schools children attend, and access to television and radio

4.9 Use of Siraiki by Age-Grouping

The use of Siraiki by different age groups is presented in table 4.6. In the first column the ages of the speakers have been given. The second column, which is subdivided, shows the number of speakers belonging to rural and urban Multan. The third column shows how many out of the total rural and urban speakers shown separately in column 2 have learnt Siraiki as their mother tongue. Column 4 shows how many of these speakers still use Siraiki as their dominant language and the last column shows this number in percentages.

Among the speakers belonging to rural families there is no difference between the mother tongue and the dominant language. In other words, in my sample of rural families Siraiki is transmitted as a mother tongue to almost all the children and they have kept it as a dominant language.

Table 4. 6 Use of Siraiki by age-grouping in rural (R) and urban (U) families

Age*	No.		Mother tongue		Dominant language		% of speakers	
	R	U	R	U	R	U	R	U
06—26	18	16	17	12	17	4	100	33
27—46	11	8	11	7	11	6	100	86
46 & over	4	3	4	3	4	3	100	100
Total	33	27	32	22	32	13	100	59

*Although speakers' age in my research starts from three years, I have taken six as a starting age to compare mother tongue with the dominant language because by this age children have attended school for one to two years. Thus some variation between their mother tongue and dominant language is possible.

The speech habits of the urban speakers between the age of six and twenty-six in my sample are in sharp contrast with their rural counterparts. The first point to note about the urban speakers of this age-group is that Siraiki is not transmitted to one quarter of them as a mother tongue. Two thirds of these children who learnt Siraiki as a mother tongue have taken up other languages as their dominant mode of communication. The percentage of non-transmission of Siraiki to the speakers belonging to the age-group between twenty-seven and forty-six is quite low and so is the ratio of such speakers who have adopted other languages as their dominant mode of communication in the home domain. From age forty-seven onwards, all the urban speakers, like their rural counterparts, learnt Siraiki as a mother tongue and they have kept it as their dominant home language.

The figures of the rural speakers suggest that Siraiki is the only language which is transmitted to almost all the children, and all of them keep it as the dominant language. Other languages have little place in rural society and as a result these speakers do not feel the need to switch over to any other language for most of their communication. Conversely in urban speakers' language transmission and retention

practices a very clear trend that is seen among a large number of members of the younger generation is that they have given up their ethnic language and have adopted mainly Urdu as a dominant language, even in the family domain. Another striking feature is that Siraiki is not being transmitted as a first language to a significant number of children in Siraiki families.

4.10 Use of Siraiki by Educational Level

The use of Siraiki by speakers of different educational levels from rural and urban households is presented in tables 4.7 and 4.8 respectively. In the following tables, the educational levels of the speakers have been given in the first column. The second column indicates the number of speakers who possess this educational level. The third column indicates how many of these speakers learnt Siraiki as a mother tongue, while the fourth column shows how many of these speakers still use Siraiki as their dominant language. The last column shows the percentage of the speakers who have retained Siraiki, their mother tongue, as dominant language.

Table 4. 7 Use of Siraiki by educational level in rural families

Educational level	No. of speakers	Mother tongue	Dominant language	% of speakers retaining their mother tongue as dominant language
Illiterate	8	8	8	100
Can read and write Urdu	4	4	4	100
Below primary	9	8	8	100
Primary	6	6	6	100
Secondary and post secondary	3	3	3	100
Tertiary and above	3	3	3	100
Total	33	32	32	

As mentioned in the general background to this study (cf. 1.2), the literacy level in Pakistan is very low. Among the rural participants of my research about one third are either totally illiterate or can read and write only basic Urdu. None of these speakers have ever attended a mainstream formal school. Only a fraction of rural participants have tertiary or higher education. The above table clearly indicates that all the rural participants of my research have retained their mother tongue as a dominant language, irrespective of the level of their education.

The following table indicates the use of Siraiki by speakers of different educational levels in urban households thst participated in my research.

Table 4. 8 Use of Siraiki by educational level in urban families

Educational level	No. of speakers	Mother tongue	Dominant language	% of speakers retaining their mother tongue as dominant language
Illiterate	0	0	0	0
Can read and write Urdu	3	3	3	100
Below primary	7	4	3	75
Primary	7	6	2	33
Secondary and post secondary	2	2	2	100
Tertiary and above	8	7	3	43
Total	27	22	13	

Among the urban participants all those speakers who can read and write basic Urdu and none of whom have ever attended a mainstream formal school, use Siraiki as a dominant home language. Among those speakers who have attended school for more than 5 years, only one third have kept Siraiki as their dominant language of communication in home domain. Three fourths of the participants of my research,

who have an educational qualification below primary, have kept Siraiki as their dominant language. All the speakers, who have secondary or post secondary qualification use Siraiki as a dominant language. Less than half of the Siraikis, whose educational qualification is above post secondary, use their mother tongue as a dominant language.

What would seem odd in this table is that there is no clear pattern of correlation between educational qualification and dominant language. One of the reasons for this is that due to the small sample size, the participants of different age groups could not be classified according to their educational qualification, for example, the category 'below primary' includes children who are studying at this level and adults who have not studied beyond this level. With children it is difficult to determine which language would eventually become dominant language once they grow up. Hence we cannot fully rely on the the data presented in this section to draw conclusions about the language situation in Multan.

The point that I want to emphasize about the statistics presented in the above two tables is that present educational level is not the only cause for giving up or retaining Siraiki as a dominant language. There are a number of factors that should be considered along with the educational level of the speakers, such as the age of the speaker; whether he/she is studying in that level or has finished studying? What kind of school did/does the speaker attend? What subjects did/does the speaker study? What we can safely conclude from these tables is that in villages educational qualification is not affecting the choice of dominant language of the speakers, whereas, it is to some extent in the cities. These findings suggest that changes in the habitual use of Siraiki among the parent generation have started mainly in urban

households, and they are in turn influencing the transmission of this language to children generation.

4.11 Dominant Language Choice in Family Domain

A range of individual and family factors has been examined in the preceding sections to study the present status of Siraiki in rural and urban Multan. In the light of the information already presented in this chapter we can determine the dominant language choice in the family domain both in rural and urban families.

Table 4. 9 Dominant language choice in the family domain

Dominant language at home	Siraiki		Urdu	
.	No.	%	No.	%
Rural families	4	100	0	0
Urban families	1	25	3	75

As we can see in table 4.9, in all the rural families belonging to different economic groups, people on the whole use Siraiki the most. On the other hand, in the urban families we see a variation in the dominant language. In only one out of four families Siraiki is spoken as the dominant language, whereas in the other three families Urdu dominates as a home language.

4.12 Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have looked at the language choices and language transmission practices among my sample of Multani families. I have also attempted to decipher the relationship of demographic factors like age, location, education, and economic group with language choice patterns among Multani families.

The focus of this study has been on individual families but efforts were made to involve as representative a sample as possible of Siraiki families. Given the number of families (eight) and participants involved (sixty-eight), it is not valid to generalize their behaviour to the whole community. What I can claim is that this kind of analysis gives an indication of the possible trends in language usage and transmission practices in family context in rural and urban Multan.

A brief analysis of the speech of the participants demonstrates that code switching is especially common in the speech of urban participants. This language practice lends support to Chana & Romaine's view that 'code-switching often occurs in communities undergoing rapid social and linguistic change' (1984: 449).

The findings of this chapter demonstrate that no single demographic factor alone can account for the change that is occurring in the status and use of Siraiki in the home domain. Consequently, Fishman's (1991) and Li Wei et al.'s (1997) argument that language shift is differential, being far-reaching and more rapid in some sub-populations and some domains fits perfectly to the process of language shift in Multan.

From the findings presented in this chapter we can conclude that Siraiki is being kept as a home language in the villages but in all urban households. Some parents, keeping the children's 'welfare' in the forefront, have started putting the instrumental value of Urdu or English before the sentimental value of Siraiki. As a result, they are either not transmitting Siraiki to their children or are interacting with them in Urdu most of the time. Schools and media are influencing the language behaviour of children in home domain as well, mainly towards Urdu. Thus in urban households, Siraiki is slowly losing ground to officially recognized and promoted

languages: Urdu and English. This process is ongoing and, given the present social circumstances, it is most likely that the use of Siraiki will keep on decreasing in the home domain.

Coming back to the issue raised in section 2.2.3 about the increase in the number of Siraiki households as described in 1998 census, by looking at the speech practices of my the case studies whose speech practices I have analysed in this chapter, we can say that even though all these families describe themselves as 'Siraiki speaking households', the actual amount of Siraiki spoken in each home varies (cf. 4.8 & 4.11). There also exists intergenerational variation in the use of Siraiki in the home domain (cf. 4.9). Thus Khubchandani's remarks 'in a plural society, mother tongue identity can be regarded as a *discrete* alignment by an individual or a group with certain cultural or formal attributes, whereas speech behaviour is not necessarily so' (2003: 243) fit quite well to the Siraiki language situation in Multan where mother tongue identity does not seem to be conforming to the actual speech behaviour of all the Siraikis.

Another issue that I need to come back to is the point that I raised in section 1.2 about situating the overall picture of language choices and code-switching practices of the Siraikis within the context of South Asia. At the onset I want to make clear that even though the language situation in Pakistan and India is generally taken by Western researchers as similar, it has much dissimilarity as well. The language policies of the Pakistani government are quite different from those of India. In Pakistan, Urdu is promoted as the sole national language whereas, in India eighteen languages are recognised by the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution (Pattanayak, 2001). Despite this, however, in India 'the forces affecting mother-tongue maintenance resulting in language shift are also beginning to emerge' (Verma, 2001:

4). According to *Limca Book of Records 1996* (Cited in Verma, 2001) some communities in India like Johar in UtterPradesh and Andro and Chairel of Manipur have lost their mother tongues. Annamalai (1990) also mentions the tendency of unstable bilingualism among some tribal communities and of language shift among others. It is recognised by the linguists that even though numerical and demographic strength are generally taken as important contributory factors to the survival of a language, the growth or decline in the population of individual speakers is linked with political, educational, and socioeconomic policies of the governments (Verma, 2001). The exclusion of small languages from the school curriculum is also recognised as a factor leading to their decline (ibid). Verma (2002: 101-102) argues that in present day India, due to the impact of globalisation and knowledge-driven economy, English has become the right capital to invest in the job market which is resulting in 'slow but secure encroachment of English into the 'safe' private domains of family and peer goups; the threat to the indigenous languages of India' and 'English seems to be expanding at the cost of Hindi and other Indian languages' (ibid: 105). Under the pressures of superhighway culture, the urban Indians are letting Indian languages slip out of the family domain. Verma (2002) acknowledges the fact that Indian languages are safe in the hands of rural communities because English might take a millennium to reach them. The data of the language usage practices of the eight families presented in this chapter demonstrates similar trends in the speech practices of the rural and urban Multanis. What can be concluded is that the perfect picture of stable mulilingualism at all societal levels in Pakistan and India is a myth and economic and social pressures on the speakers of regional/national languages regarding their speech practices is a reality.

In the following chapter I examine the reasons for the changed and changing language practices of the Siraikis in home domain and try to locate these causes in social, political, and affective factors.

Chapter 5

Factors Contributing to Language Shift

5.1 Introduction

In chapter four I discussed the range of language choices as well as language transmission practices among rural and urban Siraiki families in Multan. Speech extracts from the home conversations of these families were presented to illustrate these practices. Both of these were linked with the variables: namely, age, location (rural/urban), education, and economic group. The data from the interviews with the members of these families was used to demonstrate their views on the languages spoken in their homes. In chapter five I address the second part of my first research question which is:

> What attitudes exist towards Siraiki and Urdu and what factors are responsible for them?

The first part of this research question has already been addressed by the pilot study (cf. 3.2). This chapter also addresses my fifth research question, which is:

> What social, political, and affective factors are influencing the status and usage of Siraiki language in Multan and how and why are they influencing it?

It should be noted that one of the research questions (what is the relationship between different variables: namely, location (rural/urban), education, and economic group in terms of language choice patterns among Multani families?) being addressed in chapter four also deals with factors which are influencing the language choices in the home domain but these are predominantly demographic. Whereas, the factors being discussed and analysed in this chapter are social, political, and affective. Here I am looking at which of these factors are contributing to the changing language patterns in the family domain in Multan and its suburbs. My aim is also to see how and why these are leading to language shift in some sections of the society as observed among the eight Siraiki families living in Multan and its suburbs. The factors being discussed are: government policies and institutional support, education with reference to schools, mass media support, attitudes towards Siraiki language and Siraikis as a group, and the present status of Siraiki language in South Punjab.

The data that I am going to use in this chapter is from multiple sources. I have used the data from the interviews (cf. 3.9.4) conducted with the members of the participating families, Siraiki scholars and researchers, and school heads and teachers to link Siraiki language usage with the factors contributing to its shift. I have also used data from websites, government reports, news reports, and newspaper columns to illustrate my viewpoint.

The factors responsible for language maintenance and shift are generally held to be present outside language itself, for example, demographic factors, perceived or objective status of group, language needs, power sharing, functions of the language in public life and education. Fishman locates language shift in 'social space' and 'societal dynamics' (1991: 39; 1985; 2001). The process of globalisation of Pan Western culture which fosters socio-cultural change is seen as a threat to weaker languages (Baker, 2003; Fishman, 2001). Li Wei et al. (1997) in their account of the socio-cultural processes of language shift in the Teochew Chinese community in Singapore consider institutional, status, sub-cultural, and socio-cultural factors chiefly contributing to this language shift.

The symbolic power relationships between different groups in the linguistic market determine and decide the price value of languages which eventually affect language maintenance (Jaspaert & Kroon, 1987; 1991). The notion of the 'linguistic market place' (Bourdieu, 1982) which emphasises the socio-economic usefulness of language states that a language will persist on the basis of its socio-economic importance and utility, 'Language competence is a skill with a market value that determines who will acquire it…Even …the first language we learn…will be maintained only if it serves as a medium of communication with speakers with whom we wish to communicate' (Haugen, 1980: 114).

Demographic factors are also considered to be contributing significantly to language maintenance or shift. Physical and demographic dislocation is considered a threat to intergenerational language-in-culture continuity (Fishman, 1991). While analysing the census data for the distribution and maintenance of community languages in Australia, Clyne (1991) discusses the unequivocal significance of

demographic variables like ethnolinguistic distribution,[61] gender and marriage patterns in language shift. Kloss (1966), in an examination of the context of languages in America, identifies demographic factors like early point immigration and pre-emigration experience with languages as clearly promoting language maintenance.

The attitudes of the speech community towards their language (Bradley, 2002) and self-perceived social status are considered to be a crucial factor in language maintenance (Giles et al., 1977). Habitual language use has also been considered to be an important factor in language maintenance and language shift (Fishman, 1964; 1965; 1991).

While other researchers have found a range of factors that can contribute to individual cases of language shift or maintenance, at this stage, we cannot attribute any of these to the situation in Multan. The purpose of this chapter is to consider the relationship between these factors and the language situation in Multan, regarding Siraiki, in detail.

Two major factors, which seem to be contributing significantly to Siraiki language shift are government policies and institutional support. I discuss these in detail in the following section. Most of the data in the following section and its subsections comes from printed material like books and newspapers, and the interviews that I conducted with Siraiki scholars and researchers (cf. 3.9.4.ii). Some of the observations of these scholars, that I have cited in these sections, have been substantiated by data from other sources while others should be regarded as their

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[61]Relative population distribution—the availability of a sizeable community in a particular state (Clyne, 1991).

opinions which carry weight by virtue of the key positions these scholars hold in their respective fields.

5.2 Government Policies and Institutional Support

The Pakistani governments have always seen regional languages as a threat to national identity (Rahamn, 1999; Wagha, 1998). This standpoint is not just confined to this part of the world. Beardsmore (2003: 23) quotes Californian senator Hayakaw, 'A common language can unify, separate languages can fracture and fragment a society'. He, however, opposes this standpoint by giving Northern Ireland as an example where strong divisions exist despite a common language; on the other hand, countries like Luxembourg, Switzerland, Finland and Singapore which use several languages appear to be safe from social fragmentation.

As a result of the Pakistani governments' policies (cf. 2.4.2), English has a high utilitarian value and after English, Urdu comes second in terms of power and prestige. Both these languages confer more prestige and have more utilitarian value than all the other languages used in Pakistan (Rahman, 2002b). Pakistani children learn or are taught English and Urdu for empowerment; 'power is a useful referent for understanding why people learn and why policies are made to teach certain languages' (2002a: 529).

The policies of the British in the United India about providing or withholding English as a subject and as a medium of instruction were concerned with different views of how best to run a colony (cf. 2.4.1). Likewise, the language policies of the government of Pakistan have been similar to those of the colonizer for the colonized; favouring their own class, the rich and the powerful reserved English for themselves

and Urdu for everyone else. The Urdu language is considered and treated officially as far more superior than regional languages. Even among these indigenous languages there is a hierarchy of prestige and official support in which Siraiki, unfortunately, comes even lower than the Punjabi language, which itself is perceived as a low status language even by the Punjabis themselves (Mansoor, 1993). A classic example of the treatment of Siraiki in the hands of the Pakistani government is that despite recognizing Siraiki as a separate language at different forums and in the 1981 and 1998 censuses, the official website of the government of Pakistan[62] still labels Siraiki as 'a Punjabi variant'. The supporters of the Siraiki language believe that since power in the central and the provincial government of Punjab has always been in the hands of the Punjabis, they do not let the Siraiki language prosper (Chandio, PC[63]). If they recognise and promote Siraiki as a language distinct from Punjabi then it would reduce the majority of the Punjabi population in Pakistan, resulting in a reduction in the benefits which they, as a majority, enjoy (Fahim, PC[64]).

5.2.1 Lack of Financial Support

The Siraiki region has always complained of official neglect and lack of any support (Rahman, 1996a; Wagha, 1998). Their grievances are not just in terms of infrastructure, job opportunities and opportunities of quality education but also in terms of the grants allocated for the promotion of the Siraiki language (Rahman, 1996a; Haqaani, 2004[65]). In Punjab the Urdu language, by virtue of its status as the national language, has received most of the funds for its promotion (Rahman, 1996a).

