

Exploring Attitudinal Shift in Pothwari: A Study of the Three Generations

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Abstract

Language sustenance and vitality depends largely upon shift in attitude towards language. For language spoken by minorities, this shift in attitude plays a critical role in their co-existence with languages spoken by majorities. The current paper focuses on Pothwari, a minority language in Pakistan, whose sustenance is threatened. It is hypothesized that the vitality, existence and sustenance of the Pothwari language is a function of attitudinal shift among generations. The results are based upon an empirical investigation where the samples were collected across three generations of Pothwari speaking people. It is revealed that there was a significant shift in the attitudes of these three samples. Pothwari is spoken in some areas of Kashmir, Murree, Jhelum, Gujjar Khan and Rawalpindi and areas around the capital of Pakistan i.e. Islamabad. Research was carried out in three phases. In phase I translation and modification of questionnaire was completed. In phase II pilot study and pre-testing of the

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scales were done to see its appropriateness to the suggested research propose. In phase III main study was performed. The purpose sampling was used in this study. The study had three samples, which were the three generation of Pothwari speakers residing in Rawalpindi and Islamabad. The first sample (the first generation) was determined as the males and females from 60 years and above, the second sample (the second generation) included males and females from 20 to 59 years and the third sample (the third generation) consisted of males and females between 13 and 19 years.

Introduction

In recent years, the minority languages have been positioned in a great danger throughout the world. This particular scenario has ensued and generated a vibrant debate on the sustainability and preservation of these languages. Crystal¹ estimated that almost 6,000 living languages across the globe are persistently facing a serious threat and it is apprehended that about 80 percent of these languages will die out some time in the next century.

According to a report of Ethnologue,² there are 72 living languages spoken in Pakistan, however, it is assumed that some of them are facing persistent and severe danger of extinction³. The investigation is basically directed towards the increasingly endangering vitality of Pothwari language with reference to the change of attitude observed among the three generations. Present research has exploited two important motives to study a shift of attitude of a sample group: integrated and instrumental motives.

1 D. Crystal, *English as a Global Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 20.

2 R.G. Gordon and Ethnologue, *Languages of the World*, 12. 2005. Retrieved from <http://www.ethnologue.com/>.

3 T. Rahman, "Language Policy Multilingualism and Language Vitality in Pakistan", in A. Saxena and Burlin, *Lars Lesser-Known Languages of South Asia* (Berlin & New York: Monston de Gruyter, 2006)

Before British came to the subcontinent, the official language of the Mughals was Persian which was replaced by English and since Persian was the symbol of Muslim rule, Urdu was officially patronized.⁴ Pakistan came into being on August 14, 1947 in result of a political movement. The movement for independence united the Muslims of subcontinent with language and religion. Islam and Urdu became two symbols for integrating Muslims from various regions. In this movement various sects, sub-sects and different schools of thought were unified against the British and the Hindu majority. Urdu was not the mother tongue of the majority of Muslims which later on became a tool of suppression and internal colonization".⁵

The language policy after the British Raj was not different from the pre-partition language policy. The language policy was, in fact, maintenance and continuation of the past. Urdu was declared as the national language and while English, the former elitist language, was permitted to persist as the 'official' language—the language of the power domains.⁶ Language policy was instrumentally functioned by the establishment for pragmatic reasons. The promotion of regional cultures and languages became an impending danger to central government. In the beginning many regional movements insisted for sharing the national resources. The language riots in East Bengal of 1952 were also an expression of a discontented ethnic group. This extreme nationalistic fervour was further aggravated and led to the separation of Bangladesh from Pakistan.⁷ There were eventually more movements of this kind: such as movements in Sindh,

4 T. Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1996), 36-37.

5 T. Rahman, *Language Education and Culture* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

6 T. Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*, 8-9.

7 B. Umar, *The Emergence of Bangladesh: Class Struggles in East Pakistan (1947-1958)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 191-225.

Baluchistan and the NWFP against the despotically powerful and autocratically autonomous centre.⁸

Presently, language is a great marker for class socio-economic and ethnic divisions. English is ranked at the top; Urdu is considered the second in this hierarchy and the indigenous mother tongues of the people are ranked the lowest of all. This policy has been still creating resentment and anger among the members of minority language groups of the provinces and destabilizing the federation. English is still considered as the mouthpiece of Western liberal and progressive standards, and Urdu represents as the Islamic and nationalist language, whereas the vernacular (indigenous and minority) languages are linked to ethnic identity and nationalism. English language is considered as a mean of climbing the social ranking in the modern world. Thus language is a key to understand such intricate political matters as the distribution of supremacy within ethnic groups between social classes, and even between individuals. It is essential to have a language policy that assists the promotion of all the languages of the country. The existing language policy reinforces anxiety of small ethnic groups. This policy has originated antagonism among the members of minority linguistic groups of the provinces and has challenged the federation.⁹

Review of Related Literature

Investigating language attitudes has been one of the very important research areas of sociolinguistics throughout the world: Gardner and Lambert,¹⁰ Gardner,¹¹ Masgoret¹² and

8 T. Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*.

9 *Ibid.*

10 R.C. Gardner, and W.E. Lambert, *Attitudes and Motivation: Second Language Learning* (London: Newbury House, 1972).

11 R.C. Gardner, and W.E. Lambert, *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd, 1985); See Also, R.C. Gardner, *The Attitude Motivation Test Battery: Technical Report* (London: Ontario, Canada, University of Psychology, 1985).

