The Role Of Language-In-Education Policy In The Shift Or Maintenance Of The Saraiki Language: A Study Of Elite English Medium Schools In Pakistan

Naushaba Haq, Mamuna Ghani

Article Info	Abstract
	In this study, we investigate the role of language-in-education (L-i-E) policy in determining learners' (Saraiki educated youth's) patterns of language use in relation to English, Urdu, and Saraiki languages and in developing their attitudes towards maintenance or shift of their native language, i.e., Saraiki.The main participants in this study are secondary (grade 9-10 and O level) and higher secondary (grade 11-12 and A Level) level learners studying inelite private English medium schools in Pakistan.Participants also included teachers and parents. The study is qualitative in nature. The data was collected by usingobservations, focus group discussions, and interviews. The findings show that the L-i-E policy of the elite Private English medium schools is promoting subtractive bilingualism and is contributing significantly to the shift of the Saraiki language among the educated Saraiki youth in Pakistan.

Introduction

This study is aboutlanguage-in-education (L-i-E) policy at the micro level of schools as the schools are powerful resourcesfor the upbringing of language change (Kaplan &Baldaf, 1997). L-i-E policy plays a vital role in language shift or maintenance (Barkhuizen, 2002; Diallo,2005; Guerini,2008; Spolsky, 2009). In this respect,the role of schools is importantas they are the sites where L-i-E policy is practised and implemented (Cooper, 1989; Corson, 1999). Baldauf, Li, and Zhao (2008) argue that the choice of medium of instruction (MoI) is not only a matter of education, but social, political, and economic factors in a context also influence the MoI policy. The language policies which promote the use of a few dominant languages cause the loss or shift of the local, minority languages.The purpose of this study is to explore how the L-i-E policy of the elite private English medium schools in Pakistan impact on learners' (Saraiki educated youth's) language attitudes and practices with regard to the use of their nativelanguage (i.e., Saraiki). Saraikiis one of the local languages in Pakistan and is spoken by a larger population in the southern part of the province of Punjab in Pakistan.

Literature review

Pakistan is a multilingual country where more than 60 languages are spoken (Rahman, 2010). Amongst these 60 languages, some are privileged and enjoy a higher status, whereas some other are given a lower social status. Among the privileged languages, English enjoys the highest status. It is one of the two official languages in Pakistan.Many people, especially the educated elite, take pride in communicating in English. The second most privileged language is Urdu, which is the national language of Pakistan and works as a lingua franca asa vast majority of the people in Pakistan who belong to different ethnolinguistic backgrounds speak Urdu to communicate with each other. At the third level come the local/regional vernaculars. Although, officially, the state policy supports local/regional languages, the de facto language policy gives privilege to English and Urdu and ignores the regional languages,particularly in education and official domains (Rahman, 2010). As Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008) argue that actual language learning is related to the attitudes and practices of individual groups and organizations, this study explores how the micro-level L-i-E policy of the elite English medium schoolsaffect the use of the native languages of the educated youth in Pakistan. The study focuses on one regional language (i.e., Saraiki) which is spoken as a main language in the region of Southern Punjab in Pakistan.

L-i-E planning

In a country, education is the first place where the implementation of language planning and policy (LPP) begins (Kennedy, 1983). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) consider L-i-E planning as the most important force in the expansion or reduction of a language. They elucidate that L-i-E works in three ways:

i.   It determines which language will be used as a medium of instruction and communication in education.
ii. It determines which languagewill be taught in education.
iii. It determines which variety of a language will be used in education.

L-i-E planning is affected by both linguistic and non-linguistic forces, working at both micro and macro levels (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Tollefson, 1981).Kaplan and Baldauf (1997, p. 299) contend that micro-level language planning is often unplanned and therefore it often remains 'unnoticed and unrecorded'. Liddicoat and Baldauf (2008, p. 4) emphasize that there is a need for raising awareness at this level of language planning 'because such planning is on-going and therefore commonplace'. Nonetheless, it is a fact that there is no clear boundary between macro and micro levels of language planning; both are interconnected. Similarly, there is no one-way (top-down or bottom-up) flow between them. The language planning activities at a macro level influence the micro-level use of a language. Likewise, the micro-level realities impact on the macro-level LPP. For example, schools may be regarded as an interface between the macro- and micro-level LPP. In one way, they are the places where macro-level policies are implemented and, in another way, they influence the broader, national-level policies (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008 p. 13). A clear example of this two-way-process is seen in Pakistan. The promotion of English via government policies (i.e., teaching of English as a compulsory language at all levels of educationand making English the language for all administrative functions, including legislation and official correspondence in all government and private sector organizations) make the learning and use of English mandatory for a large majority of people in Pakistan. Hence, both parents and schools in Pakistan want their children and learners respectively to be proficientin English. On the other hand, the emphasis on the teaching and learning of English and using it as an MoI in private schools compels the education policy makers to make a shift in the MoI from Urdu to English at all levels of education in government schools in Pakistan. An example of this can be found in the National Education Policy 2009, which emphasizes the use of English as an MoI from primary onwards in government schools not only for the teaching of English but also for the subjects of Sciences and Mathematics (Ministry of Education, 2009).

Language shift and maintenance

Language shift is a phenomenon in which the native speakers of a language gradually reduce its use in various social domains and move towards an extended use of the dominant language (Holmes, 2013). Holmes (2013) elaborates that political and economic factors are the main reasons for the shift of a language. On the other hand, language maintenance occurs when an individual or a speech community maintains the use of their native language despite the dominant use of another language in various social domains (Pauwels, 2004). Holmes (2013, p. 63) explains that the pace of language shift is slower among the communities where the speakers of a language highly value their ethnic language. They have a positive attitude towards their native language, and they take it 'as an important symbol of their ethnic identity'. Language shift and maintenance is also related to language loss or decline. May (2006) explains that the process of language shift occurs in three stages. In the first stage, the members of the minority language group are pressurized to speak the dominant language, especially in formal contexts. Education plays an important role in this respect. In the second stage, bilingualism occurs. Individuals speak both languages; but with the passage of time, fluency in the minority language decreases. In the third stage, the dominant language completely replaces the minority language. It usually occurs in the third generation when the minority language is totally forgotten and is no longer used for communication. It is only remembered as a language spoken by forefathers.

