

Linguistic Shift Of Young Kohistani Speakers Towards Other Languages: A Study Of Linguistic Imperialism



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Abstract: *The current study will look at the linguistic situation of Kohistani, a minority language spoken in the villages of Barikot and Patrak in the Upper Dir District of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP), and the social mechanism that poses a challenge to the sustainability of Kohistani on a larger scale. Language shift is the process by which a speech community in a contact situation (i.e., comprising bilingual speakers) gradually discontinues employing one of its two languages in favor of the other. Language and domain speakers' attitudes have been regarded as crucial markers of vitality and risk. The minority language Kohistani, which is spoken in the villages of Barikot and Patrak in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's (KP) Upper Dir District, is in danger of going extinct. The current study will look at the Kohistani language's linguistic situation in the villages of Barikot and Patrak in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa's (KP) Upper Dir District as well as the social mechanisms that threaten the language's long-term viability. This study will use a qualitative research approach since the primary data source came from the survey conducted through a questionnaire. Using stratified random sampling, a 23-item survey will be given to 75 participants in order to gather information on language use, choice, and attitude. The age range will be divided into two groups: 16–25. The study's findings will demonstrate that, as a result of social mobility concerns, a sizable portion of young participants have a tendency to switch from Kohistani to other community-dominant languages.*

Keywords: Imperialism. Language Endangerment. Language Shift. Language Death

Introduction

Language is an essential component of human identity and culture, and its loss may have serious repercussions for both individuals and societies. Spoken in Dir Kohistan, Pakistan, the Kohistani language is a minority language that is under threat from linguistic imperialism. Language shift, cultural assimilation and eventually language extinction can result from this process, when dominant languages have an impact on minority languages. The goal of this study is to investigate how linguistic imperialism has affected the Kohistani language, looking at the causes of language loss

and the consequences for community development, education, and language policy. With an emphasis on fostering linguistic variety and cultural legacy, this research aims to further our knowledge of linguistic imperialism and its consequences on minority languages by examining the intricate connections between language, power and identity.

Language and Identity

According to Coelho (2011), even in situations when the school offers a variety of new languages that differ from those spoken at home,

the first language, or L1, shows to be an essential component of identity and gives the learner a basis to gain education. According to Coelho (2011), p.196, "the first language is an important component of the learner's identity and a source of cultural pride and self-esteem. "These days, diversity and globalization put this idea of "identity" and "self-esteem" at jeopardy (Bauman, 1998). The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has been using English since before Pakistan was established. The first speech made by its founder, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, in front of the first constituent assembly in English is what first introduced the people of Indo-Pak to it. In summary, it is important to keep in mind that since Pakistan gained its independence, the English language has been so ingrained in the nation's social and political structure that the constitution formally gave it a major position (Mahboob 2008; Rahman 1997). Several investigations have been conducted on the relationship between the English language and identity; nonetheless, English is regarded as an associated subject. In a nutshell, there are two approaches to define identity: "essentially" and "non-essentially." The majority of current research on identity takes a non-essentialist approach (Virkkula & Nikula, 2011). According to the essentialist perspective, identity is something that is essential to a person's identity and is unique and unchanging. The non-essentialist, on the other hand has a shifting perspective on identity. According to Woodward (1998) they view identity as something that is always changing via time, place, and discourses, never ending and numerous rather than singular.

Linguistic Imperialism

The Latin term *imperium*, which describes the supremacy of a politically, economically, or socially dominating state over a less dominant one, is the origin of the word imperialism. It has to do with the time when Europeans conquered several countries including Asia and Africa. One of the first people to propose the idea of linguistic imperialism was Robert Phillipson. According to Phillipson (1993:48), linguistic imperialism is the maintenance of a language's supremacy over another. The word was first

