Role of Hindko in Multilingual Community: Issues of Language(s) Choice and Use

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Abstract

This study explores issues related to the use of Hindko in the multilingual settings through a sociolinguistic survey conducted among 60 Hindko speaking and 60 non-Hindko speaking participants in the Mansehra region. The focus is on the expanding use of Hindko among Hindko-speaking respondents and on the limited use of non-Hindko speaking respondents, relating this with instrumental and integrative attitudes. A general introduction to Hindko is followed by the objectives, and a review of previous studies related to instrumental and integrative attitudes towards using language as well as cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influences in the Mansehra region. The findings indicate that a significant number of Hindkowans and non-Hindkowans hardly speak Hindko in formal settings, for instance at the work place. As opposed to Rensch, Hallberg and O' Leary's (1992/2003) findings almost twenty five years ago, this survey shows that the reduced use of Hindko and the contact with other vernaculars in the region is damaging the vitality of the original Hindko dialect. However, limiting the use of Hindko does not affect culture. Although another ethnic language i.e. Pashto, and the official language i.e. Urdu, are spoken among the vast majority of the population, these languages are seeping into the Hindko dialect. Such influence is also found in the culture to some extent, though the people wear the same traditional dress and celebrate the same festivals as purely Hindko-speaking society does.

Keywords: Hindko, multilingual community, instrumental and integrative attitudes, issues of preferences

1. Introduction

The most widely spoken language of the Mansehra region is Hindko. However, the Hindko of today is not what it was a hundred years ago. It has been subjected to a number of linguistic, political and social influences, not least of which a desire for national integrity, which is expressed through a dominant language spoken in all parts of the country. Arguments as to whether Hindko is a separate language or a variant of Punjabi will not be hazarded here(Mahapatra, Padmanabha, McConnell & Verma, 1989, p. 436). However, it is clear that the similarities exceed the differences (Rensch, Hallberg & O'Leary, 1992/2003). The level of communicability between Hindko and Punjabi speakers is high, so it might be fair to assert that they both belong to a larger speech community, regardless of labels(Rensch et al., 1992/2003). As with Punjabi, Seraiki, Potohari, Pahari and other related speech systems, Hindko over the centuries has for all practical purposes assumed the status of a vernacular, by which researchers mean that in its most common manifestations it is spoken rather than written. Written forms do exist, but for a few specialists only (Toker, 2014, p. xvi). For the vast mass of Hazarewals i.e. people living in the Hazara division, while they might use Hindko for daily (spoken) communication and commerce, writing is done in either Urdu or English. The effects of Urdu and English writing on the spoken language

need to be considered. The vernacularization of Hindko, which probably had its beginnings in British times, has led to an overall loss of prestige for the language.

A language enshrines a culture and transmits it to coming generations (Coluzzi, 2012). The continuing use of the mother-tongue tends to decrease the rate of change in both a language and a culture. We are aware of the extent of these issues and are going to deal with only certain aspects of them as identified in the questionnaire. To explore such issues, we have devised the following objectives,

1.1. Objectives
    a.   To identify the instrumental and integrative attitudes shown by using Hindko at domestic level as well as in the social environs.
    b.   To create links between Hindko and other languages in this multilingual community.

2.   Litrature Review
2.1. Instrumental versus Integrative attitudes towards using language

Identifying two major aspects of attitudes, Gardner and Lambert (1972) present instrumental attitudes and integrative attitudes. Instrumental attitudes are linked to social recognition and to gains that help to build up one's profits and gain benefits. On the other hand, an integrative approach helps one to integrate in the society of users of another language, and to approach different sectors of the sociocultural environment easily. The presence of these two attitudes elucidates the situation of subjects' use of Hindko and identities context.Since Hindko is not the second language of all the participants, it is chosen for this study to assess how people react to the Hindko language in formal and informal settings. Learning and speaking Hindko in Mansehra is used both for "instrumental and integrative purposes" (Gardner, 1985). This is true especially in the case of Punjabis who come here for employment purposes. They learn and speak Hindko in order to identify themselves with the larger community of the area.

Shohamy and Donitsa-Schmidt (1998) argue that language echoes sociocultural situations, politics, and economics and its use reveals interactions at different levels. Any interaction may occur in the same communal settings or different ones. A shared language helps to unite a multilingual society. Since language plays a major role in society, it is pertinent to learn more than one language in a multilingual society.