Over the last 500 years, half of the world's languages have disappeared and many more are on the verge of extinction with the exception of only 10% of the languages that are being used across the world at present (Brenzinger, 1990 cited in McKay, 2004). In the present world, English, being one of the most powerful languages, is replacing many local languages in different parts of the world. Brenzinger (1997) reports that English is replacing many Celtic languages in Great Britain, aboriginal languages in Australia, and Indian languages in North America. Schaefer and Egbokhare (1999) also point out that the spread of English in Nigeria is causing the abandonment of several indigenous languages. Government's language policy and the educational institutions working under its influence are the most important factors that can trigger the shift of a language or the maintenance of an ethnic language. In stage 4 and 5 of his 8-stage Reversing Language Shift (RLS) model, Fishman (1991) focuses on mother tongue literacy and the use of heritage language in school.

The literature also shows that language attitudes play a main role in the maintenance or shift of a language. Language attitudes are affected by the context in which a language is spoken or taught. Positive attitudes and feelings associated with a language promote the acquisition and revitalization of that language (Baker, 2006), whereas negative attitudes cause a lack of inclination towards the use and learning of that language and hence may lead to the shift of that language (Baker, 2006; Korth, 2005). Baker (2006) divides language attitudes into two types—instrumental and integrative attitudes. Instrumental attitudes to preserve

one's ethnic language or learning a second language are linked with practical reasons, such as achievement, success, and status. For example, Pakistani people desire to achieve proficiency in English and make maximum use of it because of its prestigious status and a key role in opening the avenues for a person's socio-economic success (Coleman & Capstick, 2012; Mahboob, 2002; Rehman, 2006; Shamim, 2008).Integrative attitudes to a language are associated with one's identification with a language or linguistic ethnicity. For example, Urdu is regarded as a symbol of national unity and integrity in Pakistan (Durrani& Dunne 2010). Therefore, its use and learning are promoted.

Languageshift and maintenance in Pakistan

Pakistan is a multilingual society. English is the official language of the country; Urdu is the national language; and a third local/regional language is also spoken by the people in their everyday life (Mahboob, 2017). English has become the language of the elite class. It is widely used within the domains of power, such as the central civil services, high and supreme courts, the higher ranks of armed forces and other offices of the government. It is also a medium to connect with the outside world. Urdu is the lingua franca which is used by people to interact with the people belonging to a different ethnolinguistic group. English andUrdu play a prominent and dominant role in the field of education, media and government and private institutions, which has resulted in the decline of many local/regional languages. The regional languages are losing their popularity with the passage of time and there is a continuous negative attitude towards these languages. People appear to consider their mother tongue or regional language as a stumbling block in the way of economic success and social upward mobility. Over the years, the signs of shift of many local languages have been observed in Pakistan. Many regional languages, such as Punjabi and Saraiki, which are spoken by millions of people in the south, central, and upper Punjab, are slowly losing ground to the officially recognized and promoted languages(Mansoor, 2005). The government's policies of giving a preferred status to English and Urdu have placed the regional languages in a position of disadvantage as the younger educated generation is more instrumentally motivated towards using English and Urdu at the cost of their mother tongue/ethnic language (Rahman, 2004). A significant number of educated youth, (particularly those who get education in elite English medium schools) and their parents appear to have developed a negative attitude toward their ethnic/native languages as the use of one's ethnic/native language is taken as a symbol of backwardness (Mansoor, 2005).

As a member of the Saraiki ethnic community and based on my past schooling at an English medium school, together with my theoretical and professional knowledge of the fields of English language teaching, Applied Linguistics, and Sociolinguistics, I hypothesize that the government's language policy, L-i-E policy of the elite private English medium schools, and various other social factors in Pakistan have a significant role in changing the attitude of the members (particularly the educated youth) of the minority languages (the Saraiki language in this case) towards their native/ethnic languages (such as Saraiki), and their possible shift from their native language to the dominant languages (Urdu and English). In this regard, the role of elite private English medium school is important and is worth investigating. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore how the L-i-E policy of the elite private English medium schools in Pakistan impact on the language attitudes and practices of the educated Saraiki youth studying in the elite private English medium schools in Pakistan.

Research questions

1. What are learners' (educated Saraiki youth's) attitudes towards Saraiki and the other two dominant languages (English and Urdu) in Pakistan?
2. What are learners' (educated Saraiki youth's) patterns of language use of Saraiki, Urdu, and English?
3. What are the implications of learners' (educated Saraiki youth's) patterns of language use and language attitudes for the maintenance or shift of the Saraiki language?

Research Methodology

This study is based on a qualitative research approach. The data was collected by employing school and classroom observations, focus group discussions, and interviews.The study consists of three stages. The first stage involved collecting information/data about learners' patterns of language use with regard to the Saraiki, English, and Urdu languages. This was done by carrying out school and classroom observations and conducting focus group discussions with the learners. School and classroom observations were carried out to explore learners' patterns of language, particularly in the school's formal educational context. The classes of English language and of the subjects other than English were observed. The secondstage involved carrying out focus group discussions with the learners to further explore their patterns of language use and their views about, preferences for, and attitudes towards, the Saraiki, English and Urdu languages. The third stage consisted of conducting one-to-one interviews with teachers and parents to inquire into their views about learners' patterns of language use and teachers' and parents' role in determining these attitudes.