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[62] www.pakistan.gov.pk/AboutPakistan.jsp 18.05.2004.
[63] Javaid Chandio, Chairman Siraiki Department, Islamia University Bahawalpur. Interview I conducted in 2003.
[64] Aamir Fahim is the Chairman of Siraiki Department, Government College Multan and a prolific Siraiki writer. He has also written and produced a few Siraiki commercial films. Interview I conducted in 2003.
[65] http://www.jang.com.pk/jang/mar2004-daily/23-03-2004/editorial/coll.htm 23.03.2004.

The Punjabis have always held key positions in the federal and Punjab provincial establishments (Ahmad, PC). The present administration of Punjab, comprising mainly Punjabis, has allocated huge funds for the Punjabi language (*The News*, 2004). The Siraikis feel that since the Punjabis have always been in the key positions in the Punjab government, the Siraiki language does not get its due share in funds (Dhareeja, 2003).

Even though Siraiki is the language of millions of people, it receives a negligible sum of money for its development, planning, and promotion. The figures presented in table 5.1 of the Budget Statement (1994-1995) of the Pakistan Academy of Letters transpire that the following grants were given to different governmental and non-governmental institutions/organizations working for the promotion of different Pakistani languages.

Table 5.1 Official grants given for the promotion of languages in Pakistan in 1994-95

Languages	Pakistani Rupees
Balochi	100,000
Pushto	105,000
Punjabi	150,000
Sindhi	181,000
Siraiki	30,000
Urdu	1,577,500

(Rahman, 1996a)

As made clear from the figures presented in table 5.1, Siraiki, despite being the 4[th] largest language in Pakistan (*Pakistan Statistical Year Book 2004*), received the sixth amount of aid for its promotion. The annual budget in the financial year 1993-94 of different governmental institutions working for the promotion of different languages used in Pakistan is shown in table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Annual budget for 1993-94 of different governmental institutions working for the promotion of different languages used in Pakistan

Languages	Pakistani Rupees
Arabic	764,000
Balochi	212,000
Brahvi	45,000
English	4,000,000
Pushto	3,614,456
Punjabi	366,000
Sindhi	9,025,000
Urdu	33,692,000

(Rahman, 1996a)

The absence of Siraiki language in table 5.2 among the list of languages which are promoted by the government through different institutions, however small they may be, speaks volumes for the official neglect of the Siraiki language.

A Siraiki Research Centre was established in B. Z. University Multan in 1998 with a meagre amount of Rs. 20,000 (£1,950 approx.) from the University's own resources. In 2002 only Rs. 50,000 were allocated for the Centre, again from the University's own funds. The library of the Siraiki Department in the Islamia University Bahawalpur, receives an annual nominal amount of Rs. 10,000 (£95 approx.) from the University. The Siraikis compare this lack of financial support for Siraiki with that of Punjabi which is promoted as the sole language of Punjab most of the time and funds are allocated for its planning and promotion. In 2004, Ch. Pervaiz Elahi, Chief Minister of Punjab announced that 25 million rupees would be awarded for the establishment of a 'Grand Institute of Punjabi Language and Culture' which would have an auditorium, museum, library, and many other facilities. The Chief Minister has also committed to provide 10,000 jobs to MA Punjabi degree holders (*The News*, 2004). In his inaugural address at the World Punjabi Conference held in

Lahore in 2004 the Chief Minister, who is a Punjabi himself, announced a 2.5 million rupees grant to the conference, the publication of deluxe editions of Punjabi epics and increased the prize money for the Punjabi writers from Rs. 50,000 to Rs. 100,000 (ibid).

The lack of official support for the Siraiki language can also be observed in the job market, where there are no opportunities for Siraiki graduates (Chandio, PC). During an interview which I carried out with a Siraiki teacher and researcher, I was told that when the Siraiki Department of Islamia University started M.A. Siraiki classes in the year 1990, three hundred and forty candidates applied for admission against twenty places. In the year 2000, only twelve students took admission in this department, in 2001 it was eight and in 2002 this number was reduced further to four (Sindhar, PC[66]). When Siraiki was introduced as a subject at M.A. level in 1990, it was not taught as a subject at any other educational level. It was only in 1999—ten years after the setting up of M.A. classes, that Siraiki was introduced as an elective subject at the B.A. level and only two posts of lecturers in Siraiki were sanctioned for two colleges, one each in Multan and Bahawalpur. 'Due to the intervening gap of ten years in which there were no opportunities for the Siraiki graduates in the job market a great damage was done to the study of Siraiki at the M.A. level' (Chandio, PC).

In Multan it is the same story. In 2002 a Siraiki Board of Studies was constituted in B. Z. University, Multan to formulate and design the syllabus of Siraiki at the B.A. and M.A. levels. For the B.A. level, Siraiki was introduced both as elective

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[66] A senior lecturer in Siraiki Department, Islamia University Bahawalpur. Interview, conducted in 2003.

and optional subjects.[67] But again, due to lack of job opportunities for Siraiki graduates, the number of candidates taking up Siraiki as a subject at both these levels is very low; in the year 2003 only five candidates appeared at the M.A. Siraiki examination. At the B.A. level, out of several thousand candidates, only fifty opted for Siraiki as an elective subject and no one took up Siraiki as an optional subject (Ahmad in Haqaani, 2004). During the interview I conducted with him, Javaid Chandio, the Chairman of the Siraiki Department, Islamia University Bahawalpur, stated that in Punjab a vast market exists for the graduates of Punjabi, Persian and Arabic, as these subjects are optional subjects in all the colleges and secondary schools of Punjab; whereas out of ninety Degree Colleges in the three main Siraiki Divisions of lower Punjab namely, Multan, Bahawalpur and D.G. Khan only one post of Lecturer in Siraiki exists in one college. 'If Siraiki were to be introduced as a subject at the Intermediate level and at least one post of Lecturer in Siraiki sanctioned for each of these ninety Degree and four hundred Intermediate colleges and secondary schools in the lower Punjab, it would result in a change of fortunes for this language', he added.

5.2.2 Language or Politics?

The issues of language and politics are intertwined in Pakistani society. It is believed that if any measure is taken to promote any regional language there is almost always some other motive behind it. Any support provided to any language is not the direct result of the demands made by the activists and intellectuals who support that language but almost invariably there is an ulterior motive behind every action (Ahmad; Sindhar, PC). Two examples relating to the Siraiki language are quoted here.

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[67] In Pakistani education system, at the B. A. level, an elective subject is a major subject worth 200 marks out of the total 800 marks; an optional subject is worth 100 marks. The candidates have to opt for two elective and one optional subject for the B.A. exam which are in addition to the two compulsory subjects which are English, worth 200 marks, and Pakistan studies and Islamiat worth 100 marks.

Some people consider the decision to start M.A. Siraiki classes in Multan and Bahawalpur a political one (Sindhar, PC). The thesis put forward to support this belief is that in 1988 a strong conflict existed between Ms. Bhutto's Federal Government and Mr. Sharif's Punjab Provincial Government. The majority of the people of the South of Punjab or the Siraiki region in Punjab have always been strong supporters of Bhutto's party. To make their foothold stronger in the Siraiki region and to win further support of the Siraikis, the Federal Government decided to start M.A. Siraiki classes in B. Z. University, Multan and Islamia University, Bahawalpur. It was planned that the Governor of Punjab, the representative of the Federal Government in the province, who by virtue of his office is also the Chancellor of all Universities in the province, would announce this decision on his visit to Islamia University to chair the meeting of University senate. The then Minister of Education, Government of the Punjab, belonged to the Siraiki belt and had his constituency in the Siraiki region. He, sensing that the Punjab government could seize this opportunity to win the support of the Siraiki voters, just a day before the Governor's scheduled visit to Bahawalpur announced the establishment of M.A. Siraiki classes in Islamia University and B. Z. University (ibid). The M.A. Siraiki classes were started in Bahawalpur in 1990 but the Siraikis are still waiting for the opening of the Siraiki Department in B. Z. University. Here, instead of the Siraiki Department, a Siraiki Research Centre was formed in 1998. In his interview,[68] the present Director of the Centre, Dr Ahmad stated, 'the creation of the Centre was not the sole result of love of Siraiki language but a major motive behind it was the Vice Chancellor's way of scoring a point against his

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[68] Interview I conducted in 2002.

predecessor, who being the first Siraiki Vice Chancellor of B. Z. University called himself the true son of the soil'.[69]

Dr. Ahmad stated that the linguistic issue is so tangled with political issues that they, at the Centre, have to keep a very low profile as any effort made for the language may be seen as political step and thus may become controversial. He stated that the demographic composition of Multan city now consists of 51% Siraikis and the rest non-Siraikis.[70] The latter dominate the trade, industry and are very vocal[71] and in such circumstances people at the Research Centre have to take every step carefully lest the administration of the Research Centre are labelled as 'traitors'. He said that even within the University they have to face opposition to their work from different quarters with the allegation that their motives are political and that they are using the platform of language for the separatist movement. It is held by the Siraiki intellectuals that any research done on the Siraiki language or any event organised in the name of Siraiki culture is generally seen by the Punjabis as something supporting the Siraiki movement (Wagha, 1998) and 'Punjabi enthusiasts...see the Siraiki movement as treacherously weakening the integrity of the Punjab and impeding its proper reidentification under the aegis of a single provincial language' (Shackle, 1977: 402).

Here I would like to repeat what I stated towards the end of section 5.1 that some of the observations, cited in this section, of the Siraiki scholars have been

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[69] My interview data is mainly attitude data and Dr Ahmad may have his own political agenda. However, even with that caveat, his remarks are interesting.

[70] The results of the 1998 population census show that in Multan district, out of the total population, 60% are Siraikis and the rest belong to different speech groups. Among the rural population of Multan district which constitutes 58% of the total population of the district, 76% are Siraikis. In the urban population which constitutes 42% of the total population, 39% are Siraikis—still the largest speech community in the district (1998 Provincial Census Report of Punjab, 2001).

[71] Shackle (1977: 384) also makes similar observation in these words, 'Punjabis are still the most outspoken all-Pakistan nationalist' and 'Muslim refugees from East Punjab who now constitute perhaps 50 per cent of the population, and occupy dominant positions in the city's industrial and commercial life' (ibid: 393).

validated by the data from other sources while others could not be, for example, Dr Ahmad's claim about the Vice Chancellor's motive behind opening a Siraiki Research Centre. However, by virtue of the responsible positions that these scholars hold in the state institutions, their opinions cannot be dismissed as those of the biased Siraiki nationalists. In the following section I discuss the dominant role of schools in influencing the status and the usage of Siraiki language in Multan.

5.3 Schools

Cultural capital derives its value from its scarcity, and from its potential convertibility into economic power. Bourdieu (1986) defines cultural capital as a form of historically accumulated social advantage which is reflected in several objectified social facts such as prestige accents, educational abilities, and qualifications. Disproportionately concentrated in the hands of minority, it favours its own reproduction and further accumulation by that minority. Another characteristic of cultural capital that Bourdieu considers crucial is that it is reproduced and accumulated through its implicit but early transmission across generations. If we place the notion of cultural capital in the context of languages in Pakistan we see that English, and after that Urdu are the most precious cultural capital in Pakistani society. Parents, in order to enable their children to seize some share from this precious but scarce commodity, tend to use English and/or Urdu with their children. Anthropologists and linguists (e.g. Cochran-Smith, 1984; Gee, 1996; Michaels, 1981, 1986; Philips, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 1981) have established that high levels of continuity between early home and school language use are closely related to subsequent academic achievement.

Private schools in Pakistan, which are thriving on their promise of making their students fluent in English, force the parents to use English or, if they (the parents) are not fluent in it, then Urdu with dense code switching from English with their children (5.3.2). Parents whose children attend state schools, forced by their desire to enable their children to access social goods, speak Urdu with them as the primary language of socialization. This trend is more acute in Punjab both in the case of Punjabi (Mansoor, 1993) and Siraiki. The patterns of language usage and transmission practices, especially in urban Multan, which are presented in chapter four, bear a witness to this.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2002a) believes that the most important agents in language 'murder' (cf. 1.4) are the media and the educational systems and behind them are the real culprits, the global economic, military, and political systems. She believes that when languages are learned subtractively (at the cost of replacing mother tongues) rather than additively (in addition to the mother tongues) they become killer languages (2002b). Urdu in this sense is a killer language in Pakistan, which for a limited section of society is devalued by English (Mansoor, 1993). Skutnabb-Kangas concludes that today, as formal education reaches more and more people, schools can kill languages in one generation which, in situations without the western type of formal schooling, were maintained for hundreds or even thousands of years or more (ibid). Formal education today is responsible for 'linguistic genocide'.[72] The effects of this linguistic genocide are being observed in all the provinces of Pakistan but they are more pronounced in the Punjab and Baluchistan provinces where the medium of instruction in the state schools is Urdu and not the local languages which are not even taught as one of the subjects in schools.

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[72] 'This represents (actively) killing a language without killing the speakers' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 312)

My interviews with the school heads and teachers led me to these conclusions. These interviews are discussed in the following sections.

5.3.1 Interviews with School Heads and Teachers

During my fieldwork I interviewed four school heads and ten teachers of different state and private primary schools in Multan (cf. 3.9.4.ii). Only one of the school heads belonged to a rural school while the rest were from urban schools. Among these three, one was from state primary school while the remaining two were from elite English medium schools. Among the ten urban schoolteachers whom I interviewed, three were from state schools while the rest were from two private elite English medium schools.

In the following sections I have quoted from some of these interviews. For the considerations of anonymity and confidentiality (cf. 3.12.2) neither the names of these interviewees nor those of their schools are being given. Instead, I will be referring to them with different titles.[73]

Table 5.3 lists the responses of the school heads/teachers to the questions about the following themes (For the full list of interview questions see 3.9.4.ii):

1) Schools' policy towards the use of certain languages in and outside classrooms by teachers and students.
2) Desire for the inclusion of Siraiki as a subject in school curriculum.

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[73] The head of the village primary school: RH1
The head of urban state school: UH1
The head of 1st private English medium school: UH2
The head of 2nd private English medium school: UH3
Teacher from urban state school: UT1
Teacher from 1st private English medium school: UT2
Teacher 1 from 2nd private English medium school: UT3
Teacher 2 from 2nd private English medium school: UT4

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It should be kept in mind that this table only covers four schools in Multan and is not representative of all the schools in Multan. However, since these schools cover three broad categories of schools functioning in Multan, some generalizations can be made about the general policies of schools in Multan from the responses of the representatives from these schools. In the following table the three broad categories of schools functioning in rural and urban Multan are listed in the first column. In the last two cells of this column the rural state primary schools and secondary schools are listed separately because of the difference in their language policies. The second column is about the schools' policy towards the use of certain languages by students and teachers in and outside classrooms. The last column indicates the desire of each type of school as indicated by the school heads for inclusion of Siraiki as a subject in the school curriculum.

Table 5. 3 Siraiki language and schools in Multan

Type of Schools	School's policy towards the use of Siraiki/Urdu/English language by:				Desire for inclusion of Siraiki as a subject in school curriculum
	Students		Teachers (with students)		
	Classroom	Playgrounds	Classroom	Outside class	
Elite English Medium Schools*	English in schools charging higher fee. English and Urdu in the rest	English in schools charging higher fee. English and Urdu in the rest	English in schools charging higher fee. English and Urdu in the rest	English in schools charging higher fee. English and Urdu in the rest	No
Urban State Schools	Urdu	No restriction	Urdu	Urdu	No
Rural Primary State Schools	No restriction	No restriction	No restriction	No restriction	Yes
Rural Secondary State Schools	Urdu	No restriction	Urdu	No restriction	Yes

*There are several categories of such schools according to their fee structure, charged from the parents. The fee varies from Rs. 2,000 per month to Rs. 10,000 per month. In Multan the monthly fee of such schools varies between Rs. 2,000 and Rs. 5,000; therefore, they are affordable by the middle-income group and higher income-group families.

What has emerged from the responses of the school heads/teachers to my questions is that in all the urban schools there is a general prohibition of using Siraiki in the classrooms, while in the rural schools the teachers of primary state schools mainly use Siraiki while teaching. In these schools the teachers mix a few simple Urdu sentences in Siraiki while teaching, as a result of which the children are able to understand Urdu by year three (age 8+) and speak it a little by the time they start year five. I was told by the school head of the rural primary school (RH1), that they use Siraiki in the primary classes because the students taking admission in their school do not know any Urdu when they start school. 'At a place where we have a difficulty in convincing parents even to send their children to school how can we scare the kids away by using only Urdu with them which they do not understand', he stated. 'In rural secondary schools', he said, 'the school's policy demands that the students and teachers use only Urdu in the classroom'. Outside the class, however, there is no restriction on the choice of any language both for the students and the teachers. In urban state schools, Siraiki cannot be used anywhere except in the playgrounds. The policy of the English medium private schools catering for the children of higher income group families is to promote English only, 'We are not supposed to use any other language except English', UH2 stated. As far as the inclusion of Siraiki as a subject in the school curriculum is concerned, only the rural school head expressed this desire. Both urban state and private schools do not see any need of teaching Siraiki to their students. 'Our students already know Siraiki and if they are encouraged to learn it in school they will not learn any other language' UH2 stated. UH1 expressed her dissent on introducing Siraiki as a subject or adopting it as a medium of instruction at the school level in these words, 'It is unnecessary to teach Siraiki as a subject when we can manage with Urdu.'

Table 5.4 lists the responses of the school heads/teachers to the questions about the following themes:

1) Languages used by the students in schools in a) class b) playgrounds
2) Languages used by teachers with the students a) in b) outside classes

In the following table the three broad categories of schools functioning in rural and urban Multan are listed in the first column. Here again, like table 5.3, in the last two cells of this column the rural state primary schools and secondary schools are listed separately because of the difference in their language policies. The second column indicates the language choices made by the students in and outside the classroom. The third column indicates the languages used by the teachers with students in and outside the classrooms.