used in the 1930s. It is identical with concepts like linguistic nationalism, language imperialism, and language dominance. Language imperialism is caused by social, political, and economic disparities. According to Phillipson the suppressed language either dies or becomes extinct as a result of the dominant language. In a similar vein, Pennycook (1995) defines linguistic imperialism as the dominance of one language over others in a community, which devalues other languages. It's possible that the oppressed communities lack the courage to speak out against their oppression. The function of language policy in any country, the relationship between dominance and suppression, the spread of European languages on other continents, the connections made between those languages and the local ones, and whether or not those imposed languages serve to uphold Western interests or unite people are all topics covered in the study of linguistic imperialism. According to Phillipson (1993, 2008), linguistic imperialism has an influence on the economy, communication, politics, media, education, culture, and paramilitary actions. It benefits those who speak the dominant language by giving them access to better jobs, education, and other opportunities. The subordinate language changes as a result of its structural patterns aligning with those of the dominant language. Additionally, it changes people's linguistic ideology by making the dominant language seem more exciting and exalted while marginalizing other languages. In educational institutions, people learn the dominant language at the detriment of other regional languages. They strive to master that potent language. Linguicism, the inclination and belief of those who speak standard language, is encouraged. This is similar to the benefits given to members of higher social classes over other oppressed groups based on race, color, or ethnicity, or to those who are economically and socially secure over the poor. Three phases of linguistic imperialism's development were outlined by Phillipson (1993). These include the imposition of the colonizer's power status, which extends beyond politics and the economy to include linguistic imposition, the training of local elites to protect the colonizers' interests, and the use of

powerful tools like media and technology to change the opinions of the local population. These phases also served as the foundation for British colonial expansion and the conquest of South Asia. European colonialism was the most notable period that included linguistic imperialism at a rapid speed. Europeans were encouraged and assisted by military, commercial, and Christian preaching to change their cultural values and language standards while capturing numerous governments that were less powerful politically and economically (Fanon, 1951, Mühlusler, 1995, Rassool, 2008). With the establishment of the East India Company and subsequent attempts by British colonists to extend their economic dominance to a political one, the British began to expand their colonies into South Asia. In 1857 Muslim dominance over South Asia was overthrown by the British Empire. This marked the start of the imperial era, when South Asia was colonized and Britain became the colonizer. This completed the first step, which is for those in positions of authority to hold and impose their will on subordinates. Employment opportunities were made available to those who embraced the colonists' culture during this period. The most notable aspect of this was mastering the English language. For those who knew English, the path to greater prospects was cleared. Because of the rulers' prejudiced actions, an English-speaking privileged class was created. Because they were the only ones with economic advantages, English speakers were members of the privileged class. For example, only English-speaking individuals were able to obtain valuable employment. People who did not speak English were denied decent jobs in nearly every workplace. Similar events were said to have occurred in the political arena. The local populace was divided as a result, with the poor and disadvantaged on one side and the upper class on the other, defending the interests of the invaders by presenting themselves as informants of the rulers. The pervasive media portrayal of western society and the natives' ongoing acceptance of it demonstrate the third stage, which is the spread of language and culture through technology and media. English natives are particularly active on social media platforms

like Clubhouse and Hello Talk, where they assist others in learning the language.

Significance Of the Study

The presence of multiple indigenous languages and cultures globally is highly endangered. It is saddening that several local cultures and languages in Pakistan are under threat of disappearing. Existence of several indigenous languages and cultures, throughout the world are extremely threatened (Crystal, 1997; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). It is distressing that some of local cultures and languages in Pakistan are facing danger of extinction (Rahman, 2006, p. 1). Our society needs to appreciate and celebrate many-colored diversity of our indigenous cultures and languages. It also needs to safeguard and maintain this diversity through numerous measures. The leading method, that will possibly sustain several languages, is to develop an academic environment where different researchers strive to solve this particular problematic. The present study is an academic endeavor to contribute and celebrate cultural and linguistic diversity of a specific community. Most importantly, it is set to celebrate the marginality of a small group of people who speak a language distinctive and different from the language spoken by neighboring communities. It is crucial for us to launch campaign with regard to the importance of languages and create awareness among policy makers so that appropriate measures are taken to safeguard the endangered languages through policymaking, legislation, bilingual education, and expansion of language domains. Above all, it is required to have strong will of the society to materialize the idea of empowering local cultures (Rahman, 2006, p. 1). As this language has never documented before, this study is a humble effort to contribute to the pool of existing knowledge. Our community should value and honor the vibrant diversity of our native cultures and languages. It must also protect and uphold this diversity through various measures. The primary approach that could support multiple languages is to create an academic setting in which various researchers work towards addressing this specific issue. The current study is an academic effort aimed at

