Ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan: A GIDS approach

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Abstract

Health or vitality of a language depends upon a number of societal factors such as its status in a community, the number of its speakers, and institutional support it has. The Objective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model aims at diagnosing vitality of a language by determining what societal factors affect it and to what extent. However, it is far from all compassing. One way to expand the scope of this model is to draw upon Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) to account for a language's objective vitality in broader terms. Combining the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model with the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale, this paper looks at Punjabi's objective ethnolinguistic vitality in Pakistan.

Keywords

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model; Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale; language vitality; literacy; media; objective ethnolinguistic vitality; Punjabi; reversing language shift; sociolinguistic setting

Introduction

Language vitality as a sociolinguistic field of inquiry has been discussed and understood using the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model formulated by Giles, *et al* in1977. A number of linguists have so far used this model (e.g., Giles and Rosenthal, 1985; Cenoz and Valencia, 1993; Currie and Hogg, 1994; Kraemer, Olshtain, and Badier, 1994; Mann, 2000; and Sayahi, 2005) and found it helpful in determining the health of the languages of their various foci. The model, however, has been singled out for its shortcomings too (e.g., Williams, 1992; Landry and Allard, 1994; see Section 3 below). There is, thus, a possibility to take a fresh look at the model and try to make it more inclusive in scope. This paper proposes to expand the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model[1] by incorporating Joshua Fishman's classic Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman, 1991), and understand the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi in Pakistan. By doing so, it is hoped that a methodology will be evolved to understand Punjabi's objective ethnolinguistic vitality in far broader terms than is possible by using the Giles *et al*'s model only.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model

What makes a language viable? In 1972, Fishman wrote that "visible vitality" affected a language group's language attitudes or beliefs. By "visible vitality", he meant "interaction networks that actually employ them natively for one or more vital functions" (Fishman, 1972: 21). In 1977, Giles, Bourhis and Taylor presented a theoretical model which they believed could point to the sustainability of a language. Theirs is known as the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model (hence, EVM). Vitality of an ethnolinguistic group, argue Giles *et al*,

[1] The Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model has two aspects: Subjective and Objective. This paper deals with the latter aspect. I hope to be able to write on the subjectivity aspects too.

> is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in inter-group situations. From this, it is argued that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an inter-group context. (Giles, *et al*, 1977: 308)

The parameters described in EVM can be summarized thus:

Status

Economic, social, sociohistorical (within and without)

Demography

Distribution (national territory, proportion, concentration), numbers (absolute, birthrate, mixed marriages, immigration, emigration)

Institutional Support

Formal (mass media, education, government services), informal (industry, religion, culture)

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model: A comment

The economic status, according to Giles *et al*, is "the degree of control a language group has gained over the economic life of its nation, region or community" (Giles *et al*, 1977: 310). Baker (1993), commenting on the economic status, says that where a minority language community experiences considerable unemployment or widespread low income, the pressure may be to shift to majority language. Rindler-Schjerve (quoted by Saxena, 1985: 38) supports the significance of economic status in Language Maintenance and Language Shift (LMLS) by giving the example of Sardinia where Italian, because of its association with modernization, industrialization and urbanization, was given preference over other languages by the speakers of those languages.

It has been observed that an economically dominant class is able to manipulate other classes (Taylor, 1993; Pieter, 2001). This is done through different means such as media, education, and culture. It is usually the case that the economically dominant classes are the ruling classes in their respective polities. It is their values which become national values, and it is their icons, which become national icons (Boggs, 1984; Duong, 2002). One of the repercussions of economic domination can be linguistic domination of economically dominant group's language over other languages in a given scenario and its usually serves as the *lingual franca* (Bisseret, 1979; Adler, 1980). Korth's research backs this argument thus:

> The acceptance of Russian as superior language consequently led to the negation or rejection of Kyrgyz language and culture. In order to fit into society's norm and to be accepted many Kyrgyz children Before independence claimed to be Russian" (Korth, 2005: 146).

In the maintenance of a language[2], *social status* and *socio-historical status* are two important factors and are closely related. People whose language has a low social status or who themselves have a low view of it are likely to shift to another language. On the other hand, a socially high status language is more likely to be maintained. If a language is supposed to have played a significant part in the past, it can still have symbolic value for its speakers in the present. Thus, Giles *et al*'s statement about *language status*: ". . . . history, prestige, and the degree of standardization may be a source of pride or shame" (Giles, *et al*, 1977:312). But the question is: Who imparts a certain status to a language? As per what parameters is a language deemed to have had (and still has) a prestigious history? What is a superior language and why? These are difficult questions to answer, to begin with. Nevertheless, a few observations can be made. If, for instance, Arabic is considered a superior or even a divine language, it is because it is the language of the *Koran*.[3] But why is it that any conspiracy against Urdu in Pakistan is a conspiracy against the very idea of Pakistan and Islam?