The diversity of the Hazara region, where the critical role of Hindko is prominent, has attracted the spotlight of newspapers and magazines,both national and international,from approximately 2009 till today (Capstick, 2012). Rensch's (1992/2003) study showed the vitality of Hindko when to elicit their attitudes, the study's subjects were asked about the diminishing status of Hindko. The subjects who responded included some from Balakot, which is the town of the Mansehra region. According to Allport (1935), chief attitudes to language are built up primarily on previous experiences and events. Therefore, it is proposed that the use of Hindko, which takes into account instrumental and integrative attitudes, correlates with that of other languages and their cultures in this multilingual society.

2.2. Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influence

Introducing another factor, Edwards (1985, p. 46) maintains that "linguistic identity issues" are insistent when groups come into contact with each other. After experiencing another language in a multilingual community, linguistic identities may be shaken. Enquiries reveal some related distress in urban multilingual communities (for details, see Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Edwards, 1985 & 2009; Fishman, 1989; Myhill, 1999; Pavlenko& Blackledge, 2004). Hindko is the major language spoken in Mansehra, Abbottabad, Huripur and the immediate environs of these regions, and thus is the major language spoken in Hazara. Pushto speakers, especially Punjabi speakers who have shifted to Hazara, especially Mansehra for job purposes, do not find it difficult to speak the language. Myhill (1999) contends that ideology plays major role in defining the fate of other languages in the multilingual community. Since Hindkowans and non-Hindkowans live together in the Mansehra region, other languages can be easily influenced.

Linguistic imperialism starts when one culture's language erodes that of another culture, says LaBelle (2011, p. 202). Such erosion comes into play because of the dominant group's policies. The ideological issues that underscore selections within a given linguistic system are also a concern for this study. LaBelle (2011) mentions situations when usage of a language might diminish gradually in day-to-day communication and others where it might be maintained for formal settings or traditional rituals in order to preserve group identity.

After Pakistan gained independence from Britain, the overt policy preserved in the constitution of 1973 recognized Urdu as the official language, while permitting the continued use of English for official purposes until Urdu could replace it (Article 251 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 cited in Rahman, 2006, p. 74). However, the covert policy was different (Rahman, 2002 & 2005; Shamim, 2011). English was adopted as the medium of instruction in elitist schools, while Urdu was adopted as the medium of instruction in public-sector schools (Rahman, 1997). This dichotomised language formula was offered as a kind of conciliation to accommodate two broad threads of influence, namely, the need to delineate the identity of the nation, and the recognition of English's historical place as "a language of colonialism […]" (Schiffman, 1996; LaBelle, 2011, p. 202)

2.3. Previous Research

In line with recent recommendations to save under-used languages from extinction, considerable attention has been given to Hindko, the mother-tongue of most people in the Hazara region of Pakistan, with an eye to rediscovering the resources available in this ancient language for purposes of language and cultural integration as well as others. February the 21st is now observed as an International Mother Language Day, when the need is emphasised to preserve Hindko in all segments of life, be it at social, political or academic level. Here it is worth mentioning that Hindko is spoken by millions of people in Pakistan as well as all over the world, including migrants who have settled in other parts of the world. The representative of the Gandhara Hindko Board (GHB) arguedthat Hindko has been sidelined by Khyber Pakhtunkhwa officials (Ahmad, 2015). Due to a general bias against the language, the steps needed to be taken to promote and plan for the language are being delayed.

When the Awami National Party (ANP) changed the name of the province from North West Frontier Province (NWFP) to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), Hidkowans (the Hindko-speaking

population of Hazara) started to protest against the marginalization of Hindko. The former name, NWFP, seemed to support the rights of all the ethnic communities, while the new name, KPK, mainly seems to support the rights of the Pashtuns (i.e., Pakhtuns or Pathans).

Ahmad (2015) contends that Hindko was used by well-known writers of poetry and prose works. Sayeen Ahmed Ali, Farigh Bukhari and Khatir Ghaznavi, Sultan Sukoon, Raza Hamdani and Riaz Hussain Saghir earned great fame in Hindko poetry. Hindko prose writers have written on religion and politics. Also, they have produced histories and biographies. Ahmad (2015) maintains, "There are at least two Hindko-Urdu dictionaries and the Holy Quran has also been translated into this language. Some TV and radio channels also air programmes in Hindko and a few literary magazines are also published in it regularly."

It should be noted that sufficient material is available for the general public to use Hindko in their daily life, be it at domestic, business or professional levels. In addition to this, the Gandhara Hindko Board (GHB) holds conferences annually in order to promote Hindko culture, literature and use in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It is reported that the participants at the latest Hindko conference "demanded of the government" the establishment of a Hindko department at Hazara University, Mansehra ("Call to set up Hindko studies department in Hazara varsity", 2016).