contributing to and honoring the cultural and linguistic diversity of a particular community. Crucially, it aims to honor the uniqueness of a small group of individuals who communicate in a language distinct from that of surrounding communities. It is essential for us to initiate a campaign concerning the significance of languages and raise awareness among policymakers to ensure that proper actions are implemented to protect endangered languages via policy making, legislation, bilingual education, and the widening of language domains. Primarily, it is essential for society to possess a strong determination to realize the concept of empowering local cultures (Rahman, 2006). It has expanded the methodological options for studying this type of research conducted in Pakistan. Additionally, this research could be utilized for a revival and revitalization initiative at some point. It could be utilized for creating an orthography intended for the development of a literacy program for this language. It will create new opportunities for research and documentation, aiding in the preservation of this vital legacy of human experiences, history, and shared knowledge.

Objectives Of the Study

1. To examine the impact of linguistic imperialism on the Kohistani language, including language shift, cultural assimilation, and language loss.
2. To investigate the attitudes of Kohistani speakers towards their language and the dominant languages, including perceptions of language prestige, identity, and cultural significance.
3. To identify the role of Pashto migrants and intermarriages between Kohistani and Pashto speaking communities in the process of language shift.

Research Questions

1. What effects does linguistic imperialism have on the Kohistani language?
2. How do Kohistani speakers feel about the phenomenon of language shift?
3. In what way do intermarriages between

Kohistani and Pashto-speaking groups and Pashto immigrants perform in the language shift process?

Literature Review

Multilingual societies have been shown to be complex phenomena. They regard individuals, cultures, and languages in accordance with their hierarchical status. Edwards (2005) begins his piece with a very moralistic assessment of a country's priorities: "it is to be judged by its treatment of minorities." Nonetheless, many civilizations, societies, languages, and individuals require protection in order to exist. They suffer as a result of their strong neighbors' colonization of mainstream languages and cultures. (page 450). Language endangerment is a global, diverse, and all-encompassing problem. For the past several decades, numerous anthropologists, linguists, language planners, sociolinguists, educators, legislators, and prestigious international organizations have been deeply concerned about language endangerment Krauss (1991, 2006); This phenomenon was given different names by different researchers: Craig (1998, p. 257), Dorian (1980), and Hill (1992) referred to it as language dying. Language decline is what Sasse (1991) called it. Language displacement was the term used by Gal (1988, p. 314) and Brenzinger (1996, p. 274). The phrase "language endangerment" was first used by Fishman (1964, 1973). It mostly discusses the detrimental effects of linguistic interaction at the macro or micro level. (Page 67 of De Bot, 2002). A language is considered endangered when its speakers are the last to speak it, according to Mesthrie et al. (2001) (p. 246). A language that gradually or suddenly loses its speakers, ceases to be a useful instrument for human communication, and may eventually disappear entirely from the annals of human cultures and languages is considered endangered. Since Wurm (1999) identifies five stages of this process, language loss has also been considered as a question of degrees on a scale. Languages that are not favored by native children for communication over the mainstream language are considered potentially endangered. Additionally, children's native language competence is not flawless. If there are