Urdu is a 'high' language because it is regarded as a language—indeed, the language—with an ideological history which other languages like Baluchi, Pashto, Punjabi, and Sindhi do not have (Rahman, 2002; Jaffrelot, 2004). Thus, the claim: Had there been no Urdu, there would have been no Pakistan.[4] There is another way to understand how a language takes precedence over other languages: the process of inclusion and exclusion in a country's media. Language planning plays a great part too: What language(s) is chosen to be the medium of instruction in a country can relegate un-chosen languages to the periphery in terms of use, (perceived) importance, and prestige because language, says Terdiman, is "always engaged with the realities of power" (Terdiman, 1985: 38; also see, Zuengler 1985, and Tollefson 1986).

The demographic parameter refers to the geographical distribution of a linguistic group. Migration and emigration affect viability of a language. If members of a linguistic community are scattered in different locations, a shift might well be on its way; but if after moving out from their provenance they settle down as a (linguistic) group in the host community, there is no reason why they cannot maintain their language. Li's (1982) study of Chinese-Americans supports this view: The Chinese living in Chinatowns have maintained their language compared to the Chinese living elsewhere in the United States. Similarly, Clyne (1982) found that in Australia those ethnic Maltese who were living close-by as a community were able to maintain the Maltese language.

Tabouret-Keller (1968) in Senegal, Gal (1979) in Oberwart, and Clyne (1982) in Australia found that mixed/inter-ethnic marriage led to shift to the languages that were majority, more prestigious, and had higher social and economic status: French, German, and English, respectively. Gal's view is that "where there is inter-marriage between a German monolingual and a German-Hungarian bilingual, the children will grow up monolingual in German, no matter which parent speaks German" (Gal, 1979: 107).

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[2] Language vitality is an area within Language Maintenance and Language Shift (LMLS). Maintenance or shift of a language depends on its vitality.

[3] *"Arabic* is a religious language to the extent that it is widely believed, not only among Arabs, but also among other Muslims, that it is a *divine language*. Consequently, it has never drawn any negative attitudes either from native o non-native speakers" (Abd-el-Jawad, 1992: 277).

[4] For a review of propaganda taught in Pakistan's textbooks with reference to Urdu and other ideological issues, see Aziz (1993) and (2004).

Institutional support should be interpreted in terms of power in its various manifestations. Take the media, for instance. The media can undermine minority groups just by ignoring them (Wilson and Gutierrez, 1985). If a minority's language and culture are excluded in the mainstream media, its prestige and prospects are likely to suffer (Siapera, 2010). Reading (1999) chronicles Scottish and Welsh campaigns in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when these two languages did not find much place in the mainstream (English) media. In these campaigns, "linguistic rights and minority language mass media" were closely bound up (Reading, 1999: 179). Speakers of minority languages in Zimbabwe, especially those belonging to the districts of Beitbridge, Binga, and Plumtree, have long expressed their frustration with the little coverage given to their languages on TV. Since these languages are excluded from the mainstream media, their speakers "feel excluded from mainstream Zimbabwe society in the sense that they are forced to endure information blackout in their own languages" (Ndhlovu, 2009: 158). Dei and Shahjahan give the example of Ghana where non-Akan languages are considered "minority tongues which are often excluded by the mainstream media, schools, and learning centers" (2008: 58).

Official support and patronage of a language is crucial. If a language is used for administrative purposes (police, immigration, official correspondence), for public (health, postal services), and education (language planning), it will have wide-ranging ramifications for it. In the words of Baker and Jones, "When majority language mass media enter minority language home, the effect may be a subtractive bilingual situation" (Barker and Jones, 1998: 270). They give examples of England and North America where English has made inroads into the homes of minority language speakers.