The linguistic community

This study was conducted in Bahawalpur, which is one of the three divisions of Southern Punjab (Bahawalpur, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Multan) where the majority of the population belongs to the Saraiki ethnolinguistic

community. The Bahawalpur region consists of a population of about 11 million people (Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2017) who mainly belong to the Saraiki ethnolinguistic community. Hence, the first language of the majority of learners in schools in Bahawalpur is Saraiki. The rationale for choosing only one Saraiki region (Bahawalpur) for this study was the mainly qualitative nature of the study, which emphasises the need to examine a specific phenomenon in detail, keeping the focus on a specific context (Dörnyei, 2007; Mackey & Gass, 2005). Further, keeping in view time, financial, and logistics constraints, expanding the study to more than one geographical region was impossible.

Site selection

The selection of the school as a research site was carried out by employing a purposive sampling approach. In purposive sampling, the researcher(s) select the sample based on what they think would be suitable for the research to obtain 'rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation' (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 126). The use of purposive sampling in selecting the school in this study was appropriate because the study aimed to explore how the L-i-E policy of the elite private English medium schools impacts on developing learners' patterns of language use of, and attitudes towards, their mother tongue (Saraiki) and the other dominant languages (English and Urdu) in Pakistan.

The school

The school I selected for this study represents the elite category of private English medium schools in Pakistan. It is a system of schools that has it branches in a large number of cities in Pakistan. There are two branches of the schoolin Bahawalpur. One is the junior branch which offers education from playgroup to grade 2. The other is the senior (larger) branch which offers education from grade 1 to grade 12. For secondary (grade 9-10) and higher secondary (grade 11-12) levels, the school offers two strands of education. One is the matriculation (grade 9-10) and intermediate (grade 11-12) education system which is affiliated with the Pakistani education system. The other is O Level (grade 9-10) and A level (grade 11-12) system of education which is affiliated with the University of Cambridge. As I focused on the secondary level learners for this study, I selected the senior branch of the School. The total number of students in the schoolis 1500, and the number of students at secondary level (grade 9-10) in both matriculation and O Level classes is 105. The schoolclaims to provide high-quality education to learners with an updated curriculum that fosters learners' critical and analytical skills. Further, the school takes pride in providing high-quality English language education to learners. In this regard, it particularly highlights its teachers' English language skills.

Having obtained permission from both school administration and participants, I collected data from the school. I observed 13 classes which included both English language classrooms and the classes of other subjects, such as Math, Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Pakistan Studies. Of the 13 observed classes, six classes were of English, two were each of Math and Physics, and one was each of Chemistry, Biology, and Pakistan Studies. Additionally, I observed teacher-learner and learner-learner interaction at various other locations in the school, such as library, computer lab, and playground. All these observations provided me rich data to notice learners' patterns of language use in the formal context of school. In addition, I carried out two focus group discussions with learners, three one-to-one interviews with teachers, and three one-to-one interviews with parents.

Participants

Learners

Learners are the main participants in this study, as the study focuses on the tendency towards language shift or maintenance of the Saraiki language among the educated Saraiki youth in Pakistan and the role of L-i-E policy in this regard. For this purpose, secondary (grade 9-10 and O Level) and higher secondary (grade 11-12 and A Level) level learners were selected as participants. The rationale for selecting the youth to explore the phenomenon of shift or maintenance of the Saraiki language was that a large body of the literature (e.g., McCarty, Romero-Little, Warhol, & Zepeda, O, 2009; Shohamy, 2006) identifies youth as the key player and main decision maker in using or abandoning a language, which then gradually leads to the shift or maintenance of their native language.

Table 5.1: Demographic details of learners from elite private English medium school

Student	Gender	Reference in focus groups	Age	Class	No. of years in this or a similar school
Student 1	Male	FG1, S1	15	10th	6
Student 2	Male	FG1, S2	16	10th	7
Student 3	Male	FG1, S3	16	O Level	10
Student 4	Male	FG1, S4	15	O Level	8
Student 5	Female	FG1, S5	16	10th	5
Student 6	Male	FG2, S1	15	9th	6
Student 7	Female	FG2, S2	15	10th	10
Student 8	Male	FG2, S3	17	A Level	8
Student 9	Female	FG2, S4	18	A Level	9
Student 10	Male	FG2, S5	15	9th	5

The selection of the participants was based on the following criteria:

i. Learners should be enrolled in secondary (grade 9-10 and O Level) or higher secondary (grade 11-12 and A Level) level.
ii. They must have been studying in the same or a similar school for the last five years.
iii. Their native language must be Saraiki.

Further information about the participants is given in Table 5.1above.

Teachers

Three teachers participated in the study. The criteria for teachers' participation in the study was that they should have at least five-year experience of teaching English in the same school or in a school of a similar category. The information about the teaches is given in Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2: Information about the teachers

Teacher	Reference in paper	Gender	Qualifications	Teaching experience
Teacher 1	T1	Male	M.A. English, B.Ed.	5 years
Teacher 2	T2	Female	M.A. English	7 years
Teacher 3	T3	Male	M.A. English, B.Ed.	8 years

Parents

Three parents participated in the study, and their interviews were conducted. The purpose of intervews with the parents was to explore their rationale for sending their children to the particular school, their preferences for their children's patterns of language use and language attitudes, and their views about LPP and L-i-E policy. The information about the parents is given in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3: Information about the parents

Parent	Reference in paper	Gender	Profession
Parent 1	P1	Male	Engineer
Parent 2	P2	Male	Doctor
Parent 3	P3	Male	Professor

Data analysis

The purpose to analyse the qualitative data (school and classroom observations, focus group discussions, and interviews) was to explore the themes related to learners' language attitudes, their patterns of language use, andtheir tendency towardsshift or maintenance of their native language (Saraiki). Therefore, Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis method was used to analyse the data.