Gardner, Lambert,¹³ Romaine,¹⁴ Spolsky,¹⁵ Hohenthal,¹⁶ Omoregbe,¹⁷ Choi,¹⁸ Ghadessy,¹⁹ Mansoor,²⁰ Gynan,²¹ Al-Haq,²² Adegbija²³ 1994. These researches investigated language attitude with relation to language teaching and learning, language status, language vitality its variants, its speakers, promotion efforts towards maintenance or planning.

Attitudes are vital to the increase or decay of a language. They are also extremely essential to its

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- 12 A. M. Masgoret and R.C. Gardner, *The Attitude Motivation and Language Learning: A Meta Analysis of Studies*, 2003, conducted by Gardner and associates. A Manuscript funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
 - 13 Gardner and Lambert, *Social Psychology and Second Language Learning: The Role of Attitudes and Motivation*.
 - 14 S. Romaine, *Bilingualism* (United Kingdom: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1995).
 - 15 B. Spolsky, *Conditions for Second Language Learning: Introduction to General Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).
 - 16 A. Hohenthal, *Measurement Techniques – What is a Language Attitude?* 2003. Retrieved from <http://www.victorianweb.org/post/india/hohenthal/6.1.html>
 - 17 M.E. Omoregbe, "Language Vitality: The Experience of Edo Community in Nigeria", *Language in India*, 2005. Retrieved from <http://www.languageinindia.com/index.html>.
 - 18 J. Choi, "Language Attitudes and the Future of Bilingualism: The Case of Paraguay", *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 6(2): 2003, 81-93.
 - 19 M. Ghadessy, "A study of four Attitudes and Reading Comprehension of Primary six Students in Singapore". *RELC Journal* 19 (2): 1989, 51-70.
 - 20 S. Mansoor, *Punjabi, Urdu, English in Pakistan. A Sociolinguistics Study* (Karachi: Vanguard Books, 1993).
 - 21 N.S. Gynan, *An Analysis of Language Policy on Attitudinal Change. Official Bilingualism in Paraguay*, 2005. Retrieved from <http://www.ac.wvu.edu/~sngnan/BILX/shift.htm>.
 - 22 F. Al-Haq, "Changes in the Attitudes of Jordanian University Students to the Hebrew Language", *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4(2): 2000, 263-73.
 - 23 E. Adegbija, "English and Indigenous Languages in Kwara State (Nigeria)", in Richard (ed.), *The Bottom Line Attitudinal Factors. Multilingual Journal of Cross-cultural and Inter-Language Communication* (Vol. 13) (Berlin: Weltered Gruyter, Berlin, 1994).

restoration or destruction. Moreover, they are very necessary for maintaining vitality of a language.²⁴

According to Baker, attitudes are very important factors for existence of a particular language in a bilingual language situation. Language attitudes play a vital role in the vitality, shift and loss of a language. Attitudes are such 'learnt' inclinations which are relatively consistent and are modifiable with negative or positive reinforcement.²⁵

Language attitudes play a vital role in the vitality, shift and loss of a language. They are generally categorized into two kinds: The attitude of the speakers toward their own language and the attitude of speakers towards other languages and other language groups. People may have positive, negative or indifferent attitudes.²⁶ The positive language attitude is clear when a language is apparently growing and extending, if it has a large number of speakers, it is performing multiple functions in various domains and it has a script of its own. Negative attitudes to language occur as there are no pleasant and favourable feelings for the usage of the language. When the speakers of that language are shifting towards a majority language and the language have few limited domains.²⁷ Indifferent attitude is present in a language situation when the speakers of that language are nonchalant and unconcerned to their threatened language.²⁸

According to Holmes, language attitudes are liable to socio-political transformation. It can have an immense influence in areas such as education and language

24 M.E. Omoregbe, "Language Vitality: The Experience of Edo Community in Nigeria".

25 C. Baker, *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, Ltd. 1988).

26 Tasaku Tsunoda, *Language Endangerment and Language Revitalization: An Introduction* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006), 59.

27 Omoregbe, "Language Vitality: The Experience of Edo Community in Nigeria".

28 Tsunoda, "Language Endangerment and Language Revitalization".

planning.²⁹ Fasold³⁰ restricts language attitudes investigation primarily to the language and its speakers.