If a minority carries out its religious activities in its own language, the language will likely be maintained for a long time given the emotive significance of religion. Religious activities, medium of instruction, and the employment world, are some of the greatest factors supporting and strengthening a language's vitality. We may conclude that EVM tries to give a wide-ranging account of the factors behind a language's vitality.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model: Criticism

There is, however, the other side to how scholars have discussed the Ethnolingusitic Vitality Model. It has been criticized for various reasons.[5] One of the earliest criticisms was made by Husband and Khan (1982) who faulted it for being statistically inadmissible; they argued that instead of being based on ethnic groups, the model should have been based on language communities. Thus, they called it "an uncritical naming of parts" (Husband and Khan, 1982: 195). Dornyei criticizes EVM for its "oversimplification of interrelationship of ethnolinguistic groups" (Dornyei cited by McKenzie, 2010: 35). Currie and Hogg (1994) in their research on Vietnamese refugees in Australia found that EVM needed modifications. They argued that EVM should be understood in terms of language vitality, political and economic vitality, and cultural and religious vitality. Allard and Landry (1994) reconceived EVM in terms of four capitals: demographic, political, economic, and cultural.

[5] Interestingly, *Concise encyclopedia of language and linguistics* (Barber and Stainton, 2010) makes no reference to EVM.

Perhaps the most incisive critique of EVM has come from Williams (1992) who identifies a number of problems with it. He says that the model is based upon a "contradiction" which is evident all over (Williams, 1992: 206). The contradiction is that although the model is subjective, Giles *et al* relate it to objective social factors. Giles *et al* refer a group's vitality to its esteem of its own language. But, according to Williams, if status evaluation is based upon a group's own culturally conditioned values, then the out-group's esteem "derives from a different set of values" (Williams, 1992: 208). Williams thinks that EVM is unsatisfactory in its claim regarding the degree of control a group exercises over economic resources because it conflates control of economic resources with "group coherence or enclosure" (Williams, 1992: 208). Another problem which Williams encounters in the model is that it does not deal with two significant dimensions of inequality: gender and social class. Besides, there is little regarding the struggle that a minority wages for its rights.

Williams continues his criticism by observing that Giles *et al* take institutions to be ideologically neutral which makes them appear as working towards a positive vitality, but in fact intuitions are controlled by the state and serve to "integrate the ethnolinguistic groups ideologically" (Williams, 1992: 210).

One specific problem with EVM is its episcopal subtext about the strength of a language in numerical terms. It uncritically assumes that only minority languages are fit to be subjected to EVM variables to find out their vitality. It makes no mention of majority languages, as if a majority language cannot be beset by the problems associated with minority languages. This is a serious shortcoming of EVM. Thus with reference to Punjabi, EVM needs to be modified. For example, EVM is wrong about the sociolinguistic/language vitality consequences of the power of the majority language group. The Punjabis are the most powerful economic group in Pakistan (Ahmed, 1997; Khan, 2005). In the words of Rahman, "Punjab is the most populous and prosperous province of the country, notorious for its dominance in the army and the bureaucracy" (Rahman, 1996: 191). In Ayres' words,

> Punjabis dominate Pakistan's major institutions: Though clear current statistics are not available, Punjabis have composed as much as 80 percent of the Pakistani Army and 55 percent of the federal bureaucracy. . . . Virtually since the country's birth, other ethnic groups in Pakistan have accused Punjab of seizing national spoils for its own benefit at the expense of others. Punjab is perceived to have "captured" Pakistan's national institutions through nepotism and other patronage networks. (Ayres, 2008: 920)

The power of the Punjabis, however, is not reflected in the status of their language because the Punjabis are not supportive of it. Shah narrates a significant incident thus,

> . . . when a resolution was moved in 1990 to make Punjabi the official language [of the province of Punjab], it was watered down by the ruling Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)[6] government which, when not in office had claimed to be the champion of the Punjabi cause. This attitude towards their mother tongue might suggest a certain Punjabi indifference, or at least insensitivity, to their cultural identity. (Shah, 1997: 128)

[6] Islamic Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) stands for Islamic Democratic Alliance.

Despite its limitations, EVM can be a good indicator of a language's vitality. For instance, institutional support given to a language, i.e., its teaching in schools, can greatly increase its vitality at the cost of other languages. Thus, sociolinguists in general have found it productive. Schweigkofler, for example, thinks that EVM is a "good starting point" to understand a language's "capacity for progress" (Schweigkofler, 2000: 63). Meyerhoff has called it "reliable" (2006: 108). Saxena (1995) acknowledged its usefulness in his study of the Punjabis of Southall in England. Singh (2001) in his study of multilingualism in India, and Rasinger (2007) in his study of Bengali in East London also found EVM useful.

