TWO DIALECTS ONE REGION:

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC APPROACH TO DIALECTS AS IDENTITY MARKERS

A RESEARCH PAPER

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF ARTS

BY

ASHER JOHN

ADVISOR: DR. CAROLYN J. MACKAY

BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

MUNCIE, INDIANA

JULY 2009

ABSTRACT

RESEARCH PAPER: Two Dialects One Region: A Sociolinguistic Approach to Dialects as Identity Markers

STUDENT: Asher John

DEGREE: Master of Arts

COLLEGE: Sciences and Humanities

Date: July, 2009

Pages: 105

Communities with different regional and dialect backgrounds come in contact in newly settled areas but maintain their respective dialects and these dialects become strong identity markers for them. The paper focuses on the differences in lexical, phonological and morpho-syntactic features of two adjacent villages (A & B) in Punjab, Pakistan.

These villages are situated in District Sahiwal of Pakistani Punjab. People living in Village A belong to the Christian community who settled in the present village in early 1920s. These people come from different districts of north-eastern Punjab. People in Village B are Muslims and migrated from district Kasur and its surrounding areas to the present location in the early decades of 20^{th} century.

This study is the first of its kind and can be used as a pilot for the future studies of dialect surveys in the district and province. The goal of this project is to describe the most salient differences between the two dialects. I hypothesize that after one hundred years of

living in the same area and in close proximity, villages A & B still use very distinct features of speech which are related to their original dialects and *bradaries* ‘tribes’. It will provide some very useful information about the dialects spoken in both the speech communities.

Differences in the use of specific linguistic features were analyzed from unstructured conversations from both the villages. Three age groups from each village were recorded with each group consisting of 3-4 men. The presence of differences at the lexical, phonological and morpho-syntactic levels in each dialect was described. Differences at phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic level were salient in the speech of both the communities.

TO

MY PARENTS

WHO HAVE BEEN AND WILL BE

BEHIND EVERY ACHIEVEMENT AND ACCOMPLISHMENT

IN MY LIFE.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This project is an outcome of my love and passion for my *mãã boli* 'mother tongue' Punjabi. The project is a humble effort towards the fulfillment of the desire to understand and describe this great language. Punjabi is a language on decline in Pakistani Punjab and is getting a "step motherly" treatment from its own speakers. This situation has always been a dilemma for me and I always had had a desire to do something for my language. This study is a small step towards this direction. I am sure that studies like this will not only add to the knowledge and information about Punjabi but will also help the language gain its legitimate and deserving status in Pakistan. I hope that there will be many studies like this in the future.

There are many people who helped me in completing this project. The first and foremost in this list is Dr. Carolyn J. Mackay. My sincerest and deepest thanks to you Dr. Mackay because without your continuous guidance, thoroughness, understanding and encouragement this project would not have materialized. I also want to thank my whole family, especially my father and my brothers, who helped me in collecting the data. I want to thank Ashley Ellison who read and corrected my first scripts. I also want to thank Claudia Peltz who helped in drawing and coloring all the maps. My thanks to all the friends, who helped and supported me in completing this project. My special thanks to Elena and Hira who motivated and encouraged me at every step while I was working on this paper. I also want to thank all my teachers and friends who have been a constant source of support, encouragement and inspiration in my life.

1. Introduction

Language plays an important role in our lives and often becomes the very symbol of our religious, cultural, and social identity. Joseph (2004 p.13) calls language and identity inseparable entities. The issue of interaction between language and identity has been discussed at length and linguistic and ethnic identity has always been an integral part of our social and cultural life (Rahman 2002 p. 1).

This paper hypothesizes that a dialect and its linguistic features continue to be strong identity markers for a particular community even when people from one dialect community come in close contact with other dialect communities as a result of migration and resettlement patterns. This project focuses on the differences in lexical, phonological and morpho-syntactic features of two adjacent villages (Chak[1] # 8/11-L (Village A) and Chak # 10/11-L (Village B). These villages are situated in District Sahiwal of Pakistani Punjab. People living in Village A belong to Christian community and come from different districts in north-eastern Punjab. People living in Village B are Muslims and

[1] 'Chak' is Village in Punjabi. Villages in the newly settled areas of Punjab have numbers rather than names.

belong to Dogar[2] *bradari*[3] and come from district Kasur, which is situated in the north-eastern parts of Pakistani Punjab.

This study is a first of its kind and can be used as a pilot for the future dialect surveys in the district and province. Being a native speaker of the language I am passionately interested in knowing more about my own language and this is one of many reasons for initiating this. This research will add information about the phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic aspects of both the dialects.

1.1 Objectives

Linguistic features of a particular dialect are strong identity markers for the speech community. These features are retained and adhered to even when communities come across other speech communities as a result of migration and resettlement in new areas. Contrary to the common belief that a dialect is closely linked to geographic areas, new settlement areas present an interesting picture of dialect diversity. Communities with different regional and dialect backgrounds come in contact in these newly settled areas but maintain their respective dialects and these dialects become strong identity markers for them.

The goal of this project is to describe the most salient differences between the two dialects. I hypothesize that after one hundred years of living in the same area and in close proximity, villages A & B still use very distinct features of speech which are related to their original dialects and *bradaries* (in case of Village B). Village A has developed its

[2] Dogar is a Muslim Punjabi tribe, the word Dogar is also used as a surname by the members of the tribe.
[3] *bradari* is literally brotherhood but here it means community or tribe.

own dialect which is markedly different from those of surrounding villages, which all belong to a specific *bradri*.

1. I hypothesize that there are significant differences at the lexical level. For example for the phrase "along with" the Dogar *bradari* uses the phrase "*maN*[4]*ay maNay",* while the Christian Community uses the phrase "N*aL NaL".* Other examples in this regard are *kapray* vs. *leRe* 'clothes', *kuRta* vs. *chagga* 'shirt', *khota* vs. *gadein* 'donkey', and *thokar* vs. *gado puli* 'dam in the canal' for village A and B respectively.
2. I hypothesize that at the phonological level variation is found in the pronunciation of the words given in the table below:

Village A	Village B
[pɔːt] (dig up, up root)	[pat](dig up, up root)
[sɔːt] (throw)	[sat] (throw)
[ʧɔːk] (lift)	[ʧak] (lift)

Table 1.1

3. I hypothesize that the following differences will be observed at the morpho-syntactic level. The people in village B add an extra syllable *[va]* in some verbs. The examples of such verbs are given below

[4] The capital letters refer to retroflex sounds.

Village A	Village B
laNi ‘apply’ f.s.[5]	lavaNi
paNi ‘insert’ f.s.	pavaNi

Table 1.2

Variations in compound verbs can also be found in the speech of both the villages. Speakers in village A will add the explicator verb *lai* ‘take’ and *Dai* ‘involved’ after the main verb, while speakers in village B will add the explicator *khalay* ‘stand’ after the main verb. In other cases speakers in village A use the explicator *jaNa* ‘go’, while speakers in village B use *hoNa* ‘to be’ for the same purpose. Other differences in verbs are between *karan* ‘do’ and *kiti* ‘did’, *tapi* ‘jumped’ and *tap* ‘jump’ and *paRia* ‘read’ (past) and *paR* ‘read’ (imperative) for village A and B respectively.

The following table shows these variations in their syntactic context:

[5] f.s. feminine singular

Village A	Village B
mang lai ai. ask Take f.s. Is have asked.	mangi khalay aa. ask f.s. stand m.p.[6] are have asked.
banaia ai. make past. m.s.[7] is. have made.	Banai khala ai make past f.s. stand m.s. is. have made.
karan dai jo do (infinitve) auxiliary you are doing.	kiti khalay jay do past. Stand m.p. past aux. you are doing.
nei tapi jaNi no jump over f.s. go infinit. fs. cannot jump over.	nei tap hoNi no jump over f.s. to be infiniti. f.s. cannot jump over.
nei paRia jaNa no read m.s. go infinit. m.s cannot read.	nei paR hoNa no Read to be infinit. m.s. cannot read.
Chala gia leave past. m.s. go past m.s. has gone.	Gia chala go past m.s. leave past. m.s. has gone.

Table 1.3

[6] m.p. masculine plural
[7] m.s. masculine singular

1.2 Background Information

Language has always been a source of identity in pre-modern India. Communities were divided into different tribes and *bradaries* 'brotherhood'. These tribes lived in their exclusive areas and the languages they spoke were known by their local names. The advent of British rule and modernity in India made the standard/regional language an important symbol of identity. Modernity increased interaction between people and most of this interaction was through either oral or written language and hence language continued to be manipulated as a powerful symbol of identity (Rahman 1997 p. 834).

Punjabi is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. According to a rough estimate it is spoken by more than 100 million people in the world. It is called the language of Punjab- the land of five rivers- of northern India and Pakistan. Punjabi is the language of the majority of the population in Pakistan, yet it has no official status and is neither taught nor encouraged in Pakistani Punjab (Rahman 1997 p. 838). The situation on the Indian side is quite different; Punjabi is one of the official languages of the Indian state of Punjab.

Punjabi is a New Indo-Aryan language (Bhattia 1993, Tolstaya 1981). The dialects which are traditionally recognized both by researchers and the common man on the street are numerous, and maybe this is one of the reasons that in spite of its vast number of speakers, Punjabi has not risen to the status of a politically powerful language. Majhi, Doabi Malvai, and Puadhi are considered to be the main dialects of Punjabi (Bhattia 1993, Dulai 1989, Tolstaya 1981).

This study focuses on two dialects of Punjabi. These dialects are spoken in two villages, Chak # 8/11-L (Village A) and Chak # 10/11-L (Village B), that are situated within one kilometer of each other. These villages are situated in Tehsil (sub district) Chicha Watni of District Sahiwal (old name Montogomary), Punjab, Pakistan.

People living in Village A are Christians who come from different districts in north-eastern Punjab. They do not belong to a specific *bradari* or dialect area but after living for almost ninety years in the same village have developed a dialect of their own. The population of this village is around 2000 and most of the people in this village are laborers who work for daily wages at different places. A significant number of people are attached to farming as well. Village B comprises a population of 5000. Most of the people in the village belong to Dogar *bradari* and come from district Kasur, which is situated in the north-eastern part of Pakistani Punjab. Almost all the people in this village are adherents of Islam.

1.3 Significance of Research

Pakistan is a multilingual country, according to a rough estimate there are 72 languages spoken in Pakistan[8]. But due to many social, economic and political factors these languages are not given the attention they deserve. Punjabi is the language of the majority (45%) of the Pakistanis but it is one of the most neglected languages in Pakistan (Rahman 2007). Urdu which is the first language of only 10% of population was declared the national language in 1947 at the time of the birth of the country. The nation building

[8] http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=PK.

process harmed the regional and local languages and as a result many languages died or were abandoned (Rahman 2007).

Punjabi is one of the most affected languages in this situation, although it is still spoken by 45% people, it has no official status in the country. It is treated as the language of the ignorant by those who consider themselves educated or belong to the elite of the country (Rahman 1997). It is not being taught or encouraged in Pakistani Punjab. Keeping in mind the plight of the Punjabi language by its own speakers in Pakistani Punjab, the importance and worth of this type of dialect research cannot be over exaggerated.

Studies like this can be the first step in the documentation of Punjabi dialects. The study will not only have academic value but will also help in eradicating misconceptions about the language. The study is first of its kind in Pakistani Punjab and can add much to the knowledge about this under-studied language. The study can be a pilot for a bigger project which might be overtaken by the researcher in future. Documentation of specific features of the two dialects under study will open new options for studying the language and its dialects. The study will add useful data to the poverty stricken corpus of Punjabi linguistics in Pakistan.

1.4 Methodology

Unstructured conversations from both villages were recorded for the study. Three different groups from each village were recorded. Each group consisted of 3-4 men. The main reason for just selecting men is cultural. It is difficult and often impossible for a

male researcher to record women. The groups were formed on the basis of age. Group I comprised of men above 50, group II included adults ranging from ages 25-40 and group III consisted of young adults ranging from ages 18-25. The reasons for forming groups on the basis of ages are as follows:

Most of the men in these communities who are in their fifties or above are illiterate. They usually do not travel much outside the villages. Most of them are farmers and have spent all their lives farming in the same village. They are a good target for determining how much they preserve of the original dialect of their immediate ancestors who were the first settlers in this area. Group II is the group which includes some educated people who have been out in the world, exposed to other dialects and communities. It will be informative to see that how much they have retained of the original dialect. Group III consists of the young adults who are at school at this time. They represent the new generation. These youngsters watch TV, use computers and have cell phones so it will be quite informative to observe their speech.

The data will be analyzed to document the presence of differences at the lexical, phonological and morpho-syntactic levels. It is expected that linguistic features associated with each village are used to identify the speakers as belonging to their speech communities.

2. Background Information

2.1 Punjab (the region)

The word Punjab is comprised of two Persian words: *Punj* (five) and *Ab* (water). The word 'water' represents the five rivers which flow through the province and that is why it is called the land of five rivers. The region which has traditionally and historically been referred to as Greater Punjab lies across the border between India and Pakistan (Please see map 1). The region can also be called the birth place of civilization, as 400,000 year old human remains have been found in the Pothohar area of Punjab (Alchin & Alchin 1968 p. 21, Mackay 1983 p. 5). Harappa, one of the main centers of civilization 5000 years ago, is also situated in the Punjab.

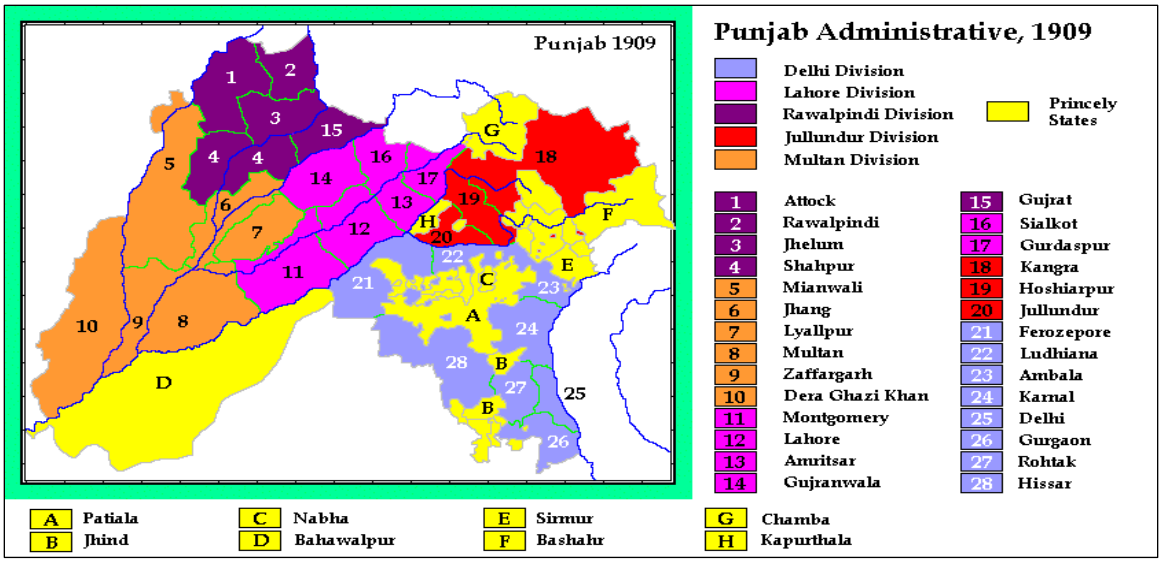
Punjab has a long history and its rich cultural heritage is second to none in the world. The cultural heritage can be seen in local fairs, festivals and in the rituals and customs of marriages and deaths. The people of the Punjab are called Punjabis and their language is also called Punjabi. Punjabis are peace loving nation and that is why Punjab is called the land of love and peace. The main religions of the Punjab region are Islam,

Sikhism and Hinduism, a small portion of the population is adherent of Christianity. Punjab is one of the most fertile lands in the world and most of its inhabitants are farmers and agriculturalists.