The framework of the present investigation is primarily based on the seminal study of Gardner and Lambert³¹ vis-à-vis the role of language attitude and motivations regarding second language learning. It is primarily concerned with the role of language attitude and motivations and second language learning. The two important motives under investigation, which form and direct the language attitudes, are instrumental and integrative. Instrumental motivation to a proficient speaker is a “passport to prestige and success.”³² Integrative motivation directs a new language learner to integrate with a particular speech community and its culture and traditions.³³ However, it is argued that motivation is not only one of the factors of learning L2. Gardner investigated motivation in strictly controlled environment in the context of foreign language classroom. This investigation, in the context of motivation, was mainly inspired by Mowrer³⁴ whose focal point was on first language acquisition.

Hohenthal³⁵ investigated language attitude and the use of English language in different formal and informal domains in Indian context. English has been a dominating language of subcontinent since colonial days, as it was functioned mostly in the domains of power as an official

29 J. Holmes, *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (London: Longman Group UK Ltd. 1992).

30 R. Fasold, *The Sociolinguistics of Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

31 R.C. Gardner, and W.E. Lambert, *Attitudes and Motivation: Second Language Learning*.

32 R. Ellis, *Understanding Second Language Acquisition* (Oxford: OUP, 1991).

33 L. Loveday, *The Sociolinguistics of Learning and Using a Non-Native Language* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1982).

34 O. H. Mowrer, “On the Psychology of Talking Birds: A Contribution to Language and Personality Theory”, in O.H. Mowrer (ed.), *Learning Theories and Personality Dynamics: Selected Paper* (New York: Ronald Press, 1950), 688-726.

35 Hohenthal, *Measurement Techniques – What is a Language Attitude?* 2003.

language. Presently, in India, its functions have been extended to formal and informal domains tremendously. The reason for English being a diglossiacally high language resides in its colonial past. English has become an emblem of political power and authority. It is the language of administration, media, international market, moderation, science and technology. Language attitudes are closely linked to the motivation a language offers. This study establishes English as the most instrumentally motivating language. The results of the study pointed out that English is closely connected with job market and a chance of bright future. On the other hand Hindi was scored higher for integrative motivation. In India English language has been localized in such a way that it fits innately in this particular language setting.

Language attitudes of Punjabi and Urdu-speaking students have also been investigated in the context of English language learning. Attitude to language and language groups and attitude to learning were also included in this study. Direct and indirect measures have been employed. The investigation explored self, ideal self, language speaking, communities, language background, preferred language as a medium of instruction, motivations and achievement in English language proficiency. The results of the study indicated that Punjabi and Urdu-speaking respondents presented same attitudes for learning English but have different attitude towards their own languages and thus emerged to be subtractive and additive bilingual language learning context. In fact, the results showed that Punjabi students showed integrative motivation for Urdu as a language group, as for the half of the Punjabi sample of the study Urdu has been speaking first language as compared to the Urdu-speaking sample which showed positive attitude towards Urdu, while on the other hand they showed negative attitude towards Punjabis and Punjabi language. Urdu emerged to be a symbol of Pakistani nationalism and integration; it also offered instrumental motivation for less privileged jobs.

The results of the study revealed positive attitudes of Punjabi students towards dominant languages. The study suggested to the language planners to target 'the cultural pluralism' and not 'the assimilation'. It also proposed three languages formula. The official promotion of regional languages might avert the looming tragic loss and assimilation of these languages. Bilingual education in mother tongue and language sustenance agenda is required to safeguard cultural and linguistic diversity of our society.³⁶ This is supported by the study of Gynanin Paraguay.

Similarly, this empirical study has analyzed the impact of language policy on attitudinal change in Paraguay. Spanish language is associated to its colonial past whereas Guarani is the indigenous language spoken largely in Paraguay. In 1967, after a long struggle, Guarani was declared a national language. During the academic session 1994-1995, Guarani was introduced in bilingual education programme. The population was sampled in 1995 and 2001. The survey revealed that this has changed the attitude of Guarani speakers towards their language tremendously.³⁷

Ladegaard³⁸ studied relationship between attitude and sociolinguistic behaviour of 129 teenager male and female students in Denmark. This investigation was conducted at three levels. Firstly, a focused group was recorded, secondly a verbal guise attitude experiment was conducted for eliciting attitude of the group regarding standard and nonstandard of Danish and thirdly the group responded to an attitude measuring questionnaire. The result of the study showed a significant correlation of attitude and sociolinguistic behaviour.

36 Mansoor, *Punjabi, Urdu, English in Pakistan. A Sociolinguistics Study*.

37 Gynan, *An Analysis of Language Policy on Attitudinal Change. Official Bilingualism in Paraguay*, 2005.

38 H.J. Ladegaard, "Language Attitudes and Sociolinguistic Behaviour: Exploring Attitude-Behaviour Relations in Language", *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4 (2), 2000, 214-33.