Punjabi's objective ethnolinguistic vitality

In view of the above, we can understand Punjabi's vitality thus:

Status

Punjabi has little economic, social, or sociohistorical status. It is associated with illiteracy and low level jobs. Mansoor reports that Punjabi is regarded as a "low status language" (Mansoor, 1993: 129). She further says,

> A growing number of Punjabis. . . feel that in Pakistan no regional language has suffered at the hands of the vested interests as Punjabi has. . . creating a cultural alienation of the worst kind (Mansoor, 1993: 17).

This view is supported by Ayres also who says,

> The confluence of two prestige languages [i.e., English and Urdu] with official patronage has created an unusual situation for Punjabi, rendering it peripheral to the longer history of an Urdu-language official sphere and the unceasing dominance of the English language at the upper levels of bureaucratic life. Thus, Punjabi is truly doubly marginal. Given the context, it is indeed surprising that the Punjabi language not only perdures in Pakistan but has sustained an effort to forge authorized space for it." (Ayres, 2008: 923)

Demography

In Pakistan, Punjabis are the majority ethnolinguistic group. Their distribution (national territory, proportion, concentration) and numbers (absolute, birthrate, mixed marriages, immigration, and emigration) do not put them at a disadvantage in any measure. They are "well represented in political, bureaucratic, and military establishments" (Qadeer, 2006: 71).

Institutional Support

Punjabi has little institutional support. On the formal side (mass media, education, government services), its existence is negligible. Rammah (2002) in his study did not find a single Punjabi medium school in Punjab compared to 36,750 Sindhi medium schools in Sindh and 10,731 Pashto medium schools in the Northwestern Province. On the informal side (industry, religion, culture), the situation is more or less the

same. Giles *et al* (1977) say that a language in question will have low ethnolinguistic vitality because it is not given institutional support.

Punjabi as a minority language

What makes a language the majority language of a country? The commonsensical answer is that a majority language is the one spoken by the majority of the population of a country. It is on this principle that censuses are held and languages are classified in majority-minority terms.

Table. 1. The Census of Pakistan 1998: language distribution

Language	**Speakers (%)**
Punjabi	44.15[7]
Pashto	15.42
Sindhi	14.10
Seraiki	10.53
Urdu	7.57
Baluchi	3.57
Others	4.66

Source: *Census of Pakistan-1991*. (1998) Islamabad: Government of Pakistan.[8]

Thus Punjabi is the majority language of Pakistan as per the country's census. However, given the state of affairs of Punjabi in Pakistan, it would be justified to declare Punjabi a minority, and not the majority, language of Pakistan.

Bhatt and Mahboob think that the minority-majority notion is problematic. They point out the problem of defining a language's status without taking its functional scope. They argue that a "sociological definition of the term, based on functional and ethnolinguistic vitality," renders majority languages into monitory languages (Bhatt and Mahboob, 2008: 132). They cite Kashmiri in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, and Punjabi in Pakistan whose functions are limited to home and informal domains.

Expanding upon the notion of a language's functions, it is useful to study a language's functions in different domains. A domain in Fishman's words is "a sociocultural construct abstracted from topics of communication, relationships between communicators, and locales of communication, in accord with the

[7] Mohiuddin claims that the population of the Punjabis is "48 percent" (Mohiuddin, 2007: 26).
[8] The Government of Pakistan: Statistics Division/Ministry of Economic Affairs and Statistics, Government of Pakistan: http://www.statpak.gov.pk/depts/pco/statistics/other_tables/pop_by_mother_tongue.pdf.

institutions of a society and the spheres of a speech community" Fishman (1972:442). Various studies done on Punjabi report that it is used mainly in informal domains such as jokes, friendly banters, and general interactions amongst members of a family (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 1996 and 2002; Imtiaz-Asif, 2005; Zaidi, 2010). The studies of Mansoor (1993), Imitiaz-Asif (2005), and Zaidi (2010) found that: (i) older generations' lexical repertoire in Punjabi was far greater than younger generations', and (ii) intergerational transfer of Punjabi was very low.