Table 5. 4 Student and teacher language in schools

Type of Schools	Student Language		Teacher Language (with students)	
	Classrooms	Playgrounds	Classrooms	Outside class
Elite English Medium Schools	English, Urdu	English, Urdu	Mostly English in schools charging a higher fee. English and Urdu in the rest	English, Urdu
Urban State Schools	Urdu and sometimes Siraiki in early classes	Siraiki and Urdu	Urdu	Urdu
Rural Primary State Schools	Siraiki	Siraiki	Siraiki	Siraiki
Rural Secondary State Schools	Siraiki and Urdu	Siraiki and Urdu	Urdu	Siraiki and Urdu

The urban state primary school which I visited, charges only two rupees (equivalent to 2 pence) as monthly fee. I was told by UH1 that 80% of the students in their school belong to Siraiki families; only 20%—25% of the total numbers of

students who enter school possess a scanty knowledge of Urdu, the rest are quite fluent in it. UT1 stated that they teach only Urdu but they do not disallow Siraiki if children in primary classes use any in the class, although they keep on reminding them to use Urdu. The teachers use only Urdu in and outside the classrooms with the students. The majority of the Siraiki students speak in Siraiki among themselves in the playgrounds. UH1 who has worked in another state school in Multan city said that Siraiki is not allowed at any level by the students in the classrooms in those state schools which come in the category of relatively expensive schools due to their fee structure. In the elite English medium private schools, however, there is absolutely no room for regional languages—not even in the playgrounds. If a student uses Siraiki he/she is not only badly discouraged and made fun of (cf. 5.6.3) but also punished. UT3, during her interview revealed, 'a fine of five rupees is imposed on students who are caught speaking in Siraiki in school' and UT2 admitted, 'I scold those students very badly who speak Siraiki in school.'

The urban schools in Multan catering for the children of middle and higher social classes encourage their students to be bilingual only in Urdu and English (cf. 5.3.2). Bilingualism or trilingualism is tolerated as long as one of the languages is not Siraiki. The parents are also 'advised' by the schoolteachers to use only Urdu and English with their children at home (cf. 5.3.2). Several researchers have reported this kind of practice in their research. Cummins (1984) in the Canadian and US educational context illustrates the mistaken advice given to parents by schools such as abandoning the home language or providing extra tuition in the dominant language. In Greece teachers frequently advise the parents of bilingual children to speak only Greek with their children at home (Cummins, 2003). Beardsmore (2003) believes that the assumption held by the teachers that the elimination of the first language as

quickly as possible will help promote the learning of the second language is erroneous. Bruck (1984) seconds this opinion with respect to her research on immersion programmes in Canada.

What I learnt during my visit to two elite English medium schools and in my interviews with their heads and teaching staff proved that colonialism is still alive in Pakistan. Pennycook (1998: 16) argues that the threatening mark of the colonized 'Other' has left a long cultural imprint through the discourses of colonialism. He further argues that colonialism should not be seen as a forgotten era in the past but rather as the context in which the current ideas were framed. The colonialism has made, 'a set of practices and discursive frames more available, more acceptable' (ibid: 25). It is not so much a status as it is a state of mind. This colonial past echoes in the present, in the speech of parents and teachers/school heads. For some the superior language is Urdu while for those who can afford it, it is English. The English medium schools in Pakistan are the places where the images of self and other are constructed and where constructions of superiority and inferiority are produced. At these schools in Multan the Siraiki speaking students face constant dismissals, inequalities and put-downs. Children speaking Siraiki are seen as 'native other' who can only be civilized if they give up Siraiki.

In the following section I will discuss the role of English medium schools in constructing Siraiki as a substandard language and its speakers as ignorant people. This will be done through analysing the interviews of the school heads and teachers and by juxtaposing their discourses with those of the colonial discourses (cf. 5.3.2). One might question why I emphasise the treatment of Siraiki language in the English medium schools which cater to the children of a small minority in Multan? My answer

is that it is this small minority in whose place the parents belonging to all classes of urban and rural Multan want their children to be. Also, the children from these elite schools are likely to grow up to have positions of power and influence in the future. All the ordinary private schools as well as some state schools try to emulate the policies and practices of these schools, as the students who study in these schools are most likely to possess the 'cultural, or more generally, symbolic capital, which is exchangeable in the marketplace of social interaction' (Li Wei & Milroy, 2003: 129).

5.3.2 Colonial Discourses[74]

Colonial discourses of different documents written during the colonial regime in India emphasising the superiority of the English language and English people over the natives of India and their languages reverberate even today in the discourses of the teachers and heads of elite English medium schools. It is in such discourses that we can see the relationship between self and other as constructed by colonialism and which continues to date: 'We live with the results of what colonial regimes have made of others;' (Fulton, 1994: 19).

Both the view that English is the storehouse of knowledge, rationality and morality and the condescending, disdainful attitudes of the English towards Indians and their languages (Pennycook, 1998; Suleri, 1992) are reflected in various forms in the discourses not only of the school heads and schoolteachers but also in those of the 'colonized' i.e. the Siraikis themselves. It is argued that the colonized take on the view of themselves that the colonizers promote and this total physical and mental

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[74] Burr (1995: 184) states that the term discourse is essentially used in two senses,' (i) to refer to systematic, coherent set of images, metaphors and so on to construct an object in a particular way, and (ii) to refer to the actual spoken interchanges between people'. The objective of colonial discourse, according to Bhaba (cited in Childs and Williams, 1997: 227), is 'to construct the colonised as a population of degenerate types on the basis of racial origin, in order to justify conquest and to establish systems of administration and instruction.'

submission results in the colonizers establishing themselves firmly on alien lands and minds (Said, 1993; 1995). Imperialism colonizes only those who get too close without opposing it vigorously on its own ground (Clegg, Linstead & Sewell, 2000). 'The basis of imperial authority was the mental attitude of the colonist. His acceptance of subordination...made empire durable' (Fieldhouse cited in Said, 1993:11) and in the words of Tagore, it was not the Western culture that was to blame, but 'the judicious niggardliness of the Nation that has taken upon itself the White Man's burden of criticizing the East.' (cited in Said, 1993: 259).

As pointed out earlier, for the Siraiki parents, compared to the Siraiki language, both Urdu and English appear to be superior languages and this is evident from the results of the pilot study (cf. 3.2) as well as what I reported from the interviews (cf. 4.4.1, 4.4.2) conducted with the members of the families which participated in my research. The Urdu language was constantly associated with 'good people', 'educated people', and 'city dwellers'. The firm belief of the educationists in the superiority of English and Urdu language over the Siraiki language is reflected in the following examples.

UH3, the administrator of the school where 70% of the students come from Siraiki families said that in school they tell children, 'If they are Siraikis then they should be proud of the Siraiki language'. At face value such sentiments are a boon for the Siraiki language. Such 'conscientiousness' is echoed in, 'We are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the vernacular languages.' (Bureau of Education, 1922, pp. 71-2 cited in Pennycook, 1998) but the 'sincerity' of this school head's remark was exposed during my interviews with the teachers of the same school. Not only are the students fined for speaking Siraiki in school but they also

have to face the wrath of the teacher for this 'unforgivable' act. UT3 said, 'I'm lenient towards those who speak in Urdu but I cannot tolerate Siraiki. It's a home language so it should remain at home'. This kind of behaviour may lead to the elimination of the Siraiki language, as it is believed that, 'The punishment of a child for speaking their language is the beginning of the destruction of that language' (Representative from Berlin to the World Conference on Linguistic Rights, Barcelona, June 1996 cited in Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 294). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) believes that forbidding children from using their own language in schools must be seen as an instance of linguistic genocide according to the UN 1948 definition.

The nursery teacher UT2 reported that almost all of her students, with a few exceptions, come with a full knowledge of Urdu because, 'Parents are becoming well aware, they don't teach them (their children) Siraiki...they know it can become very difficult, a problem for our school system'. In other words, the Siraiki children who by any chance do not leave Siraiki outside their school gates are perceived as 'a problem'. The appreciation of the parents who do not transmit Siraiki to their children and calling this act of theirs an act of awareness is the reason why I call formal education in Pakistan 'linguicidal'. Another noteworthy point in this teacher's discourse was that the schools encourage bilingualism as long as one of the languages is not Siraiki. The school authorities can encourage the parents to transmit Siraiki, Urdu and English simultaneously but what they are encouraging is subtractive bilingualism. The same teacher later commented on Siraiki children who do not speak any Siraiki in school nor give their Siraiki identity away in any way through their language, 'sometimes after two or three months I know from their files that they are Siraiki, I ask them they are Siraiki but they don't speak Siraiki, it's very good...their parents say we don't let them speak Siraiki and we keep them away from servants'

children from whom they learn Siraiki'. This appreciation of children in the class for not speaking in Siraiki and thus not giving their Siraiki ethnicity away does not bode well for the survival of the Siraiki language. This comment also demonstrates the defensive attitude of the parents who seek the appreciation of school authorities not only by not letting their children speak Siraiki at home but also by identifying Siraiki as the language of the servants and distancing themselves from this language. This takes us back to Tagore's comment quoted earlier, of taking the White Man's burden of criticizing the East. Such Siraiki parents team up with the school authorities in presenting Siraiki as an inferior language to their own children and to the society. This type of attitude on the part of parents also reflects the shame that they hold with reference to the Siraiki language and the shame that they are transmitting to their children (cf. 5.6.2).

UT2 later labelled those parents as 'uneducated' who 'despite' the advice of the school authorities encourage their children to speak in Siraiki at home. 'Some uneducated, some uneducated ones…again and again, again and again we tell them not to speak Siraiki to their children…I am not Siraiki and can't understand it so I feel stressed if a child speaks some Siraiki word'. The 'ignorance' of the Indians was not only an important point in Macaulay's notorious 'minutes' but was expressed in texts such as these also, 'I shall merely observe that the greatest difficulty this government suffers, in its endeavours to govern well, springs from the immorality and ignorance of the mass of the people' (Fraser cited in Pennycook, 1998). The exasperation spilling out of the tone of this teacher at the 'ignorance' and 'rigidity' of the parents matches with the one expressed in Robert Knox's (1850) text about the races of India, 'neither Northern India nor Indostan proper have altered since the time of Alexander

the Great...they have not progressed nor changed...their possible improvement is questionable' (cited in Suleri, 1992).

Apart from the annoyance in the teacher's tone and the labelling of Siraiki parents who speak Siraiki with their children at home as 'uneducated', one other aspect that stands out in this comment is the teacher's unashamed admission of not knowing any Siraiki and feeling stressed on hearing it. She is neither apologetic for not knowing the majority language of the region since it is the language of the other, nor has her school apparently made any effort to appoint a Siraiki bilingual teacher in early classes, especially when according to their own figures 70% of their students come from Siraiki families.

The Head of another school belonging to this category, UH2 commented that for teaching the 'right' language to the children, the teachers of pre-nursery and nursery have to 'train' both the parents and the children. 'I tell the parents that if they really realize the importance of English then they must speak this language with them and if they can't then they must code switch to English often.' Her words imply what Grant (1797, cited in Pennycook, 1998) wrote 'Thus superior, in point of ultimate advantage does the employment of the English language appear...this is a key which will open to them a world of new ideas'. Her answer to my question about whether children should be taught to read Siraiki in schools was, 'Why? I don't think there's any reason to do that. If it's their mother tongue and they can speak it, it's more than enough'. This School Head who has condescended to accept the status of Siraiki as a domestic vernacular is not willing to raise its status in any way because in her mind, 'In a word, knowledge must be drawn from...the English language', (Captain Candy, 1840 cited in Pennycook, 1998). When I told her that many people have said that they do not read Siraiki with ease because they were never taught to do so, her comment

was, 'Where do they get that thing, where, where are they supposed to read it by the way. Is there anything which er is you know, any book?' On being told that there exists rich written literature in Siraiki, her reply was, 'is there any special thing [in Siraiki books] they cannot find in any other language—like English?' This dismissal of Siraiki language, culture and thought and the argument in favour of English is the mimicry of the following colonial discourse, 'It stands pre-eminent even among the languages of the west....Whoever knows that language has already access to all the vast intellectual wealth which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations' (Bureau of Education, 1920 cited in Pennycook, 1998). The school head's view also mimics Macaulay's evaluation of Indian literature, 'a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia' (1835: 241 cited in Pennycook, 1998).

Just as the 'imperial stereotyping of the nineteenth century is consistently interested in maintaining a belief in the cultural stasis of the subcontinent' (Suleri, 1992: 105) in the same manner these school authorities construct a picture of Siraiki language and culture as that of acute sterility. The pursuit of cultural capital symbolized by competence in the English language forces the parents to accept the viewpoint of the school authorities because the parents are well aware that this linguistic capital will acquire a value of its own, and become a source of power and prestige in its own right (Heller, 1989; 1994). The chances of the students possessing this cultural capital eventually rising to key positions in the public and private sector are very strong. The quest for this cultural capital makes the parents accept or even appreciate the Western celebrations of Guy Fawkes day or Halloween night in these schools but neither these schools nor the parents feel any need of celebrating

something like the Farid festival in the name of one of the greatest Siraiki Sufi poets of all time.

The language of the media or media's support for certain language also helps in language maintenance. The following section throws light on the treatment of the Siraiki language in the hands of the national and the local media.

5.4 Mass Media Support

The Siraiki language does not get much support from the media. Dominant languages in the media in Pakistan are Urdu and English. Television broadcasts on all channels are predominantly in Urdu. In the regional language bulletins, news in Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, Hindko, Baluchi and even Brahvi are telecast everyday[75] from the respective regional centres but Siraiki is completely ignored despite its status as the fourth largest language spoken in Pakistan. Programmes in Siraiki get only a half an hour slot every week in Pakistan television (the main Government channel) Lahore[76] centre broadcasts; private television channels do not broadcast any Siraiki programmes.

For radio broadcasts, the general policy of the Ministry of Information is to give 60% time to Urdu and 40% to other Pakistani languages and English. Out of the two hundred and seventy hours of the total radio broadcasts everyday by all the radio stations in Pakistan a total of three hours and seventeen minutes is allocated for Siraiki programmes (Rahman, 1996a).

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[75] www.ptv.com.pk/ptvhtml/html/AboutUs/aboutindex.htm, 6.6.2004.
[76] The provincial capital of the Punjab province.

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As far as newspapers and periodicals are concerned, out of one hundred and thirty six published from Punjab in the year 2003, none were in Siraiki (Pakistan Statistical Year Book 2004: 446). Among the local editions of national dailies only one newspaper '*Daily Khabrain*' brings out a Siraiki edition (a few pages devoted to articles written in Siraiki and about Siraiki the language and region in Urdu) once a week.

Along with the above-mentioned factors, i.e. governmental policies and the institutional support, the role of schools and mass media support, the present status of the Siraiki language is also a main cause behind the Siraikis giving up their language (cf. 5.5). It can be argued that the present status of the Siraiki language is the result of the factors mentioned earlier but some factors like the status of a language or attitudes towards a language as in the case of shame in Siraiki which will be discussed in section 5.6, are cyclic in nature and they are simultaneously a cause and a result.

5.5 Present Status of the Siraiki Language in South Punjab

I held in-depth interviews[77] with Siraiki researchers and scholars[78] based in Multan and Bahawalpur to seek their opinion about several issues related to the present status of Siraiki language in Multan and its nearby regions. Their responses to some of the questions that I asked from them (cf. 3.9.4.ii) are cited in the discussion below.

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[77] Referred to as 'PC' when cited with the names of the interviewees in this thesis.
[78] Ahmad, Anwaar is the director of Siraiki Research centre and a Siraiki and Urdu writer.
Chandio, Javaid is the Chairman of Siraiki Department, Islamia University Bahawalpur.
Fahim, Aamir is the Chairman of Siraiki Department, Government College Multan and a prolific Siraiki writer. He has also written and produced a few Siraiki commercial films.
Mughal, Shaukat has 20 books and a number of articles to his credit on Siraiki language and grammar.

The activists of the Siraiki movement (cf. 2.5.4) claim that this movement has succeeded in creating a Siraiki identity, with common language as a strong identity symbol, among all the Siraikis living in the South of Punjab (Wagha, 1998). This movement, however, despite its language planning and promotion efforts, has failed to yield very positive results in terms of raising its status, or increasing its prestige even among the Siraikis themselves. One of the reasons put forward for this is that this movement in the 1970s and 1980s succeeded in creating awareness only among a limited section of the educated middle class about their common linguistic heritage. It is a common observation in the Siraiki region that the feudal lords, upper and upper-middle class have always remained aloof from it (Chandio, PC) and the general masses also have never been actively involved in this movement (Fahim, PC). For the past two decades the role of language is quite minor in this movement; language is used only as a tool to bring the people from different regions together (Rahman, 1996). Some scholars believe that the main factor behind the Siraiki movement is deprivation. Slogans like 'we are the prisoners of the throne of Lahore' attracted people towards it (Ahmad, PC). Although the leaders of the Siraiki movement sometimes demand for the Siraiki language to be made the medium of instruction in schools, the opposition to having Siraiki as a medium of instruction or even as a subject in schools comes from the Siraikis themselves. They hold that unless the Siraiki language has a fair share in the job market or fluency in Siraiki is given an equal value with Urdu they cannot subject their children to further discrimination and disadvantage (Chandio, PC); 'In the absence of economic prosperity the love of language recedes to the background' (Mughal, PC).