The provincial (KPK) government, in late 2010, approved a "multilingual solution to the teaching of some of the local languages in schools across the province" (Capstick, 2012, p. 49). The local languages, Pashto, Hindko, Seraiki, Khowar and Kohistani, are approved as compulsory subjects in government as well as private schools in the areas where such linguistic communities speaking these languages are greater in number. The cabinet chairman instructed the Education Department and Textbook Board to prepare the syllabus in all these mother tongues, except Mathematics and Science which will be taught in English.

The interviews were conducted with the staff of the Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI) in Islamabad (Capstick, 2012, p. 51). The objective was to find what steps had already been taken for Multilingual Education (MLE) in Pakistan; doing so would also help policy makers to devise further strategies. It was mentioned in section 1 that Hindko is commonly used in Mansehra. Also, as Capstick (2012, p. 53) maintains that after Pushtu, Hindko is the second major language of KPK. Efforts were being made to develop the curriculum in Hindko in order to start Hindko classes in 2012.

However, few writers have been able to draw on any systematic research into language issues related to Hindko (see Capstick, 2012; Ahmad, 2015). One question that still needs to be asked is whether the particular language issues of this multilingual setting add to issues related to the use of Hindko and cultural integration.

3. Limitations

The main limitation of this study is that it cannot be fairly generalized to the whole of Pakistan. It is limited to the Hazara division. Although the sampling is large, the findings cannot be extended to other divisions of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa or to other provinces of Pakistan. Hence no claim that extends beyond this region is hazarded here.

This study attempts to answer the following research questions.

4.   Research Questions

a.   What effect do integrative and instrumental attitudes have on Hindko usage in the multilingual setting of Mansehra?

b.   How does Hindko interfere with other languages and their culture, and vice versa, in the region?

4.1. Delimitations of the Study

The study is delimited to exploring the use of Hindko in Mansehra. The focus of this research has been narrowed down to identify integrative and instrumental attitudes towards this use in the multilingual settings of Mansehra. This includes using Hindko in formal as well as informal situations. The study also focuses on the cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influences in the region. Such influences include the Pashto and Urdu languages and their cultures, and vice versa.

4.2. Instrumentation

Data is collected with the help of a questionnaire. The questionnaires[1] are closed-ended. This research employs the quantitative research paradigm.The quantitative research method uses multiple choice questions that help to compute the responses of subjects as well as elicit their attitudes towards the Hindko language in a multilingual environment. The factors of age group, gender and occupation are included in the questionnaire. The closed-ended questions need less time than open ones to answer, and can be easily computed. The style of short questions is chosen for the convenience of subjects. The reliability and validity of the sociolinguistic survey was determined by piloting. In the light of responses received during the pilot exercise, the questionnaire was restructured in order to make it more readily comprehensible for the respondents. The respondents commented that the major items were relevant and complete.

4.3. Study Subjects

The data wascollected in the Mansehra region of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Given non-probabilistic sampling, the researchers prepared and administered the questionnaire for two specific groups of people, those who use Hindko as their mother tongue and those who do not do so (Rasinger, 2008, p. 51). This helps to identify relevant areas of interest among a wider population in the area. This will allow generalization to the same community living in the Hazara division. The researcher selecteda total of one hundred and twenty subjects, with 60 male and 60 female participants. Half of the aforementioned subjects' first language is Hindko and the rest speak other regional languages.

4.4. Ethical concerns

The study subjects were informed of the purpose of this research. In accordance with ethical standards, the researchers have kept all personal information anonymous.

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[1] The questionnaire has been adapted from Coluzzi, P. (2012). Modernity and globalisation: is the presence of English and of cultural products in English a sign of linguistic and cultural imperialism? Results of a study conducted in Brunei Darussalam and Malaysia, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 33:2, 117-131*. The author has also obtained permission from Paolo Coluzzi via email to use and adapt Paolo Coluzzi's (2012) questionnaire in this study.

We have divided the findings from questionnaire used for this study into five clusters as follows.

5. Results and analysis

The results of the sociolinguistic survey are shown in five tables. The first table, 1(a) and (b) for using Hindko in formal settings, represents the answers given by Hindko speaking and non-Hindko speaking communities. Other tables, 2 (a) (b), 3(a) (b), 4(a) (b) and 5(a) (b) are presented in the same manner. For each question, the highest number is given in bold. The point to note here is that since most questions got more than one response, the responses are calculated accordingly. The questionnaire used for this study is divided into five clusters as follows.