Map 1: United India 1909

The name *Punjab* was first used during the Mughal rule (16th Century AD) in India. Before this the region which is called Punjab had different names. Sometimes it was called Lahore province (after the biggest city Lahore) or the Multan Province after the southern city Multan which was once the center of art and literature in this region. The Punjab is a linguistic area and it is well defined in relation to Dardic in the north, to Pashto in the west and Sindhi in the south west. The boundaries on the east are not very well defined because of Hindi/Urdu heart land. (Shackle 2003 p. 583)

For thousands of years the Punjab has been populated by Indo-Aryan speaking peoples. The region has been ruled by many different empires and ethnic groups, which include Hindus, Jains, Buddhists, ancient Macedonians, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Mughals, Afghans, Balochis, Sikhs and British. The Punjab was one of the richest and biggest provinces of India under the British Raj. It was also called the bread basket of India because of its fertile land and good yield in crops like wheat and corn. The province was divided into 5 divisions and 28 districts under the British Raj. (Please see map 2 below)



Map 2: Punjab in United India (1909)

The region has witnessed many political, social and demographic changes throughout its history. The most recent and maybe the bloodiest one was in 1947 when the province was partitioned between British India's successor states Pakistan and India. This was perhaps the darkest time in the long history of Punjab. It was a time when neighbors turned against their neighbors just because they belonged to a different religious community. Almost a million people were killed in the violence and riots during August and September 1947. That year also saw the great province of Punjab divided into two and each part becoming a province of a different sovereign state. The eastern part which had majority of Hindus and Sikhs went to India and the western part which had a Muslim majority went to Pakistan.

The larger part (55%) of the region became part of Pakistan (Please see map 3). The remaining 45 % went to India. The Indian Government further sub-divided Punjab into the states of Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi (Please see map 4). This division was based on linguistic lines.

The Pakistani part of the region covers an area of 205,344 square kilometers (79,284 square miles), whereas the Indian State of Punjab is 50,362 square kilometers (19,445 square miles). The populations of the region are similarly divided with 86,084,000 (2008) in West Punjab (Pakistan) and 24,289,296 (2000) in the present-day State of (East) Punjab (India) and another 30 million in the rest of the region. The capital city of undivided Punjab was Lahore, which now sits close to the border between India and Pakistan as the capital of Pakistani Punjab. Chandigarh is the capital of the Indian Punjab.

Map 3: Pakistan Political/ Administrative (2009)

Map 4: India Political/Administrative (2009)

2.2 The Language

Punjabi is an Indo-Aryan language (Bhattia 1993, Tolstaya 1981). Some scholars are of the opinion that Punjabi belongs to the outer circle of Indo-Aryan languages

(Chatterji 1942). It is one of the most widely spoken languages in the world. Punjabi is spoken by more than 100 million people throughout the world. Punjabi is called the language of Punjab- the land of five rivers- of northern India and Pakistan (Bhattia 1993, Tolstaya 1981). Almost 75 million (44.5% of the population) people speak the language in Pakistan (Rahman 2007). Almost 30 million people, the majority of whom belong to the Sikh community, speak the language in India (Bhattia 1993, Kaul & Bala 1992). It is also spoken in countries like the UK, Canada and USA (Bhattia 93, Kaul & Bala 1992).

Although Punjabi is the language of the majority of the population in Pakistan, it has no official status and is neither taught nor encouraged in Pakistani Punjab (Rahman 1997). This situation can be traced back to the division of India between India and Pakistan. British India was divided into two sovereign states, India and Pakistan, on August 15, 1947. Long before this partition, Punjabi Muslims had started affiliating themselves with Urdu and largely ignored their native language (Shackle 2003 p. 585).

After the partition some Punjabi intellectuals in Lahore, Pakistan started a movement for the revival of Punjabi. This movement succeeded in getting Punjabi included as an optional subject at high school level in Punjab since 1970 (Rahman 2007). However in spite of being the language of the majority of Pakistanis the language is neither taught at elementary level nor does it have any official status (Rahman 2007). Punjabi children learn to read and write in Urdu or English (in the case of English medium schools). The situation on the Indian side is quite different: Punjabi is one of the official languages of the Indian states of Punjab and Haryana (Bhattia 1993, Kaul & Bala 1992, http://punjabgovt.nic.in/). It is also the medium of instruction at the primary level.

Punjabi University Patiala, set up by the government of Indian Punjab, is contributing much to promote Punjabi literature, language and linguistics.

2.2.1 History of the Language: Punjabi is an old and ancient language and there are many theories about the evolution of the language. But four of them are quite popular with scholars and linguists.

The first theory is that Punjabi has descended from old Sanskrit. According to this theory Sanskrit evolved from Vedic languages. These were the sacred languages of the Aryan invaders who migrated to India from Europe and Central Asia 5000 years ago. Aryans were nomadic people and they came to India looking for greener pastures to graze their animal herds. According to scholars like (Bhattia 1993), (Tolstaya 1981), (Kaul & Bala 1992) and (Gimmi 1991) these Vedic languages gave birth to Sanskrit and Punjabi evolved from Sanskrit. The languages which evolved from Sanskrit were called *Prakrits*, which literally means "the language of rustic or rural people". Punjabi evolved from one of these *Prakrits*. This is a theory which is supported by many Indian, European and American linguists (Bhattia 1993, Tolstaya 1981, Kaul & Bala 1992 Gimmi 1991).

The second theory is that when Aryans came to India their language came in contact with the local languages and new language Punjabi emerged from this contact situation. According to the theory, Punjabi is a direct offshoot of Vedic languages and it evolved simultaneously with Sanskrit but with the passage of time Sanskrit became the language of clergy and Punjabi or *Prakrit* became the language of common man living in rural areas; hence the name *Prakrit* (Gimmi 1991).

The third theory is that Punjabi belongs to Munda family of languages and it evolved after a long contact situation between Mundari and Dravidian languages. This theory has been presented by a Pakistani linguist Ain- ul- Haq Farid Koti, but is not held by many scholars. The theory lacks scientific and objective evidence. Most of the findings are based on some lexical similarities between Punjabi, Mundari and Dravidian languages. The writer may have been swayed by his nationalistic ideologies rather than objective analysis. This theory is also called 'the Pakistani theory' (Faridkoti 1996, Gimmi 1991).

A Pakistani scholar Asif Khan (1996) proposed that Punjabi is neither Mundari nor an off shoot of Sanskrit but is an independent language which is older than Mundari or Dravidian languages. This theory has also been rejected by most scholars and linguists. Khan has gone as far as calling Punjabi the oldest and most ancient language of India, but has failed to provide any empirical data to support his theory (Khan 1996).

The first theory is considered the most plausible and most scholars agree that Punjabi has descended from Sanskrit which itself evolved from the Vedic languages. Since times ancient Punjabi has been called by different names and titles. Some of these names are given below as well as the reasons for the names. These names were not affiliated to any particular dialect but rather were nomenclatures for the language which was spoken in the region called greater Punjab today. One of the names 'Multani' was later affiliated with a dialect. The people speaking this dialect did not like this title and today it is called Saraiki and is recognized as a separate language (Shackle 2003). Some of these ancient names and the reasons for names are given below:

Pali: Pali was the ancient language of Buddhist scriptures. Many writers and linguists call it the earliest form of Punjabi (Tolstaya 1981, Faridkoti 1996, Gimmi 1991).

Jatki: Jats are a large tribe in the Punjab region, and they speak Punjabi, so with this reference it has also been called *Jatki*, which literally means 'the language of the Jats' (Gimmi 1991).

Multani: When Muslim Invaders invaded India in 712 AD they came north to the region called Multan and called its language Multani, which means the language of Multan. Abu-ul Fazal, a minister in Emperor Akbar's court during 16th century, also calls this language Multani and this name was used for a long time for Punjabi (Koul & Bala 1992, Gimmi 1991).

Lahori: Once Lahore became the center of arts and culture the language came to be known as Lahori.

Some scholars are of the view that Afghan Invaders called Punjabi Hindko, Hindi or Hindvi. The present name Punjabi was used for the first time during the Mughal era in late 16th century.

A strong and lasting literary tradition in Punjabi started with Baba Farid Gunj Shakar (1173-1266), who was a *Sufi* 'mystic' and reformer (Bhattia 1993, Koul & Bala 1992, Shackle 1970). Most of the literature created in Punjabi from 12th to 16th century was spiritual and oral. Baba Guru Nanak (1469-1539), the first Guru of Sikhism revived the written tradition of Punjabi literature in 16th century (Bhattia 1993, Koul & Bala 1992, Tolstaya 1981). The period spanning from 16th century to 19th century AD is

considered the golden age of Punjabi literature, in spite of the fact that little literature was created during this time, nevertheless the greatest Punjabi literature of all times was written during this period.

The reason for the scarcity of the Punjabi literature in this age can be attributed to the lack of agreement on a standard dialect by Punjabis (Shackle 1970). Most of the literature was created by Muslim mystic (Sufi) poets. Some of the literary giants of this era are Shah Hussain (1539-1599), Sultan Bahu (1629-1690), Bulleh Shah (1680-1758), waris Shah (1722-1798), Mian Muhammad (1830-1904) and Khawaja Farid (1841-1901). Most of their writings were directed towards the common folks and addressed their day to day life. These poets were not only instructing people to live a better life but they also tried to stop the excesses and misdeeds of the government and its officials through their writings.

The great Punjabi poets did not only write spiritual and reformative poetry but also wrote some of the greatest love stories. The most famous of these epic tales of love is *Heer Ranjha* by Waris Shah, this tale is considered the crown of Punjabi literature, and the language used in it is considered the best example of 'purest' Punjabi (Bhattia 1993). Some other famous love poems are *Sassi Punun, Mirza Sahiban* and *Sohni Mahiwal*. These poems have become the very part of folk lore and culture of Punjab and are still read and sung by the people with great respect, enthusiasm and devotion on different occasions.

2.2.2 Scripts: Punjabi remained a spoken language for a long time in its earlier stages and was spoken by the people who lived in the countryside and no written records of its

earlier times are available (Shackle 2003, Bhatia 1993, Rahman 1997). The first written records date back to 11th century AD (Bhattia 1993). Tolstaya (1981) traces the first Punjabi written form to the Buddhist religious writings by the Yoga and Natha sects in 9th century AD. Punjabi is primarily written in three distinct scripts which are Gurmukhi, Devnagri, and Shahmukhi (Perso-Arabic)) (Bhattia 1993, Kaul & Bala 1992, Tolstaya 1981). This script distribution is very interesting because each script is affiliated to a different religious community (Shackle 2003, Jain 2003). The scripts and their religious affiliations are given in the following paragraphs:

Gurumukhi: The script used to write Punjabi before Gurumukhi script was called *LaNDa* 'clipped', which is very close to Mahajani writing system of North India (Bhattia 1993, Shackle 2003). Guru Angad Dev observed the inadequacies of this script (it had a tendency to omit vowels), and modified the Devnagri script for recording the Sikh scriptures. Gurumukhi, which means 'from the mouth of the Guru' (teacher), is used by the Sikhs. The script was developed by the second Sikh Guru, Angad Dev, during 16th century. Adi Garanth sahib, the holy book of Sikhs, has also been written in this script. This script is syllabic in nature and is written from left to right and is descendent of Brahmi script of Ashoka (Bhattia 1993, Tolstaya 1981, Koul & Bala 1992).

Shahmukhi: Shahmukhi or Perso-Arabic script is used by the Punjabi Muslims living in Pakistan (Shackle 2003, Bhattia 1993, Koul & Bala 1992, Tolstaya 1981). This script is based on Persian characters and is written from right to left.

Devnagri: Devnagri is used by the Hindu population of Jammu and other regions. These people speak Dogri, which is considered a dialect of Punjabi by many Punjabis but the

speakers of the dialect refute the claim and call it a separate language (Shackle 2003, Koul & Bala 1992, Bhattia 1993).

2.2.3 The Grammar: Punjabi is a unique language among its south Asian counterparts. According to Professor Bhattia, "A unique feature of the language is that, along with Lahanda and western Pahari dialects, it is the only modern Indo-European language spoken in South Asia which is tonal in nature" (Bhattia, 1993 p. xxv). It has three tones and this could be a result of contact situation between Chinese traders and speakers from northern parts of India during first and second millennium.

The study of phonetics and phonology of Punjabi has attracted a lot of attention since Bailey (1914) discovered the Punjabi tonal system (Kaul & Bala, 1992). But the most interesting thing about Punjabi is that no two scholars agree on the number of Punjabi phonemes. Kaul and Bala claim that Punjabi has 35 consonants and 10 vowels (1992 p. 35). Tolstaya divides Punjabi vowels into three short and seven long vowels and her chart of consonants has 34 consonants (1981 p. 9). Bhatia lists 10 vowels and 32 consonants in his grammar of Punjabi (1993 p. 330).

Punjabi is a Subject-Object-Verb language. Its word order is fairly fixed. Interrogative or other sentence types do not induce any word order changes. The verb generally agrees with the subject. It shows split ergativity (Butt 2001). In transitive perfective sentences, where the subject is overtly or underlyingly marked with the *ne* postposition**,** the verb agrees with the direct object. The rule of thumb is that the verb never agrees with any constituent marked with a postposition" (Bhattia, 1993 p. xxvii). According to Shackle, "Verbs are the most complex word class in Punjabi" (Shackle

2003 p. 604). The verbs can be divided into three classes (i) substantive verbs, (ii) conjunct verbs (iii) compound verbs (Shackle, 2003, Bhattia, 1993) "Word formation in Punjabi is vocalic as well as consonantal morphophonemic adjustments are made; it primarily uses prefixes and suffixes to arrive at inflectional and derivational word classes. Nouns are generally inflected for number, gender and case" (Bhattia, 1993 p. xxviii)

2.3 Dialects

A famous saying in Punjabi is that language in Punjab changes every half mile. This is true to some extent as there are variations in the speech of the people. This situation has been beautifully summarized in the following words by Dr. Tariq Rahman:

> "For instance, the very term Punjab (five rivers) is from Persian, and for ages many people living in the area roughly defined as the Punjab had local names for their languages: Dogri, Majhi, Jangali, Pahari, and others. In any case identity was familial, and larger groups were seen as extensions of the family. These kinship structures are called *bradaris* 'brotherhoods', just as the oldest such collectivities were called phratries in ancient Greece." (Rahman 1997 p. 835)

It is evident from the above quotation that language and identity and dialect had more to do with one's tribe or family than with a region or community. But later studies showed that the situation was not that simple and dialects of Punjabi were as regional and communal as any other language. Dialectology is considered a modern sub-branch of linguistics but in Punjabi the history of dialectology goes back into 11th century (Koula & Bala 1992).