Findings

In the findings, I first explain agents' (students', teachers', and parents') attitudes towards the three languages (English, Urdu, and Saraiki). The main agents in this study are students. The views of other agents (teachers and parents) are also discussed, as the triangulated data from different participants, who are interlinked, lend reliability, validity, and credibility to the findings. Baker (2006) divides language attitudes into two groups: instrumental and integrative attitudes. Following Baker's(2006) opinion, I also explain agents' attitudestowards English, Urdu and Saraiki in terms of instrumental and integrative attitudes.

Instrumental value of English, Urdu, and Saraiki

According to Baker (2006, p. 214), instrumental attitudes are linked with 'vocational reasons, status, achievement, personal success, self-enhancement, self-actualization, basic security, and survival'. Some of the attitudes emerging in my data are related to these themes. However, I name them as they were referred to by the respondents. The themes are:

- English as a key to success in education
- English as a key to success in life
- Global value of English
- Status value of English
- Status value of Urdu
- Less value of mother tongue (MT)

English as a key to success in education

In Pakistan, the English medium students' success rate in education is often found much higher than that of the Urdu medium students. The students appeared to have similar opinion about English as a key to success in education. For example, a student reported, 'if we are good at English, we are good at studies' (FG1 S4). Another student expressed that 'English is the key to success in education at both school and higher-education levels' (FG2 S2). The parents appeared to have the idea that if they want to secure a bright future for their children, they should send their children to English medium schools and put every effort to improve their English language proficiency. In this regard, an illustrative comment form parent 2 is as follows:

> We send our children to English medium schools since our aim is to secure a brighter future for them. (P2)

The teachers also expressed their belief that proficiency in English helps prevent difficulties in higher education. One of the teachers expressed this as follows:

> If a student does not know English, he/she cannot be successful in higher education because English is the medium of learning at higher education all over Pakistan. (T2)

English as a key to success in life

A student expressed his views that proficiency in English helps them secure good jobs (FG1 S1). When I asked the other students if they agree to this idea, all other students gave views in support of this opinion. For example, a student reported:

> When we go for interviews for white-collar jobs, the questions are asked in English and the first thing they assess is the candidate's proficiency in English. (FG1 S4)

Another student shared the idea that 'in job interviews only those candidates are successful who express themselves easily in English' (FG2 S5). All the participantsagreed that English is important for success in life. A parent expressed that 'it is a common understanding that whoever is good at English will get better jobs' (P3). One of the teachers also reported that 'in today's world we cannot survive without English' (T2).

The global value of English

English is a global lingua franca. The findings show that the parents send their children to English medium schools because they want their children to be proficient in English and go abroad for higher education. One of the students expressed:

> It's my wish to go abroad for higher education, so I need to know English very well. (FG1 S1)

Another student expressed his views about the general perception that prevails in the society by saying that:

> English is an international language, and most of the educated people in Pakistanworkhard to learn English because they wish to go abroad and settle down there. (FG2 S3)

Teachers and parents also appeared to have a positive attitude towards the status of English as a global language. One of the teachers expressed:

> Students are more enthusiastic to learn English as compared to Urdu because they want to have an international exposure in future. (T4)

One of the parents expressed his views as follows:

> One of my sons is already studying in America, and I feel very proud when I tell my friends about him, and I also wish the same for my second son who is studying in a school. (P1)

Status value of English

The participants associated a high-status value to English. The official promotion of a language is related to prestige planning by the government (Haarmann, 1990). The findings show that English and Urdu are associated with high status and prestige and this is because of the LPP in Pakistan.The people who are fluent in English or Urdu enjoy a higher status in the society. The higher status value of English is directly related to the themes of progress, prosperity, success and modernity. A student expressed this idea as follows:

> English is the language of the upper-class and educated people. When we speak English in social gatherings, people consider us highly educated, but if we speak Saraiki, people think we are illiterate. (FG2 S3)

Another student expressed similar views as follows:

> When I speak English, people give me lots of importance and I feel myself as an educated person. (FG1 S2)

One of the parents expressed that 'English is the language of civilized and educated people. So, if someone speaks English, people give him/her more respect and importance (P3). One of the teachers also expressed a similar view saying that 'English has always been a symbol of status in Pakistan' (T2). The teachers reported that the parents feelproud when their children communicate in English. Some studentsreported that if a student is not proficient in English or speaks incorrect English, he/she is ridiculed by his/her fellow students.

Status value of Urdu

In Pakistan, Urdu enjoys a status which has two dimensions. First, Urdu is the national language and lingua franca which means Urdu is used by linguistically diverse communities who communicate with each other through this language. Second, Urdu has the status of the official language. Some students expressed that they feel proud when they communicate in Urdu and English. One student expressed that his MT is Saraiki, but his father asks him to communicate in Urdu and speak English even at home (FG1 S1). Another student reported:

> My mother tells me to speak Urdu and not MT [Saraiki] both in school and in social gatherings because then the people will think that I am a civilized person and I belong to a noble, educated family. (FG1 S2)

Students also expressed their views about the status of Urdu as an official language. One student expressed that 'Urdu is used in offices, so we need to learn it' (FG2 S2). Another student pointed out that Urdu gets a lot of institutional support, whereas regional languages are discouraged. It was observed during the interviews and focus group discussions that the participants rated Urdu very high. They expressed that along with having

proficiency in English, speaking good Urdu is important. One of the parents expressed that he communicates in Urdu with his children so that when they go to school, they feel confident (P3).