Vizconde³⁹ conducted a qualitative study in Manila, Philippines. He investigated attitude of teachers regarding their preference for medium of instruction. The result showed teachers' inclination of using both English and Filipino while instructing science and mathematics as these are conceptual oriented subjects and using only one language may not facilitate the teaching learning process. The investigator employed robotfoto⁴⁰ and interview for data collection.

Selection of appropriate attitude measurement techniques have been a very important and imperative subject for various researchers. Sebastian⁴¹ in this regard suggested three assessment techniques for studying language attitudes: 'content analysis of societal treatment, indirect and direct measurement'. In an indirect measurement a speaker exposes his language attitudes. Initially matched-guise was very famous as indirect techniques. In this method the target subject is exposed to different versions of language recordings uttered by the same speaker. The output of the subject is recorded as the 'socio-psychological perception' determining language attitudes. In this regard the direct measurement technique is yet another mode of gauging language attitudes. In this technique language attitudes are investigated by the use of questionnaires. As attitude measurement became more acknowledgeable means of evaluation, researchers are paying attention to specific research tools and several other types of techniques in measuring an individual's attitude, namely: Thurston and Chave, Likert, Guttman's Scalogram Analysis, the Semantic Differential Technique,

39 C. Vizconde, "Attitudes of Student Teachers towards the use of English as Language of Instruction for Science and Mathematics in the Philippines", *The Linguistics Journal*, 1(3), 7-33.

40 G. Kelchtermans and K. Ballet, "The Micropolitics of Teacher Induction: A Narrative Biographical Study on Teacher Socialization", *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 18(107), 2002, 105-20.

41 Richard J. Sebastian, *An Integrative Perspective for the Study of Attitudes Towards Language Variation* (New York: Ryan & Giles, 1982).

the Repertory Grid Technique, Factor Analysis and Sociometry.⁴² Arlin-Hills Attitude Surveys⁴³ and Likert type scale combined with open-ended questions attitude, motivation test battery.⁴⁴

The Present Study

The present study is investigating attitudinal shift across three generations of Pothwari speakers. There is a whole body of researchers which support the inclusion of three generations in the context of language shift and change, i.e., Brenzinger⁴⁵; Edwards⁴⁶; Fase, Jaspert and Kroon⁴⁷; Jones.⁴⁸ Some researchers, on the other hand, consider this an understatement of a problem of serious and intricate nature, i.e., Florey and Engelenhoven.⁴⁹ The attitude of the speakers of that particular language plays an important role in the growth and decay of a language.⁵⁰

42 C. Baker, *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*.

43 M. Ghadessy and M. Nicol, "Attitude Change in Bilingual Education: The Case of Brunei Darussalam", *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 5(2), 2002, 113-28.

44 Masgoret, and Gardner, *The Attitude Motivation and Language Learning: A Meta Analysis of Studies*, 2003.

45 M. Brenzinger, "Language Contact and Language Displacement", in F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 273-84.

46 J.B. Edwards, "Language Diversity Identity", in John Edwards (ed.), *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism* (London: Academic Press, 1984), 277-310.

47 W. Fase, K. Jaspert, and S. Kroon, *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages* (Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing, 1992).

48 M. Jones, *Language Obsolescence and Revitalization: Linguistic Change in Two Sociolinguistically Contrasting Communities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

49 M. Florey, and V.E. Aone, "Language Documentation Programs for Moluccan Languages in Netherlands". *International Journal of the Sociology Languages*, 151: 2001, 195-219.

50 D. Bradley, *Language Attitude: The Key Factor in Language Maintenance*, in Osamu Sakiyama (ed.), 2001, 51-60. See also, H.J. Sasse, "Theory of Language Death", in Brenzinger Matthias (ed.), *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations, with Special Reference to East Africa* (Berlin: 1992), 7-30; Morris Swadesh, "Sociologic Notes on Obsolescent

Hypothesis

As discussed previously, the Pothwari language has been a victim of this attitudinal shift across generations. To test this claim, researchers have formulated the following null and alternative hypothesis:

- 1 H_0 : There is no significant attitudinal shift in the three generations of the Pothwari speakers.
- 2 H_1 : There is a significant attitudinal shift among the three generations of the Pothwari speakers.

Method

The present research is descriptive in nature. The instrument of this study was a questionnaire, which was a modified form of Likert scale for the attitude measurement. It has 20 items. It explores affective/integrative and pragmatic/instrumental dimensions of Pothwari sample. Affective/integrative dimension is related to the emotional affection and association for a language, on the other hand pragmatic/instrumental dimension is concerned with the realistic, practical and rational benefits and advantage of a language. The items analysed were picked up, from Hohenthal's⁵¹ research and afterwards modified and translated. Scoring of the scales was simple. The numerators for rating categories were 1, 2, 3, and 4. Following are the Values of the scales:

1 = I strongly disagree, 2 = I disagree, 3 = I agree and 4 = I strongly agree.