Alberuni (973-1048), an Arab adventurer, traveler, and scholar, is considered to be the first person to classify and subdivide Indian languages. According to Koul and Bala "He classified Indian languages into two categories: (1) those minor languages which were not used widely, (2) those major languages which were used widely by their native speakers" (1992, p. 11). Amir Khusro (1253-1325 AD) a scholar, poet and musician also tried to classify the dialects of Punjabi, at the time called Lahori, and other Indian languages (Koula & Bala 1992). Another great scholar Abul Fazl (1571-1613), who was a minister in the cabinet of the great Mughal king Akbar, studied Punjabi and discussed its written records (Koul & Bala 1992). He called Punjabi "Multani", which means 'the language of Multan', after the region where the language was spoken. The region was called the province of Multan at that time (Khan 1996).

Research on modern lines on Punjabi dialects was started by European scholars and researchers (Kaul & Bala 1992). The British paid attention to Malvai/ Ludhianwi dialect and thought that it was better than Majhi (Tolstaya 81, Bhattia 1993). The first Punjabi books- a translation of the Bible, prayer books, grammars, dictionaries- were published by the Ludhiana Mission Press (Tolstaya 1981). William John (1786) was the first surveyor of languages in India and he conducted a survey of Indian languages and collected some original information regarding the indigenous languages of India. William Carry (1816) analyzed seven Indian languages and conducted a survey of Punjabi dialects and presented a brief account of few of its dialects, two of these dialects were Multani and Dogri (Koula & Bala 1992).

Sir Ershmire Perry (1853) presented a research paper on geographical distributions of Indian languages. He focused his attention on the languages and dialects of North India. He proposed that Multani/Saraiki was a dialect of Punjabi. John Beams (1872-1879) also noted the prominent dialectical variations in Punjabi but made no serious effort to describe all the dialects. Hoernle is another important name in the early dialectology of Punjabi. He studied dialects spoken in the southern and northern Punjab during late 19th century but the details of his works are sketchy and no scholastic opinions can be made based on his works. Sir Richard C Temple (1883) sub-divided Punjabi into four main dialects: Multani, Majhi, Pahari and Potohari (please see map 5).

Map 5: Dialect Division by Richard C. Temple (1883)

George Grierson, an English civil servant, revolutionized the studies of Punjabi dialects in early 20th century. Grierson started his career in Indian Civil Services (ICS) in 1871 and was appointed superintendent of the newly formed Indian Linguistic Survey in 1898. He conducted extensive research on Indian languages, especially Punjabi. These studies and surveys contributed much to the studies of dialects in Punjabi. *Linguistic Survey of India* is Grierson's most famous work. Grierson divided Punjabi into Eastern Punjabi and Western Punjabi which he called *'Lahnda'* literally 'western'. This distinction is not accepted by all scholars, especially Punjabi Muslim scholars. The anger of a Muslim Punjabi linguist over this division can be seen in the following words:

> "Grierson did not have knowledge of all the dialects of Punjabi, so his opinion about Punjabi dialects cannot be given any value" (Khan 1996 p.124).

Other scholars have also criticized Grierson's theory about eastern Punjabi and western Punjabi. But the later scholars proved that Grierson was right in his approach. Evidence for this distinction includes the fact that the Western dialects differ from the literary dialect, Majhi, of eastern Punjab. Saraiki is a glaring example in this regard. It is closer to Sindhi in the south west rather than Punjabi (Tolstaya 1992). Saraiki over past few decades has become a literary language and is recognized as a separate language by the government of Pakistan (Shackle 2003, Rahman 2007). Grierson divided Pubjabi into eight dialects:

Majhi, Doabi, Puadhi, Malwai, Rathi, Bhatiani, Dogri and Kangri. He also gave a sub classification of western Punjabi or Lahnda. (Please see map 6) He divided Lahnda into three main categories:

(1) Southern Lahndi consists of Saraiki and Jatki

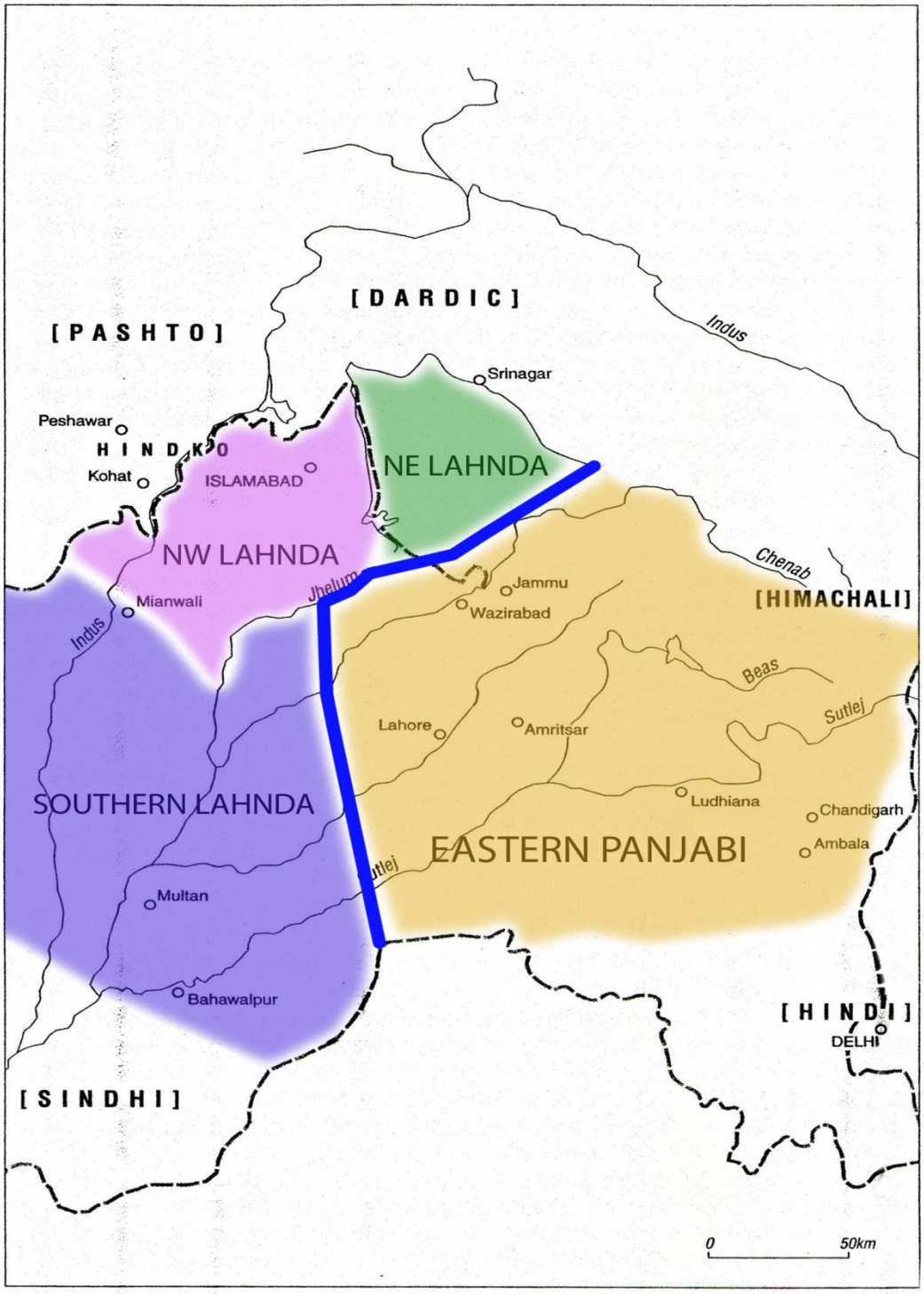
(2) North East Lahandi consists of Dhann, Hindko and Tinuaali etc.

(3) North West Lahandi includes Potohari, Punchi, Awankari and Pahari.

Grierson was followed by Bailey who documented Punjabi tonal system in 1914. He studied the dialects which were spoken in Wazirabad district of Pakistani Punjab. He described the three way tonal system used in Punjabi (Bailey 1914). Since then much has been done from a variationist and dialectological perspective. Most of this work has been done on the Indian side of Punjab. Bahl (1968) modified the classification of Punjabi dialects done by Grierson. He was the first person to challenge the assumption that Dogri was a dialect of Punjabi. He was also of the opinion that Western Punjabi or *Lahandi* was so different that it could not be considered a dialect of Punjabi; rather he called it a separate language. Bahl's (1968) classification of Punjabi is as follows:

Proto Punjabi	
Dogri	Punjabi
	Majhi
	Doabi
	Malvai
	Bhatiani
	Rathi
	Puadhi

Table 2.1 (Bahl 1968)



Map 6: Division between Eastern Punjabi and *Lahanda* by Grierson

Atam Singh (1970) divided Punjabi into the following dialects:

Majhi, Doabi, Malawi, Bhatiani, Rathi, Puadhi, Multani, Shapuri, Thali, Pothohari, Pahari. This classification is based primarily on geographical distribution rather than anything else.

Harkriat Singh (1974) classified Punjabi quite differently from both Grierson and Bahl. He has divided Punjabi into three sub groups:

1. Eastern Punjabi: Majhi, Malawi, Puadhi
2. Western Punjabi: Multani, Potohari, Hindko
3. Northern Punjabi: Dogri, Kangri, Bhatiani, Poonchi

Gill et al (1972) prepared the Linguistic Atlas of the Punjab which covered the dialect areas of both Indian and Pakistani Punjab. They discussed broad historical features of Punjabi and discussed speech variations associated with them (Gil et al in Koul & Bala 1992). On the Pakistani side few authentic works are available on Punjabi dialectology. Ain-ul-Haq Farid Koti is one of the most prominent figures in Punjabi linguistics from Pakistani side, but most of his work is historical and he has not done any variationist study of Punjabi dialects.

The irony of fate can be seen from the fact that Punjabi is the language of the majority of the Pakistanis, but there are only two Punjabi dailies which sell only few hundred copies a day. These few hundred copies target a population of 75 million speakers of Punjabi. The biggest Urdu language news paper sells 300,000 copies a day in

Punjab (Rahman 1997). I am not aware of any variationist study in Pakistani Punjab which has been done on the lines of modern sociolinguistics trends. Research on Punjabi language and linguistics is being done on Indian side of the Punjab. Punjabi University in Patiala, India, is considered the center of Punjabi linguistics. However, access to Indian studies is very rare and difficult for Pakistani scholars because of the political and military tensions between the two countries.

The dialects which are traditionally recognized both by researchers and the common man on the street are numerous, and this may be is one of the reasons that in spite of its numerous speakers, Punjabi has not risen to the status of a politically powerful language. The Punjabi University in Patiala, has compiled the following list of dialects of Punjabi. This is a long list and takes very general view of dialects in Punjabi. This list includes Multani/Saraiki and Hindko as Punjabi, though in Pakistan these are currently considered separate languages. The list also includes Dogri, which is spoken in the Jammu region of India but the speakers of the dialect/language consider it a separate language.

- Awankari
- Baar di Boli
- Bahawalpuri
- Banwali
- Bhattiani
- Bherochi
- Chacchi
- Chakwali
- Dhani
- Doabi
- Dogri
- Ghebi
- Gojri
- Hindko
- Jatki
- Jhangochi
- Lubanki
- Malvai
- Multani/Saraiki
- Pahari
- Pothohari/Pindiwali
- Powadhi
- Punchi
- Rathi

- Chambiali
- Chenavri
- Kangri
- Kachi
- Swaen
- Thali

Source: http://www.advancedcentrepunjabi.org/intro1.asp

The main dialects which are considered Punjabi include Majhi, Shahpuri, Pothohari, Doabi Malvai, Puadhi (Shackle 2003 Bhattia 1993, Dulai 1989, Tolstaya 1981, Koul & Bala 1991) (please see map 7).

Majhi: Majhi is considered the literary and most prestigious dialect of Punjabi. It is spoken in the heart of Punjab where most of the Punjabis live. The word Majhi comes from the area's name Majha. This area consists of districts of Lahore, Sheikhupura, Kasur, Gujranawala, Sialkot, Narowal and Gujrat in Pakistani Punjab. The districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur of Indian Punjab are also part of the greater Majha area.

Shahpuri: This dialect is spoken in the districts of Sargodha, Chiniot, Khushab, Jhang, and Parts of Faisalabad district in Pakistani Punjab.

Pothohari: This dialect is spoken in the northern parts of Pakistani Punjab. The area Extends from Muzaffarabad (AJK) in north to Jehlum, Chakwal and Rawalpindi in south. The dialect is also called *Pindiwal* in areas around Rawalpindi.

Doabi: This dialect is spoken in the districts of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur of Indian Punjab. The word "Do Aabi" means "the land between two rivers" and this dialect is spoken between the rivers of Beas and Sutlej.

Map 7: Dialect areas of Punjabi

Malvai: This dialect is spoken in the eastern part of Indian Punjab. The area includes the districts of Ludhiana, Ambala, Bathinda, Ganganagar, Malerkotla, Fazilka, and Ferozepur. Malva is the southern and central part of present day Indian Punjab. This dialect is spoken in some parts of Haryana as well.

Pauadhi: The region where this dialect is spoken consists of parts of Punjab and Haryana between the rivers Satluj and Ghaggar. The region is called Pouadh or Pouadaha. This area includes the districts Kharar, Kurali, Ropar, Nurpurbedi, Morinda, Pail, Rajpura and Samrala. Powadh or Puadh or Powadha is a region of Punjab and parts of Haryana between the Satluj and Ghaggar rivers.