relatively few kid speakers and its youngest speakers are adults, it becomes endangered. This language is in grave danger if the youngest speakers are just middle-aged. A language is considered terminally endangered or moribund if very few elderly people speak it. When no one is left to speak language, it finally becomes dead (p. 26). The majority of these academics think that the majority of the world's languages are in danger of going extinct. Despite this, linguists estimate that there are over 7000 languages spoken in the world today (Lewis et al., 2012). According to Sasse (1991), most lost languages vanished over a period of five centuries. Languages are disappearing globally at an alarming pace and speed these days. According to Crystal (1996), we will lose 80% of our languages at some point in the next century, illustrating an even more dire situation (p.16). Romero (2007) argues that when a language dies, human civilization, knowledge, and linguistic diversity also perish. It is a complex phenomenon. Typology and a systematic pattern of sociolinguistic differences are provided by language shift (p. 3). However, minority languages spoken by those on the periphery of society are the most endangered. Nettle and Romaine (2001) claim that because indigenous languages and their people have been sidelined, they are losing ground more quickly. Even more dire circumstances were shown by Lewis & Simons (2011). Of the 6,909 extant languages listed in *Ethnologies*, 457 are considered to be on the verge of extinction. However, there are 3,524 languages with fewer than 10,000 speakers, thus if small population becomes the criterion for language endangerment, as some linguists like Hale (1993) have suggested, the current number of languages worldwide will drop to 50% (p. 5). A taxonomy of language deaths was presented by Tsunoda (2005). In the first kind, a language becomes extinct due to the disappearance of its native speakers. Military wars, devastation, massacres, sudden and unexpected volcanic eruptions, major earthquakes, massive tsunamis, and disease outbreaks can all result in this kind of mortality. The language shift is the cause of the second

kind of language loss. It happens when speakers of one language switch to another. The progressive shift in language leads to the most prevalent shift.

Research Design

The entire research effort is given shape and basis by the research technique, which actually relates to the approach or paradigm (Blater, Hughes, and Tight, 2003). The subject of the study always dictates the kind of research environment or design that the investigator will select. The study design dictates the overall direction of the entire research endeavor. It outlines the steps to take in order to get the answers to research inquiries. It is the method and road map that the researcher uses to control variables and discover the answers to the study questions he has established (Kerlinger, 1965). The method by which the research activity has been planned and structured is determined by the research design that the researcher has developed and used (Oliver, 2003). The researcher's study questions can be answered with the use of this research strategy. People from different cultures and locations throughout the world use models of their own eras and climates to communicate their opinions about the world. Their language is the only means by which these concepts are communicated and conveyed (Bonvillain, 1992).

Children Questionnaire

There were two sections of the questionnaire intended for the Kohistani children. The first section included questions that may elicit details on the respondents' qualifications, age, gender, job description, family structure, and demographics. Language proficiency, language use, linguistic identity, educational factor, economic factor, social factor, psychological factor, Pashto migrants, intermarriages, role of media, language policies, and appropriate measures to maintain the language were among the twelve factors related to language shift that were measured in the second part of this questionnaire.

Table 4.3. 1: *Language proficiency responses from children*

Items	Mean	SD
I completely comprehend what other people are saying in Kohistani.	2.76	1.83
I have a good command of Kohistani.	2.35	1.78
I'm as proficient in Kohistani as Pashto.	1.45	1.34
I'm just as proficient in Kohistani as Pashto.	1.05	1.09
I am at ease with speaking Kohistani.	2.34	1.26
Average Scores	2.27	1.46

The means and SD for each language proficiency assertion are shown in Table 4.3.1 and its findings. Children are either losing or have lost their competence in Kohistani, according to the average score of each sentence (M = 2.27, SD = 1.46). These findings make it

clear that language proficiency has a real impact on language shift or maintenance. I write Kohistani as well as Pashto, according to the response with the lowest mean score (M = 1.05, SD = 1.09).

Table 4.3. 2 - *Responses from kids about language usage*

Items	Mean	SD
At home, I converse in Pashto with my parents and siblings.	4.46	0.73
At home, my siblings and parents converse with me in Pashto.	4.12	0.91
My siblings and I converse in Pashto with my grandparents.	2.18	1.23
I often communicate with my grandparents in Pashto.	3.24	1.32
I constantly use Pashto to relatives and friends.	3.65	1.33
I converse with my neighbors in Pashto quite a bit.	4.12	0.99
I always converse with everyone on the streets in Pashto.	4.22	0.98
I constantly converse with everyone on the playground in Pashto.	3.89	0.97
In outdoor markets and supermarkets, I constantly use Pashto.	4.34	0.60
In social situations, I constantly use Pashto.	4.14	1.17
In the mosque, I always converse with my religious instructors in Pashto.	3.17	1.46
I speak Pashto at work every day.	3.14	1.46
I always converse with folks in Pashto when I'm in government agencies.	3.25	1.24
In the courtroom, I always speak Pashto.	3.23	0.24
Average Score	3.694	0.618

The average score in Table 4.3.2 indicates that children are not satisfied with the degree of language use across different areas. The Kohistani language is not widely utilized in many fields. The average score (M = 3.694, SD

= 0.618) indicates that children believe Pashto and Urdu are replacing Kohistani in nearly every area of language use. Thus, the phenomenon of language shift and maintenance is significantly influenced by language use.