Due to the lack of official patronage and low status of Siraiki language among the hierarchy of languages spoken in Pakistan, the literature being produced in the

Siraiki language is generally not of a good standard. Since the 1960s, the fear of assimilation of Siraiki culture and language is reflected in the Siraiki poetry and prose. The Siraiki writers express their fear of extinction, merger or even assimilation. Apart from Siraiki poetry written by the younger generation of Siraiki poets in the last and present decade, which all the Siraiki scholars and thinkers I interviewed, unanimously agree is of excellent standard (Ahmad, Chandio, Fahim, Mughal, PC), the same cannot be said about the literature being produced in the other genres like short stories and novels. The older generation of Siraiki poets (writing mainly in the 1960s and 1970s) wrote both in Urdu and Siraiki but their Siraiki poetry, was created in the tradition of Urdu poetry. They used Urdu idioms and phrases in their Siraiki poetry, as a result of which it seemed more of a translation. Ahmad (PC) stated that the present generation of Siraiki poets use original Siraiki diction and phraseology and 'their poetry reflects their sense of pride in their culture and language and a desire to reach the cultural tradition'. Among the lovers of Siraiki poetry in the Siraiki region those poets are more popular, 'who write about the deprivations of the Siraiki region and champion the cause of the poor' (Fahim, PC). In the absence of any other cultural activity, poetry recitals are popular to some extent in the cities and small towns of the Siraiki region and in these recitals, Siraiki poetry, especially that of resistance against any kind of dominance, is highly appreciated.

During my interviews with the Siraiki researchers and general discussions with some publishers and book sellers in Multan I learnt that the general readership of Siraiki writings is very low. Nobody among the families participating in my research reads anything in Siraiki. Generally, apart from the poetical works of a few popular Siraiki poets like Shakir Shujaabadi, the works in Siraiki do not get read. Some

scholars attribute this lack of readership to lack of skill in reading Siraiki language (Fahim, PC) while others believe that the Siraiki writers in their quest to enrich the Siraiki language bring in unknown and unfamiliar lexis, or vocabulary and phraseology specific to their region which causes a problem for the general readers (Ahmad, PC). The low literacy rate in the Siraiki region, paucity of standard contemporary works and lack of any encouragement from any quarter for reading Siraiki works can also be ascribed as reasons for the lack of good readership of Siraiki works. People however, have now started 'decorating Siraiki books on their book shelves in their drawing rooms without much shame' (Fahim, PC). Perhaps what he meant was that the people now feel less shame in proclaiming that their literary taste runs to Siraiki books which in actuality only sit in their bookshelves and do not get read.

It is felt by some Siraiki scholars that in the cities of the Siraiki region, people are fast shifting to Urdu language due to economic pressures (Ahmad, PC). Outside their homes, the Siraikis are forced to use Punjabi, Urdu or English because a vast majority sitting in key positions comprises non-Siraikis. Usually it is Urdu or English which, 'opens the doors of drawing rooms for you, gets tea served to you and wins you respect' (Chandio, PC). Mr. Chandio, however, felt that this position might reverse if Siraikis were to come into key positions in the Siraiki region. Admitting that parents in the cities are either not or are partially transmitting Siraiki to their children, Mr. Fahim stated that the use of Siraiki in different domains has increased, 'now we are past that stage when just on taking the name of Siraiki we were declared traitors'. The other scholars also seconded this opinion that Siraiki is not being transmitted to

children in the cities where education is spreading; however, it is not so in the villages (Ahmad; Chandia; Mughal, PC).

These Siraiki scholars think that economic considerations came to the forefront in the Siraiki movement thus limiting the role of Siraiki language in the struggle for the rights of the Siraikis. They believe that the Siraiki movement failed to attract the general masses and to create awareness about their linguistic, social and cultural rights. These scholars attribute the non-transmission or 'semi transmission' of Siraiki language to children by urban parents especially, to the spread of education and economic pressures.

In the following section, I discuss the strong emotion of shame which is present with regards to the Siraiki language usage in Multan. As stated earlier, like the status factor, it is difficult to determine whether shame is one of the causes of language shift or the result of other factors which are causing language shift.

5.6 Shame

Although attitudes of a speech community towards its language (Bradley, 2002) and self-perceived social status are considered crucial factors in language maintenance or language shift, the role of shame as one of the major factors resulting in giving up one's language has not been discussed at length in any studies of language shift. I believe that shame is simultaneously a part of the process causing language shift as well as the result of the other factors which then lead to a decrease in Siraiki use. Though not always admitted explicitly by the participants of my research

or the interviewees, my data is full of such instances where a sense of 'shame' or 'shaming' is present.

Shame has been defined as a, 'fear of social degradation or, more generally, of other people's gestures of superiority' (Elias, 1982: 292). Shame has also been termed as, 'the master emotion' (Scheff, 1997: 12) and a 'premier social emotion' (Scheff[79]). Scheff[80] defines shame as, 'a class name for a large family of emotions and feelings that arise through seeing self negatively, if even only slightly negatively, through the eye of others, or even for only anticipating such a reaction'. He considers embarrassment and humiliation as different types of shame. He believes that words such as 'self-conscious, rejected, unworthy, or inadequate' are used as cognates for shame and these feelings result from seeing one's self negatively in the eyes of the other. According to Scheff, his definition is in conflict with the narrow definition of shame prevalent in the vernacular usage, in which it is taken as an extreme crisis emotion. He includes both disgrace and discretion shame (Schneider, 1977) with the latter including modesty, shyness, self-consciousness, conscience, in his general concept of shame. Goffman (1959) also makes oblique reference to the premier role of shame and embarrassment in human behaviour in his discussion on *'impression management'* where he implied that most of our actions are determined by a sense of shame. Goffman (1967) in discussing the role of shame more explicitly calls embarrassment or the anticipation of embarrassment a central ingredient of human contact. He believes that embarrassment or shame is caused not just by flagrant insults but also by subtle gestures of disrespect, a missed piece from the mosaic of conversation, an averted glance or a direct stare held a little too long. He further

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[79] 'Shame and the social bond: a sociological theory' www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/scheff/2.html 29.08.2004.
[80] 'Working class emotions and relationships' www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/scheff/22.html 29.08.2004.
(Both these articles by Scheff are only on the web and have not been published anywhere).

argues that shame and pride are the continuous part of human existence even in the slightest of social contacts.

Pico della Mirandola, the Renaissance philosopher in *An Oration on the Dignity of Man* wrote that the feeling of inadequacy or inferiority stems among people from their being social animals and living in the company of other humans. In other words society cannot hurt you if you do not belong to society (cited in Sennett & Cobb, 1972). Shame therefore, is a bodily or mental response to outer social bonds and to actions in the inner self in which we see ourselves from the point of view of others (Cooley, 1922; Lewis, 1971; Mead, 1934); in other words, 'the self a social construction, a process constructed from both external and internal social interaction, in role-playing and role-taking' (Scheff[81]). Cooley (1922) in his analysis of the nature of self, proposed that human consciousness is social in that we spend much of our lives living in the minds of others without realizing it. In his discussion of the "looking-glass self" Cooley states, 'The thing that moves us to *pride* or *shame* is not the mere mechanical reflection of ourselves, but an imputed sentiment, the imagined effect of this reflection upon another's mind…we always imagine and in imagining share, the judgments of the other mind.' (ibid: 184). For Cooley, pride and shame in humans arise from self-monitoring. Cooley mentions three stages in the process of self-monitoring. Firstly, the imagination of our appearance to the other person; secondly, the imagination of his judgment of that appearance; and subsequently, some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or shame. Scheff (1994: 45) summarizes Cooley's approach in these words, 'Self-monitoring from the view point of others gives rise to self-regarding sentiments…we are virtually always in a state of either pride or shame'.

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[81] 'Shame and the social bond: a sociological theory' www.soc.ucsb.edu/faculty/scheff/2.html 29.08.2004.

Shaming is defined as, 'all social processes of expressing disapproval which have the intention or effect of invoking remorse in the person being shamed and/or condemnation by others who become aware of the shaming' (Braithwaite, 1989: 100). In the context of shame the concept of 'face' is of great importance. Face has been defined as, 'an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes' (Goffman, 1967: 5). Brown and Levinson (1978) distinguish between positive face and negative face. Positive face refers to the basic claim over the projected self-image to be approved by others, whereas negative face refers to the basic claim to territories, personal reserves, and rights to non-distraction. Although the construct of face pervades in all societies, it is claimed that in collectivist cultures e.g. Asian countries where one tries to gain the approval of others, positive-face needs are greater than the negative-face needs (Ting-Toomey, 1988). Lim and Bowers (1991) while retaining Brown and Levinson's (1978) notion of negative face and labelling it autonomy face further divide positive face into 'fellowship face' and 'competence face'. The fellowship face concerns one's needs to be included while competence face concerns one's needs to have one's abilities recognized and respected.

It is believed that in most cases when an individual feels a sense of shame, it is not overtly verbalized and the existence of shame is hardly recognized in everyday life (Sueda, 2002). Elias (1982: 292) states, 'the anxiety that we call "shame" is heavily veiled to the sight of others; however strong it may be, it is never directly expressed in noisy gestures. The participants of my research overtly and covertly referred to shame as a result of which they either do not use Siraiki themselves or are not transmitting it to their children. There were many instances, some of which I will mention in the following subsections, where I strongly felt the presence of shame in relation to Siraiki language use and a sense of pride with reference to the command and use of

Urdu. During my research, schools came out to be the biggest source of creating or perpetuating shame in the minds of parents and children about the Siraiki language. As a result, Siraiki children grow up carrying the burden of feelings of rejection and inadequacy with reference to their language, which at times is carried over to other aspects of their Siraiki identity.

5.6.1 Shame in Relation to the Siraiki Language

The Siraiki language, compared to Urdu or English, is considered inferior even by the Siraikis themselves. The inferior status of Siraiki in the minds of Pakistanis can be judged from this example that when I mentioned to some Pakistanis living in the UK that I was doing research on Siraiki, their first reaction was that of shocked disbelief. One of them even asked me if I was joking. I am quite positive that if I had mentioned any language other than Siraiki I would not have encountered this reaction. When I began my research in Multan I was looked on with suspicion by some of the families that I approached for data collection. Some of the members of these families even asked me what I would get out of researching the, 'language of the poor'? Their suspicion of my 'real' intentions was borne out of their sense of inadequacy and low status of Siraiki language. Here shame in language and social-economic dependence were intertwined (Sennett, 1980).

In the Siraiki region fluency in English or Urdu is considered a yardstick for measuring one's ability or cleverness. Thus, for many, Siraiki is associated with being dull or not bright, hence a cause of shame. This viewpoint was verified when in answer to the question to the interviewees, 'what do they think of a stranger who speaks to them in Siraiki language', the overwhelming majority answered that they consider that person uneducated or incompetent.

It is argued that most shame states are not experienced in consciousness, therefore studies should not rely on the testimony of the subjects rather their behaviour and discourse should also be analysed so as not to leave out most shame (Lewis, 1971). Some Siraikis overtly express shame in the Siraiki language like the father in family 4U (cf. 4.4.2.iv) who said, 'I have not taught the Siraiki language to my sons because of my inferiority complex as I feel that Siraiki is an inferior language'. His wife also explicitly expressed pride in her good command of Urdu language and said, 'When I started school I was among the elites due to my good command of Urdu'. But sometimes shame in Siraiki language usage is expressed in indirect expressions like, 'it seems awkward' or 'not appropriate' or 'does not look nice'. The mother in family 3R said, 'it does not look nice if children speak Siraiki in school'. Daughter 2 in family 3U stated, 'it seems awkward if we use Siraiki among friends in the University'. I encountered another indirect reference to shame during my interview with Son 1 of family 3R (cf. 4.4.i.iii). He claimed that his father and grandfather speak Urdu at home with the boys half the time. Although his father was not present during the recordings of the conversations of this family in the home domain, the grandfather who was present for almost seventy minutes did not speak a single sentence of Urdu with his grandsons. I consider this an instance of shame on the part of Son 1 as I see this as his attempt to save his face in front of me, a city dweller. He did not want me to judge them as inferior or incompetent by believing that in their home the conversation is conducted totally in Siraiki language. If we analyse this from Cooley's (1922) concept of 'looking glass self' then Son 1's claim seems to stem from the imagined effect of his reflection upon my mind.

5.6.2 Shame Transmitted within Families

The sense of shame in relation to Siraiki language is driving parents not to transmit Siraiki language to their children. Parents, instead of transmitting Siraiki to their children, are unwittingly transmitting shame about the Siraiki language which has repercussions in that it creates a shame of the Siraiki culture also. The mother in family 1U is seen making fun of the speech of her children when, in trying to speak Urdu, they code switch from Siraiki (cf. 4.4.2.i, extract 23). The lack of proficiency of her children in the Urdu language is a matter of shame to this mother and she is transmitting this sense of shame to her children as well. When the father in family 4U openly admitted that he considers Siraiki an inferior language, he was also transmitting shame about the Siraiki language to his sons. I have yet to meet any Siraiki parent or grandparent who feels shame in the fact that they speak only Urdu with their child or grandchild or their children or grandchildren do not speak any Siraiki. Speaking Siraiki with their children at home is face-threatening and speaking Urdu or English with them and not letting them speak any Siraiki at home is a face-honouring experience for the parents. The mother in family 1R said that even though she does not know any Urdu, she believes that by learning Urdu her children would become 'clever and smart'. Daughter 1 in family 1U also associates cleverness with the Urdu language as she commented, 'when I speak Urdu I feel that people are thinking that I am clever and smart'. This is the reason why she has stopped everyone at home from speaking Siraiki with the youngest daughter. Her efforts to 'save' her youngest sibling from the Siraiki language and the active support of her family in accomplishing this task bear witness to the shame that is held in relation to the Siraiki language in Multan.

Strangely enough, almost all of the parents that I interviewed were of the opinion that they will not mind if their children were to grow up without knowing any Siraiki but almost all of these parents said that they would not like it if Siraiki were to die. There seems to be a love-hate relationship here. On the one hand they do not see any utilitarian value of this language and want their children to learn Urdu even at the cost of Siraiki but on the other hand they would like to see this language around them. Nietzsche (cited in Sennett and Cobb, 1972: 192) once wrote, 'Join power and love then you can never be hurt'. This extraordinary doctrine implies that love without power is always subject to violation, to betrayal, to contempt. There is, Nietzsche wrote, no pure love. Most Siraikis seem to love their language but lack the power to raise its status in the society. As a result they might end up being hurt when they realize that Siraiki language shift has taken place.

Another aspect of shame about the Siraiki language is that it is equated with the language of the villagers and thus a stigmatised variety. The reason that the grandmother in family 3U gave for speaking only Urdu with her grand children was that she wanted to change the rustic environment of their home by seeing her children speak in Urdu at home.

Not only the Siraiki language but also the Siraiki accent is a stigmatised[82] commodity even for the Siraikis. Once the daughter of a very well known Siraiki researcher[83] from Multan told me she has not transmitted Siraiki to her daughter for the 'fear' that her daughter's Urdu or English speech would be 'polluted' with the

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[82] The term, stigma, means a spoilt social identity (Goffman, 1963b; Harvey, 2001). This term originated in Greece and it means, '...bodily signs designated to expose something unusual and bad about the moral status of the signifier. The signs were cut or burnt into the body and advertised that the bearer was a slave, a criminal or a traitor—a blemished person, ritually polluted, to be avoided, especially in public places' (Goffman, 1963b: 11).
[83] Due to the considerations of confidentiality the name of this researcher is not being given.

Siraiki accent. Mother 1 in family 4R stated that when she decided to teach Siraiki along with Urdu to her daughter as a first language her friends warned her that she is going to 'spoil' her daughter's accent. All my interviewees were of the opinion that a person who speaks Urdu or English with Siraiki accent is uneducated or his/her competence is questionable.

5.6.3 Schools: A Vale of Shame

The schools, especially in Urban Multan, prohibit the use of Siraiki overtly and covertly and both these prohibitions in Skutnabb-Kangas' words inculcate, 'embarrassment, shame, a feeling of doing something 'wrong', or at least doing something that is not 'good for one'' among the students(2000: 344).

Sennett and Cobb (1972: 271), exploring certain conditions of the lives of people that structure the feeling of inadequacy, observe that the ruling class of any age sets standards about the uses of ability, of development, of culture and these are political questions. Thus these values appear as universal and it becomes not a matter of having different cultures, different values or different abilities, rather a question of having 'culture' or not having it, of having 'ability' or not having it. When one is trapped in a scheme of particular values, when one lives under the terms laid down by others, the result is a feeling of inadequacy in relation to others. The sense of shame in Siraiki and sense of pride in Urdu was expressed in the interviews which I conducted during my fieldwork. RH1[84] stated, 'the school children want to learn Urdu to look educated'. In other words for them the pride in being educated would emanate from their being fluent in Urdu. What led the father in family 4R not to transmit Siraiki to his sons sprang from, 'the inferiority complex and the inadequacy that I felt in

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[84] The head of the rural primary school.

knowing only Siraiki language when I joined school where everybody else seemed to know Urdu'. The mother in family 2U also had to struggle with, 'the embarrassment of not knowing any Urdu for one full year in school'. This has resulted in her speaking only Urdu with her children at home.

The shaming is also done by the peers at school. Both the mothers in family 4R said that when they joined school they faced embarrassment for not knowing any Urdu not only in the classroom but also in the playground where the other children would not make friends with someone who only spoke Siraiki. The reason that the wife of one famous Siraiki researcher gave me for speaking Urdu and not Siraiki with her children was that she still remembers with clarity the laughter that erupted in her class when on her first day in school, in answer to her teacher's question in Urdu she responded in Siraiki. The shame that she felt that day is still with her and she does not want to subject her children to that humiliation. Sabini, Garvey and Hall (2001: 104) state, 'people refer to themselves as experiencing shame when they believe that a real flaw of their self has been revealed, they refer to themselves as experiencing embarrassment when they believe that others have reason to think a flaw has been revealed'. These parents and many more like them have given in to the pressures of the society. Sennett and Cobb (1972: 192) observe that people never lose consciousness of society, 'if society is powerful enough to wound people at a very deep emotional level—which is where the wounds inflicted on dignity are—the power to shut society out would have to be a transcendental, almost miraculous one'; these parents neither have the will or the power to change the current status of Siraiki language in their society.