National value of Urdu

All the participants strongly supported the value of Urdu as a national language and as a symbol of national identity. One of the students expressed that Urdu has a very special and strong place in Pakistan because it is a symbol of our national identity (FG5 S2). While comparing Urdu with the regional languages, the students pointed out that in Pakistan MT has a limited role to play, whereas Urdu is used as a common vernacular by a vast majority of the population of the country. One of the students said that'people of all four provinces communicate with each other through Urdu, so in a way it binds us together' (FG2 S3). When parents and teachers were asked about the national value of Urdu, they appeared to have a similar opinion.

The participants explained that the rationale for neglecting regional languages by the policy makers and politicians was to promote a sense of nationalism and national unity. In this regard, they cited an example from the past saying that the reason for neglecting the majority spoken regional languages, such as Bengali and Punjabi, and declaring Urdu (which was the native language of only 7.8% of the total population of Pakistan) as the national language was to avoid provincialism and regionalism. Thus, the national unity was strengthened by promoting the use of Urdu. In this regard, one teacher reported, 'we are all united because we can speak and understand one language, that is, Urdu' (T3). Some of the participants also regarded Urdu as a symbol of patriotism. For example, one of the parents said that 'if we love Pakistan, we should speak Urdu' (P2). One of the students also expressed that 'I am patriotic, and I like Urdu very much. It is very dear to me because it is my national language' (FG2 S5). One of the parents also informed that 'when we go abroad and speak Urdu at public places, only then we are identified as Pakistanis' (P9).

Despite all these patriotic feelings and positive attitudes towards Urdu, there were still some undertones of skepticism about the use of Urdu in education. Most of the students agreed to the prestigious value of Urdu but they also showed some reservations for studying Urdu. One of the students expressed his feelings by saying:

Urdu is our national language, but I find it difficult to learn, particularly its grammar. (FG2 S2)

So, it is obvious that the students of the school are not comfortable to study Urdu.

Integrative attitudes towards Saraiki

There are instances in the data where the participants expressed their feelings of superiority, dignity and pride on being a part of the Saraiki culture and ethnicity. Simultaneously, there were some instances which reflect participants' feeling of shame associated with their MT (Saraiki). I discuss both these aspects below. In this study, it was interesting to note that the participants appeared to have positive attitudes towards English due to various instrumental reasons, whereas their positive attitude towards their MT/Saraiki was because of integrative reasons. I group the integrative attitudes of the agents as follows:

- Identity value of MT/Saraiki
- Pride associated with MT/ Saraiki
- Shame associated with MT/Saraiki

Identity value of MT/Saraiki

The relationship between language and identity is deep-rooted. As discussed previously, the participants had some reservations and skepticism about the promotion of Saraiki language. They believed that promoting regional languages may be a threat to the national unity and integrity.However, the participants showed a positive attitude towards Saraikiregarding their personal identity and ethnicity. One of the students expressed that she likes to speak Saraiki when she goes to her village(FG1 S1). Another student expressed that since Saraiki is her MT, she should know it. This is a matter of her identity (FG1 S3). When similar questions were asked to the teachers, they also associated the use of MT with one's social and ethnic identity. For example, a teacher expressed:

Yes, regional languages are important because if you are living in a particular group or region, you should know the language of that region. (T3)

In my interviews with the parents, I found that they also had a similar opinion. For example, one of the parents said:

Our children should speak Saraiki. After all this is our MT. When they communicate in Saraiki, only then people will come to know who they are. (P1)

Pride associated with MT/ Saraiki

Pride associated with MT/Saraiki appeared to be a dominant theme in the data. I noticed that the participants associated pride with English and Urdu only on the basis of the instrumental value or social status of these languages, and the pride associated with MT is related to ethnicity and self-identity which are based on integrative values. One of the students expressed his feeling of pride related to the Saraiki language by saying:

We belong to a Saraiki region and we feel proud of this language. (FG2 S4)

Another student expressed his views by saying:

> I live in a Saraiki speaking environment and I feel proud of my ethnicity. Sometimes I think that after all I know my MT, but actually in school I should be taught the other two most important languages, that is, English and Urdu. (FG2 S3).

I observed that when it comes to the matter of self-identity some of the students commented that they should learn Saraiki because it is their MT, but most of them changed their opinion when they were specifically asked if Saraiki should be the MoI or it should be taught as a subject in schools. This is a paradox that on the one hand, there is a positive attitude towards learning Saraiki, but on the other hand, when the students are asked about introducing Saraiki as an MoI or teaching it as a subject, they change their stance.

Shame associated with MT/Saraiki

Although majority of the participants associated a sense of pride withSaraiki, some participants reported that they feel ashamed of being a Saraiki speaker in certain situations. This feeling of shame is associated with political, psychological and social reasons. One reason reported by the participants, particularly students, is that the Saraiki people are ridiculed by the Urdu or Punjabi people. One of the students expressed:

> Whenever I go to Lahore or Islamabad, people look down upon me as if belonging to Bahawalpur or being a Saraiki is inferior. (FG2 S1)

Another studentreported:

> My elder brother went to Lahore for an interview to get some job, but he was rejected on the basis that when he spoke English or Urdu, he reflected the Saraiki accent and they required someone more polished and cultured for this job. (FG 4, S2)

Electronic media, such as TV channels, and social media were also reported as the factors for creating an image of the uncultured people of the Saraiki speaking people. For example, TV programmes, dramas and talk shows show the Saraiki people as simple and uncultured people having low IQ. In this regard, one of the students said:

> Even in different entertainment programmes of our school whenever we have to create comedy, a Saraiki character in village clothes comes to the stage and all the audience start laughing. (FG4 S3)

Another reason associated with the feeling of shame among the students is their Saraiki accent. One student reported:

> My accent is Saraiki, so when I talk to my friends in Urdu, they start imitating me. I feel so embarrassed that now I seldom talk to my fellows in school. (FG1 S5)

I am also personally aware of many Saraiki families who speak Urdu to their children so that they develop a good accent of Urdu, and they do not have to suffer embarrassment or shame when they go to school.