In the first and second-scale, the scores for positive attitude were 4, 3, 2 and 1. In the second scale the scoring remained the same with the exception of question No. 9, 10, 12, 14 and 16 where the scores for positive attitude were inverted and recoded.

Languages". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 14(4): 1948, 226-35.

51 A. Hohenthal, *Measurement Techniques – What is a Language Attitude?* 2003. Retrieved from <http://www.victorianweb.org/post/india/hohenthal/6.1.html>.

The population of this study is the Pothwari speakers of Rawalpindi and Islamabad districts. The locale of the study has been different areas in Rawalpindi e.g. Sadiqabad, Muslim Town and Shakrial, and a village of Federal Area which is adjacent to Islamabad, i.e. Ali Pur Farash. Out of 294 sample size 98 of them belonged to the rural areas. In this regard Purposive Sampling Technique has been implied. The study is based upon the attitudinal shift of the three generations of the Pothwari Speakers; the researcher has selected native Pothwari informants. The total number of informants was 294. To include three generations, the researcher has endeavoured to study these three samples by equal participation of both the genders, thus the study has three samples. The total number of informants was 294. To include three generations, the researcher has endeavoured to study these three samples by equal participation of both genders, thus the study has three samples. The study has equal participation of both the genders (N = 147). The first sample was the first generation of Pothwari speakers. This age slot has males and females from 60 years and above. The second sample was the second generation of Pothwari speakers. This included males and females from 20 to 59 years. The third sample was the third generation consisted of males and females between 13 and 19 years.

Procedure

Research was carried out in three phases. Phase I was composed of translation and modification of questionnaire. In Phase 1, the items of the questionnaire were culturally modified and translated by three translators. All of them were bilinguals. The translations were given to a group of yet another two bilinguals who selected the best items from the three translations. In phase II pilot study and pre-testing of the scales was done to see its appropriateness to the suggested research purpose. The raw scores were then calculated and tabulated for the 50 informants after that the internal consistency of the entire scale was calculated using SPSS version 14. Internal consistency of

the scale was calculated on the basis of the scores of another 50 informants, firstly for English questionnaire and secondly for translated questionnaire. Once the raw scores of the participants were calculated, reliability was measured using Cronbach alpha formula. The output of this analysis is present in the appendix section.

After the reliability of the entire scale was established, the main study commenced, which was the Phase III of the study. The questionnaires were administered and data collection began. The sample of 294 was selected through purposive sampling. The informants were assured that the information collected in this process was to be used for academic reasons and would remain confidential.

Data Analysis

For this hypothesis the responses of 20 questions of the questionnaire were analysed. For this, analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests was carried out to compare average response. In the analysis of variance, two approaches have been employed. Firstly this hypothesis was tested on 20 questions of the questionnaire independently, secondly all twenty questions were combined and the testing was applied. This required recoding of age variable into generation variable so that the three generations might be distinguished. As the table 1 shows that there is a significant shift in the attitude of studied sample. However, questions No. 3, 6, 9, and 16 showed insignificant attitudinal shift.

The figure 1 shows the result of One-Way Analysis of Variance approach 1. The output of the analysis is present in the appendix of the research, which indicates a significant attitudinal shift in studied sample. The result of the table showed that there is a significant and meaningful change of attitude among the three generations of Pothwari speakers

The figure 1 also shows that in most of the cases there is a significant shift in the attitudes of our sample, as the values remained in rejection region both at 5 percent level

of significance which led us to rejection of the null hypothesis. Nevertheless, in some of the cases we were unable to find evidence in favour of our proposed hypothesis on the basis of the sample we have selected for our study.

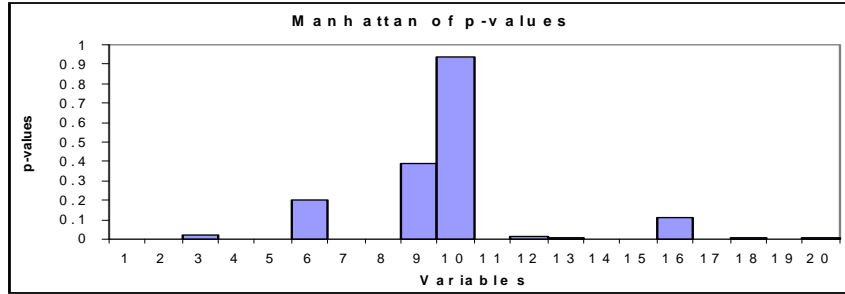


Fig. 1: Results of One-Way Analysis Approach 1(see Appendix).

Table 1: RESULTS OF ONE-WAY ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE, APPROACH II.

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Significance
Between Groups	2887.15	2	1443.57	19.43	.000
Within Groups	21610.99	291	74.26		
Total	24498.13	293			

The Table 1 presents the second approach where all the twenty questions were combined and the testing was applied, which indicates a significant attitudinal shift in the Pothwari sample.