Table 4.3. 3 *Responses of children regarding language identity*

Items	Mean	SD
Kohistani is the sign of identity for the Kohistani community.	2.65	1.23
For the Kohistani community, Kohistani is a symbol of identity.	2.34	1.34
The only way to preserve one's Kohistani identity is to speak and study the language.	2.56	1.45

By speaking Kohistani, the Kohistani community should try to preserve its identity.	2.22	1.34
In public, Kohistani people attempt to conceal their Kohistani identity.	2.45	1.56
The language and culture of Kohistani are the best in the nation.	2.67	1.67
The transition from Kohistani to Pashto is a positive and healthy development.	1.23	1.77
The issue of language change is not very significant. If the Kohistani language disappears due to a language shift, it won't matter.	2.35	1.76
Average Score	3.55	.718

Children moderately agree that language is the mark of identity, according to Table 4.3.3's average score ($M = 3.55$, $SD = .718$). The Kohistani community should try to preserve its identity by speaking Kohistani, according to the

response with the highest mean score ($M = 4.24$, $SD = 1.13$). The Kohistani people's attempt to conceal their identities in public is the response with the lowest mean score ($M = 2.89$, $SD = 1.39$).

Table 4.3.4 *Children's responses on educational factors*

Items	Mean	SD
Language maintenance or shift is greatly impacted by our educational system.	1.23	0.12
Our teachers discourage us from speaking Kohistani in class and encourage us to learn Pashto.	1.34	0.23
When I speak Kohistani in class, my classmates make fun of me. .	1.45	0.34
The usage of Kohistani in educational institutions is discouraged by our policies.	1.43	0.45
Since Kohistani is not the language of instruction, our teacher constantly explains things in Urdu, hence we must learn Pashto.	1.56	0.56
The use of Kohistani at our institutions is discouraged by our educational norms.	1.67	0.67
Educational system has a great impact on Language shift or maintenance	1.76	0.78
Average score	4.11	.712

According to the overall findings in table 4.3.4, children believe that educational elements have a very important role in language shift and maintenance ($M = 4.11$, $SD = .712$). "Kohistani is not the medium of education" has the highest

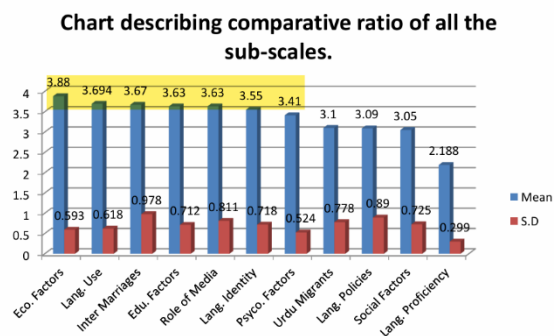
mean score ($M = 4.11$, $SD = .962$), while "our education system has a great impact on language shift or maintenance" has the lowest mean score ($M = 1.23$, $SD = .12$).

Table.4.3.5 *Children's responses on economic factors*

Items	Mean	SD
Earning livelihood is more important than speaking and maintaining one's mother tongue.	3.55	1.23
Speaking and using one's mother tongue is not as vital as earning a living.	3.45	1.34
English, Urdu, and Pashto are more beneficial for landing a good job.	3.56	1.45
In employment interviews, English, Urdu, and Pashto are more helpful than Kohistani.	3.67	1.32
If we reveal that we are Kohistani, interviews may be skewed.	2.69	1.31
Kohistani is not as valuable in the market as English, Urdu, and Pashto.	3.89	1.54
We should study and speak Pashto and other languages because the Pashto-speaking populace predominates in government and commercial positions.	3.56	1.32