In many schools in Multan, speaking Siraiki is constructed as something sinful, uncivilised and shameful. UT4[85] in her interview stated that she sometimes allows the children to use some Urdu in the class but always stops them from speaking Siraiki because, 'it doesn't look nice when children speak in Siraiki in the class. Their peers laugh at them if any child mixes Siraiki words in Urdu speech. The teachers also talk among themselves about such children and make fun of them'. This teacher was of the opinion that, 'those children who learn Siraiki as a first language, they speak English too all their life with Siraiki accent. Their accent never changes; they drag the words, which is unacceptable'. 'For such cases', she said, 'the teachers seek the help of their parents to make an effort to change the accent of their children'. The sense of shame is therefore, not just overtly brought by the peers, but also by teachers. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) cites many examples from countries like the UK, Spain, and Denmark where children are made to feel ashamed of their culture, their language, their accent and their identity.

UT2[86] also admitted that she discourages Siraiki much more than Urdu in her classes because, 'Urdu is our national language... if children use pure Siraiki, which they have learnt from their servants, in the classroom those wrong words give a negative effect and impact... if we have some students whose spoken English is good, then the whole group speaks English nicely, they gain good words from them'. Thus, for her Siraiki consists of 'wrong words' and English of 'good words'. She further added that if some child speaks in Siraiki the other children at once report to her, knowing that she will scold that Siraiki speaker badly. Thus, according to this teacher, pure Siraiki words are learnt only from the 'servants' and they give 'negative effect

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[85] Teacher 2 from 2nd private English medium school.
[86] Teacher from 1st private elite English medium school.

and impact'. Through her ideas and actions she is not only making children ashamed of the Siraiki language but is also teaching them the art of spying on each other. In these schools a kind of witch-hunting is carried out on those children who dare to speak any Siraiki. She also said that when she is on discipline duty in the playground she is, 'stricter towards those children who speak abusive or Siraiki language'. Her positioning of the Siraiki language with abusive language is reminiscent of the regulations on the walls of Norwegian boarding schools guiding the children about what was forbidden; the two regulations read, 'Do not speak Sami or Finnish in your free time; Do not urinate on the stairs' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 345). Just as in Norwegian schools speaking one's mother tongue was constructed as something as sinful and barbaric as urinating indiscriminately, similarly for this teacher speaking the Siraiki language is as uncivilized and shameful as using abusive language. The parents who themselves have experienced this kind of shame are not transmitting Siraiki to their children.

In rural schools in Multan in general there is no stigma attached to speaking in Siraiki even in the classrooms. It is reflective of the general language situation in the villages where an overt sense of shame in relation to Siraiki does not exist. The situation in cities is different, however. The elite English medium schools are at one extreme end but in the state schools there is hardly any place for Siraiki, at least in the classrooms if not in playgrounds. Such a school system is built on a 'total and totally damaging divide between home and school' (Tickoo, 1995: 323). In these schools the subordination of the Siraiki language to the status of a domestic vernacular (and in many interviews there is reference to it as the language of domestic servants or illiterate parents), builds a feeling of inferiority and cultivates a negative image of the

Siraiki language among Siraiki children (cf. 5.3.2). Thus these schools for Siraiki monolingual children or children with a Siraiki accent, instead of being a source of personal and cultural growth, bestow only shame and rejection upon them. Such students, even with the right answers, have to struggle with having the 'wrong' language and accent. Schooling for them thus becomes a vale of shame.

What I have discussed so far about the relationship of shame with Siraiki and its results can be depicted in the following diagram.
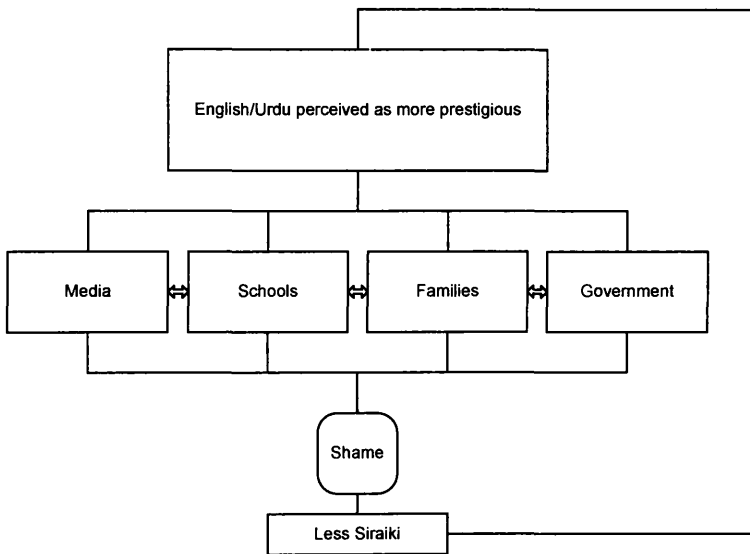
Figure 5. 1 The relationship of shame with Siraiki and its results

The centre of the diagram depicts four factors. On the one hand, these factors are influencing the status of Urdu and English in our society in constructing these as more prestigious than Siraiki and on the other, they are causing shame which is resulting in less Siraiki being spoken. The arrows between these factors illustrate that they influence each other. Two of these factors, families and schools are interpersonal whereas media and government factors are imposed from outside. Despite this broad classification they are interrelated. The link between 'less Siraiki' and 'English/Urdu

perceived as more prestigious' indicates that less Siraiki is the result of the perceived prestige of Urdu and English in our society, and that shame about Siraiki is resulting in elevating the status of Urdu and English.

5.6.4 Shame in Siraiki Names

The intensive promotion of Urdu and English over the Siraiki language has also resulted in changed naming practices and in giving up such names which reflect the Siraiki ethnic origin of the people. The naming and 're-naming' practices reflect the culture shame that has been cultivated in the minds of Siraikis. This culture shame is one of the causes of the desertion and erosion of the Siraiki language in the urban areas. On the part of the rural Siraikis these practices represent the desire of the Siraikis to change their socio-economic status and to identify with the powerful group which in the cities has lead to language shift.

Names express both the individuality of a person and that person's group membership. The family chooses a name for the newborn but in certain cases it is constrained by the restrictions imposed by the society or the state. The processes of 'economic, political and cultural unification and integration' can result in societal constraints (Jernudd, 122: 1995). The extreme case of restrictions imposed by the state is the treatment of Kurds in Turkey (Skutnabb-Kangas and Bucak, 1995). One aspect of naming and re-naming practices left untouched so far is the practice of naming and changing/editing names 'voluntarily' due to culture shame and the desire to identify with the powerful group. The situation regarding names in rural and urban south Punjab is quite different from the case studies presented in Jernudd (1995).

In Pakistan there is no legislation forcing individuals to choose such names which do not manifest their identity as members of a group. However, Siraikis are

voluntarily choosing names for their children which assimilate their visible Siraiki ethnic group membership. In the cities many individuals who have Siraiki names abbreviate them so that they do not reflect their original identity, for example, a person named Allah Baksh calls himself A.B., Ghulam Rasool G.R., Allah Ditta A.D., Muhammad Baksh M.B.

It is argued that when people come to participate in wider networks than the local rural one this 'modernization process' might require a greater degree of distinctiveness of name forms. In such cases the individuals adjust their names voluntarily to enhance their identity within certain broad parameters of standard language form (ibid: 130).

The villagers are also giving in to the public constraint on private naming. During my ethnographic study in the villages I found that the families of poor uneducated peasants chose so-called 'modern' names for their children. When I visited different villages, I came across such names that the city dwellers choose for their children. Some of the children were named after actors or characters in television plays, some after film actors while others after famous Pakistani sports people, especially cricketers. I asked several parents why they have not given traditional Siraiki names to their children and some of the responses that I got were, 'Although we want to but we poor people don't live in the city, so at least we can identify with the city people by giving our children their names'. 'We hear these names on radio and television and we are more inspired by the television names where we can see the characters that have these names'. 'If ever our children go and live in the city they will not feel alienated or out of place due to their names'. This sense of alienation that a rural mother fears for her children in fact springs from the covert sense of shame that these villagers harbour about themselves. Javaid, a nine-year-old boy when asked how

he would have felt if his name had been Allah Ditta (a common name popular in Siraiki region in past decades); would he have liked it? 'No,' he said, 'it is the name of the old people'.

The urban Multanis crossed this bridge of not giving the names of the 'old people' to their children one or two generations ago and now they are busy in 'protecting' their children from the language of the old people. A similar process is active in rural Multan now. The changed naming practices in rural Multan make one wonder that this desire to identify with the city dwellers may result in their giving up Siraiki language in favour of Urdu when more opportunities to learn Urdu would come in the way of the rural population in the form of opportunities for education, and access to electricity and television.

5.7 Summary and Conclusion

The research questions that I had set out to explore in this chapter were: what factors are responsible for the attitudes that exist towards Siraiki and Urdu? And what social, political, and affective factors are influencing the status and usage of Siraiki language in Multan and how and why they are influencing it? After analysing the factors which are chiefly contributing to language shift in Multan I have come to the conclusion that Stutnabb-Kangas' (2002a) observation that the most important agents in language murder are the media and the educational systems with the global economic, military and political systems behind them as the real culprits fits quite neatly to the present sociolinguistic situation of Siraiki.

I have argued with supporting evidence that factors like labour-market considerations, lack of official and mass media support, attitudes of the out groups as well as those of the Siraikis towards the Siraiki language are resulting in Siraikis

giving up their language in favour of Urdu. This trend was observed mainly among the city dwellers, many of whom are not transmitting it to their children or grandchildren. In rural Multan Siraiki is being maintained partly because it does not have any utilitarian value in the rural set up and partly because a vast majority of the rural adults are monolinguals in Siraiki. However, the fact that rural people are not giving Siraiki names to children suggests that the Siraiki linguicide is extending out, beyond the urban areas.

The Siraikis' claim to separate identity has its basis in their language. They cannot assert a separate identity on religious grounds for the fact that 95% of the total population of Pakistan are Muslims[87] nor can they take refuge in regional identity because it would mean being called Punjabis. Now when the Siraiki language is stigmatised and downgraded as a result of different institutional and affective factors, it is resulting in the mental submission and subjugation of the Siraikis to the powerful group. These factors also legitimise this colonisation both in the minds of the colonisers and the colonised. The only difference between the present and pre-partition colonisation is that this time it is their own countrymen who lay a claim over superiority on the basis of language.

The role of urban schools in determining the status of Siraiki and affecting its usage has come out as a major factor in causing Siraiki language shift. My research findings suggest that the urban schools in general and elite English medium schools in particular in the Siraiki region are serving the role of agents of linguicide (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). My interviews with the school heads and schoolteachers that I have cited in this chapter support this viewpoint. The schools are also a major factor in causing and perpetuating shame about Siraiki in the minds of students as well as their

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[87] www.infopak.gov.pk/public/country_profile_index.htm 02.02.05

parents. These schools are the places where the colonial discourses are being transmitted. These discourses are the direct result of the government policies and the social structure of the Punjab province. Among the participants of this research no one challenged the status accorded to Urdu or English and the exclusion of Siraiki from our school curriculum. Language is not only being used to facilitate the access of the elites to prestigious positions but is also being exploited as a potent tool to create a sense of shame among the Siraikis. This is resulting in their dissociating themselves from their mother tongue and accepting any exploitation of their group as a natural consequence of their being unfortunate enough to have been born in Siraiki homes.

In this chapter I have also demonstrated with the aid of examples from my data that the element of shame in relation to Siraiki language is not only one of the major causes of language shift but also the result of other factors which are causing shift. Shame, thus, is the part of the process of language shift as well as the result of other factors which have lead to the changed language practices among the Siraiki families in Multan. Very few Siraikis overtly acknowledge shame that they hold in relation to Siraiki but I have cited different examples from my data (cf. 5.6) which suggest the presence of this emotion in relation to Siraiki in the minds and behaviour of the Siraikis. The reason generally given by the parents for not teaching Siraiki to their children is the consideration for the bright future of their children. Shame being a negative emotion unlike ambition which is a positive emotion, therefore, goes unacknowledged.

In the following chapter I discuss the findings of this research and describe its implications.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In chapter five I discussed the social, political and affective factors which are currently contributing to Siraiki language shift in Multan. This section is followed by a discussion of the limitations of this research. I then present and reflect on the findings of this study which have been arrived at through addressing my research questions. In the light of these findings I discuss whether to call the overall Siraiki language situation in Multan as that of language maintenance or language shift. After establishing the inadequacy of metaphors and terms in describing such language situations I introduce two terms relevant to the language situation that I have researched. I then justify the need for carrying out similar research in different contexts. This section is followed by a

discussion of the contributions of the study to the field of sociolinguistics and suggestions for future research directions in the same area. I end by briefly describing what I have gained out of this study.

In the following section I discuss the limitations of the present study.

6.2 Limitations of the Research

Every researcher carrying out a research is faced by some limiting factors. Working within the time constraints of a doctoral study and the limitations of a funded project I could not spend more than six months on my fieldwork. I have already discussed (cf. 3.8.1, 3.10.2) that even during these six months I had to juggle my schedule to coordinate with that of the participants of my research. Even though my being a Multani gave me an edge over other researchers carrying out similar research on alien grounds, I would have liked to work with more than the eight families who comprise my case studies in this research. This, however, would have meant extending the time of my field work, resulting in severely curtailed time for analysis and the writing up of this thesis. Under the given circumstances, this was the best plan I could devise.

In my pilot study I have tried to gauge the attitudes of the urban Siraikis and non-Siraikis of similar age and educational backgrounds. With more time in hand I would have conducted it with judges of different ages, location (rural/urban) and educational backgrounds.

A survey through a questionnaire seeking insight into the language attitudes and speech practices of a larger Siraiki population and the comparison of the responses of that survey with the actual speech practices of the Siraikis could also have provided a better understanding of Siraiki language situation in Multan.

I would also have liked to study the phenomenon of Siraiki language erosion in depth, which I observed in the speech practices and code switching behaviour of the participants of my research, but again due to the time constraints I could not do so.

It could be argued that my identity as a Siraiki speaker might have affected my objectivity as a researcher. But in reality, as I have already discussed in section 3.6, in this research I have followed the approach of new ethnography (Hughes, Morris & Seymour, 2000). This tradition rejects the idea of a value-free science and the researcher's positionality, thoughts and feelings are accounted for in the interpretation process. Instead of taking the researcher as an objective/neutral observer or participant, new ethnography takes him/her as equally positioned in and interconnected with the research context as much as the researched. In section 3.11, I have argued that it is impossible to achieve objectivity within a social constructionist framework because all the researchers must, out of necessity, encounter the world from one perspective or the other. Besides, on the issue of language it is not possible to maintain a dispassionate position. Can we claim that any non-Siraiki researcher could carry out this research without any biases and preconceived ideas? The 'quality control' measures like triangulation were taken in order to reduce the negative influence of bias. I strongly believe that research carried out on a social phenomenon should be the product of head and heart. That is why I have argued (cf. 3.11) that rather than discovering facts or searching for the truth about people and society my

aim in this research is to read the phenomenon which might prove useful in bringing about a change in the status of Siraiki language.

Besides, my being a Multani Siraiki gave me an advantage over the 'objective' non-Siraiki researchers in more than one way. My knowledge about the Siraiki language situation was not based only on the 'here and now'; a great deal more than what I discovered through my data was a part of my schema about the Siraiki language practices. Even for the collection of the data, a non-Siraiki researcher could not possibly match my respect for the Siraiki culture, understanding of its norms and sensitivity to its nuances. Social research requires both reason and intuition, which I feel was my strength as a researcher for this study.

Genderless existence of researchers is not humanly possible. The limitations posed by my gender (cf. 3.11.1), resulting in less participation of adult males in family conversations could not have been overcome even if I had sought the help of male co-researchers because their gender would have posed even further problems. A strange male would not have been allowed entry into Siraiki homes. One possible solution to get round this problem could have been if I had selected and trained co-researchers from among the members of some of the families that I was studying. This, however, would have required more time and resources but the time and financial constraints under which I carried out this study did not allow for these.

6.3 Discussion of the Results

Findings one to five (described below) are directly related to the research questions of the present study. As stated in sections 1.7 and 3.4, the research questions which led the present study are: (1) What attitudes exist towards Siraiki and Urdu and what factors are responsible for them? (2) What range of language choices exists among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan? (3) What language transmission practices exist among Siraiki families in rural and urban Multan? (4) What is the relationship between different variables: namely, age, location (rural/urban), education, and economic group in terms of language choice patterns among Multani families? (5) What social, political, and affective factors are influencing the status and usage of Siraiki language in Multan and how and why are they influencing it? The findings of this research will eventually answer my overarching research question which is: Is Siraiki language shift taking place in Multan? If yes, to what extent, and for what reasons?

It should be noted that the findings of this research are based on my data which was collected from the respondents of the matched-guise test, case studies, and interviews. These findings, therefore, cannot be claimed to fully account for and represent the language situation in Multan. However, as I have already stated in chapter three, these are helpful in illustrating general trends in the Siraiki language scene in Multan.

6.3.1 Predominantly Negative Attitudes Towards Siraiki

> Finding 1: There exist predominantly negative attitudes among the Siraikis and non-Siraikis towards the Siraiki language in comparison with Urdu and English.

The results of the pilot study (cf. 3.2) initially confirmed what I had intuitively known: that the attitudes of both Siraikis and non-Siraikis towards the Siraiki language in comparison with the Urdu language are predominantly negative. The other data used in this study (cf. 3.9.1, 3.9.3, and 3.9.4) demonstrated that a large number of Siraikis, especially rural Siraikis, hold positive attitudes towards Siraiki while many Siraikis are loyal to their mother tongue despite holding some negative attitudes towards it. However, almost all Siraikis consider Siraiki to be inferior to Urdu and English. It should be noted that loyalty to Siraiki or positive attitudes towards it are no guarantee for its maintenance and transmission. The loyalty of the grandmother in family 3U (cf. 4.4.2.ii) to her mother tongue was unmistakable when she told her son, '**Assan aaprin booli bulaynday pai han ais wastay sidhi hay**' (we are speaking our own language that's why it is right), even then she wants her children to speak in Urdu at home and is in favour of teaching only Urdu to her grandchildren. Although the mother in family 1R (cf. 4.4.1.i) is monolingual and does not want her children to learn Urdu at the cost of Siraiki, her answer to my question: how she would feel if Siraiki language were to die was, 'in that case we would be taught some other language to survive'. Yet after giving this fatalistic answer she could not mask her love for Siraiki when she added, 'and sometimes we would crave for Siraiki language like we occasionally crave for **bay mosmay phal** (out of season fruit)'. What we see here is that a sense of ambivalence or conflict in terms of

attitudes exists among Siraikis towards their mother tongue.