The results (.000) show that there is a significant attitudinal shift in the three generations of the Pothwari speakers. As the survey of literature shows that the attitude change has occurred over the three generations. This change is from positive to negative change.⁵² This may affect the vitality of the Pothwari language. As it is observed that positive change occurs when language appears to be growing with its number of speakers, used in diverse domains and also used in bilingual education.

52 Omoregbe, "Language Vitality".

On the other hand, if no such favourable language situation is present a negative attitude is manifested in a language community.

Discussion

Language has been a troublesome question in Pakistan from its colonial history to sovereignty. This has diversely affected the language setting initially, as it has sustained the societal ladder where ruling influential elite has been dominating and directing the language situation, secondly, it has shaped a restless and frustrated nationalistic groups and thirdly, it has caused particular behaviour pattern in the populace at large and finally it also has various worldwide repercussion. The language planning and policies have been supportive for the promotion of English and Urdu and at the same time regional languages have been kept at the lowest possible level of the social ladder. Education is an effective tool for implementing and execution of the state governed language policies to keep the class distinction. Education policies in this regard become means to attain these objectives. Language policies are, in fact, nothing without the support of education. In Pakistani context, there are at the same time two distinct and diverse education systems to maintain the socio-economic and ethnic divisions. One is for ruling elite and other is for general masses. English and Urdu are used in the subtractive bilingual education where the majority of population has not been educated in the mother tongue. Thus, it creates alienation and separation among the native speakers to their language. These policies have been influencing the behaviour pattern of the people. Present study is also concerned with the attitudes which are manifested through these patterns. It is assumed that there is a change of attitude among the three generations of Pothwari speakers. The objective of the present study was to evaluate the shift in attitude among the three generation of Pothwari speakers. It is believed that the attitudes are not genetically fixed and everlasting

attributes and can be reconditioned and modified by the means of positive experiences and reinforcements.

The sustenance of local and indigenous language in Pakistan is one of the ignored areas. Rahman⁵³ has investigated lesser acknowledged languages of South Asia; however, Pothwari is not included in his study; however, a brief survey is present in his other work.⁵⁴ Pothwari has also been explored recently, in this regard Lothers⁵⁵ have surveyed this variety, and however, attitudes have been included very briefly. The present study, in this regard, is primarily based on attitude study. It was part of my M. Phil thesis.⁵⁶ It is an attempt to show that the possibilities of maintaining the vitality is possible if appropriate measures are taken. The basic inspiration of the present study is to show the possibility for the protection of lesser acknowledged, indigenous minority languages and endangered languages to avert language loss and language shift. There have been various successful experiences of revitalizing dead and ignored languages. As Fishman⁵⁷ believes that the revitalization and protection of minority languages is possible. He provides examples of various successful efforts found around the world as he mentions the revival of Hebrew in Israel, French in Quebec, and Catalan in Spain. According

53 T. Rahman, "Language Policy, Multilingualism and Language Vitality in Pakistan". *Trends in Linguistics: Lesser Known Languages of South Asia*, in A. Saxera and L. Borin (eds.), *Care Studies and Applications of Information Technology* (New York, 2006).

54 T. Rahman, *Language Education and Culture*, 215.

55 Michael Lothers, Laura Lothers, *Pahari and Pothwari: A Sociolinguistic Survey* (Peshawar: Frontier Language Institute, 2007).

56 Uzma Anjum, "A Comparative Study of Attitudinal Shift Among the Three Generations of Potohari Speakers", M. Phil thesis (unpublished) NUML, 2007.

57 J. Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Avon Clevedon, (England: Multilingual Matters Ltd., 1991).

to Reyner,⁵⁸ language attitude is a part of language culture of a society, as it is reflected in this study. Figure 1 and Table 1 reflect attitude of Pothwari speakers and the variation across the three successive generations. These two, in fact, substantiate the underlying assumption of the study. Language attitudes are very important for the vitality and substance of a language. The attitude study of the speakers of a minority language and culture and the pattern of language shift are very important research areas. The study shows that there is a systemic pattern among the three generations of Pothwari speakers. It is observed that over the three generations there is a gradual and significant shift of attitude from positive to negative attitude. Such changes emerge when the speakers of local languages practically and pragmatically foresee upwards social mobility by acquiring majority and mainstream languages. Gardner and Lambert⁵⁹ have researched on the role of motivation to learn L2 with reference to learner's attitude towards L2 community and the ambitions to upwards social mobility. However, the present research has studied these orientations with relation to the mother tongue of this particular speech community. The results have shown that group has undergone a significant attitude change. This situation indicates a trend of acculturation.⁶⁰ The third generation sample felt embarrassed to speak Pothwari in front of its peer group. Data showed that third generation sample did not strongly identify itself with Pothwari. For them Pothwari did not offer advantage in seeking good job opportunities.

58 J. Reyner, *Maintaining and Renewing Native Languages: Teaching Indigenous Languages, Northern Arizona University, 2005*. Retrieved from <http://www.ncela.gwu.edu/pubs/nabe/brj/>.