Findings about the tendency of language shift or maintenance in relation to language use and practices

Now, I discuss learners' language practices and preferences with regard to the use of the three languages (English, Urdu, and Saraiki)in both formal and informal settings, i.e., school, home and outside home. Exploring the influence of various domains (school, home, and outside home) on learners' patterns of language use, I found many studies (such as Barkhuizen, Knoch& Starks, 2006; Dittmar, Spolsky& Walter, 2002; Spolsky, 2009) that report that different domains do not work in isolation and that one situation or context is influenced by the other. I first discuss learners' domain wise language use in whichI discuss three main domains: school, home, and outside home.

Language use in schools

English appeared to be the most dominant language in the school, especially in the classroom. When observing the learners in the schools (both inside and outside the classroom) I found that although the school appeared to follow the English-only policy within the classes, the language policy outside the classroom is not so strict. I found learners using both English and Urdu in the cafeteria and playgrounds. One of the students expressed this as follows:

> We are free in the playground. We feel more relaxed. So, we talk in English and Urdu. (FG1 S5)

Another student, whose MT was Saraiki, said that she speaks both English and Urdu in school and at home (FG2 S4). Another student gave his opinion in the following words:

> Since I have been forced to use English most of the time, speaking English has now become my habit. (FG2 S1)

My findings about students' patterns of language use and their linguistic preferences were supported and confirmed by the data obtained from parents and teachers. The teachers informed that English is the most important and dominant language in school. Teachers expressed that the students mostly speak English at formal occasions and Urdu at informal occasions (T1 and T3). The parents also reported similar views about their children's patterns of language use and language practices. For example, a parent expressed that he knows his children use only English in school (P2). The L-i-E policy of the school affects learners' language choices. Therefore, they mostly use English and Urdu, but do not use MT at all as it is not given any importance in the L-i-E policy of the school. As for the personal choice of language, the students appeared to prefer to speak English and Urdu. For example, one student commented:

> I don't feel comfortable to communicate in Saraiki within the school boundaries. (FG2 S3)

Summing up the same situation another studentsaid:

> Since I spend most of the time in school using English and Urdu, so with the passage of time I feel that I am losing the use of Saraiki language. (FG1 S5)

Influence of peers/fellows on language practices

When exploring the reasons for learners' language shift and maintenance in this study, I noticed that students' language practices and attitudes are also influenced by their peers. Lo Bianco (2010) argues that we are all engaged in continual language policy as we talk to each other. When spending time with students during my observations in the libraries, computer-rooms, cafeteria, pathways and playgrounds of the schools, I observed that the students who were fluent speakers of English were given more importance by their fellows. One of the teachers expressed a similar idea by saying that 'sometimes the students speak English because of the influence of their fellows' (T1). Ateacher confirmed that 'the students admire those students who are good at English and everyone wants to be their friend' (T2). This is not the case with the students only, but this applies to the teachers also. One of the teachers reported that the students who are proficient in English are also the favourites of their teachers (T3).

Language use at home

The findings show that the most dominant language at home is Urdu, followed by English. During focus group discussions, the students reported that the majority of the educated people of Southern Punjab speak Urdu at home. They seldom use their MT (Saraiki). This is a common practice of the families whose MT is Saraiki. In this regard, one of the students reported as follows:

> At home we speak Urdu and English. If sometimes I speak Saraiki, my mother gets angry with me. (FG1 S2)

The evidence of speaking Urdu at home was also reported by many parents. One of the parents said that theyinteract with their children in English and Urdu because only these are the two languages which are valued in different fields of life(P1). Further, they want that when their children go to school, they should have no problem in communicating in Urdu with their class fellows (P2). A teacher reported that 'with few exceptions most of the parents prefer to speak Urdu with their children' (T2).Further elaborating the same situation one of the students reported:

> When I grew up, I came to know that my MT is Saraiki. During my childhood I did not know this because at home we would communicate with each other all the time in Urdu. (FG2 S3)

Language use in domains outside home

When I explored participants' language practices in the domains outside home, such as with friends and in parties and markets, a complex variation of language practices emerged. I found that in parties and social gatherings, participants like to communicate in Urdu and English. Most of the students reported that they prefer speaking Urdu and English with their friends. At parties, such as birthdays, get together, and weddings, they use Urdu and English with their friends. This shows that most of the students of English medium schools carry the language policy of the school to the domains outside school and practice the same patterns of language use at home and in domains outside home.However, the language pattern practised in markets for shopping purposes is firstly Urdu and secondly Saraiki. Although Bahawalpur is known to be a Saraiki region, the mode of communication between the customer and the shopkeeper is mostly Urdu. One of the students said:

> Urdu is the most prominent and dominant language used here. Many shopkeepers also belong to Urdu-speaking community. So, we communicate in Urdu and it makes our shopping easy. (FG3 S1)

One of the teachers also explained various benefits of using the Saraiki language in the market. She explained:

> If one speaks Saraiki in the market, one can easily acculturate with the situation rather than being a stranger. So, this makes bargaining with the shopkeeper simple and easy. (T3)

Learners' language use for information and leisure

The most dominant languages for seeking information and entertainment are English and Urdu. In this regard, a student explained:

> All my friends like to read English newspapers, listen to English music, and watch English movies. (FG2 S3)

Another learner expressed as follows:

> I love music and the 90% of my music collection is of English songs and only 10% is of Urdu songs. (FG1 S3)

A number of students reported that they usually switch to English channels because many times the Urdu dramas and programmes do not make sense to them. One of the students had a different perspective and objective for watching English channels. She said:

> I like to watch English movies, news, talk shows, and programmes because in this way I improve my English language. (FG2 S5)