For the ordinary Siraikis the challenge is that of survival—how best to survive and compete in this society. Survival, for the ordinary Siraiki means economic survival which 'compels' the Siraikis to give up their language but Ostler (cited in Crystal, 2000: 105) rightly comments 'The problem comes when that goal changes, or perhaps when the goal is achieved, and so no longer important. There is no path back: an option or an identity which was given by the old language is no longer there'.

The Siraikis as a whole are not socially and economically powerful in the context of the Punjab province (cf. 2.4.1), likewise their language lives under the shadow of more than one dominant language. Urdu by virtue of being the national language and the language of medium of instruction at some educational levels holds supremacy over the regional languages. English considered a marker of intellectual ability because of its status as the language of administration, judiciary, military, higher education, and commerce overshadows both Urdu and the regional languages. Thus Siraiki, the language of a socially and economically disadvantaged group inhabiting some of the most backward districts of Pakistan, 'enjoys' the status of 'a majority minority language' (Tickoo, 1995: 317) in the south of Punjab. The Siraikis perceive their mother tongue as 'ghettoizing' (Rahman, 2002a: 10) because it confines its users to low powered status and occupation and restricts upward social mobility. The English-using elites have access to positions of power through their ability to use English, while for the non-English using lower echelons it serves as an obstacle in competing for the positions of power. The Siraikis, as a result, are giving up their language partly because they no longer want to be associated with an 'inferior' language.

The promotion of the erroneous notion by the government that Pakistan is a monolingual and uniethnic rather than a multilingual and multiethnic country (cf. 2.4.2), has also contributed to Pakistanis generally dismissing their indigenous culture as inferior, and their mother tongues as a stumbling block in the way of progress. In the case of Siraiki this is even more marked because even within the hierarchy of regional languages Siraiki holds an inferior position. This has resulted in the vast majority of people not being positive about their ethnic mother tongue who consider it the language of rustic, backward and illiterate people. This sentiment was echoed in the interviews of some members of participating families. The father in family 4U (cf. 4.4.2.iv) stated that since his childhood he felt that his mother tongue was devalued in many places and this created a negative image in his mind about the Siraiki language which in turn encompassed his own personality and formed a negative image about his own self in his mind.

On the basis of examples like these can we say that this attitude is symptomatic of the cultural invasion of the Siraikis? Freire (1989: 151) states, 'For cultural invasion, it is essential that those invaded become convinced of their intrinsic inferiority... [and] the superiority of the invaders'. Or in other words, can we claim that the Siraikis are suffering from *cultural cringe*.[88] What I have generally observed is that the Siraikis are proud of their group norms and values and do not want to be identified with any other group, for

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[88] Phillips (1958) originally coined and used this phrase in the limited context of imaginative literature and exemplified it by three episodes involving non-typical subcultures of Australians. It has, however, since been generalised to whole Australian experience. It is believed that Australians have in general been passive and deferential towards all British things which is due to their (Australians') lingering embarrassment over their penal colony roots. Hume (1993), however, challenges this notion and states that this notion never existed, rather it was invented. In general terms, this phrase refers to the belief that one's own culture is unsophisticated and backwards compared to other cultures (www.wordspy.com/words/culturalcringe.asp 09.02.05).

example, the Punjabis. They want to retain their Siraiki identity but with a new definition which does not include terms like 'rustic', 'illiterate', and 'backward'. But as far as language is concerned, Siraikis do tend to believe in the general superiority of Urdu in comparison with Siraiki, despite the fact that language is perhaps the chief factor in determining Siraiki identity and distinguishing them from other groups living in the Siraiki region. Factors like government policies, education and mass media, already discussed in chapter five, have changed the way the Siraikis view their language in comparison with other languages used in their region. They are shifting to Urdu and English because they know that 'language is the only key to power which personal effort can give them' (Rahman, 2002a: 56). Cringe at the moment is confined to Siraiki names and language. Discourses of the family members in interviews about Siraiki are an example of cringing. What we can say is that currently it is more of *linguistic cringe* rather than *cultural cringe* but if the shaming of Siraikis continues on the basis of their language they might be compelled to dissociate themselves from Siraiki culture.

As a result of the mixed attitudes that the Siraikis hold towards their mother tongue, we see a range of language choices among the Siraiki families in the home domain.

6.3.2 Vast Range of Language Choices Among Siraiki Families

> Finding 2: Language choices in the home domain among the Siraiki families range from only Siraiki to Urdu and English with very little Siraiki.

Among Siraiki families there exists a vast range of language choices in the home domain; they range from only Siraiki to Urdu with English code switching. This is influenced by a number of factors which will be discussed in section 6.3.4. Here I would like to refer back to network analysis (cf. 1.5.1.ii) which emphasises and presents social networks as the most important factor influencing language choices and language behaviour. The advocates of this model do not recognize that in different speech communities other factors may be more important than the social network of the speakers in influencing their speech habits. One basic flaw of this model became evident to me when I studied the language situation in Multan and analysed the data collected for this study. This model does not account for the ambitions of speakers or of parents about the language behaviour of their children. Individuals, at times, change their speech practices due to their desire to identify with a certain prestige speech group, or to be seen by others as a part of that group. They sometimes modify their speech practices in the hope of becoming a part of that speech group or to redefine their identities. In my data I have given examples of parents/older siblings who teach particular language(s) to their children/younger siblings with the hope to fulfil their dreams of prosperous futures of their off springs. An excellent example of this is daughter 3 in family 1U (cf. 4.4.2.i) who is the only Urdu monolingual speaker in her family. This is not because she has different social networks but because her eldest sibling desires her to know only Urdu due to her own positive associations with Urdu language and negative with Siraiki. Where do speakers like Daughter 3 fit in the social networks model? I am aware of the importance of social networks in influencing language choices and language behaviour. However, I am reluctant to call these 'the most important' factor in studying language maintenance and language shift. I believe that a study of social networks together with other broader

social, affective, economic, and political factors can account for patterns of language choice. This point is further discussed in the following two sections. Section 6.3.3 sums up the causes of non-transmission of Siraiki to children.

6.3.3 Siraiki not Transmitted to Children Among all Siraiki Families

> Finding 3: The Siraiki language is being transmitted to children in rural families but not in all urban families.

In Multan, language transmission practices seem to be determined by identity, attitudes, motivation, and social needs. Siraiki is being transmitted to children in rural Multan across all income groups. In one of my rural case studies (cf. 4.4.1.iv) it is being taught along with Urdu to young children. The desire for their children to be fluent in Urdu but not at the cost of Siraiki exists among the rural parents. All of the rural parents in my case studies want their children to be bilingual in Siraiki and Urdu. This is partly the result of the social environment of the villages in Multan where Siraiki is the dominant language or even the only language in all spheres and among all networks in the village; partly it can be attributed to the policy of the village schools where some of these children study. These schools do not make any demands on the parents as to which language they should teach their children.

Another major factor contributing to the maintenance of Siraiki in villages is that a vast majority of the rural families are tied to the land and work in the fields. The majority of the parents here are not fluent in Urdu and do not see any utilitarian value of teaching Urdu to their children who start work in the fields even before reaching their

teens. The parents here only wish for their children to learn Urdu so that they should 'look' educated and sophisticated and can survive in the cities if they were to make a living there.

Conversely, not all urban parents are transmitting Siraiki to their children. Conversations and interviews with parents who are not transmitting or have not transmitted Siraiki to their children revealed how their everyday observations and experiences, personal and collective histories converge and combine to define and shape their perspectives, decisions, and practices of language transmission to their children. The reason the grandmother in family 3U (cf. 4.4.2.iii) gave for not transmitting Siraiki to her grandchildren was that she wanted them to identify with city dwellers and not the villagers. By 'saving' their children from the Siraiki language the parents and grandparent in this family are trying to secure a better future for them. For the adults those languages that yield the greatest social advancement are useful, and since Siraiki does not correspond to labour-market considerations it is not given a prestigious status. The parents are, therefore, not transmitting Siraiki to their children mainly due to the following three reasons:

1. To identify with a prosperous social group
2. Due to the demand of school authorities
3. They see no utilitarian value of Siraiki

I want to add to this list the erroneous notion of the parents, actively promoted by school authorities, that children should not be burdened with many languages at an early age, and that if they learn Siraiki along with Urdu and English at home as early languages then their Urdu and English would be 'contaminated' with a Siraiki accent. Although

these parents see Multanis around them whose Urdu and English speech is not 'affected' by their Siraiki accent, even then many of them are not willing to teach Siraiki to their children. By denying Siraiki language to their children, the parents are making them 'subtractive bilinguals' instead of 'additive bilinguals' (Edwards, 1994). So far I have not encountered any parent who genuinely regrets the lack of fluency of their child in Siraiki. In fact it is presented as a matter of pride that their child does not know much Siraiki.

In the context of language transmission practices of adults and older siblings to children I would like to refer back to the perceived benefit model of language shift (cf. 1.5.1.i). This model focuses on the decisions of individuals regarding their own repertoires. Although there is value in this theory, one basic flaw of this model is that it fails to recognize the decision of adults/parents/older siblings, taken under the influence of their own motivations based on the 'present and future good of children' to transmit a certain language to their children. In this situation children do not have a choice to pick one language or the other. Here again I would cite the example of Daughter 3 in family 1U (cf. 4.4.2.i). When children are growing up in the home environment, if they are only presented with one language, as is the case of Son 1 and Son 2 in family 4U (cf. 4.4.2.iv), then the use of a particular language is not a matter of choice. These boys did not have more than one language to choose from when they were growing up. Thus this model fails to account for all language maintenance or shift situations.

Different demographic factors are also influencing the language choice patterns of the Multani Siraikis which are discussed in the following section.

6.3.4 Age, Location, Education, and Economic Group Affecting Language Choice Patterns of Multanis

> Finding 4: Interacting factors of age, location, education and economic group, to a varying degree, are seen to be affecting the language choice patterns among Multani families

The location factor in relation with language choice patterns among Multani families has been touched upon in section 6.2.3 in the context of transmission practices of the Siraiki parents. I observed it generally, and my data of the four rural families supports this conclusion, that in the majority of the homes of rural Siraikis, the Siraiki language is being maintained in its 'pure' form. Factors like social networks, isolation from media and Siraiki as a language of communication in schools influence the speech of the rural Siraikis who speak Siraiki without much code switching from Urdu or English. Code switching from these languages is observed in the Siraiki speech of highly educated individuals (e.g. Mother 2 in family 4R cf. 4.4.1.iv) with social networks in the city. Signs of lexical, grammatical and phonological erosion of the Siraiki language in the Siraiki speech of urban Multanis become obvious when we compare it with that of the rural Multanis (cf. 4.4.1.i). Most of my urban case studies speak Siraiki with code switching from Urdu and English.

In my study, age was shown to be an important factor in determining the language choice patterns of the individuals in urban families (cf. 4.9). As opposed to 100% rural speakers of Siraiki of all ages in my case studies who have kept their mother tongue Siraiki as their dominant language, the urban Siraikis have shown a different pattern (cf.

table 4.13). In the cities, only the Siraikis who are grandparents have kept Siraiki as their dominant language. In other cases the younger the age of the speakers, the higher the ratio of language shift to Urdu. One important point regarding age and which is also related to finding 3 (cf. 6.2.3) is that among the eight case studies only family 4U (cf. 4.4.2.iv) is comprised of two generations and this is the only family whose members do not speak Siraiki among themselves. The children of this family cannot speak Siraiki but can understand it (as illustrated through their conversations with their maids who speak to them in Siraiki) although they reply in Urdu. As opposed to this family, the children of family 2R (cf. 4.4.2.ii) can speak Siraiki even though their parents speak to them in Urdu; these children hear their parents talk to their grandparent in Siraiki and they also converse with their grandparent in Siraiki. The parents in family 4R (cf. 4.4.2.iv) also converse with the grandmother in Siraiki which means that the grandchildren will grow up hearing Siraiki spoken among their family members which they will eventually learn.

In Pakistan, education and economic group are interlinked. Only those families who can afford to do so send their children to school. Even the choice of schools depends on the income of the family. The literacy ratio in rural Multan is very low[89] but the government is making efforts to improve it. The spread of education to rural areas is likely to mean that people will be exposed to Urdu and English which would then influence the speech patterns of the rural Siraikis, just as it has influenced the speech of the urban Multanis. The same can be said for the urban Multani children; about one third

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[89] According to the 1998 census report, the literacy ratio among the rural population of Multan district is 29.47% (1998 District Census Report of Multan, 1999). The Federal Bureau of Statistics, Government of Pakistan, defines literacy as 'the percentage of literate population aged 10 year and above over the total population aged 10 year and above'. Literate people are those who are able to read a newspaper with understanding, write a simple letter in any language and perform simple sums (Household Integrated Economic Survey, 2003).

of the children who are old enough are still not in school (1998 District Census Report of Multan, 1999).

In urban households, families are slowly moving from their own ethnic language to officially recognized and promoted languages: Urdu and English. Urdu, in many homes, has taken a place in the family domain, which was previously occupied by Siraiki. This process is ongoing and given the present social circumstances it is most likely that the use of Siraiki will continue decreasing in the home domain. Under these circumstances one can predict that in rural Multan the rapid population growth resulting in growing pressure on land, combined with unemployment in the villages will drive more people to the cities in search of work. This factor, combined with education and exposure to mass media will help in reducing the partial isolation of the rural population (an important factor in maintaining the Siraiki language in rural Multan) which can result in changed language choice patterns of the rural Siraikis in the next few generations.

In the following section I discuss the role of education and mass media together with other factors in influencing Siraiki language usage in the home domain.

6.3.5 Government Policies and Institutional Support, Schools, Mass Media, Present Status of Siraiki, and Shame Influencing Siraiki Language Usage

> Finding 5: The main factors which are influencing the Siraiki language usage in the home domain are: government policies and institutional support, schools, mass media, the present status of Siraiki and the emotion of shame in relation to Siraiki language.

The Pakistani governments' policies of promoting Urdu as the sole national language and as the medium of instruction in state schools have resulted in an unquestioned assumption of the inherent superiority of Urdu. The discriminatory government policies towards the regional languages (cf. 2.4.2) have created a hierarchy of prestige among these languages. Siraiki, unfortunately due to a number of reasons discussed in chapter 2 and 5, is at a very low position in this hierarchy. This lack of prestige of Siraiki language, therefore, directly influences the usage of Siraiki language in home domain.

The mass media in Pakistan, which is predominantly under official control, also helps to promote Urdu. I have already discussed the influence of television transmissions on the speech of children of family 2R who have a television at home. The glamorous characters on television speak in Urdu, which results in ordinary people trying to emulate them. In section 5.6.4 I have discussed how Siraikis, attracted by the characters on television, are giving the names of those characters to their children instead of the traditional Siraiki names. With the majority of the Pakistani population being illiterate,[90] the radio and the television are the main sources of media which are able to influence the language attitudes and practices of the Siraikis. Looking at different language practices of the children of family 1R (cf. 4.4.1.i) compared with those of family 2R (cf. 4.4.i.ii), it can be predicted that an increase in the number of televisions reaching more rural homes will mean a decrease in the use of Siraiki. In speech extracts cited from family 1R (cf.

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[90] According to the 1998 census, the literacy ratio among the Pakistanis aged 10 and above, is 43.92%. Among the males it is 54.81% while among the females it is 32.02% (Population Census Organization, www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/pco/index.html).

extract 4 and 7, section 4.4.1.ii) I have illustrated the influence of television on the speech practices of the children of this family.

Due to the government's language policies it is an unquestioned assumption that education takes place in Urdu and/or English. Both Urdu and English symbolise sophistication, and fluency in these languages is taken to be synonymous with being educated. The urban state schools, as a result, do not encourage or allow Siraiki in the classrooms despite the fact that there is no explicit directive from the education department regarding the use of only Urdu as a means of communication in these schools.

What I learnt during my visits to elite English-medium schools and in my interviews with their heads and teaching staff suggests that colonialism is still alive (cf. 5.3.2). Pennycook (1998) argues that colonialism is not so much a status as it is a state of mind. This colonial past echoes in the speech of parents and teachers/school heads. For some, the superior language is Urdu while for others who can afford it, it is English. The English medium schools in Pakistan are places where images of the self and other are constructed and where constructions of superiority and inferiority are produced. At these schools in Multan the Siraiki speaking students face constant dismissals, inequalities and put-downs. Children speaking Siraiki are seen as the 'native other' who can only be civilized if they give up Siraiki.

The above-mentioned factors have resulted in shame in relation to the Siraiki language which is simultaneously a result of these factors as well as a factor in itself in causing less Siraiki usage. Figure 6.1 is a graphic representation of this point.