59 R.C. Gardner and W.E. Lambert, "Motivational Variables in Second Language Acquisition". *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, 13: 1959, 266-72.

60 P. Ball and H. Giles, "Speech Style and Employment Selection: The Matched-guise Technique", in Glynis M. Breakwell, Hugh Foot and Robin Gilmour (eds.) *Social Psychology: A Practical Manual* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 101-22.

Rahman⁶¹ states that although this shift is known as voluntary shift but it is not, in fact, voluntary. It is caused by the different market forces which compel a language to become a language deficit; in such a scenario the native speakers discourage their own children from learning their minority language.

The change of attitude regarding a language is in the direct relationship with various decisions of a society regarding the placement of different languages and active worldwide interactions. As it is understood that elitism is a social manipulation of the upper most and the most influential section of the society. This group not only controls the different resources of the society but also exploits and takes advantage of them for its own benefit and strength. In this particular context, the ruling elite class consists of some sections of feudal lords, industrialists, and military and civil bureaucracy. These groups provide organized and institutionalized support to sustain their hegemony to control the masses and use language as a tool. They influence, legislation, education; print and electronic media to perpetuate the hierarchical class system.

Globalization is basically linked to the global trade, multinational companies and their network throughout the world and worldwide cooperate business. The majority and mainstream languages are languages of education, media, law, administration, trade and economy. In this present epoch when the world has become global village proficiency and fluency in these languages is essential on the international/national level and individual level. In these circumstances the status of local languages is at a great risk. In this way language situation is affected by the ruling elites with the language use in a particular direction and the forces of globalization which entice the use of few majority languages.

61 T. Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

The current study, in fact, indicates degraded self-perception of a language community in direct consequence of the described linguistic scene. Such situations cause serious consequences to the multiplicity and variety of languages and cultures of a society. Maintenance and future viability of this indigenous and local language in this scenario is at risk. Fishman⁶² cautioned such a language situation, where for the sake of social and economic advantages and the high prestige of majority language the speakers of lesser acknowledged languages tend to look down upon their own minority language. A minority language may diminish within two or three generations except bilingual education and other safeguards suggested by UNESCO (Ad-hoc Expert Group⁶³ on Endangered Languages) can not only create language speakers who may find everyday interactions for that language but also further the usage of language . This attitude can have a serious consequence on the destiny of a language. This situation may lead to language death, Denison⁶⁴ language shift, or linguistic loss.⁶⁵ Most of the informants showed their preference for English and Urdu, for these languages have high social approval as compared to Pothwari. Pothwari is a diglossiacally low variety. It does not bestow 'social status' and only offers 'in-group solidarity' to the speakers.

62 J. Fishman, *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* (England: Multilingual Matters, 1991).

63 Brenzinger, M., *et al.* Language Vitality and Endangerment: UNESCO Document. Language Vitality & Endangerment, International Expert meeting UNESCO programme safeguarding endangered languages, Paris, 2003. Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/00129-EN>.

64 J. Denison, "Language Death or Language Suicide", *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 12: 1977, 13-22.

65 J. Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).

Rahman⁶⁶ suggested that English should be introduced in education as a tool to maintain social hierarchy and thus it will cease to be a social marker. It will not only equip the masses for modern and scientific knowledge but will also provide with alternative world view. They will understand the value of human rights, women rights and most importantly the worth of harmony, peace and tolerance. At the same time instruction in Urdu and other indigenous languages preserve the local cultures and languages. It will also reinforce them against the globalization and the imperialism of English. It is important to teach English but not at the cost of the indigenous culture and local languages, in such a way that it does not remain a marker of social prestige. Although English has been taught in early schooling in almost every province, however, the methodologies and syllabi in this regards are out-dated, thus fail to teach it as a number of skills. English is encroached upon a child when he enters the school he/she resorts to cramming. On the other hand, in the well-recognised private school systems English is taught as a skill keeping in view the cognitive needs of the specific age group.

This discrepancy between these parallel education systems covertly keeps the distinction of elite ruling class and cognitively inferior incurious masses. They are nurtured, by design, to be controllable, unproblematic and easy to rule.⁶⁷

Conclusion

The study of language attitudes is an imperative area because such an enquiry establishes the position and function of various languages in a social set up; moreover, the language attitudes play a significant role in the decay and growth of a language. Due to socioeconomic and political benefits, national and international trends

66 T. Rahman, *Language and Politics in Pakistan*.

67 S. Siddique. *Education Inequalities, and Freedom: A Sociopolitical Critique* (Islamabad: Narratives, 2012).

speakers of minority and local languages tend to shift towards mainstream languages: languages which ensure upwards social and financial mobility for them and their new generations, on the other hand their languages lack this sort of motivation. Thus the shift of attitude takes a language toward language shift and takes it to language loss. As it is an established fact that linguistic diversity is closely related to cognitive diversity of a society and loss of one is the loss of the whole society. In the present scenario it is essential to maintain and preserve this language for the next generations, which will not only transport them to the past but also uplift their self image and lead them to the successful and jovial life.