Punjabi has no place in Pakistan's educational policies and language planning, and is not taught in schools or colleges (Rahman, 1999 and 2002; Mansoor, 2005). It is Urdu which, being the national language of Pakistan, is taught as a compulsory subject in schools and colleges. Interestingly, one can do an MA or a PhD in Punjabi at university, but cannot learn it in schools where it is not even an optional language (Zaidi, 2001). But who, and with what lexical repertoire, will study Punjabi at the postgraduate level when one has not been able to study it in school? There is the market (economic) side to Punjabi too. There are very few jobs for Punjabi graduates. Since Urdu is compulsory from primary to advanced levels in both government and private educational institutions, there are thousands of jobs available to Urdu graduates at any given time. In addition, there are hundreds of Urdu newspapers and magazines, and scores of Urdu channels. Thus, Punjabi has little utility from the point of view of employment in either the media or the government.[9]

Bourhis and Sachdev (1984) have argued that maintenance or shift of a language depends on a given ethnolinguistic group's perception about viability and vitality of its language. It has also been argued that mother tongues are associated with the values of tradition, community, solidarity, home and family (Pennington 1998). Punjabi's state of affairs, however, is different. The cognitive posturing (e.g., attitudes, identification, status *vis-à-vis* other languages in a contact zone) of the Punjabis about their mother tongue is very negative. They consider it a vulgar language not fit for serious functions (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 1996 and 2002). Let alone performing communicative functions, Punjabi does not perform even symbolic functions (MacNamara 1987). It, hence, is a societally powerless, culturally insignificant, and emotively repelling language as far as the Punjabis themselves are concerned. Unprivileged, unesteemed, and unseeded, Punjabi can be considered a minority language. Despite their immense economic and political power, the Punjabis have not used Punjabi to extract any cultural, economic, political, or religious benefits because they have been able to dominate Pakistan without having to resort to a politics of Punjabi language. From the very beginning of the creation of Pakistan, they have collaborated with the Mohajirs[10] in promoting Urdu as Pakistan's national language in order to block other ethnolinguistic groups (Bengalis, Baluchis, Pathans, and Sindhis) from demanding their

[9] Details of newspapers and magazines published in Pakistan in various languages can be found at: http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/pakistan.htm. Punjabi is conspicuous through absence.

[10] *Mohajir* is a politically loaded term in Pakistan. But for the present research, Mohajirs are the Urdu-speaking Muslims, and their descendents, who migrated from India to Pakistan at the time of Partition in 1947. Mohajirs are the native speakers of Urdu. Hence, a Mohajir and a native speaker of Urdu are synonymous. Pakistan's various ethnolinguistic groups have accused the Mohajirs and the Punjabis for joining hands in order to rule Pakistan and deprive the rest of their rights.

linguistic rights because linguistic rights are often bound up with other (economic, political, social) rights (Rahman, 2002).[11]

To conclude, Punjabi being a powerless language cannot be regarded as the majority language of Pakistan. This argument finds support from Skutnabb-Kangas who argues that the minority status of a language should be defined "in terms of power relationships, not number" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981: 126).

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model: A GIDS approach

As indicated above, EVM can be expanded in order to understand vitality of a language from broader perspectives.

In his book *Reversing language shift* (1991), Fishman discusses what he calls a "graded typology of threatened statuses" to map out the area he calls Reversing Language Shift (RLS) (Fishman, 1991: 87). He has developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which he likens to the Richter Scale. GIDS in Fishman's own words "may be thought of as a sociocultural reverse analog to the sociopsychological language vitality measures that several investigators have recently proposed" (Fishman, 1991: 87). GIDS has eight stages:

Table. 2. Fishman's Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale[12]

Stage 8	Social isolation of the few remaining speakers of the minority language. Need to record the language for later possible reconstruction.
Stage 7	Minority language used by older and not younger generation. Need to multiply the language in younger generation.
Stage 6	Minority language is passed on from generation to generation and used in the community (e.g., provision of minority nursery schools).
Stage 5	Literacy in the minority languages. Need to support literacy movements in the minority language, particularly when there is no government support.
Stage 4	Formal, compulsory education available in the minority language. May need to be financially supported by the minority language community.
Stage 3	Use of minority language in less specialized work areas

[11] Pakistan paid a heavy price for this type of politicking when in 1971 the Bengalis separated from Pakistan and established independent, sovereign Bangladesh. The movement for Bangladesh started in 1948, within one year of Pakistan's establishment, when the government decided to declare Urdu Pakistan's national language and ignored Bengali, Pakistan's majority language at that time.
The Bengali language movement cannot be even summarized in this paper. There is an immense body of work available on how the Bengali language movement, bound-up with the political economy of the time, was a protest against the domination of the Punjabis. See, for example, Ahmed (2004); Cohen, (2004); and Khan, Adeel, (2005).
[12] This table is Baker's adaptation (Baker, 1993: 58).

	involving interaction with majority language speakers.
Stage 2	Lower government services and mass media available in the minority language.
Stage 1	Some use of minority language available in higher education, central government and national media.