Media
Government
School
Family
Shame in Siraiki

Indirect influences
Face-to-face influences
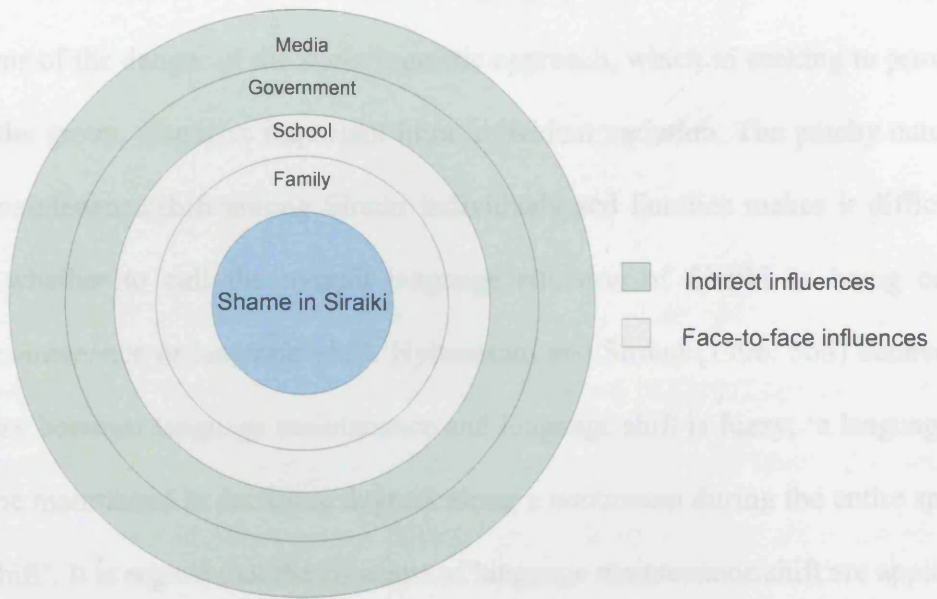
Figure 6.1 Shame, a cause as well as a result

In Figure 6.1, shame in Siraiki is presented as both a cause and a result of indirect and face-to-face factors. The media and government are indirectly influencing the language usage practices of the Siraikis, whereas, schools and families of the individuals have a direct, face-to-face influence on individuals regarding their speech practices.

In the light of the findings of this research it needs to be determined whether the state of the Siraiki language in Multan is that of language maintenance or language shift or if it needs some other defining terms. The following section deals with this issue.

6.4 Language Maintenance or Language Shift?

What we have seen so far is that Siraiki is maintained in rural homes whereas the same cannot be said about all urban homes. Even among the members of the case studies,

within the same family there is variation in language practices. Gardner-Chloros (1991) rightly warns of the danger of the sociolinguistic approach, which in seeking to provide a picture of the group, disguises important intra-individual variation. The patchy nature of language maintenance/shift among Siraiki individuals and families makes it difficult to determine whether to call the overall language situation of Siraiki as being one of language maintenance or language shift. Hyltenstam and Stroud (1996: 568) believe that the boundary between language maintenance and language shift is fuzzy, 'a language can be said to be maintained in declining degrees along a continuum during the entire span of language shift'. It is argued that the concepts of language maintenance/shift are applicable to speech communities which fulfil the following two conditions: the existence of a contact situation between speech communities of two or more languages/varieties; and the presence of a perceived or factual 'power differential or a state of inequitable access to important resources between the groups' (ibid: 568). Strictly speaking an 'Urdu speech community' does not exist in Multan but in the broader perspective the concepts of language maintenance/shift can be said to be applicable to the Siraiki language situation in Multan. The problem that arises now in determining whether language shift is taking place in Multan is that the term *language shift* in itself is vague. Commenting on the ambiguity of the term *language shift*, Clyne (1991: 54) notes that it can 'designate a gradual development, a *shifting*...or the fact that a language previously employed is no longer used at all by a group or individual'. He further argues that *language shift* can also mean a change in the main language, the dominant language, the language of one or more domains, and exclusive language for between one and three of the four language skills. This term also does not illustrate the reasons of language shift, i.e. whether the speakers are shifting or have shifted from one language to another due to social and psychological

pressures or is it a voluntary shift or has the shift taken place due to some physical disaster. In the term *language shift* the onus of responsibility does not seem to be on the speakers but what comes in the foreground is the language. What I object to is the agentless nature of responsibility implied within the term.

As discussed at the beginning of this thesis (cf. 1.4), this inadequacy of the general umbrella term *language shift* in describing different linguistic processes has led to the coining and adoption of a new set of orienting metaphors and terms like *language death, linguicide* and *linguicism* by researchers. These terms take the role of the speakers of a language experiencing linguicism as passive agents—individuals with no will, no power of assertion, or obligation towards their mother tongue. Here I want to introduce the concept of *language desertion. The Chambers Dictionary* (2003: 404) defines 'desertion' as 'an act of deserting; the state of being deserted; willful abandonment of a legal and moral obligation'; *Longman Dictionary of Language and Culture* (1994: 344) defines it as '(an example of) the act of leaving one's duty, one's family, or military service, esp. with the intention of never returning'. The term *language desertion* highlights the role of speakers as language deserters who despite having the ability to resist external pressures give in to them and desert their mother tongues. In many cases they desert their mother tongue for affective reasons like shame or desire to identify with the dominant group. It is also observed that some adults do not desert their mother tongues themselves but make sure that their children or grandchildren grow up without this language. This also comes in the act of language desertion because adults here serve the role of active agents in language decline.

The question that arises here is how easy it is to resist social pressure. Dorian (1982: 47) has rightly pointed out that 'language loyalty persists as long as the economic and social circumstances are conducive to it, but if some other language proves to have greater value, a shift to other language begins'. Like many other societies of the world, Pakistani society, especially its urban population, has adopted Westernised, capitalist social structures where market forces are at work. The new norms and values of this culture adhere to the rule of the survival of the fittest and believe in cut-throat competition. The parents who are raising their children without transmitting Siraiki to them are doing so under the influence of ambition for a bright future of their children as well as due to competition with other parents. Such parents take it as a matter of pride that their children do not know any Siraiki. I will come back to my question now that do these parents have a choice? And can they resist social pressure? I believe that despite the pressures of ambition and competition, yes, they have a choice. We must not lose sight of the fact that in my part of the world bi- or multilingualism is not an exception; it is rather a rule in urban areas. If some of these parents can raise their children bilingual in Urdu and English then why they cannot raise them trilinguals? With a little effort they can effect a change. Social changes do not happen overnight. A few 'crazy' and committed people begin a change because they believe that every single drop makes a difference. There are countless children in Multan who have been or are being taught Siraiki along with other language(s). Such parents who have taught Siraiki to their children besides other languages, stand in sharp contrast to the language deserters who do not realize that Siraiki language is a part of their heritage which they are duty-bound to pass on to their children without any feeling of shame.

Here I want to cite two clear examples of the act of language desertion from my data. During my interviews I was told by some parents that they are not transmitting Siraiki to their children because of the shame they experienced in their schools due to their Siraiki monolingualism; the father in family 4U (cf. 4.4.2.iv) is one such example. What these parents fail to see is that they felt shame or the feeling of inadequacy because of knowing 'only' Siraiki. Solely blaming the Siraiki language for this and deserting it, I believe, is an irrational behaviour. These parents are the custodians of their centuries old language heritage and it is they who should not only teach Siraiki to their children but should also argue with the school authorities not to transmit the feeling of shame among children in relation to the Siraiki language. The other example of this act is the case of parents in family 1U (cf. 4.4.2.i). Daughter 1 in this family was only eight years old when on the birth of her little sister she declared that Siraiki should not be passed on to her. Should the adult parents follow the dictates of an eight-year-old child and let him/her decide if their other children should be denied their cultural heritage? Was it not the responsibility of the parents to reason with her the true implications of what she was suggesting? Instead they did exactly what she suggested and to this day they speak only Urdu with Daughter 3. They could have continued speaking Siraiki with Daughter 3 while letting Daughter 1 speak Urdu with her. This way the child would have learnt both Siraiki and Urdu; the girls in family 4R (cf. 4.4.1.iv) after all, are learning three languages simultaneously.

The reason commonly given by the Siraikis for deserting Siraiki is the consideration for theirs or their children's bright futures. But is ambition the only cause of language desertion? I have already discussed (cf. 5.6) that shame is playing a major role

in this phenomenon. Ambition is acknowledged by all because it is a positive emotion; on its flip side is the emotion of shame which is not acknowledged because of its negative associations. The Siraikis do not openly acknowledge this shame that they hold in relation to their mother tongue to others or even to themselves, perhaps because they are too ashamed of being ashamed. One experiences this feeling when one is abandoning one's obligation towards one's identity and heritage.

It should be noted however, that it is not *language desertion* only which is responsible for the decline in Siraiki language usage in Multan. From the discussion in section 6.2 and its sub-sections it becomes obvious that the present state of Siraiki language usage is an instance of *linguicism*[91] as well as *language desertion* though to a varying degree. These two terms precisely define the Siraiki language situation in Multan. A number of Siraikis themselves are not asserting their will in maintaining Siraiki in their repertoires in home domain or in transmitting it to their children, thus participating in the act of *language desertion*. There are a large number of Siraikis in Multan who actively use Siraiki in their repertoires and as many Siraiki adults/parents who are transmitting Siraiki to their children along with Urdu and in some cases English. What is stopping the others from doing so? It is true that *linguicism* as applied to the Siraiki language is the major cause of their behaviour but I believe that efforts can and should be made to maintain one's mother tongue. This brings us to the subject of why we should care about what is happening to our language and the world languages. I discuss this issue in the following section.

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[91] *Linguicism* is defined as 'ideologies, structures and practices which are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and immaterial) between groups which are defined on the basis of language' (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988: 13)

6.5 Why should we Care?

As stated earlier (cf. 6.3), Siraiki language is being deserted for various reasons. The parents are not transmitting it to their children mainly because they want to secure a good position for them in society. But should they not seriously consider the heavy price they are paying for this short-term goal. If they devote all their time to teaching the prestigious languages i.e. Urdu and English to their children then there is a good chance that in early classes their children may do better than those who are taught either only Siraiki or Siraiki along with other languages. I firmly believe, however, that in the long run their children would be the losers. I will now elucidate this point with the help of supporting argument and different examples.

Languages are not only essential for the 'spiritual' (Zapeda & Hill, 1991: 135) and 'original' (Dixon, 1997: 115) identity of the speech group but also for the cultural diversity. A 'linguistic meltdown' (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: i), 'is regrettable not only from a philosophical or aesthetic point of view, it can also deprive us from data that is crucial for increasing our insight into human language capacity. It limits our possibilities to recover history and with the language indigenous knowledge disappears as well' (Mous, 2003: 161). Dixon (1997: 144) believes that 'Each language encapsulates the world-view of its speakers—how they think, what they value, what they believe in, how they classify the world around them, how they order their lives' and 'the extinction of languages can be seen as part of the larger picture of worldwide near total ecosystem collapse' (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 17).

What we need to see now are the signs and possible repercussions of this linguistic and cultural meltdown of the Siraiki language which is in progress in Multan. O'Brien (1881, cited in Shackle, 1984: 15-16) in the preface to his *Glossary of the Multani Language* writes, 'Multani is extremely rich in concrete words...Every agricultural operation has a vocabulary of its own. I have given twenty-six words connected with the date-palm, and since they were written I have learnt as many more.' O'Brien further writes, 'The most numerous words belonging to any one subject are connected with cattle. The generic name cow or buffalo is rejected, and there are special names for an animal in every stage of fecundity, barrenness, age, colour and temper' and goes on to list several such words e.g. *rodi* (a hornless cow), *pahilayat* (a cow with its first calf), *phandar* (a cow that has ceased to give milk), *ges* (a female goat from the time it leaves off sucking until it is fit to bear young). He also mentions with wonder that in Siraiki the stalks of different grains have different names, for example, finger or red millet (*tanda*), pearl millet (*kangri*), wheat (*nar*), rice and gram (*parali*). So far no study of Siraiki language loss has been carried out determining the erosion of the Siraiki language due to decline in its use. However, I am fairly certain that the knowledge conveyed through this kind of vocabulary is gradually being lost, 'much of what is culturally distinctive in language—for example vocabulary for flora, fauna is lost when language shift takes place' (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 16).

If we see the decline in the use of Siraiki language from a purely linguistic point of view it becomes obvious that erosion is taking place at the lexical, grammatical and phonological levels. I noted and recorded a number of lexis from the Siraiki language used by the rural Siraikis which are becoming extinct in the Siraiki speech of the urban

Multanis (cf. 4.4.1.i). Similarly, some Siraiki grammatical constructions are being replaced by Urdu grammatical constructions. At the phonological level, I have noticed the tendency of the substitution of the four implosive sounds of Siraiki[92] in the Siraiki speech of the Multanis with those of the Urdu sounds. These distinct implosive sounds, peculiar to the Siraiki and the Sindhi language and quite rare among the world languages, are taken as a batch of identity of the Siraiki people. Despite all this these are being lost.

The Siraiki language is also known for its wealth of proverbs and idioms. Mughal lists a total of ten thousand Siraiki proverbs (1992; 2004) and about eight thousand Siraiki idioms (1996; forthcoming). O'Brien (1881 cited in Shackle, 1984: 41) in the introduction to his *Glossary of the Multani Language* writes, 'The great wealth of Multani is in its proverbs. Every virtue is praised, every vice branded, in its peculiar proverb...the proverbs are very hard on certain classes, especially the religious order, women and weavers...the use of proverbs is most prevalent among women'. In contrast to this statement about the language practices of the Multani women about one hundred and twenty-five years ago, in my data of thirty-two hours of home conversations which is dominated by the speech of women, only one proverb was uttered and that was by the grandmother in family 1U, 'one consequence of declining use of a language is a loss in its complexity and richness of expression' (Nettle & Romaine, 2000: 11).

I am not advocating that Siraiki, Urdu and English should be kept in hermetically sealed boxes. The 'mutual spill over and influence' (Gardner-Chloros, 1991: 185) in language contact situations is inevitable and part of the process of language development

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[92] The implosive sounds of Siraiki are: / ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ɠ /.

and change but when the complexity and richness of expression of a language is lost it is a scientific, linguistic, social and cultural loss—the loss of a group's heritage, its identity and its world-view. As a result of non-transmission of Siraiki to children the future generations of Siraikis will grow without any link to their past, without the wisdom of their ancestors passed on through language and without the Siraiki traditions. Their rootless existence may cause identity crisis for them. This may also seriously harm the efforts of Siraikis for the recognition of their separate and distinct identity as Siraiki language is the most important symbol in their claim for a separate identity.

Based on discussion of the results of the present research, in the following section, I discuss the areas where this study has made a possible contribution in the field of sociolinguistics.

6.6 Contributions of this Study to the Field of Sociolinguistics

The present research has made contributions to the field of sociolinguistics in several distinct areas. Firstly, it has helped in furthering our perception about language shift research on the language of about 40 million people. Language shift studies in general are associated with small or immigrant communities and the concept of 'endangered languages' is not normally associated with the language of such a large section of the population. Through this study I have shown that such large languages can still be endangered.

Secondly, this study has made contributions towards the research methodology used in carrying out an investigation on language viability. By taking rural and urban

families as my case studies and not confining myself to either of these locations, I have demonstrated the vast differences that can exist between the repertoires of the rural and urban population in my part of the world which a researcher should always account for in carrying out similar studies. Similarly, by taking economic group as one of the variables to study the speech practices of the Siraikis in Multan I have demonstrated that not just social differences but differences in economic groups can directly affect the speech practices of the speakers. Through this study I have illustrated some weaknesses of two models, namely the 'perceived benefit model of language shift' and 'social network analysis', purported to be applicable to all language shift situations, with regards to accounting for the speech practices of all of my case studies. Based on the findings of this research I can safely advocate for the adoption of an eclectic approach to study the phenomenon of language maintenance/shift.

As already stated, there is no framework which can be universally applicable to study the phenomenon of language maintenance and language shift. This is because of the diversity of the range of variables and their relative values in different social and cultural contexts (David, 2002). In the absence of a single universally accepted paradigm for the consideration of language maintenance and language shift the researchers should combine different models to suit the requirements of the language situation that they intend to study requires. What I propose is that first of all the researchers must never lose sight of the fact that each language situation is unique and therefore a model that is successful in the study of one language situation may fail completely in another. I have already demonstrated in my study that the same language situation can vary to a great extent even within one small region, in rural and urban settings. The framework of such study should

include the analysis of the interaction of some or all speaker variables such as age, sex, social class, education, economic group, location (rural/urban), generation cohort, and social networks with language choices. The language situation can be the best guide for the researchers in deciding on the most appropriate variables and their relative values. Equal importance should be given to the analysis of affective factors such as ambition and shame influencing the language practices of the individuals which should include both language usage and language transmission practices. The language transmission practices of grandparents, parents, and older siblings can account for the language practices of the children.

The other contributions that this study has made to the field of sociolinguistics include the elaboration of shame as an important factor in language shift. It has analysed the dynamics of shame giving a fuller account of how the different structures of a society combine to demean Siraiki speakers even in their own estimation. It has explicitly linked the theories of shame and face with the discourses of the Siraikis by citing examples from their home conversations and quoting from their interviews. The phenomenon of code switching is also shown to be a cause or result of shame and/or pride.

This is the first study of its kind on any language of Pakistan and it is hoped that other researchers will come forward to carry out similar research on other languages of Pakistan.

Finally, but most importantly, this study would help in awareness-raising among Siraikis in particular and Pakistanis in general about the vulnerability of their mother tongues. At the moment the changed and changing language practices of the Siraikis in

Multan are recognised by very few and considered by none. It is hoped that this study will make a significant contribution in raising awareness of Siraikis about the full implications of what language shift actually entails.

In the following section I briefly discuss the possibilities for future research, based on my findings.

6.7 Future Research Directions

In this thesis I have presented the mosaic of the sociolinguistic situation of Siraiki. Each piece in this mosaic is worthy of further exploration and research. This study has raised a number of issues which need further investigation.

There exists an urgent need for building a corpus of spoken and written Siraiki language. This corpus could be used for further research including work on Siraiki lexicography aimed towards writing a standard Siraiki dictionary. It could also be used in carrying out contrastive analyses of Siraiki with Punjabi and other major neighbouring languages at the morphological and syntactic levels which could provide reliable and authentic evidence in the language/dialect controversy waging in Punjab and Sindh with reference to Siraiki, Punjabi, Sindhi, and Urdu.

Documentation of the literacy practices in Siraiki in the past and present times could prove to be very useful in determining its role, status, and viability.