Some students reported that they preferEnglish channels and movies because of their subject matter and theme. Some students expressed that they used to watch Urdu dramas, but with the passage of time the standard of Urdu TV programmes has declined, so now they have switched to English programmes which provide good information about the world. For example, a student expressed:

I like to watch English documentaries and talk shows. In this way, I become well aware of different events and things going on around us. (FG4 S5)

The teachers and parents showed a pessimistic attitude towards Saraiki literature and culture. For example, one of the parents said:

I don't think anyone is interested in Saraiki literature, poetry, or culture. (P2)

Majority of the participants showed a lack of interest in regional languages, but there were still a few students who showed enthusiasm and love for Saraiki poetry and music. One of the students expressed:

My father is very fond of listening to Saraiki songs. Therefore, I have also developed a taste for Saraiki music. I love hearing beautiful songs of SurriyaMultanikar, Pathanay Khan and MastanaParwana [famous singers of the Saraiki songs]. (FG1 S5)

Language shift and Maintenance

In this section, I discuss ideas with regard to learners' (the Saraiki youth's) shift or maintenance of their MT. I also mention the responses in which there are references to the inter-generational loss of Saraiki. For example, one of the students compared his proficiency of the Saraiki language to that of his father and grandfather as follows:

I am less proficient in Saraiki as compared to my parents and grandparents. My grandparents have a large vocabulary of Saraiki, but we are gradually losing our proficiency in Saraiki. (FG1 S3)

Similarly, another student expressed his opinion as follows:

Sometimes my uncles and aunts use such Saraiki words that I never heard before, and sometimes I don't understand what they are saying. (FG2 S5)

Some of the students pointed out that since they use a mixture of three languages (English, Urdu, and Saraiki) in their everyday life, their use of Saraiki and their proficiency in Saraiki is badly affected.

When I talk to my cousins and relatives in Saraiki, I often face difficulty in finding suitable words in the Saraiki language. In such situations, I shift to Urdu or English words. (FG1 S2)

One of the students pointed out a lack of exposure to the language as a reason for their gradual decline in the use of, and mastery in, the Saraiki language (FG2 S1). One of the students gave voice to these feelings by expressing that the truth is that with the spread of education, awareness and modernization, people are shifting from Saraiki to Urdu and from Urdu to English (FG2 S1). Parents also gave similar opinions regarding their children's MT use. Some of the parents believed that their children might undergo a total loss of the Saraiki language. For example, one of the parents argued:

I think globalization and education in English has a negative influence on our children's Saraiki. Since all my education is from Lahore[*], my proficiency in Saraiki is very weak and this also has a bad influence on my children's MT. (P3)

All the participants agreed that the main reason for the gradual shift of Saraiki language is its exclusion from schools. One of the students reported that if she is taught Saraiki at school, she will become proficient in it (FG2 S4). Another student expressed that no one promotes regional languages, not even the government. This indicates the possibility of the gradual shift of the Saraiki language with the Urdu and English languages (FG1 S3). One of the students' ideas were noteworthy. She explained multiple causes for the shift of the Saraiki language as follows:

It is only because of our system of education. In our schools, all books are in English and Urdu. Further, when we go back home and watch television, all programmes are also in Urdu or English. There is no space for the Saraiki language in our everyday life. So, the young generation is not interested in Saraiki. (FG 4 S4)

The findings of this section reveal that the students at English medium schools are passing through a slow but noticeable loss of the Saraiki language. The reason for this gradual language shift or attrition is attributed to the dominant role of English and Urdu in the system of education and the exclusion of the teaching of Saraiki/regional languages at schools.

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings of this study reveal that the regional languages are excluded from the curriculum and their use both inside and outside the classroom in elite private English medium schools are discouraged. This has a negative influence on the learners' attitudes towards their MT. The learners' patterns of language use show a tendency towards the shift of MT (Saraiki) among the educated Saraiki youth in Pakistan. Thus, the findings of this study confirm that the elite private English medium schools' L-i-E policy is contributing significantly to the subtractive bilingualism of most of the educated Saraiki youth in Pakistan. The elite Englishmedium schools in Pakistan adhere to an MoI policy which is immersion-oriented (Fortune &Tedick, 2008) and leads to subtractive bilingualism. In these schools a strict English-only policy is observed, and the learners are not allowed to speak

---

[*] Lahore is second largest city in Pakistan, and it is the capital of the province of Punjab. The mother tongue of a vast majority of the people in Lahore is Punjabi.

any language other than English both inside and outside the classroom. Urdu is taught as a compulsory subject in schools from grade 1 to 12, but learners' MT is excluded from the curriculum. The rationale behind this approach is that if learners use their MT at school, this will affect their proficiency in English.

All the participants, including learners, teachers, and parents showed a positive attitude towards English regarding its instrumental value. All of them considered English as the most important language for getting success in the field of education, for getting white collar jobs and careers in overseas countries. All the participants agreed on one single point that Urdu is essential for the national unity of Pakistan. They also associated a feeling of patriotism and identity with the Urdu language. As for regional languages, the participants gave them least importance. The learners' integrative attitudes towards MT were ambiguous and confusing. Most of the students at elite English medium school associated a feeling of shame with their MT (Saraiki). They expressed that regional languages, such as Saraiki, are related to the low status of society as compared to Urdu and English which enjoy a higher status and play a dominant role in the society. However, some of the students took pride in their ethnic identity. A large number of participants attributed the low status of MT to the government's LPP in which MT is excluded from the curriculum. Due to the low pragmatic value of MT and the fear of additional academic burden, the learners were reluctant to learn Saraiki as a subject in school. Similar opinions regarding MT were expressed by the teachers and parents of the learners of elite English medium schools.