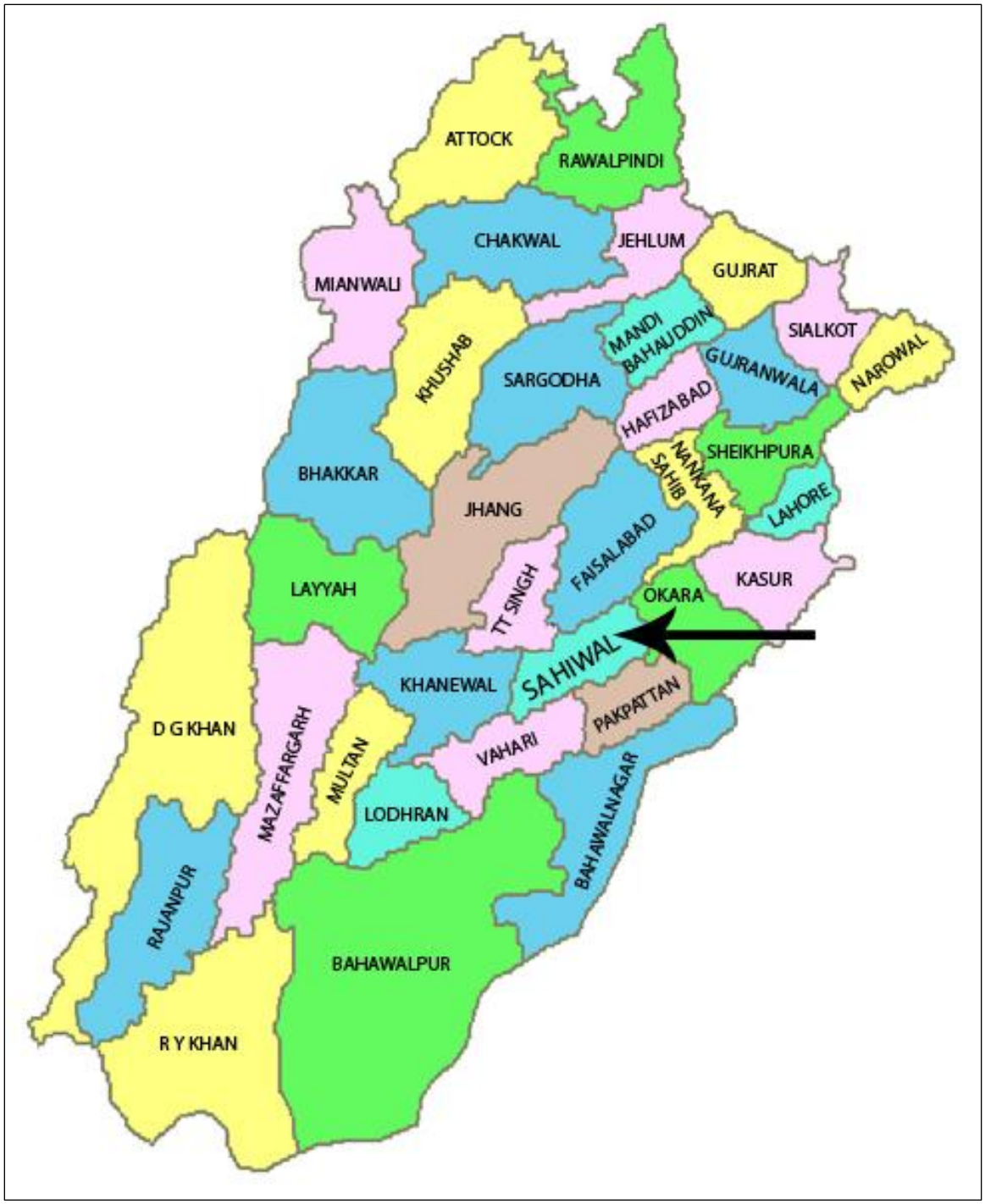
Jangli: It is the dialect which is spoken along the banks of the River Ravi in the districts Sahiwal and T.T. Singh. This is considered the local dialect of Sahiwal. The word *Jangli* comes from the word *jungal* 'jungle' and lierally means 'from a jungle'. The people who speak the dialect are considered to be the natives of the district Sahiwal. These people have been living there for thousands of years. Many scholars have pointed out many similarities between the *Jangli* dialect and old Munda and Dravidian languages (Shahid 2007).

2.4 The District (Research area)

Sahiwal District is located in the southeast of Pakistani Punjab, and lies between 30-40 north latitude and 73-06 longitude (Please see map 8). It is 500 ft (150 m) above sea level. It forms a parallelogram lying NE-SW along the Ravi River. It is 100 km from east to west and 45 km from north to south. The district is situated on GT Road and Main

Railway line between Lahore and Multan. The district is divided into two tehsils (sub districts) Sahiwal and Chicha Watni (please see map 9). Sahiwal is one of the oldest districts in the province Punjab. The district has undergone many political, social and administrative changes since it became a district in 1864. Today's district is a small portion of the Sahiwal district of 1864; the original area has been divided into five separate districts. It is the 5th largest district in the province and its population is the 23rd in the province. The total population of the district is almost 2 million (estimated 2008), and the district covers a total area of 3200km². (http://pportal.punjab.gov.pk/portal/)

Sahiwal is one of 35 districts in Pakistani Punjab. It can be called one of the cradles of civilization. Harappa, a 5000 year old city, is situated in the heart of this district (please see map 9), like many other ancient civilizations this city was also situated on the banks of a river, the Ravi (Alchin & Alchin 1968, Mackay 1983). District Sahiwal is famous for its fertile and rich agricultural land. It is also very famous for its cattle. Sahiwal cows are considered one of the best milk producing animals in the world and their possession is considered a matter of pride by the owner. Sahiwal is also famous for its confectionary products called Montgomery Biscuits and sweets. These products are exported everywhere in Middle East and Europe (Shahid 2007).

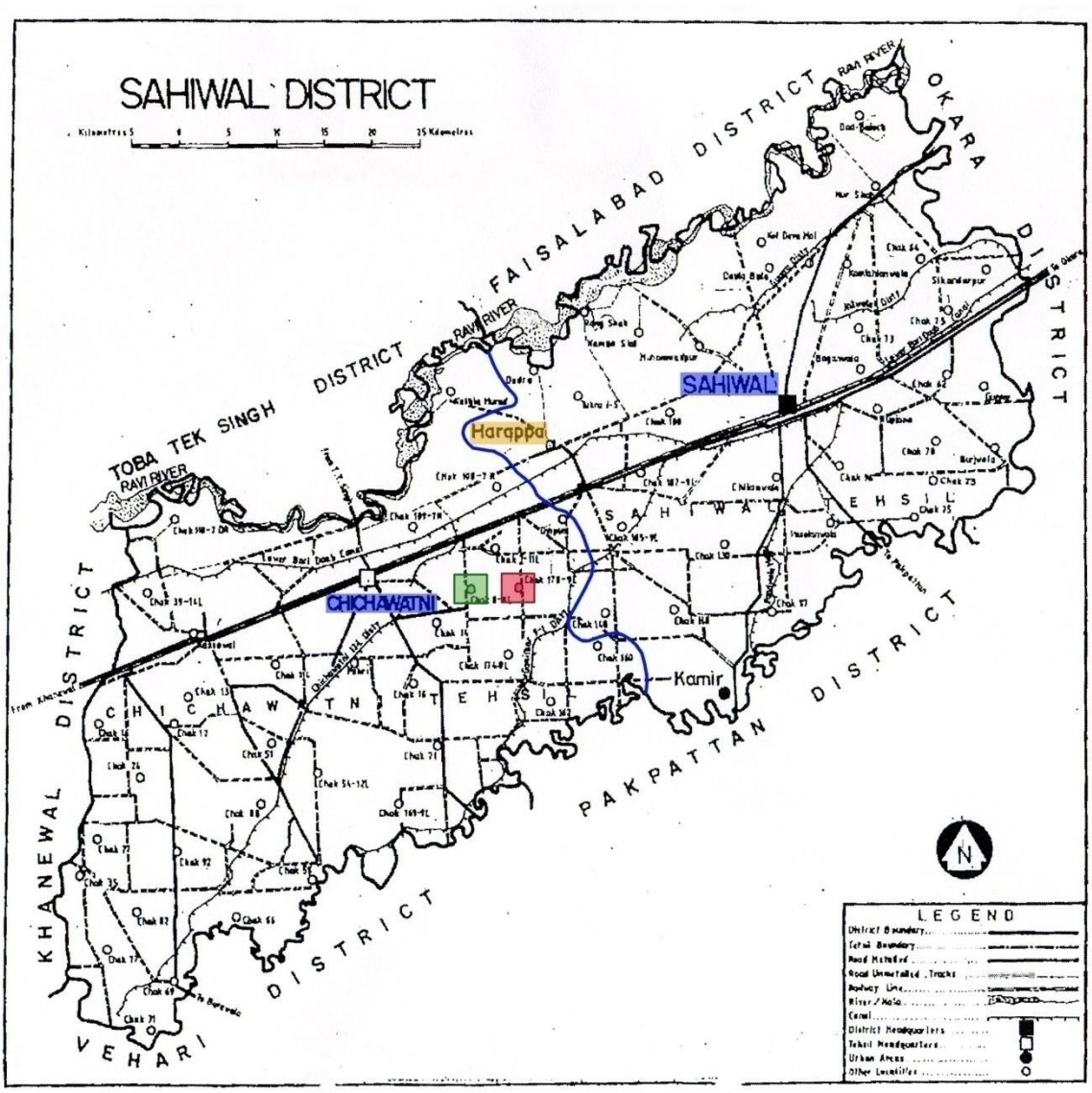


Map 8: Punjab (Pakistan) 2009

As mentioned earlier Harappa can be considered one of the earliest of modern cities (Alchin & Alchin, 1968, Mackay, 1983). The presence of the ruins of the ancient city of Harappa in the district distinguishes it from other districts in the province. The remains of the dead bodies found during the excavations show that people from different races inhabited the district a long time before Aryans came from the northwest (Alchin & Alchin 1968, Mackay 1983, Farid Koti 1996, Khan 1996, Gimmi 1992). When Aryans came to Harappa they mixed with the local population and started intermarrying with these people (Shahid 2007, Farid Koti 1996, Khan 1996, Gimmi 1992). This intermixing of the Indo Aryan races can still be seen in the local population of the district, especially among the *Janglis* (Shahid 2007, Faridkoti 1996).

Janglis have very close resemblance to the prototype Indo-Aryan race. They can be tall; fair skinned and can have colored eyes. The demographics of the district underwent some drastic changes during the late 19th and early 20th century. These changes happened after the British government dug the canals and brought in settlers from the north eastern districts of the then province Punjab. The phenomenon of the demographic changes repeated itself in a bloody and tragic manner at the time of the birth of Pakistan and India as sovereign states in 1947 (Shahid 2007).

The name Sahiwal comes from the word *Sahi* which is the name of a local tribe, the people of this tribe were the original inhabitants of the district and many still live there. Some historians relate the *Sahi* tribe to ancient Saka and Cythian tribes (Shahid 2007). Some *Sahi* migrated to the district of Sargodha and laid the foundations of a small town and named it *Sahiwal* in the memory their home town (Shahid 2007).



Map 9: District Sahiwal

In 1864, when the British started building a railway line between Lahore and Multan, a large Railway station was built at the present location of the town of the Sahiwal. The station was called Sahiwal Station because of the village of the *Sahi* tribe situated there. The small town was declared the district headquarters and the government started the work of developing the village into a small city.

Within a short span of time the town Sahiwal became a center of legal, cultural, and educational activities of the area. At that time it was a huge district which extended hundreds of kilometers into the south west. The district was called *Sahiwal* after the name of its headquarters. Just one year after the founding of the district, the name of the town and the district was changed. The district and the town were officially christened as Montgomery; the name was changed to pay homage to the then Punjab governor Sir Robert Montgomery (Shahid 2007). The district and the town were called Montgomery for the next 100 years. The government of Punjab changed the name to its original Sahiwal in 1966 (Shahid 2007).

Sahiwal is situated in a climate zone which can be called extreme, the temperatures can rise to 50°C during the hot months of summer but in winter it can go down to 0°C. This weather is a blessing in disguise for the district. The district is considered one of the most fertile agricultural districts in Pakistan and most of the population of the district is dependent on agriculture. The hot and extreme climate plays an important role in this regard, and it is good for almost all the crops that are grown here. The major crops of the district are cotton, wheat, maize, and potatoes.

Sahiwal is situated at the heart of one of the best irrigation system in the world. The system was built and developed by the British in late 19th and early 20th century. The Lower Bari Doab Canal (LBDC), a huge canal, bisects the district into two. The whole district is irrigated by the water from the canal. The smaller canals of the LBDC supply irrigational water to the villages on the both sides of the canal. The canals on the right side of the LBDC are called the R canals and the canals on the left side are called the L

canals. So the first canal on the right side is 1-R and the first on the left side is 1-L. The villages on the canals are also numbered and this whole system is very well organized. The system is so well organized that if one knows the number of a village one can easily find the exact location of the village. The first village on the 1-R will be called Chak # 1/1-R, and the same applies to the other side and the first village on the 1-L will be called 1/1-L. The villages under study in this paper are situated along the canal 11-L (which is the 11th canal on the left side of the LBDC hence the numbers of the villages 8/11-L and 10/11-L.

130 years ago the district was not same as today, the majority of the population of the district at that time lived close to the river banks and most of the land in the district was nothing more than vast stretches of deserted plains and fields, where wild animals roamed. Things started changing in late 19th and early 20th century when the British, who were ruling India at that time, started digging the canals in these areas and brought people from the north eastern parts of the province to cultivate and settle these desolate stretches of land (Gazetteer of the Montgomary District 1883).

The people who settled the newly irrigated land came from different dialect and geographical regions and brought their dialects of Punjabi with them. The villages were settled on the basis of *bradari*. People belonging to a certain *bradari* were settled in each village (Gazetteer of the Montgomary District 1883). This settlement process changed the demographics of the district over a short period of time. The people who had been living in this area for thousands of years became a minority. This can be seen from the way the population of the district increased over a period of 20 years starting from 1911 to 1931.

According to the census of 1911, the population of the district was 481,965 which increased by 110% to one million in 1931, and this is a phenomenal increase in those times. The following table shows the increase in population over fifty years:

Year	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931
Population	426,529	426,674	481,965	685,690	999,772

Table 2.2: Population chart of District Montgomery

Source: Gazetteer of the Montgomary District (1883-1934: pp190)

The explosion of population between 1911 to 1931is a result of the settlement patterns in the district. The local people who have lived in this area for thousands of years are called *Jangli* 'from forest' and their language is also called *Jangli*. Many scholars consider this language or dialect (it is considered a dialect of Punjabi now) an offshoot of old Munda languages (Farid Koti 1996, Shahid 2005). These people still speak this dialect or language and can be distinguished from other people by their language (although they are mutually intelligible to anyone speaking Punjabi). These people do not form the majority of the district today. They have been outnumbered by the settlers who came to the district in early 20th century. From a linguistic point of view this demographic shift has made the district a hodge podge of different dialects. Almost every village has its own dialect. The situation became more complicated when in 1947 more people migrated to the district from the eastern districts of Punjab after those districts had become part of India.

There were times when adherents of four different religions lived in the district but after the partition of Punjab between India and Pakistan in 1947, almost all the Hindus and Sikhs left Sahiwal for Indian Punjab. Today the majority (96%) of the population is Muslim but a small number (4%) of Christians also live in the district. The district consists of two *tehsils* (sub districts), *tehsil* Sahiwal and *tehsil* Chichawatni. There are 531 villages in the district. Sahiwal is the biggest city in the district with a population of 2,241,324 (estimated 2008). Chichawatni, which is the *tehsil* headquarter of *tehsil* Chichawatni, is another major town in the district with a population of 1, 20,000 (estimated 2007). Qadirabad, Yousafwala, Iqbalnagar, Kassowal, Noorshah, Harappa and Ghaziabad are some other important towns in the district. There are transport connections via road and Pakistan railways to Lahore, and a regional airport is under construction close to the district headquarters. The main tribes living in the district are Jats, Rajputs, Khaggas, Wattos, Kathias, Arains, chishtis, Bodlas, Baloch, Sayeds, Gujjar, and Dogars (http://pportal.punjab.gov.pk/portal/).