I have pointed out in sections 6.4 and 6.5 that Siraiki language erosion is taking place at the lexical, grammatical and phonological levels. In chapter four I have cited

some examples of the Siraiki lexis which have become extinct in the cities. Similarly, some constructions which give compactness and precision to the Siraiki language, for example, Siraiki '**paateom**' (I wore) is being replaced by the construction '**mein paata hai**' (I wore) which is the direct translation of Urdu construction having the same meaning. A systematic study of these changes and erosions is needed to obtain a clearer picture of the present day Siraiki language.

Thousands of idioms and proverbs (cf. 6.4) which give richness to the Siraiki language are being lost due to non-use. This area has a great scope for further research. A comparison of Siraiki idioms and proverbs with those of other languages could be a useful study. The portrayal of different genders and classes in these idioms and proverbs could offer new insights into Siraiki culture and the world-view of the Siraikis.

At the phonological level I have already pointed out (cf. 6.4) the declining use of the four implosive sounds. A study should be made to record this phenomenon: comparing the use or disuse of these sounds among speakers of different locations, genders, ages, economic and educational levels, and investigating the causes of its maintenance or abandonment.

The Siraiki speech of urban Multanis is especially interspersed with code switching from Urdu and English. An in-depth systematic analysis of code switching patterns in the Siraiki speech of the Multanis could be a significant contribution to this area.

The influence of television programmes on the language practices of children of family 2R (cf. 4.4.1.ii, extract 7) has already been demonstrated. I have also discussed

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how the naming practices of the Siraikis are also being the influenced by the television viewer ship (cf. 5.6.4). An analysis of the influence of media, for example, radio, television and newspapers on the language practices of a larger sample of Siraiki population can be made to explore how powerful these are in influencing their attitudes towards different languages and language practices. The results of this study can provide guidelines which can be helpful in the efforts of reversing Siraiki language shift.

In this study I have examined shame as a cause of language desertion and a result of Siraikicism. An interdisciplinary study can be made using, for example, Scheff's part/whole method (1997) which can help us 'understand the relationship between human experience and the largest social structures' as 'understanding the meaning of human expression is a complex and intricate process, but it can be understood if part/whole methods are applied' (ibid: 3). I believe that this method can be successfully applied to account for the language practices of individuals or speech communities.

Another crucial issue that this study has raised is that of the Siraiki identity. It has been argued that 'face is a built-in system of identity, which interfaces the outer world and intakes the stimuli from the outer world, and gives alarm for a possible danger to identity' (Sueda, 2002: 244). Individuals always try to balance shame and pride behind face. An imbalance of these can be a face-threatening or a face-honouring experience and can result in damage to the individual's identity (ibid). A study of relationship between face and identity of the Siraikis, who consider Siraiki language as the most important part of their identities but at the same time are ashamed of it, can challenge the notion that 'one cannot have identity without face, neither can one have face without identity' (ibid).

Another aspect that this study could not explore at length is the language practices of Siraiki males. By looking at the language practices of males and females, a systematic study of the gender differences in the language practices of the Siraikis could also be a significant contribution to this area.

This study has illustrated that the process of Siraiki language shift is at work in Multan. A comparison of the speech practices of Multani Siraikis with those from the other major centres of the Siraiki region can prove to be fruitful in demonstrating whether this language shift phenomenon is in progress in the other parts of the Siraiki region. Similar research about language maintenance and shift could also be carried out on the other languages of Pakistan.

Ideally, after the recognition that language shift is taking place, efforts to reverse this phenomenon and revive or at least document the declining language should follow. The success stories of reversing language shift from different parts of the world (Fishman, 1991) can act as a guideline in undertaking similar projects tailor-made to the requirements of the Siraiki language situation in Multan. Projects can be undertaken concentrating on primary schools more than other societal institutions, such as government and mass media because 'early childhood schools afford an organized and long-term opportunity to reach and influence the young' (ibid: 13). The heads and teachers of these schools could be introduced to the research supporting the evidence that trilingualism is an asset rather than a handicap. These teachers in turn can influence Siraiki parents in not depriving their children of their rich linguistic heritage.

6.8 Concluding Remarks

For me this study was an intellectual, moral and sentimental pursuit. I call it a sentimental quest because Siraiki is my language, the language of my 'vasaib' (area/region) and I consider it an honour and a privilege to be able to work on any of its aspects. I call it moral because I feel that it is my moral duty to show others what they are not seeing, if seeing then not fully realizing its implications, and if realizing then not doing anything about it. Academics and researchers have often been called 'ambulance chasers' because more often than not they turn to a certain problem after a disaster has struck; I certainly did not want to be one of them. I call this study an intellectual undertaking because there has been no detailed study of language shift of a language spoken by millions of speakers and I feel that this study will not only help in raising awareness about the state of Siraiki but also other Pakistani large languages which are threatened from above and below.

Through this research I feel I have developed a real sense of the sociolinguistic issues both intellectually and emotionally. What started as a purely intellectual exercise slowly turned into an emotional pursuit. I cannot claim that I would 'kill' for this language but what I can say with certainly is that now I am better equipped to analyse the implications of different acts and events on the status and usage of Siraiki language—a language which has grown even more dear to me. This study has also helped in heightening my sensitivity about the threat to world languages. As a result, in the past couple of months, I have not only mourned the loss of the lives of hundreds of thousands of victims of tsunami but have also grieved for dozens of languages which might have been washed away from the face of this planet as a result of the complete destruction of

hundreds of villages and numerous speech communities. My love affair with threatened languages has just begun.

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Appendix I

Urdu and Siraiki Text for the Matched-Guise Test

URDU TEXT

بقر عید کے مہینے کا چاند دیکھتے ہی ہر طرف بکر یاں اور گائیں بکنی شروع ہو گئیں-ہماری طرف بکریوں اور گایوں کی بہت زیادہ قیمت تھی - ہر طرف آگ لگی ہوئ تھی - دن کے شروع ہوتے ہی بکر منڈی میں لوگ اکھٹے ہو جاتے - ایسا لگتا تھا کہ جیسے کوئ بارات امڈ آئ ہو- چھوٹے چھوٹے بکرے بھی بہت زیادہ قیمت پر بک رہے تھے - بکریوں کے مالکان کا کہنا تھا کہ اگر ہر جانور کا روز کے گھاس کا دس دس روپے بھی خرچہ لگائیں تب بھی کم سے کم ساڑھے تین ، پونے چار ہزار روپے بنتا ہے اورآدھر منڈی والے بھی ہر جانور کا ہر روز کاپچیس روپے لے رہے ہیں - سنا ہے کہ بکریوں کی ایک جوڑی ایک لاکھ اور چوبیس ہزار روپے کی بکی ہے اور ایک گائے کی قیمت تین لاکھ روپے لگی تھی -چوروں اور ڈاکوؤں نے جانوروں کے بیوپاریوں کو نہیں چھوڑا اور بہت سارے ان کے ہاتھوں لٹ گئے - سردی نے بھی بہت سارا مال بیمار کر دیا جس کی وجہ سے بیچارے بیوپاریوں کی پورے سال کی محنتیں برباد ہو گئیں -اچھا جنہوں نے بھی قربانی کی ہے اللہ اس کو قبول کرے -

SIRAIKI TEXT

بقر عید دے مہینے دا چندر ٹسدے ہی ہر پاسے بکریاں تے گاواں وکنیاں شروع تھی گیاں - سائے پاسے بکریاں
تے گاواں دا مل بھوں زیادہ ہا - ہر پاسے بھاہ لگی پئ ہئ - ٹینہ دے شروع تھیندے ہی بکر منڈی وچ لوگ
کھٹے تھی ویندے ہن - ایویں لگدا ہئ جیویں کوئ جنج چڑھدی پئ ہووے - نکے نکے لیلیا ں جیڈ ہے بکرے وی
بھوں مہانگے مل ملدے پئے ہن - بکریاں دے مالکان دا آکھن ہئ جیکر ہر نناور دا روز دا گھا داڈاہ ڈاہ روپے
وی خرچہ لائں تنڑ وی گھٹ توں گھٹ سازھے ترے، پونے چار ہزار روپے بنڑدا ہے - اتھاں منڈی والے وی
ہر نناور دا روز داپنجی روپے گھندے بیٹھن - سنہڑ یا ہے جو بکریاں دی ہک جوڑی ہک لکھ اتے چوی ہزار
روپے دی وکی ہے تے ہک گاںداہل ترئے لکھ روپے لگا ہئ - چوراں اتے ڈاکواں نے زناوراں دے وپاریاں کوں نی
چھوڑیا تے بھوں سارے آناں دے ہتھوں لئیج پئے - سیالے نے وی بھوں سارا مال بیمار کرڈ تا جیندی وجہ کر
کے شودے وپاریاں دیاں پورے سال د یاں محنتاں گل گئیاں -اچھا جنہاںجنہاں نے وی قربانی کیتی ہے اللہ
سئیں او کوں قبول کرے -

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Appendix II

Scale for the Matched-Guise Test

Kindly fill in the following details.

Gender:

Age:

Speech Group:

You will hear two speakers give a talk. After hearing each speaker kindly indicate your perceptions of the speaker as regards the following attributes by encircling the relevant number on the five point scale for each attribute. For this purpose you are given two separate sheets, one for each speaker. The scale for each attribute goes from positive to the negative.

How educated/uneducated this person is?

Educated   1   2   3   4   5   Uneducated

How intelligent/unintelligent this person is?

Intelligent   1   2   3   4   5   Unintelligent

How confident/unconfident do you think this person is?

Confident   1   2   3   4   5   Unconfident

How professional/unprofessional do you think this person is?

Professional 1   2   3   4   5   Unprofessional

How friendly/unfriendly do you think this person is?

Friendly 1 2 3 4 5 Unfriendly

How pleasant/unpleasant do you think this person is?

Pleasant 1 2 3 4 5 Unpleasant

How kind/unkind do you think this person is?

Kind 1 2 3 4 5 Unkind

How handsome/not handsome do you think this person is?

Handsome 1 2 3 4 5 Not Handsome

How polite/impolite do you think this person is?

Polite 1 2 3 4 5 Impolite

How competent/incompetent do you think this person is?

Competent 1 2 3 4 5 Incompetent

How sincere/insincere do you think this person is?

Sincere 1 2 3 4 5 Insincere

How humble/arrogant do you think this person is?

Humble 1 2 3 4 5 Arrogant

How dependable/undependable do you think this person is?

Dependable 1 2 3 4 5 Undependable

Appendix III

Detailed Scores

Evaluation of Urdu Speaker

Siraiki females

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	1	2	1	2	3	3	5	3	2	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	1	2	3	4	2	4	2	2	2	1
3	1	1	2	1	2	4	2	3	3	2	1	2	2
4	1	2	1	2	1	2	4	4	3	1	2	1	1
5	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2
6	1	2	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	2	1	2	1
Average	1.33	1.66	1.33	1.5	2	2.83	3.33	2.83	2.83	1.67	1.33	1.5	1.33

Siraiki males

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	2	3	3	2	3	4	4	3	5	2	3	2	2
2	1	3	2	1	2	4	4	4	3	1	2	1	3
3	1	2	2	2	2	5	3	3	4	2	1	2	4
4	2	3	3	2	2	3	5	4	5	2	2	2	3
5	2	1	1	2	3	4	3	5	3	3	1	3	3
Average	1.6	2.4	2.2	1.8	2.4	4	3.8	3.8	4	2	1.8	2	3
Ave (m+f)	**1.46**	**2.03**	**1.77**	**1.65**	**2.2**	**3.4**	**3.5**	**3.31**	**3.41**	**1.83**	**1.56**	**1.75**	**2.17**

Punjabi Females

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	2	2	2	2	2
2	1	1	2	3	2	2	4	2	2	1	2	1	1
3	1	1	3	2	2	4	2	4	1	2	1	1	1
4	1	2	2	1	1	3	1	3	3	2	2	2	2
5	2	2	1	2	2	2	3	4	3	3	2	2	2
Average	1.4	1.6	2	2	1.6	2.8	2.4	3.2	2.2	2	1.8	1.6	1.6

Punjabi Males

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	2	2	2
2	2	2	2	1	1	4	3	4	4	2	2	2	1
3	2	1	3	1	2	4	5	4	3	2	3	2	1
4	1	2	1	2	2	3	4	3	4	3	2	3	2
5	2	2	2	3	1	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3
Average	2	2	2	1.8	1.6	3.2	3.4	3.2	3.4	2.4	2.2	2.2	1.8

| Ave (m+f) | 1.7 | 1.8 | 2 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 3 | 2.9 | 3.2 | 2.8 | 2.2 | 2 | 1.9 | 1.7 |

Urdu Speaking Females

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	2	1	1	2	1	3	4	3	2	2	2	1	2
2	2	1	2	1	2	2	3	2	2	2	1	2	2
3	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
4	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	3	3	1	3	3	1
5	2	2	1	2	1	3	2	1	3	3	2	1	3
Average	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.8	1.6	2.4	2.8	2.2	2.4	2	2	1.8	2

Urdu Speaking Males

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	2	1	2	3	2	3	2	3	2	2	3	2	2
2	1	3	2	2	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	2	1
3	2	2	1	1	2	2	3	4	3	2	2	3	2
4	1	1	1	2	1	3	3	3	2	3	1	2	3
Average	1.5	1.75	1.5	2	1.75	2.75	2.5	3.25	2.5	2.5	2	2.25	2
Ave(m+f)	**1.55**	**1.575**	**1.45**	**1.9**	**1.675**	**2.575**	**2.65**	**2.725**	**2.45**	**2.25**	**2**	**2.025**	**2**
Ave(total)	**1.57**	**1.80**	**1.74**	**1.82**	**1.83**	**2.99**	**3.02**	**3.08**	**2.89**	**2.09**	**1.85**	**1.89**	**1.96**

Evaluation of Siraiki Speaker

Siraiki females

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	3	3	5	3	2	1	1	2	3	2	4	2	2
2	3	2	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	3	4	5	4
3	4	4	4	5	3	1	1	2	2	4	3	3	4
4	2	3	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	3	3	3	4
5	3	3	2	2	4	2	3	2	1	2	2	4	3
6	4	2	3	2	3	1	1	1	2	3	2	3	4
Average	3.17	2.83	3.50	3.17	2.67	1.67	1.67	2.00	2.00	2.83	3.00	3.33	3.50

Siraiki males

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	3	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2
2	3	2	4	3	3	1	1	2	1	1	3	4	2
3	2	1	3	4	3	2	1	1	1	4	3	2	1
4	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	3	2
5	1	3	2	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	3
Average	2.2	2	2.6	2.8	2.4	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.4	2.4	2.2	2.6	2

| Ave(m+f) | 2.68 | 2.42 | 3.05 | 2.98 | 2.53 | 1.53 | 1.43 | 1.70 | 1.70 | 2.62 | 2.60 | 2.97 | 2.75 |

Punjabi Females

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	5	4	3	5	4	3	3	1	2	3	4	5	4
2	4	5	4	3	4	2	2	2	2	4	3	4	3
3	3	4	2	4	5	2	2	2	2	4	5	4	3
4	4	2	3	4	3	3	2	2	3	3	4	3	3
5	4	3	5	5	4	1	1	1	1	5	2	4	5
Average	4	3.6	3.4	4.2	4	2.2	2	1.6	2	3.8	3.6	4	3.6

Punjabi Males

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	4	2	3	5	4	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	4
2	3	4	3	4	5	1	2	2	1	3	4	3	3
3	3	3	3	3	5	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3
4	3	3	4	5	4	2	2	1	2	4	2	4	3
5	4	4	2	3	5	2	1	2	1	5	3	2	4
Average	3.4	3.2	3	4	4.6	2.2	1.8	1.8	1.8	3.4	2.8	3.2	3.4

| **Ave(m+f)** | **3.7** | **3.4** | **3.2** | **4.1** | **4.3** | **2.2** | **1.9** | **1.7** | **1.9** | **3.6** | **3.2** | **3.6** | **3.5** |

Urdu Speaking Females

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	5	4	3	4	5	2	3	1	2	3	4	4	2
2	3	2	3	5	3	2	2	1	1	5	3	4	4
3	4	3	2	4	4	2	2	2	3	4	5	3	3
4	3	4	4	3	3	3	1	3	1	2	2	3	5
5	4	4	3	4	4	4	3	2	2	3	3	4	3
Average	3.8	3.4	3	4	3.8	2.6	2.2	1.8	1.8	3.4	3.4	3.6	3.4

Urdu Speaking Males

	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q10	Q11	Q12	Q13
1	3	4	4	4	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	2	3
2	4	3	3	3	2	1	2	2	2	3	4	5	2
3	3	3	3	4	3	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	3
4	2	2	3	4	3	3	2	1	1	2	3	3	4
Average	3	3	3.25	3.75	2.75	2	1.75	1.75	1.75	2.5	3	3	3

Ave(m+f)	3.40	3.20	3.13	3.88	3.28	2.30	1.98	1.78	1.78	2.95	3.20	3.30	3.20
Ave(total)	3.26	3.01	3.13	3.65	3.37	2.01	1.77	1.73	1.79	3.06	3.00	3.29	3.15

Appendix IV

List of Interviewees Cited in the Thesis[1]

Siraiki scholars and Researchers:

Ahmad, Anwaar: The Director of Siraiki Research centre and a Siraiki and Urdu writer.

Chandio, Javaid: The Chairman of Siraiki Department, Islamia University Bahawalpur.

Fahim, Aamir: The Chairman of Siraiki Department, Government College Multan and a prolific Siraiki writer. He has also written and produced a few Siraiki commercial films.

Mughal, Shaukat: The writer of twenty books and a number of articles on Siraiki language and grammar.

Sindhar, Riaz: A senior lecturer in Siraiki Department, Islamia University Bahawalpur.

School heads and Teachers:

Designation of the interviewees	Referred to in the thesis as:
The head of the village primary school:	RH1
The head of urban state school:	UH1
The head of 1st private English medium school:	UH2
The head of 2nd private English medium school:	UH3
Teacher from urban state school:	UT1
Teacher from 1st private English medium school:	UT2
Teacher 1 from 2nd private English medium school:	UT3
Teacher 2 from 2nd private English medium school:	UT4

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[1] This list does not include the names of the members of the Siraiki families interviewed in this research.