Punjabi and the GIDS model

With the GIDS model in view, we can understand Punjabi's vitality thus:

Table.3. Punjabi's ethnolinguistic vitality using the GIDS model

Stage	Punjabi's position[13]
8	Punjabi and its speakers face no social isolation. Punjabi does not need to be recorded, nor reconstructed
7	Punjabi is used by older generation far more than younger generation
6	Intergenerational transfer is minimal Punjabi is not taught at lower levels.
5	There are no Punjabi literacy movements.[14]
4	Punjabi is not compulsory at any level. No financial input is available from the Punjabi community.
3	Punjabi is used in the so-called low jobs. Like these jobs, Punjabi is considered low.
2	Punjabi is not a requirement in any job category. Punjabi media is nonexistent.
1	The existence of Punjabi is negligible in higher education and national media.

Discussion

[13] All the claims and assertions made in this table are corroborated by the studies done by Pakistani sociolinguists (see, Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 1996 and 2002; Zaidi, 2001; Imtiaz-Asif, 2005; Zaidi, 2010).

[14] "That Punjabi lacks official status, even in Punjab, provides the necessity for its revival" (Ayres, 2008: 918).

Punjabi is certainly not at the Stage 8 of Fishman's Scale. The rest of the Stages reflect Punjabi's vitality in the danger zone. In his discussion of Reversing Language Shift (RLS), Fishman remarks, ". . . RLS and language maintenance are not about language *per se*; they are about language-in-culture" (Fishman, 1991: 17). At another place, he remarks: "RLSers should view local cultures (all local cultures, not only their own) as things of beauty, as encapsulations of human values which deserve to be fostered and assisted (not merely 'preserved' in a mummifying sense)" (Fishman, 1991: 33). These are noble feelings, but the state of affairs of language and culture in Pakistan is hardly conducive to Punjabi. In Pakistan, by culture is meant (Arabian) Islamic culture, and indigenous cultures including Punjabi culture are considered un-Islamic (Azam, 1980; Irfani, 2004; Mallik, 2006). In addition, unless a language exists in the mental ecology of the people, it cannot be forced into the physical language ecology, i.e., the society. The political economy of the society in which language revitalization efforts are made is another issue. David (2008) gives examples of the language revitalization programs carried out in Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, but they have not succeeded because the minority languages in question are not very relevant from the economic point of view. David makes the following observation in her study of the impact of language policies in Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines,

> We note that in Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, language policies have affected minority languages and the respective governments have attempted to preserve minority languages by introducing the teaching of some of these languages as subjects in the school curriculum. Communities too have invited experts to conduct research and campaigns to promote these languages. Unfortunately, the majority of these minority languages speakers, especially the young ones, have shifted away from using and appreciating their respective mother tongues. (David, 2008: 85)

She concludes her study by affirming the centrality of speakers' attitudes towards their language: ". . . the desire to maintain and use ethnic languages depends on how ethnic minorities perceive the importance of their languages and also their desire to use these languages" (David, 2008: 85).

With the findings of this research in view, it may be added that it is not just an ethnic/minority language whose health and viability depend on its speakers' attitudes, but any language whether it is minority or majority.

Conclusion

This paper has tried to diagnose Punjabi's objective ethnolinguistic vitality by combining Fishman's GIDS model with Giles *et al*'s EVM. This combination has certainly helped understand Punjabi's ethnolinguistic vitality in a broader, more comprehensive perspective than the exclusive use of EVM does.

Language shift is a slow process, and it can take a very long time for a community to shift completely to another language. From the discussion above, it should be clear that it is not just the objective ethnolinguistic vitality of Punjabi which is low, but also its subjective vitality. Studies done on Punjabi in Pakistan (Mansoor, 1993; Rahman, 1996 and 2002; Imtiaz-Asif, 2005),[15] have found that Punjabis' subjectivities (attitudes, perceptions, language use in the home domains) about Punjabi are negative. Punjabis of all ages get to read and watch newspapers and channels in Urdu, and students do not study Punjabi at all. Omoniyi has rightly said that the school is always a useful context for examining languages in competition for here the roles assigned to respective languages is a reflection of the evaluation of how much capital accrues to them and generally an idea of shift that may be taking place (Omoniyi, 2010). In the sociolinguistic marketplace of Pakistan, Punjabi serves as a reminder more of a primitive accumulation than a capital.

[15] Imtiaz-Asif claims that Siraiki (or Seraiki) is a different language from Punjabi. This is more of a political issue than linguistic. This issue has been dealt with in detail (Zaidi, 2010).

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