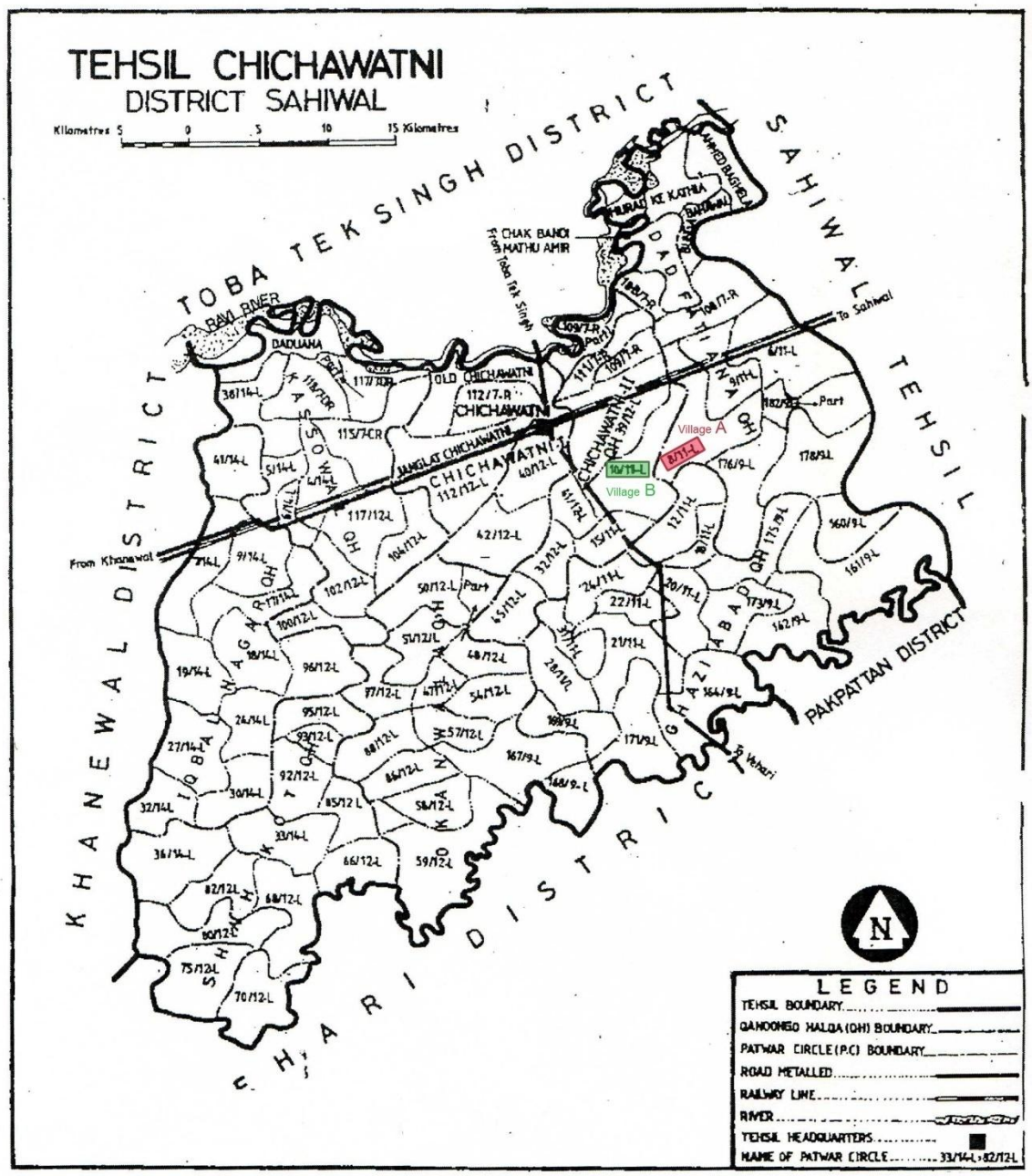
2.5 The Villages

Two Punjabi speaking villages (Chak # 8/11-L (Village A) and Chak # 10/11-L (Village B) have been selected to test the hypothesis. These villages are situated in *tehsil* 'sub district' Chichawatni of district Sahiwal (Please see map 10). The villages are located at distance of one kilometer from each other (please see map 11). The people of the villages have close social and commercial interactions with one another. Students from grade six and above from both the villages go to the same high school in a third

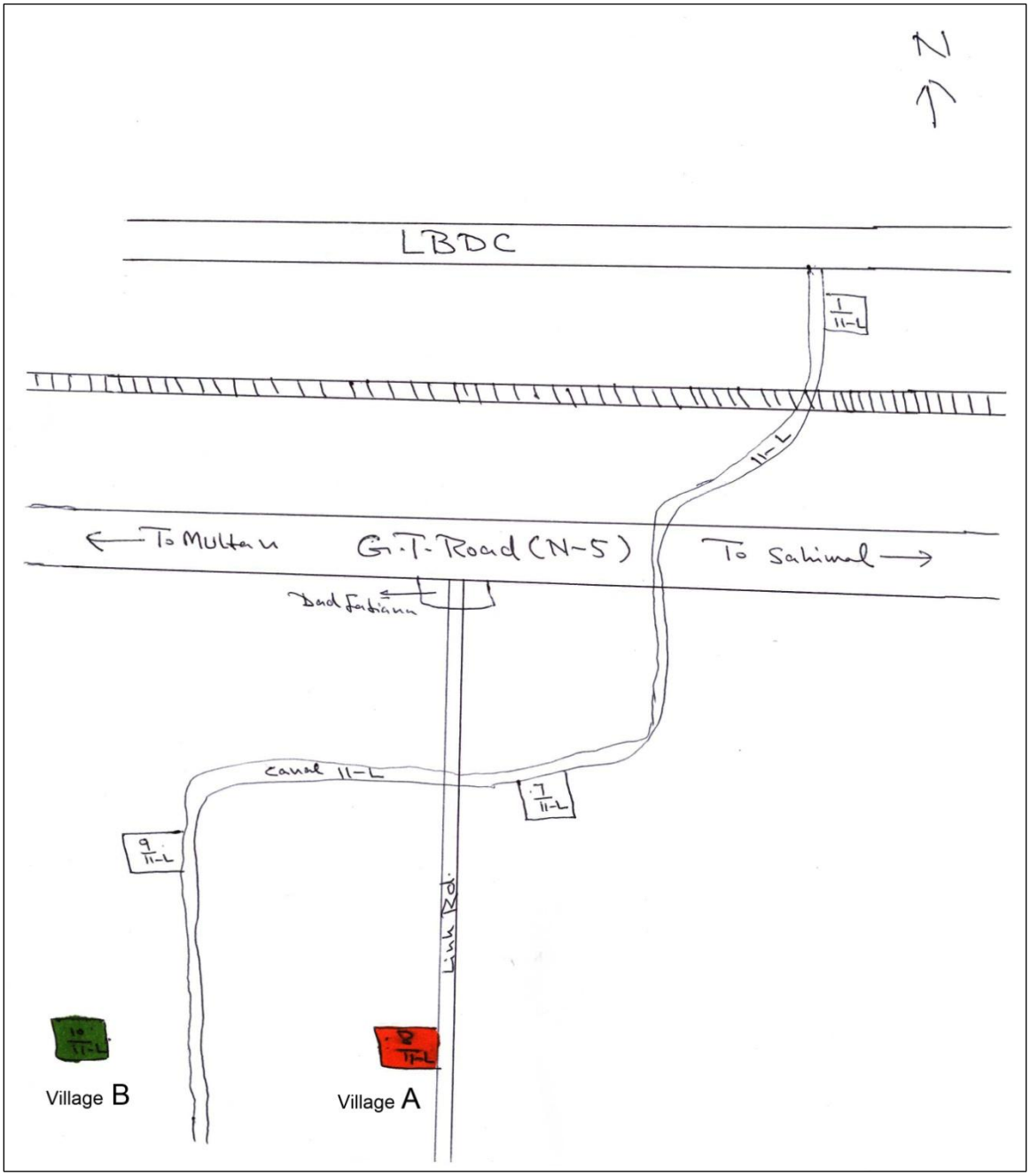
village, which is 500 meters south of village A and 1.5 km southeast of village B. The majority of the people in both villages cannot read and write.

People living in Village A (8/11-L) are Christians who come from different districts of north-eastern Punjab. They did not belong to a specific *bradari* or dialect area but after living for almost ninety years in the same village have developed a dialect of their own. The village is spread over an area of 25 acres. The population of this village is around 2000 and most of the people in this village are laborers who work on daily wages at different places like farms, construction sites and the grain market in the nearby town of Chichawatni. A significant number of people are attached to farming as well. This village has two primary schools, one each for boys and girls.

The village was founded by American missionaries in 1921. They obtained land from the British government in this newly irrigated area and brought 22 Christian families from different districts of north eastern Punjab and allotted them the land. These settlers were 2nd or 3rd generation Christians whose ancestors had been converted to Christianity by the western missionaries. The American missionaries allotted every family a piece of land which consisted of 25 acres. These people started leveling and cultivating the land. Today the 3rd and 4th generations of these original settlers make up the bulk of the population of the village. Like any other place the village has also seen changes in demographic patterns. Some people leave and new people come to the village. The newest settlers have come from all over the Punjab but their influx has not affected the majority of the original settlers.



Map 10: *Tehsil* (Sub District) Chicha Watni



Map 11: The Villages and the Surrounding Areas

Most of the people in Village B (10/11-L) belong to Dogar *bradari* and come from Kasur District which is situated in the north-eastern part of Pakistani Punjab (please see map 8). The district Kasur is situated at a point where three dialect areas (Majhi, Doabi, and Malvai) meet (Please see map 7). Almost all people in this village belong to the Muslim community. The village is spread over an area of 100 acres. This village has a population of 5000 people and most of the people are farmers. The village has two primary schools, one each for boys and girls. The village also has the same history of settlement as the other villages of the area. The ancestors of the present inhabitants of the village were allotted land in this area after the canals were dug to irrigate these vast stretches of fertile but uncultivated land. The people in this village are comparatively better off than the people in the Christian village. Most of the older people and many of the younger as well cannot read and write and work at their ancestral farms or as farm workers at other farms. People keep buffaloes and cows for getting milk and this milk is also sold to the people who do not have these animals.

3. Methodology

This paper hypothesizes that a dialect and its linguistic features are strong identity markers for a particular community and continue to be intact and used even when people from one dialect community come in close contact with other dialect communities as a result of migration and resettlement patterns. The paper focuses on the differences in phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical features of two adjacent villages (Chak # 8/11-L (Village A) and Chak # 10/11-L (Village B) in Punjab, Pakistan.

These villages are situated in District Sahiwal of Pakistani Punjab. Almost all the people in Village B are Muslims and belong to Dogar *bradari* and originally come from a district situated in the north-eastern parts of Pakistani Punjab. People living in Village A belong to Christian community and come from different districts of north-eastern Punjab.

3.1 Data

In order to test the hypothesis, recordings of casual conversations of groups of three to four men were made from both the communities. Three groups from each village were recorded. Each group consisted of at least three men. The main reason for just

selecting men is cultural. As all the data collectors were male in this study and as a result it was not possible for them to record women. In Pakistan, women usually do not interact with strangers especially if they are of the opposite sex. The men from each village were divided into three groups. Each group consisted of at least 3-4 individuals and the groups were formed on the basis of age. Group I is comprised of men who are 50 years of age or older, group II is comprised of adults ranging from ages 25-40 and group III consists of young men ranging from ages 18-25.

The sample is reflected in the following table:

Age Group	Village A	Village B
50 and above	3-4 speakers	3-4 speakers
30-40	3-4 speakers	3-4 speakers
18-25	3-4 speakers	3-4 speakers

Table 3.1

The reasons for forming groups on the basis of age are as follows:

Group I, the group of men over fifty, is primarily made up of men who have not been extensively exposed to other languages and cultures. Most of these individuals are farmers and have spent all their lives farming in the same village. Their speech is useful in assessing to what extent they preserve of the original dialect of their ancestors who were the original settlers in this area.

Group II, men between the ages of 25-40, consists of some educated individuals who have been out in the world, exposed to other dialects and communities. These men

work and travel outside the village quite frequently. They also read newspapers, use cell phones and watch TV. They are well acquainted with the changing trends from a linguistic, social and economic perspective. It will be quite informative and interesting to see that how much they retain (or don't retain) of the original dialect of their forefathers.

Group III consists of the adolescents who are primarily still in school at this time. They represent the new generation and are exposed more to the outside world than the oldest group, but perhaps less than the medial group. These kids watch TV, use computers and have cell phones. I will determine how much of the dialect of their respective communities is retained by these youngsters. The subjects for study were selected using Milroy's (1987) social network techniques. As a member of these communities it was relatively easy for the researcher to select the subjects on the basis of social contacts.

Obtaining the vernacular, which Labov (1972 p. 10) identifies as the most systematic kind of data for the analysis of linguistic structures in an interview setting, was one of the goals in my data collection procedure. Labov (1972) describes the challenge in obtaining the vernacular, stating that after understanding the difficulty in obtaining the vernacular, "we are then left with the Observer's Paradox: the aim...will be to observe how people talk when they are not being observed." In order to conquer the observer's paradox, Labov recommends interviewing techniques that encourage the subject to become so involved in the conversation as to "forget" about the recorder resting beside them. To achieve this objective the data collectors tried their level best to elicit spontaneous speech data.

Data was collected by the PI's father and two brothers. The principal investigator (PI) trained these people in data collection strategies. The PI's father and brothers live in village A and are very familiar with the inhabitants of both the towns. The data collectors were briefed and trained about all the modalities and technicalities of the data collection. The PI trained them to ask pertinent questions in order to elicit the required data. They were also briefed about the privacy and confidentiality policy. Consultants were selected from the communities on the basis of social networking. The men who were selected for the recordings are either known to the data collectors or friends of the friends of the data collectors.

In case of village A where the data collectors come from, they participated in the conversations as active participants. The data collector left the recording venue only in the case of the youngest group in village A. In village B the data collectors went to their contact person in the village. The contact person invited his friends to come to his *Bethik* 'sitting room for men' for a 'chit chat'. The data collector explained everything to all of the respondents about the study and then turned on the recorder. Prior permission was obtained from the consultants to record their conversation. Conversations consisting of 45-60 minutes were recorded from all the groups.

The data collectors sat as participant observers in the conversation sessions and motivated the speakers through different questions to speak more and yield the required kind of data. These questions were based on those questions which are called by Labov being successful in motivating vernacular speech. (Labov 1972 p.114). This was not a formal interview situation but still being native speakers and part of the communities, the

data collectors asked relevant questions which resulted in long stretches of speech on the part of participants. Most of the questions were about the consultants' daily experiences, problems and issues related with their work (which is in most cases farming) and interesting life experiences (questionnaire attached as Appendix A).