The means and standard deviations for each of the economic parameters are displayed in Table 4.3.5. According to the average score ($M = 3.88$, $SD = 1.593$), youngsters are generally satisfied and concur that economic circumstances have a major impact on language change. The most

Graph 1 - Chart describing comparative ratio of all the sub-scales



Graph 2 -Gender wise Comparison of all Sub Scales

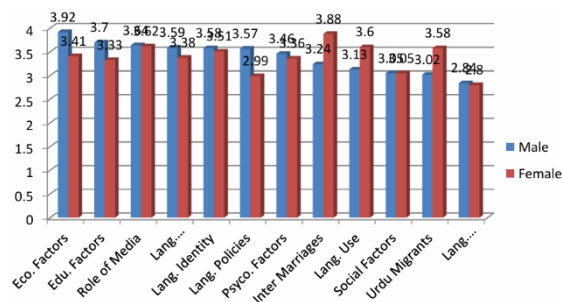
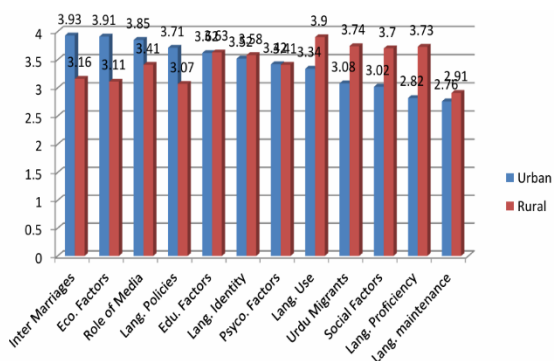


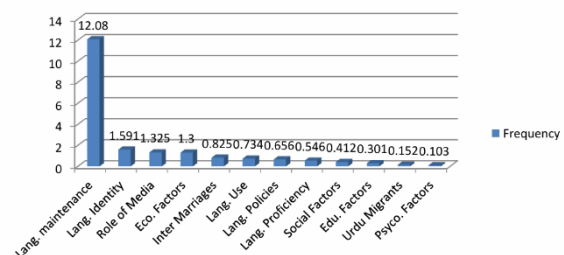
Chart no 3 Location wise comparison of all Sub-Scales



Graph 4 - Effect of Job of Children

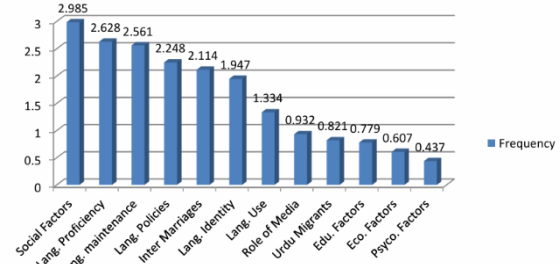
frequent response is that Pashto is more useful than Kohistani during job interviews ($M = 3.67$, $SD = 1.32$). The statement that interviewers are occasionally biased if we reveal our Kohistani identity has the lowest mean score ($M = 2.69$, $SD = 1.31$).

Effect of Job of Children



Graph 5- Effect of Level of Education of Children

Effect of Level of Education of Children



Children's Data Set Results

1. The findings show a favorable relationship between language use and children's ability to speak Kohistani language ($r(386) = .630^{**}$, $p < .01$). Language proficiency exhibits a moderate relationship with all other subscales and a poor association with language policy ($r(386) = .314^{*}$, $p < .05$). Language use has a low association with intermarriages ($r(386) = .513^{*}$, $p < .05$) and a significant correlation with educational variables ($r(386) = .731^{**}$, $p < .01$). Low link between linguistic identity and language regulations There is a moderate relationship between all other subscales ($r(386) = .313^{*}$, $p < .05$). Educational characteristics had a moderate relationship with all other subscales and a modest association with intermarriages ($r(386) = .251^{*}$, $p < .05$). The economic factor has a moderate relationship with all other subscales and a positive relationship with Urdu migrants (r

(386) = .722**, $p < .01$). Positive relationships between all other aspects are described by psychological factors and the role of the media.