As for learners' patterns of language use, English appeared to be the most frequently spoken language not only in the classroom but also in non-academic domains where the students have freedom to choose the language of their choice. The school administration and teachers follow the English-only policy. Since the learners of these schools get an exposure to English from the beginning of their educational career, they are proficient in English. So, they are often observed communicating in English not only within the school but also in the domains outside school, such as at home, with siblings, relatives, guests and even at public places. Peer group culture was also dominated by English and Urdu. The second most frequently used language was Urdu. As for the use of MT/Saraiki, the learners have no exposure to this language, neither at school nor at home. Rather the use of MT is strictly forbidden in these schools. Therefore, the majority of the learners do not use their MT (Saraiki) for communication.

With regard to the use of language for leisure and information, English was found to be the most dominant and frequently used language. The learners of these schools are encouraged by their teachers to read English novels and newspapers, watch English movies and TV programmes. A few of the learners expressed their love for Saraiki music and culture. They expressed their grief for not being able to read the Saraiki language because they have never been taught Saraiki. So, they had no experience of reading any poetry or a book in Saraiki. In short, Saraiki is the least frequently used language both inside and outside the school as well as for leisure and information by the learners. In short, the findings of the study show a clear tendency of shift of the native language (Saraiki) among the educated Saraiki youth in Pakistan.

Acknowledgement

References

Baker, C. (2006). *Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism* (4th ed.). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Baldauf, R. B., Jr., Li, M., & Zhao, S. (2008). Language acquisition management inside and outside of school. In B. Spolsky& F. M. Hult (Eds.), *The handbook of educational linguistics* (pp. 235-250). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Barkhuizen, G. P. (2002). Language-in-education policy: Students' perceptions of the status and role of Xhosa and English. *System*, *30*(4), 499-515.

Barkhuizen, G., Knoch, U., & Starks, D. (2006). Language practices, preferences and policies: Contrasting views of Pakeha, Maori, Pasifika and Asian students. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 27*(5), 375-391. doi:10.2167/jmmd450.1

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

Brenzinger, M. (1997). Language contact and language displacement. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *The handbook of sociolinguistics* (pp. 273-285). Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Coleman, H., & Capstick, T. (2012). *Language in education in Pakistan: Recommendations for policy and practice.* Islamabad: British Council.

Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Corson, D. (1999). *Language policy in schools: A resource for teachers and administrators*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Dittmar, N., Spolsky, B., & Walters, J. (2002). *Convergence and divergence in second language acquisition and use: An examination of immigrant identities*. Jerusalem, Israel: German Israel Research Foundation (GIF).

Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Durrani, N., & Dunne, M. (2010) Curriculum and national identity: Exploring the links between religion and nation in Pakistan. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 42(2), 215-240.

Fishman, J. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Guerini, F. (2008). *Multilingualism and language attitudes in Ghana: A preliminary study*. Paper presented at the International Symposium on Bilingual (ISB6) at the University of Hamburg, Germany.

Holmes, J. (2013). *An introduction to sociolinguistics* (4th ed.). London: Routledge.

Kaplan, R. B., & Baldauf, R. B., Jr. (1997). *Language planning: From practice to theory*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Kennedy, C. (1983). *Language planning and language education*. London, UK: George Allen and Unwin.

Liddicoat, A. J. & Baldauf, R. B., Jr. (2008). Language planning in local contexts: Agents, contexts and interactions. In A. J. Liddicoat and R. B. Baldauf, Jr. (Eds.), *Language planning and policy: Language planning in local contexts* (pp. 3-17). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Mackey, A., & Gass, S. M. (2005). *Second language research: Methodology and design*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Mahboob, A. (2002). "No English, no future!" Language policy in Pakistan. In S. Obeng, & B. Hartford (Eds.), *Political independence with linguistic servitude: The politics about languages in the developing world* (pp. 15-39). New York: NOVA Science.

Mahboob, A. (2017). English medium instruction in higher education in Pakistan: Policies, perceptions, problems, and possibilities. In I. Walkinsah, B. Fenton-Smith, & P. Humphreys (Eds.), *English as a medium of instruction in higher education in Asia-Pacific: Issues and challenges* (pp. 71-91). London: Springer.

Mansoor, S. (2005). *Language planning in higher education: A case study of Pakistan.* Karachi, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.

May, S. (2006). Language policy and minority rights. In T. Ricento (Ed.) *An introduction to language policy* (pp. 255-272). New York, NY: Blackwell.

McCarty, T. L., Romero-Little, M. E., Warhol, L., & Zepeda, O. (2009). Indigenous youth as language policy makers. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education, 8*(5), 291-306.

Mckay, S. L. (2004). Sociolinguistics and Second Language Learning. In E. Hinkel. (Ed.), *Handbook of Research in Second Language Learning and Teaching*(pp. 281-300). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Ministry of Education. (2009). *National education policy*. Islamabad: Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan.

Pakistan Bureau of Statistics. (2017). *Census 2017*. Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.

Pauwels, A. (2004). Language maintenance. In A. Davies& C. Elder (Eds.). *The handbook of applied linguistics* (pp. 719–737). Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Rahman, T. (2004). *Denizens of alien worlds: A study of education, inequality and polarization in Pakistan*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

Rahman, T. (2010). *Language policy, identity and religion: Aspects of the civilization of the Muslims of Pakistan and North India*. Islamabad: Quaid-i-Azam University.

Schaefer, R. P. &Egbokhare, F. O. (1999). English and the pace of endangerment in Nigeria. *World Englishes, 18(3), 381-91*.

Shamim, F. (2008) Trends, issues and challenges in English language education in Pakistan, *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 28(3), 235-249.

Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. London, UK: Routledge.

Spolsky, B. (2009). *Language management*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Tollefson, J. W. (1981). Centralised and decentralised language planning. *Language Problems and Language Planning, 5*(2), 175-188.

Author Information

| **Naushaba Haq** | **Professor Dr. Mamuna Ghani** |
| Assistant Professor of English | Director, Executive Training Centre |

383