The data on lexical variation was collected through a lexical questionnaire. 15 respondents from each village were asked to complete a 15 question questionnaire of lexical items (Questionnaire attached as Appendix B). All of the respondents were men and they were divided into three equal groups. Each group consisted of five members. To elicit the required data the following methods were used:

1. Respondents were shown pictures of some items.
2. Some items were shown to the respondents.
3. For some items verbal clues were given.

The questionnaires were filled out by the data collectors after listening to each response from the respondents. To make things more natural and spontaneous respondents were told that this was not a formal interview and they could use any word they wanted to. They were also told that the interview was conducted to see the differences in the dialects of the two villages and the results will be used in a research paper. Almost all of the respondents were happy and thrilled to know that data will be forwarded to the researcher in the US who was working on a paper focusing on the dialect differences between the two villages.

3.2 Participants

Consultants were selected randomly from the people who were known to the data collectors. They were invited to come to the sitting room of the data collectors in the case of village A and to the sitting room of the data collectors' contact in the case of village B. The details about the consultants are given in the following sections.

VILLAGE A: (Group I) Four men including the data collector were recorded for the group I from village A. Speaker A is 64 years old and has 11 years of education. He is a retired Physical Education teacher (PET). He is married and has four adult offspring. He has spent all his life in the village. Speaker L is a retired high school teacher and has 15 years of education. He is 65 years old and has 6 adult children. He has been living in the same village for last 50 years. He also does some farming as a part time business. Speaker K is also a retired (PET) and has 11years of education. He is 68 years old and has one adult son. He has also lived all his life in the same village. Speaker R is 70 years old and has 8 years of education. He is a full time farmer and has lived all his life in the same village. He has six adult offspring.

Group II: This group has three consultants including the data collector. Speaker B is a thirty year old male and has 12 years of education. He does not have a permanent job and helps at his family's farm. He is single and has spent all his life in the village. Speaker K is 31 years of age and single, he has 14 years of education. He is a school teacher and has also spent all his life in the village. Speaker C is 27 years of age and single. He has eight years of education and works on daily wages at farms, construction sites or wherever he can find work.

Group III: This group includes four participants. All of these are in the last year of their high school. Their ages range between 18-20 years. They are all single and students. They were recorded by one of the data collectors. The data collector left the room after turning on the recorder. The reason for this was to elicit spontaneous and natural speech from the respondents. Had the data collector, who is in his sixties, stayed, these kids might not have talked as naturally and spontaneously as they would when no elder is around. The reason for kids' restraint and shyness when the elders are around can be attributed to the strong hierarchical system in the culture. The system is based on age and social status.

VILLAGE B: (Group I) There are three speakers in this group. Speaker A is 54 years old and has 12 years of education; he is a well travelled and a knowledgeable person. He is married with four kids. He is a full time farmer and has lived in the village most of his life. Speaker B is a 50 year old and has ten years of education. He is married with five kids and is a full time farmer. He is also a well travelled person and has spent most of his life in the village. Speaker C is a 55 year old with hardly any education. He is a farm worker and does not own any land in the village. He is married with five kids and has spent all his life in the village.

Group II: There are four speakers in this group. Speaker is a 28 year old single man. He has 12 years of education and has travelled outside the village as well. He is a full time farmer and has spent most of his life in the village. Speaker B is 35 years and has never been to school. He is married with three kids. He is a full time farmer as well. Speaker C is 25 years of age and has ten years of education. He works as a taxi driver and

has lived all his life in the village. He is single. Speaker D is 32 years of age and has four years of education. He is married and has five kids. He does not own his own land but works at other people's farms.

Group III: Speaker A is 19 years old and is a senior in the local high school. Speaker B is 24 years old and has eight years of education. He is single and is a full time farmer. Speaker C is 18 years of age is also a senior in the local high school. Speaker D is 20 years of age and hardly has any education. He is single and full time farm worker.

3.3 Analysis

Once the data had been collected it was labeled according to the conventions described by Tagliamonte (2006). Pseudonyms were assigned to speakers and each speaker was also provided respondent number. Each audio record, interview report and computer transcription were labeled with this information. A five minute section of conversation from each group was transcribed using standard orthographic conventions. Transcriptions conventions described by Tagliamonte (2006 pp. 56-57) were used. Once the data had been transcribed it was imported into a concordance program downloaded from internet for this purpose.

Once the data had been digitized and organized, a search for the proposed variables was conducted in the data. The variables were selected on the basis of frequency, robustness and their implication for the proposed hypothesis. The distinction between categorical and variable contexts was made. The tokens of the variables were collected and coded. Both the dependent variables and independent factor(s) were coded.

Words and contexts which were subject to phonological variation were transcribed phonetically and coded. The proposed independent factor at the outset was regional and communal but factors like age and education were coded as well. The tokens were analyzed for differences at phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic levels in each of the communities. Phonological analysis was based on auditory perception.

4. Results

The paper hypothesizes that a dialect and its linguistic features continue to be strong identity markers for a particular community. The linguistic features marking a dialect are closely adhered to and carried by their respective speech communities even when these communities come in contact with communities speaking a different dialect. Such contact situations arise as result of migration and resettlement patterns. This project focuses on the differences in phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical features of the communities living in village A and village B. These two communities live in close proximity and have extensive social, political and economic ties. In spite of these ties the communities still use and carry specific features of their respective dialects. These features are not only used by these communities but they have become an identity for each community as well.

The project focuses on the phonological, morpho-syntactic and lexical features of the speech communities under study. To study these features in an objective way two kinds of data was collected from both the communities. Unstructured casual

conversations among men of different age groups were recorded from both the communities. This data was used to elicit tokens of phonological and morpho-syntactic variation among the two communities. To study lexical variation a lexical survey was conducted and respondents from each community were asked to fill a 15 question questionnaire. Once the data was collected specific variables for study were selected. These variables were selected on the basis of frequency, robustness and their implication for the proposed hypothesis. The tokens were analyzed for differences at phonological, lexical and morpho-syntactic levels in each of the communities. Results of the analysis are given in the following sections.

4.1 Phonological Variation:

With respect to phonology, variation in the vowel [ɔː/a] given in Table 4.1 was examined. It is pronounced [ɔː] in village A and [a] in village B. All the words in which it occurs are verbs. Predictions for the variable were made on the basis of the PI's familiarity and knowledge of the communities and the language. Some of the words in which this variable is realized do not show any variation between two communities. These words include *chak* [ʧak] 'village', *chat* [ʧat] 'lick', *kut* [kɔːt] 'beat', *chup* [ʧɔːp] 'quiet' and *lut* [lɔːt] 'rob'. To study the pronunciation of [ɔː/a], the following tokens have been selected from the data because there are sufficient tokens of the variable to make claims about it.

Village A	Village B
[pɔːt] (dig up, up root)	[pat] (dig up, up root)
[sɔːt] (throw)	[sat] (throw)
[ʧɔːk] (lift)	[ʧak] (lift)

Table 4.1

The dialect boundaries are clear in this data. The forms affiliated with the respective communities are used accordingly. The community in village A shows a 100% pronunciation for the variable as [ɔː]. The variable [ɔː] is used by the consultants in all the linguistic and social environments. In village B, the variable [a] is used in almost all the linguistic and social contexts. The only exception occurs in the word *sut* [sɔːʈ] 'throw'. Instead of the predicted [a] one speaker uses [ɔː]. It is used twice by this 50+ speaker. Another unexpected discovery in this study was the usage of [ɪ] in the word [sɪʈ] 'throw' by the same speaker; there are 3 occurrences of this form of the variable and in all cases it is used by the same speaker who uses [ɔː] instead of [a]. These contexts are discussed in the following sections.

[pɔːt] vs. [pat] 'dig up'

Speakers from both the communities use the predicted variable in case of the word [pɔːt]/[pat] 'dig up'. The usage of root is higher in the age groups 25 and above. The reason for this can be attributed to the people's affiliation with agriculture. The

recordings were made during the potato harvesting season and the consultants were talking a lot about harvesting (digging up) potatoes. The village A does not have quite as many tokens of [pɔːt]/[pat] which can be attributed to the topics of the conversation. The morpheme [pɔːt]/[pat] is a verb. Verbs in Punjabi are inflected for tense, case and gender. Tokens of this word show the respective variation regardless of inflection. The following table shows the different grammatical contexts of the word [pɔːt]/[pat].

Village A	Village B
1. Unhan ne aloo aj **[pɔːtNei]** aa. They are going to dig up potatoes today. 2. Asi apnay aloo aj **[pɔːt]** lai ah. We dug up our potatoes today.	1. unhan panja kilay **[pat]** kay dene They will dig up 50 acres. 2. oh **[pat]** di vi ah. It digs up as well. 3. Onhe akhia asi pandra so kila aloo **[patNay]** aa. He said that they had to dig up 1500 acres of potatoes. 4. panja kilay pele aloo **[patNei]** ah First have to dig up fifty acres of potatoes. 5. masheen **[patdi]** jandi ai. Machine keeps on digging up.

Table 4.2

There are 17 tokens of variable [a] in the context of the morpheme [pat] and all of them are used by the speakers from village B. There are 9 tokens of the variable [ɔː] and all of them have been used by the speakers from village A. The youngest groups from both the villages do not use this word in their recorded conversation. This can be attributed to their interests. Most of these youngsters are at school and their conversations revolve around school and its activities, which could be the reason that we do not find any usage of this morpheme in their recorded conversations. The results can be seen in the tables below.

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[pa ʈ] ‘dig up’	0	17 (100%)	17
[pɔː ʈ]	9(100%)	0	9

Table 4.3: Overall distribution

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[pa ʈ] ‘dig up’	0	10	10
[pɔː ʈ]	5	0	5

Table 4.4: Group-I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[pa ʈ] ‘dig up’	0	4	4
[pɔː ʈ]	4	0	4

Table 4.5: Group-II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[pa ʈ] ‘dig up’	0	0	0
[pɔː ʈ]	0	0	0

Table 4.6: Group-III (18-25)

[ʧɔːk] vs. [ʧak] ‘lift’

The results for the morpheme [ʧɔːk]/[ʧak] ‘lift’ are quite similar to the results for the word [pɔːt]/[Pat] ‘dig up’. The dialect boundaries are clearly marked in this case as well. Speakers from both the communities use their predicted variable in all the instances of this word. There are 15 tokens of the variable [ɔː] in the context of this morpheme and they are all from village A. There are 13 tokens of the variable [a] and they are all from village B. The results can be seen in the tables below.

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[ʧak] ‘lift’	0	13 (100%)	13
[ʧɔːk]	15 (100%)	0	15

Table 4.7: Overall distribution

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[ʧak] ‘lift’	0	5	5
[ʧɔːk]	7	0	7

Table 4.8: Group-I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[ʧak] ‘lift’	0	5	5
[ʧɔ:k]	3	0	3

Table 4.9: Group-II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[ʧak] ‘lift’	0	3	3
[ʧɔ:k]	5	0	5

Table 4.10: Group-III (18-25)

The variable [ɔ:] is used by the speakers from village A in all the grammatical contexts of this word. The variable [a] is used by the speakers of all ages from village B in all the cases of this word. The following table shows all the grammatical contexts of the word [ʧɔ:k]/[ʧak].

Village A	Village B
1. jedhe che ik lat **[ʧɔːki]** rakhi de ai in which you keep on lifting one leg. 2. kik marda eh tey dovain lata **[ʧɔːk]** lenda when he kicks the ball then he lifts both the legs. 3. othe halaf **[ʧɔːk]** lia there they took (lifted) oath. 4. ehde vastay nahin **[ʧɔːkiaa]** We have not taken (lifted) oath for this.	1. Kataban **[ʧakiaa]** te laga jave. He was walking with his books being lifted in his hands. 2. Taan kion **[ʧaki]** jana eh? Why are you lifting it up? 3. Unhoon **[ʧak]** ke te utay rakh dita. He lifted it up and put it there.

Table 4.11

When the results for the variable [ɔː]/[a] are collapsed together for the morphemes [pɔːt]/[Pat] and [ʧɔːk]/[ʧak] the dialect boundaries appear to be clearly marked between these two communities. The overall results for the variable in these two morphemes are given below:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[ʧak]/[Pat]	0	25(100%)	30
[ʧɔːk]/[pɔːt]	20(100%)	0	24

Table 4.12

[sɔː ʈ] vs. [saʈ]/ [sɪʈ**] 'throw'**

There are three forms of the variable in the context of the word for 'throw'. Two forms ([ɔː] and [a]) of the variable were predicted. A third variant [ɪ] was also noticed in the data. The overall results for this variable are given in the table below:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[saʈ] 'throw'	0	9 (100%)	9
[sɔː ʈ]	11 (85%)	2 (15%)	13
[sɪʈ]	0	3 (100%)	3

Table 4.13: Overall distribution

It is evident from the table above that there are 9 tokens of the variable [a], all of these have been used by the speakers from the village B and this is according to the expectations of the PI. There are 13 tokens of [ɔ ː], 11 out of these 13 have been used by the speakers from village A, and this is also according to the predictions of the PI, because this is the variable which is attached with the community in village A. Please note that 2 of the tokens for this variable were used by a speaker from village B. There is no salient phonological context for this usage. The only reason which can be offered is social. This gentleman is 54 years old and has 12 years of education; he is a well travelled

and knowledgeable person. He has a lot of contacts with the people from outside the village and he spends a lot of time out of the village. This could be a motivation for his usage of a variable which is associated with the community in village A, the usage occurs in two contiguous sentences and the second sentence is a repetition of the first. The sentences are given below. The phonological and linguistic environment of this variable does not show any phonological motivation for the usage of [ɔ ː] instead of [a].

1. Matlab tid che **[sɔːʈ]** lenda ai.
   I mean it throws into its belly.
2. **[sɔːʈ]** lenda ai
   It throws.

The third variable is [ɪ]. There are three instances of this variable and it has been used by two speakers. This is a variable which is used by the speakers in a third village, which is situated four kilometers south of village A and four kilometers south-east of village B. In this data it has been used by one speaker only. This speaker is the same 54 year old mentioned earlier who uses the village A pronunciation although he is from village B. His large social networking and exposure to other dialects can be one of the reasons for using this variable. There seems to be no phonological motivation for this variation. The occurrence of this variable can be seen in the following sentences:

1. Jiven masheen **[sɪʈ]** di ah
   As machine throws.
2. oh **[sɪʈi]** vi jandi ah
   It throws as well.

Other than the above mentioned instances no intra-village variation was observed for this variable. All the age groups use the predicted variable for their respective community in all the linguistic and social contexts. Table 4.14 shows some of the linguistic instances of the predicted variable for both the communities.

Village A	Village B
1. oh vi **[sɔːʈ]** gia haki si oh vi **[sɔːʈ]** gia. 2. thaa moran chay haki **[sɔːʈi]** ah 3. meenoon **[sɔːʈ]** dita	1. tapa par ke vich **[saʈ]** diti. 2. Dampar te ja ke masheen **[saʈ]** dendi ah.

Table 4.14

The age distribution of this variable can be seen in the following tables. The tables show that the variable is used by the speakers of all the ages in the context of this morpheme.