2. Results indicate that male and female respondents have different language use scores ($t = -4.33$, $p < .05$). When it comes to using the Kohistani language, men typically score higher than women.

3. The findings indicate that male and female respondents have different scores for educational characteristics ($t = 2.012$, $p < .05$). When it comes to educational factors, men often score higher than women. This indicates that more Kohistani language is used in educational institutions by male respondents than by female respondents. Females are reluctant to use Kohistani and mostly utilize Pashto in their educational institutions because of the discouraging attitude of the teachers and the state regulations that support the language.

4. Results show that male and female respondents have different economic factor scores ($t = 1.336$, $p < .05$). When it comes to economic factors, men often score higher than women. Due to the market worth of Urdu, men are more likely than women to speak it.

5. Results show that male and female respondents had different Pashto migrant scores ($t = 1.774$, $p < .05$). When it comes to Pashto migrants, women typically score higher than men. Due to the effect of these Pashto migrants, it appears that women are more drawn to Pashto than men.

6. Results show that respondents from urban and rural areas had different language competence scores ($t = -2.426$, $p < .05$). When it comes to language proficiency, respondents from rural areas typically score better than those from metropolitan areas. The reason for this is because individuals in rural areas have a strong social structure and are closely related to one another, whereas people in urban areas have little social connection due to a loose or weak family structure.

7. Results show that respondents from urban and rural areas had different language use scores ($t = -1.635$, $p < .05$). When it comes to Kohistani language ability, respondents from rural areas typically score higher than those from

metropolitan areas. The reason for this is that people from rural areas, especially children, are more outgoing and gregarious than people from urban areas because those who move from rural to urban areas must deal with the heterotopic conditions that exist in large cities, which prevent them from freely and fearlessly interacting with strangers or neighbors.

8. Results show that respondents from urban and rural areas had different language use scores ($t = -1.637$, $p < .05$). When it comes to language proficiency, respondents from rural areas typically score better than those from metropolitan areas.

9. The results show that respondents from urban and rural areas have different economic factor scores ($t = 1.217$, $p < .05$). When it comes to economic factors, respondents from urban areas typically score higher than those from rural areas.

10. Results show that respondents from urban and rural areas had different social factor scores ($t = -1.002$, $p < .05$). In terms of social characteristics, respondents from rural areas typically score higher than those from metropolitan areas.

11. The outcome shows that job description has a major impact on research factors. Language identity with job description: Compared to students, public employees, and private employees, Self-Business ($M = 3.70$, $SD = .49$) reported much higher levels of satisfaction with their language identity. Students ($M = 3.46$, $SD = .53$) expressed considerably higher levels of satisfaction with their language identity than did public employees, private employees, and businesses. Maintaining language in accordance with work description: Compared to public employees, private employees, and businesspeople, students ($M = 3.24$, $SD = .64$) expressed much higher levels of satisfaction with their language identity. On the other hand, children's job description had no discernible impact on language use, competency, educational factors, economic factors, social factors, psychological factors, Pashto migrants, intermarriages, or language policies.

12. Research factors were shown to be significantly impacted by schooling. Compared

to uneducated, primary, matriculation, intermediate, and other schooling, graduates ($M = 3.84$, $SD = .66$) expressed far higher levels of satisfaction with their language proficiency. Language identity in relation to education Compared to uneducated, primary, matriculation, intermediate, and other education, matriculation ($M = 3.76$, $SD = .77$) reported substantially higher levels of satisfaction with their language identity. Compared to uneducated, primary, matriculation, intermediate, and other education, intermarriages with education and graduation ($M = 3.88$, $SD = .85$) reported far higher levels of happiness with their 182 intermarriages. preservation of language through education, compared to ignorant, primary, matriculation, intermediate, and other education, graduates showed considerably higher satisfaction with their language maintenance ($M = 3.14$, $SD = 1.07$). On the other hand, children's schooling had no discernible impact on language use, educational variables, economic factors, social factors, psychological issues, intermarriages, Pashto immigration, the function of the media, or language policy.

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