APPENDIX-A**Attitudes (English version of the questionnaire)**

Please tick the appropriate number from 1 to 4, depending on how much you agree/disagree with the statement

1=I strongly disagree, 2=I disagree 3=I agree, 4=I strongly agree.

Statement	1	2	3	4
1. I like speaking Pothwari.				
2. Speaking Pothwari is an advantage.				
3. I prefer using my mother tongue in most situations, whenever possible.				
4. I prefer using Pothwari in all situations, whenever possible.				
5. I think it's important to maintain Pothwari to enable Pakistan to develop.				
6. We owe it to our forefathers to try to preserve the mother tongue of our people.				
7. I strongly identify myself with my mother tongue, and the group that speaks it.				
8. Pothwari offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities.				
9. For a better job I need to know either Urdu or English, not Pothwari.				
10. Mostly my language is not rated high by people speaking other languages.				
11. If I had to choose whether my child would be educated in the medium of Pothwari or Urdu/English, I would				

definitely choose Pothwari.				
12. Pothwari is less useful to know than English/Urdu.				
13. I feel proud to say I can speak Pothwari.				
14. Most children resent learning Pothwari.				
15. The status of Pothwari is higher than that of any other language for me.				
16. I would feel embarrassed if I speak Pothwari in front of my friends.				
17. By speaking Pothwari I show commitment to my people.				
18. Without the knowledge of Pothwari, I would miss out many rewarding and enjoyable parts of culture, such as folk music and indigenous literature.				
19. On the whole, I can say that Pothwari has been and continues to be an advantage to my people.				
20. Pothwari makes up a significant part of our history and identity.				

APPENDIX-B**Attitude Reliability English Version of Questionnaire
Reliability Statistics**

Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
.678	20

**Reliability Urdu Version of Questionnaire
Reliability Statistics**

Cronbach's Alpha	No. of Items
.820	20

APPENDIX-C**One-Way Analysis Approach 1**

S.N.		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1.	Between Groups	9.061	2	4.531	9.770	.000
	Within Groups	134.939	291	.464		
	Total	144.000	293			
2.	Between Groups	13.796	2	6.898	12.646	.000
	Within Groups	158.724	291	.545		
	Total	172.520	293			
3.	Between Groups	46.741	2	23.371	4.043	.019
	Within Groups	1681.969	291	5.780		
	Total	1728.711	293			
4.	Between Groups	14.755	2	7.378	13.874	.000
	Within Groups	154.745	291	.532		
	Total	169.500	293			
5.	Between Groups	61.612	2	30.806	8.044	.000
	Within Groups	1114.388	291	3.830		
	Total	1176.000	293			
6.	Between Groups	1.435	2	.718	1.620	.200
	Within Groups	128.918	291	.443		
	Total	130.354	293			
7.	Between Groups	12.293	2	6.146	13.663	.000
	Within Groups	130.908	291	.450		
	Total	143.201	293			
8.	Between Groups	12.905	2	6.452	11.305	.000
	Within Groups	166.092	291	.571		
	Total	178.997	293			

S.N.		Sum of Squares	DI	Mean Square	F	Sig.
9.	Between Groups	6.796	2	3.398	.954	.386
	Within Groups	1036.143	291	3.561		
	Total	1042.939	293			
10.	Between Groups	.456	2	.228	.067	.935
	Within Groups	992.827	291	3.412		
	Total	993.282	293			
11.	Between Groups	8.714	2	4.357	7.166	.001
	Within Groups	176.949	291	.608		
	Total	185.663	293			
12.	Between Groups	2.905	2	1.452	4.183	.016
	Within Groups	101.041	291	.347		
	Total	103.946	293			
13.	Between Groups	4.429	2	2.214	5.571	.004
	Within Groups	115.653	291	.397		
	Total	120.082	293			
14.	Between Groups	5.469	2	2.735	6.504	.002
	Within Groups	122.357	291	.420		
	Total	128.827	293			
15.	Between Groups	17.599	2	8.799	17.023	.000
	Within Groups	150.418	291	.517		
	Total	168.017	293			
16.	Between Groups	3.313	2	1.656	2.191	.114
	Within Groups	220.020	291	.756		
	Total	223.333	293			
17.	Between Groups	11.476	2	5.738	13.931	.000
	Within Groups	119.857	291	.412		
	Total	131.333	293			
18.	Between Groups	6.170	2	3.085	5.866	.003
	Within Groups	153.031	291	.526		
	Total	159.201	293			
19.	Between Groups	9.721	2	4.861	10.141	.000
	Within Groups	139.480	291	.479		
	Total	149.201	293			
20.	Between Groups	4.252	2	2.126	5.308	.005
	Within Groups	116.551	291	.401		
	Total	120.803	293			