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[saʈ] 'throw'	0	3	3
[sɔː ʈ]	3	2	5
[sɪ ʈ]	0	3	3

Table 4.15: Group-I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[saʈ] 'throw'	0	3	3
[sɔː ʈ]	4	0	4

Table 4.16: Group-II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
[saʈ] ‘throw’	0	3	3
[sɔː ʈ]	4	0	4

Table 4.17: Group-III (18-25)

The data discussed above indicates that consistent phonological variation can be observed in the context of above discussed morphemes. Respondents from village A use [ɔː] in all the tokens gathered from this data. This trend is similar in the tokens from village B except in the case of [sɔː ʈ]/[saʈ]/ [sɪʈ] ‘throw’.

4.2 Morpho-syntactic variation:

Different dialects of a language not only show phonological and lexical variation but they show significant morpho-syntactic variations as well. Morpho-syntactic variation has been studied both extensively and intensively in all the dialect studies. This variation is also documented in the present study. Most of the variation was observed in verbs and the different verb classes. Verbs in Punjabi are inflected for number, gender and tense. In some cases verbs are also followed by a second verb. These pairs of verbs are called compound verbs; the first verb is termed as ‘main verb’, and the second verb is referred to as explicator or auxiliary, which in turn can be followed by an auxiliary (Bhatia 1993 p. 326).

At the morpho-syntactic level most of the differences between the speech communities from village A and B were observed in compound verb formations.

Speakers from village A use the explicators *lai ai* ‘take is’, *jaNi* ‘go’ after the main verb. Speakers in village B use constructions like, *khala ai* ‘stand is’ and *honi* ‘to be’for the same. This variation can be seen in the following sentences:

1. asi tere kolon tomb **mang lai ai. (Village A)**

   We you from jewel ask take f.s. is.

   Have we asked you for a jewel?

2. asi tere kolon tomb **mangi khalay aa. (village B)**

   We you from jewel ask f.s. stand m.p. are

   Have we asked you for a jewel?

These examples show clear variations at the morpho-syntactic level among two communities. The speaker in village A ends his sentence (sentence 1) with explicator and auxiliary *lai ai*. Speaker in village B ends his sentence (sentence 2) with explicator and auxiliary *khalay aa.* Another pattern can be seen in the marking for the gender of the subject on the verb and auxiliaries. In sentence 1, speaker in village A marks the gender of the object *tomb* ‘jewel’ on the explicator *lai* but unlike this speaker in village B includes the same information on the main verb *mangi.* The speaker from village B in sentence 2 includes the information about the gender of the main subject on the explicator *khalay,* the gender information here refers to the main subject *asi* ‘we’. Similar kind of variation can be seen in the following sentences:

3. O de **kolo** kand nei **tapi** **jaNi. (Village A)**

He gen. by wall f.s. no jump over f.s. go infinit. f.s.

He would not be able to jump over the wall **OR** He cannot jump over the wall.

4. O de **to** kand nei **tap** **hoNi. (Village B)**

He gen. from wall f.s. no jump over to be infiniti. f.s.

He would not be able to jump over the wall **OR** He cannot jump over the wall.

In sentence 3, speaker from village A uses explicator *jaNi* after the main verb *tapi*. The speaker from village B in sentence 4 uses the explicator *hoNi* in the similar sentence; the main verb *tap* is used in its imperative case compared to *tapi* (the past form) in sentence 3. Another example of the morpho-syntactic variation among the two communities is that the speaker from village A uses the postposition *kolo* 'by' in sentence 3, while the speaker in village B uses the postposition *to* 'from' in sentence 4. The speaker from village A puts the information about the gender and number of the object on both the main verb and explicator in sentence 3. The speaker from village B puts this information only on explicator verb in sentence 4. The explicator has two separate forms for the each community. People in village A use *jaNi* while people in Village B use *hoNi*. Following two sentences also show the same variation pattern:

5. O de **kolo** akhabar nai **paRia** **jaNa. (Village A)**

He gen. by news paper m.s. no read m.s. go infinit. m.s.

He would not be able to read the news paper. **OR** he cannot read the news paper

6. O de **to** akhbar nai **paR** **hoNa**. **(Village B)**

   He gen. from news paper ms. no Read to be infinit. ms.

   He would not be able to read the news paper. **OR** he cannot read the news paper

In sentence 5 the speaker from village A uses the explicator *jaNa*, the speaker from village B in sentence 6 uses the explicator *hoNa*. Speaker from village A in sentence 5 uses the past form of the main verb *PaRia* 'read', speaker from village B uses the imperative case of the main verb *PaR*. The speaker from village A includes the information about the gender and number of the object on both the main verb and the explicator in sentence 5. The speaker from village B puts this information only on the explicator verb *hoN*a in sentence 6. The following two sentences show the absence of the explicator in the case of village A and the presence of the explicator in the same construction in case of speaker from village B.

7. eh ne ohee hasab **banaia** **ai. (Village A)**

   This erg. same way make past. m.s. is.

   This guy thinks it's the same way.

8. eh ohee hasab **banai** **khala** **ai. (Village B)**

   This erg. same way make past f.s. stand m.s. is.

   This guy thinks it's the same way.

In sentence 7 the speaker from village A does not use any explicator but speaker in village B uses the explicator *khala* in exactly the same construction (sentence 8).

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
Main verb+ ø explicator	7 (100%)	0	7
Main verb + *khala* (explicator)	0	5 (100%)	5

Table 4.18

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
Main verb+ *lai* (explicator)	11(85%)	2 (15%)	13
Main verb + *khala* (explicator)	0	9 (100%)	9

Table 4.19

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
Main verb+ jaNa/ jaNi (explicator)	13 (100%)	0	13
Main verb + *hoNa/hoNi* (explicator)	0	17 (100%)	17

Table 4.20

This is obvious from the tables 4.18, 4.19 and 4.20 that there is very clear morpho-syntactic variation among the speech patterns of these two communities. Respondents from both the communities use the predicted variable for their respective communities. The only exception was two instances of main verb + *lai* (explicator) in case of village B. This is not a predicted variable for the speakers from village B. The motivation for the use of this variable cannot be ascertained. It might be attributed to the contact situation. These results have not been discussed separately for the age groups because no intra-village variation across different age groups was observed.

Another variation pattern can be seen in the positioning of the main verb and explicator verb. This is evident from the sentences given below:

Village A	Village B
Kala **chala** **gia** ai. Kala leave past. Ms. Go past ms. Is. Kala has gone.	Kala **gia** **chala** ai. Kala go past ms. Leave past. Ms. Is. Kala has gone.

Table 4.21

Another type of variation was inclusion of an additional syllable before the last syllable of the main verb by the speakers in village B. The following table shows the examples of the inclusion of the syllable [va] before the last syllable of the verb. [va] is used in all the cases by the speakers of village B, but the speakers from village A do not use it.

Village A	Village B
O ne kali mehnndi **laNi** ai. He erg. Black fs. hina fs. apply fut. fs. is. He is going to apply black *hina* (dye) to his hair.	O ne kali mehndi **lavaNi** ai. He erg. Black fs. hina fs apply fut. fs. is. He is going to apply black *hina* (dye) to his hair.
Asi aj khad **paNi** ai. We today fertilizer insert fut. fs. is. We are going to fertilize our fields today	asan aj khad **pavaNi** ai. We today fertilizer insert fut. fs. is. We are going to fertilize our fields today

Table 4.22

Other differences at morpho-syntactic level are seen in the following sentences, which show variation between the speakers from two villages. This variation can be seen in all the age groups. The contrast is between the form of the postposition *lai/paro* 'for' in sentence 1a and 1b. Sentences 2a/2b and 3a/3b show variation in the last vowel of the main verb *hove/hovoo, kare/karoo*.

Village A	Village B
1a. Tai nu kam **lai** You dat. Postpos. Work ms. for lianda si bring pst. Ms. was You were brought for some work.	**1b.** Tai nu kam **paro** You dat. Postpos. Work m.s. for lianda si bring pst. Ms. was You were brought for some work.
2a. hasab **hovei** ga audit ms. to be fut. ms. will ms. Audit will be done.	**2b.** hasab **hovoo** ga audit ms. to be fut. m.s will ms. Audit will be done.
3a. O hasab **kare** ga he audit m.s. do fut. m.s. will m.s. He will do the audit.	**3b.** O hasab **karoo** ga he audit m.s. do fut. m.s. will m.s. He will do the audit.

Table 4.23

The sentences 1a and 1b in the table above are the example of two morphemes being used for the same thing. Morphemes *lai* and *paro* both mean '*for'*, these are both postpositions. In sentences 2a/2b and 3a/3b different forms of main verbs are used.

People in village A end the verb with vowel [ei], people in village B end their verb with the vowel [u]. This indicates phonological variation as well.

It can be concluded from the given data that morpho-syntactic variation can be seen in the speech of both communities. These variations go back to the respective dialects of these communities.

4.3 Lexical Variation

Lexical variation is an important aspect of dialect variation among two speech communities. To measure the lexical variation across communities under study in this project, a 15 question questionnaire was administered (please see appendix B). Three groups of men from each village were asked the lexical questions. Each group consisted of five individuals and these groups were formed on the basis of age. Group I is 50 & above, Group II is 25-40 and Group III is 18-25. Respondents were asked the questions and questionnaire was completed by the data collectors.

When all the results are reviewed, a clear dialect boundary can be marked between village A and village B. The community in village A has a tendency to use more Urdu words and the words which are considered more prestigious. On the other hand, a tendency to stick to original Punjabi words is observed in the respondents from village B. The tendency of opting for more Urdu words by the respondents from village A is evident from the following:

Kapray ‘clothes’ is a word which is used in Urdu and seems to have come from Urdu into Punjabi. This word is used by the 100% of respondents in village A as compared

with 55% of village B. *Shalwar* 'baggy trousers', another Urdu word, is used by 80% of the respondents from village A, while only 47% use it in village B. *Tala* 'lock' which is an Urdu word is used by 73% of the respondents from village A, only 47% use this in village B. *Chabi* 'key' which is also an Urdu word is used by 80% of the respondents from village A, while 47% of the respondents from village B use it. *Khoon* 'blood', another Urdu word, is used by 55% of the respondents from village A, while 33% of the respondents from village B opted for this word.

The usage of more Urdu words by the respondents from village A can be attributed to many factors. The community in village A is a religious minority (Christian) and their village is surrounded by heavily populated Muslim villages. So the choice of the Urdu words might be attributed to an attempt to present them as more educated and marketable in a job market which is extremely competitive. The higher usage of Urdu words among Christians may also be indicative of their insecurity as being a religious minority. This hypothesis is supported the Sunday Christian Services in the village, which are held in Urdu, while Friday sermons in the Muslim villages are usually delivered in Punjabi.

In a situation where religious minorities are under many social, political and economic pressures, they need more presentability, marketability and security when compared to fellow majority community. Urdu language and words seem to provide this. Urdu also gives the impression that they are more educated (when in fact they are not) than the others. In village A all the age groups tend to agree on the same word. This tendency to use the same word by all the age groups might be attributed to the Christians'

social, political and economic situation and their very close knit community. They manifest this cohesion and unity to other communities through a unified use of language. This show of cohesion can be attributed to the fact that the village is the only Christian village in the middle of some 5 Muslim villages. The whole district has only 7 Christian villages in a district which consists of 531 villages.

The division between Urdu and Punjabi words in village B reflects age differences. When there is an option between an Urdu and Punjabi word, the younger speakers tend to pick Urdu words as compared to the Punjabi words. This can be seen from the results for the following words:

KapRay: Three of five respondents from the youngest and middle groups opted for this word, while (60% respondents from the oldest group use the original Punjabi word *leRe*.

Shalwar: 60% respondents of the youngest group opted for this word while only 40% of respondents opted for this variable from other two groups.

Tala: The same pattern can be seen here as well, 60% respondents from younger groups opted for this word.

Chabi: The youngest group clearly favors this word 3 out of five opted for this.

The reasons for this variation among different age groups can be attributed to many factors. The youngest group is more exposed to the outside world through TV and cell phones. They also go to high school in a nearby village. This is an Urdu medium school and young men from other villages also attend the same high school. This contact situation exposes the young men from village B to different words. Media and books

which are in Urdu also seem to have an influence on the speech patterns of the younger generation.

The detailed results for the all the lexical items are given in the following section. The results tend to prove the hypothesis that in spite of living in close proximity for almost a hundred years these two communities are still carrying the lexical features of their respective dialects.

1. Results for the lexical item 'Turban'

There are two variables *parna* and *safa* 'turban', and both are used by both the communities. Both of these words are Punjabi words. The community in village A tends to use the word *parna* more (80%) than the word *safa*, while the community in village B favors the use of the word *safa* (72%).

But the interesting patterns can be seen when these are further sub divided among the age groups. The youngest of the groups in Village B is divided between *safa* (60%) and *parna* (40%). While in the Village A, *parna* (80%) has very clear cut edge over *safa* (20%). The medial age group also seems divided between two options in the Village B, while the same group in village A shows clear tendency for the word *parna.* The clear cut differences can be seen in the oldest group where (80%) of both the villages use the word predicted for their dialect. This shows very clearly that the older generation is holding on to their original dialect while merging can be seen in the younger generations. The use of the word *safa* by the people from Village A shows the consequences of the contact situation. Overall the lines are clearly drawn; village A favors word *parna* while village B uses *safa* more.

Variable	Village A	Village B
Safa	3 (20%)	11 (72%)
Parna	12 (80%)	4 (28%)

Table 4.24: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
safa	1	4	5
parna	4	1	5

Table 4.25: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
safa	1	4	5
parna	4	1	5

Table 4.26: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
safa	1	3	4
parna	4	2	6

Table 4.27: Group –III (18-25)

2. Results for the lexical item ‘shirt’

Two different variables *chagga* and *kuRta* are used for this lexical item by the communities. Both these words are Punjabi words. Each community has its own variable for this lexical item. 100 % people in village A use the word *kuRta,* while only 33% of the village B use it. The usage of variables seems to be divided across the age groups

from village B. younger generation in village B is clearly divided between the two words. Maybe they view the word *chaga* as a stigmatized form. *KuRta* is considered more prestigious than *chaga* and the *cahga* is associated more with rustic population. To avoid the stigma of the rustic usage the younger generation seems to be adopting the standard form. Another possible reason can be education.

Variable	Village A	Village B
chaga	0 (0%)	10 (66%)
kuRta	15 (100%)	5 (33%)

Table 4.28: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
chaga	0	4	4
kuRta	5	1	6

Table 4.29: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
chaga	0	3	3
KuRta	5	2	7

Table 4.30: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
chaga	0	3	3
KuRta	5	2	7

Table 4.31: Group –III (18-25)

3. Results for the lexical item ‘clothes’

Two variables used for ‘clothes’ are *kapRay* and *LeRe*. *KapRay* is used both in Urdu and Punjabi. Village A is 100% for the word *kapRay.* Interesting patterns can be seen in the village B, where the youngest age group clearly favors *kapRay* (60%) over *lere* (40%). The same is true for the middle group a very slight majority (60%) of elders uses the word *leRe.* This shows very clearly that the younger generation is using more and more of the words which do not carry a stigma. *KapRay* is a word which is used in Urdu as well and the word is considered more prestigious than *leRe.* The shift can clearly be seen in the younger generation of the village B.

Variable	Village A	Village B
leRe	0 (0%)	7 (45%)
kapRay	15 (100%)	8 (55%)

Table 4.32: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
leRe	0	3	3
kapRay	5	2	7

Table 4.33: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
leRe	0	2	3
kapRay	5	3	7

Table 4.34: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
leRe	0	2	2
kapRay	5	3	8

Table 4.35: Group –III (18-25)

4. Results for the lexical item 'shawl'

In case of lexical item 'shawl' the communities seem to be divided among three words (*leRa*, *duppata* and c*huni*). Village A shows a slight preference (46%) for the word *duppata,* an Urdu word, another 40% prefer the word *chuni.* Only 14% like to use the word *leRa.* Respondents in village B do not show a clear tendency towards any variable; *leRa* and *duppata* stand at 42% each. The remaining 16 % use the word *chuni.* A clear pattern towards using the 'more prestigious' Urdu word can be seen in both the communities.

Variable	Village A	Village B
lera	2 (13%)	6 (40%)
dupata	7 (46%)	6 (40%)
Chuni	6 (40%)	3 (20%)

Table 4.36: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
leRa	1	2	3
dupata	2	2	4
chuni	2	1	3

Table 4.37: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
leRa	0	2	2
dupata	3	2	5
chuni	2	1	3

Table 4.38: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
leRa	1	2	3
dupata	2	2	4
chuni	2	1	3

Table 4.39: Group –III (18-25)

5. Results for the lexical item ‘baggy trousers’

There are two variables *suthaN* and *shalwar* for ‘baggy trousers’. 80 % respondents in village A use the word *shalwar* which is an Urdu borrowing and considered ‘more prestigious’. While a small majority (53%) in village B favors the word *suthaN*. The youngest group in village B favors (60%) the word *shalwar* over *suthaN*. The same is true for the middle age group. In the oldest group 3 out of 5 opted for the word *suthaN*. Village A shows a pattern in the oldest group, two people out of five opted for *suthaN*. The younger groups (group-III 100% and group-II 80%) were heavily poised towards using the word *shalwar*. This indicates the influence of the socially and economically powerful Urdu on the indigenous communities.

Variable	Village A	Village B
suthaN	3 (20%)	8 (53%)
shalwar	12 (80%)	7 (47%)

Table 4.40: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
suthaN	2	3	5
shalwar	3	2	5

Table 4.41: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
suthaN	1	3	4
shalwar	4	2	6

Table 4.42: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
suthaN	0	2	2
shalwar	5	3	8

Table 4.43: Group –III (18-25)

6. Results for the lexical item ‘lock’

The Urdu borrowing *tala* seems to replace Punjabi *jandra in village A where* it is used by majority (73%) of the peopl. Village B is still often using the original Punjabi word. 58% of the respondents from village B opted for the word *jandra*. But when the results are analyzed across age groups, the younger generation is clearly using more and

more Urdu words. 60% of the respondents from the younger groups opted for the Urdu word. Usage of the word is also dependent on the education level of respondents. The more educated seem to use more Urdu words than the less educated or illiterate.

Variable	Village A	Village B
jandra	4 (27%)	8 (53%)
taala	11 (73%)	7 (47%)

Table 4.44: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
jandra	1	4	5
taala	4	1	5

Table 4.45: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
jandra	2	2	4
taala	3	3	6

Table 4.46: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
jandra	1	2	3
taala	4	3	3

Table 4.47: Group –III (18-25)

7. The variables for the lexical item ‘key’

There are two variables *kunji* and *chabi* for ‘key’. Almost 60% of the total tokens are *chabi.* Village A clearly tends to use word *chabi,* almost 80% people use this Urdu word. Village B is equally divided between the two words. The younger generation in village B is also equally divided between the two words. 60% percent of the youngest group prefers *chabi,* while 60% of the older groups prefer the word *kunji.* The rise of the Urdu lexicon is very clear in this case.

Variable	Village A	Village B
kunji	3 (20%)	8 (53%)
chabi	12 (80%)	7 (47%)

Table 4.48: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
kunji	2	3	5
chabi	3	2	5

Table 4.49: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
kunji	1	3	4
chabi	4	2	6

Table 4.50: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
kunji	0	2	2
chabi	5	3	8

Table 4.51: Group –III (18-25)

8. Results for the lexical item 'white'

Both of the variables used in this case are Punjabi words and dialect differences can be seen very clearly. 100% of the respondents fromvillage A use the word *chita* while 67 % of the speakers from village B use the word *baga*. The variation among age groups in village B can be seen. Only 60% of the younger groups use the word *baga*, while 80% of the oldest group uses this word.

Variable	Village A	Village B
Baga	0 (0%)	10 (67%)
chita	15 (100%)	5 (33%)

Table 4.52: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
baga	0	4	4
chita	5	1	6

Table 4.53: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
baga	0	3	3
chita	5	2	7

Table 4.54: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
baga	0	3	2
chita	5	2	8

Table 4.55: Group –III (18-25)

9. Results for the lexical item 'green'

Both the variables *sawa* and *hara* are Punjabi words, although the word *hara* is also used in Urdu and this fact makes it more prestigious. Obvious demarcation between the two dialects can be seen in this case. Speakers in village A show 100% usage for the word *hara*. While the speakers in village B stick to *sawa.* 72 % of the respondents from village B use the word *sawa*, and the division of the usage can be seen across the age groups. The youngest show some inclination (40%) towards the word *hara.* Both the older groups (80%) still favor the word *sawa.*

Variable	Village A	Village B
Sawa	0 (0%)	11 (73%)
hara	15(100%)	4 (27%)

Table 4.56: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
sawa	0	4	4
hara	5	1	6

Table 4.57: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
sawa	0	4	4
hara	5	1	6

Table 4.58: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
sawa	0	3	3
hara	5	2	7

Table 4.59: Group –III (18-25)

10. Results for the lexical item 'red'

Both the variables (*rata* and *laal*) for this item are Punjabi words, but Urdu borrows *laal* from Punjabi and this adds to the prestige of the word. Dialect boundaries are very clear between the two communities, 100% of the respondents from village A use the word *laal*, while the 72% people from village B use the word *rata*. Only two of the respondents from the youngest group in village B use the word *rata*. The 80% of the older groups from village B use the word *rata*.

Variable	Village A	Village B
rata	0 (0%)	11 (73%)
laal	15(100%)	4 (27%)

Table 4.60: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
rata	0	4	4
laal	5	1	6

Table 4.61: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
rata	0	4	4
laal	5	1	6

Table 4.62: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
rata	0	3	3
laal	5	2	7

Table 4.63: Group –III (18-25)

11. Results for the lexical item ‘blood’

Three variables (*lahoo, khoon* and *rat*) are used by both the communities for ‘blood’. This is another example of the variation between two communities. *lahoo* and *khoon* are used in Urdu as well and hence considered more prestigious. *rat* is a typical Punjabi word and is not currently as widely used. The community in village B shows its usage although

it is on the decline. The speakers in village A prefer *laaho* (45%) and *khoon* (55%) while the speakers in village B are equally divided between all the three options.

The youngest (80%) from village A prefer the word *khoon*, while the majority (60%) of the young ones from village B prefer *lahoo*. The middle group in village A is almost evenly divided between *lahoo* (60%) and *khoon* (40%). The same group in village B is divided between three options *khoon* and *rat* are used by 40% each while one respondent opted for the word *lahoo*.

Variable	Village A	Village B
Lahoo	7 (47%)	5 (33%)
khoon	8 (53%)	5 (33%)
rat	0 (0%)	5 (33%)

Table 4.64: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
lahoo	3	1	4
khoon	2	2	4
rat	0	2	2

Table 4.65: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
lahoo	3	1	4
khoon	2	2	4
rat	0	2	2

Table 4.66: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
lahoo	1	3	4
khoon	4	1	5
rat	0	1	1

Table 4.67: Group –III (18-25)

12. Results for the lexical item 'ox'

Both communities seem to be divided among all the three variables *buld*, *dand* and *taga* for the lexical item 'ox'. All of these are Punjabi words. *Dand* is the favorite option for the speakers in village B, 59% of them use it, and the remaining 40% opted for the word *buld.* The speakers in village A tend to use the word *taga* more than any other, 70% of the respondents opted for this lexical item. The remaining respondents are divided between *buld* and *dand*. Only one person opted for *dand,* the other three (20%) opted for *buld.* The respondents from village A who did not opt for the heavily used word *taga* in their community may have adopted it from the other communities.

Variable	Village A	Village B
buld	1 (6.6%)	6 (40%)
dand	3 (20%)	9 (60%)
taga	11 (73%)	0 (0%)

Table 4.68: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
buld	0	2	2
dand	2	3	5
taga	3	0	3

Table 4.69: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
buld	1	2	3
dand	1	3	4
taga	3	0	3

Table 4.70: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
buld	0	2	2
dand	0	3	3
taga	5	0	5

Table 4.71: Group –III (18-25)

13. Results for the lexical item ‘donkey’

There are two variables *gadein* and *khota* for ‘donkey’. Both these words are Punjabi words. All the respondents from the community in village A opted for the word *khota,* while 86% from village B opted for *gadein.* Two respondents from the younger groups in village B opted for the word *khota* and this is another example of the influence of surrounding dialects and contact situation. These young adults come in contact with people from other villages more frequently than the members of group I. This situation might have influenced their choice of the word.

Variable	Village A	Village B
gadein	0 (0%)	13 (87%)
khota	15 (100%)	2 (13%)

Table 4.72: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
gadein	0	5	5
khota	5	0	5

Table 4.73: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
gadein	0	4	4
khota	5	1	6

Table 4.74: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
gadein	0	4	4
khota	5	1	6

Table 4.75: Group –III (18-25)

14. Results for the lexical item 'cotton'

Both the communities use two variables *roon* and *kappa* for 'cotton'. All the respondents but one from village A opted for the word *kappa*. The speakers in village B show variation in the usage of this item. In village B 73% people opted for the word *roon*, the remaining used the word *kappa*. This item also indicates a clear dialect boundary between the two villages.

Variable	Village A	Village B
roon	1 (6.6%)	11 (73%)
kappa	14 (93%)	4 (27%)

Table 4.76: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
roon	1	4	5
kappa	4	1	5

Table 4.77: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
roon	0	4	4
kappa	5	1	6

Table 4.78: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
roon	0	3	3
kappa	5	2	7

Table 4.79: Group –III (18-25)

15. Results for the lexical item 'dam in the canal'

This is the only word on which the two communities are clearly divided and this is the best example for the lexical variation among these communities.

Variable	Village A	Village B
gado puli	0 (0%)	15 (100%)
Thokar	15 (100%)	0 (0%)

Table 4.80: Overall distribution of the lexical item

Age distribution:

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
gado puli	0	5	5
Thokar	5	0	5

Table 4.81: Group –I (50 & above)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
gado puli	0	5	5
Thokar	5	0	5

Table 4.82: Group –II (25-40)

Variable	Village A	Village B	Total Tokens
gado puli	0	5	5
Thokar	5	0	5

Table 4.83: Group –III (18-25)

This discussion would be incomplete if I did not discuss the factor of education. Once people are educated it seems that they tend to use more Urdu and English words in their speech than those who are not educated (Shackle 1970). This education factor might have influenced the data collection. Some people might have become conscious and opted for the most standard/prestigious word.

5. Conclusion

There is sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis that the specific linguistic features, which are affiliated to the speech communities in villages A & B, are retained by these communities as identity markers and the communities take pride in using these features of their respective dialects.

The tendency to retain the respective dialects can be seen from the lexical examples *gado puli/ thokar* 'dam in the canal', *roon/kappa* 'cotton', *gadein/khota* 'donkey', etc. In case of *gado puli* and *thokar,* 100 % respondents from village A use the variable *thokar* while 100% respondents from village B use the variable *gado puli*. In the case of *roon* and *kappa,* 93 % of the respondents from village A use the word *kappa* while 73 % of the respondents from village B use the variable *roon*. Variables like *gadein* and *khota* are also clearly divided between these two communities. 100% respondents from village A use the variable *khota* while 87% in village B use the variable *gadein.*

Another obvious variation across communities is the usage of more Urdu words by the respondents from village A. This usage can be attributed to many factors. The

community in village A is a religious minority (Christian), and in a situation where religious minorities are under many social, political and economic pressures, they need more presentability, marketability and security when compared to fellow majority community. Urdu language and words seem to provide this. Urdu also gives the impression that they are more educated (when in fact they are not) than the others.

At the phonological level respondents from both communities show almost 100% use of the predicted variable for their respective communities. The data indicates that consistent phonological variation can be observed in the context of words discussed in this study. Respondents from village A use [ɔː] in all the tokens gathered from the data collected for this study. This trend is similar in the tokens from village B except in the case of [sɔː ʈ]/[saʈ]/ [sɪʈ] 'throw'. The same is true for morpho-syntactic differences. In most of the cases, communities use the predicted variables. At the morpho-syntactic level most of the differences between the speech communities from village A and B were observed in compound verb formations.

A factor which has not been studied in this research is education. Education seems to influence the speech of younger generation in both the communities, especially in the case of lexical variation. The scope and breadth of this study do not allow the inclusion of this factor. The study of the influence of education on the speech of these communities can be a good topic for research in future. Other social factors like caste, class and the ownership of land can also have influence on the speech of the inhabitants but these factors have not been studied in this project.

This study is first of its kind and has been done on a small scale. The comparison between the two dialects was not entirely ideal. The groups are only controlled for age. Education is also a factor in the variation of speech but these groups were not controlled for educational differences. It would have been informative to include women which would have added many new dimensions to the study. Unfortunately, women could not be included due to the cultural factors. Nevertheless this research is significant because this can be considered a pilot study of dialect differences in this region. This study can give the future researchers a direction and topic to work on.

Appendices

Appendix A:

Questions for Interviews

1. How are your crops doing?
2. Do you remember the wars of 1965 and 1971?
3. Are you watching the recent cricket matches?
4. What about latest Bollywood movies?
5. How is school going?
6. Do you think the government will be able to control the price hike?
7. What do you think is the reason that we cannot buy fertilizers?
8. Is your new tractor performing well?
9. Do you think the old tractors were stronger?
10. Weren't the old times good?
11. Do you think Pakistan has any chance of coming out of the recent crises?
12. How is the water situation at your farm?
13. How many buffaloes do you have?
14. Do you go to the canal for swimming?
15. Did anything interesting ever happen to you on the canal?

Appendix B:

Survey Questions for the Lexical Variation

1. What do you call a turban?
2. What do you call a shirt?
3. What do you call clothes?
4. What do you call a shawl?
5. What do you call baggy trousers?
6. What do you call a lock?
7. What do you call a key?
8. What do you call the color white?
9. What do you call color green?
10. What do you call color red?
11. What do you call blood?
12. What do you call an ox?
13. What do you call a donkey?
14. What do you call cotton?
15. What do you call the dam in the canal?

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