5.1. Attitudes towards using language in formal and informal settings
5.1.1. Language use in formal settings

As far as using Hindko in formal settings by the Hindko-speaking community is concerned, as many as 40 Hindko-speaking respondents seldom use Hindko in formal parent-teacher meetings in schools, against 20, who sometimes do so, whereas only 8 non-Hindko speaking respondents use it sometimes during formal meetings. Almost all (52) from the non-Hindko speaking community affirm that they seldom use Hindko in formal parent-teacher meetings in schools. As for question 2, interestingly, only 9 Hindko-speaking respondents use Hindko frequently at their workplace, whereas 36 declare that they use Hindko sometimes, and 15 assert they seldom use it. Almost all respondents of the non-Hindko speaking community (51) seldom speak Hindko at their work place. Regarding reading newspapers and magazines and writing Hindko scripts (questions 3 and 4), the Hindko-speaking as well as non-Hindko speaking participants show equal results (60:60)for those who seldom read and write Hindko.

Table 5.1: **Responses about Using Hindko in formal settings by Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Using Hindko in formal settings	Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
		Hindko speaking				
1	You speak Hindko in formal parent-teacher meetings in schools.	Male		15 +5 =20		**10+30=40**
		Female				
2	You communicate in Hindko at your workplace.	Male		**21+15 =36**	9	
		Female				15
3	You read Hindko newspaper (s) and magazines.	Male				**30+30=60**
		Female				
4	You normally write scripts in Hindko.	Male				**30+30=60**
		Female				

Table 5.2:**Responses about Using Hindko in formal settings by Non-Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Using Hindko in formal settings	Non-Hindko speaking				
		Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	You speak Hindko in formal parent-teacher meetings in schools.	Male		5+3=8		**25+27=52**
		Female				
2	You communicate in Hindko at your work place.	Male		6+3=9		**24+27=51**
		Female				
3	You read Hindko newspaper (s) and magazines.	Male				**30+30=60**
		Female				
4	You normally write scripts in Hindko.	Male				**30+30=60**
		Female				

5.1.2.　Language use in informal settings

The results show that the great majority (60) of the Hindko-speaking respondents speak Hindko at home, however 38 non-Hindko speaking respondents speak Hindko seldom at home with their families. With regard to using Hindko with friends (question 2), only 30 Hindko speaking respondents use it all the time, whereas non-Hindko speaking respondents (34) hardly ever do so. As for question 3, as many as 51 Hindko-speaking respondents affirm that they use Hindko in the market. However, a few non-Hindko speaking participants (14) frequently communicate in Hindko in the market. Almost all Hindko-speaking respondents (52) declare that they seldom watch Hindko TV channels like non-Hindko speaking (60) (question 4).

Table 5.3:　**Responses about Using Hindko in informal settings by Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Using Hindko in informal settings	Hindko speaking				
		Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	You speak Hindko at home with your family.	Male	**30+30=60**			
		Female				
2	You use Hindko to communicate with the friends.	Male	**30**			
		Female		18	12	
3	You communicate in Hindko in the market.	Male	**30+21=51**			
		Female		5		4
4	You watch Hindko TV channels for entertainment.	Male		8		**22+30=52**
		Female				

Table 5.4:   **Responses about Using Hindko in informal settings by Non-Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Using Hindko in informal settings	Non-Hindko speaking				
		Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	You speak Hindko at home with your family.	Male		22		**8+ 30=38**
		Female				
2	You use Hindko to communicate with the friends.	Male		10+16=26		**20+14=34**
		Female				
3	You communicate in Hindko in the market.	Male		10		**20+16=36**
		Female			14	
4	You watch Hindko TV channels for entertainment.	Male				**30+ 30=60**
		Female				

5.2. Cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influences
5.2.1.   Hindko versus Pashto

As for the comparison and contrast between Hindko and Pashto in question 1, as many as 40 Hindko-speaking respondents assert that the Pashto language is influencing Hindko. The majority of non-Hindko speaking participants (45) declare that Pashto is seeping into Hindko (question 1). As a result, 47 Hindko speakers declare that Hindko culture is all the time influenced by Pashtun culture (question 2). As many as 46 non-Hindko speaking participants assert that Hindko culture is frequently modified by Pashtun culture. Regarding education, the vast majority of Hindko-speaking participants (54) declare that proficiency in three or four languages (e.g. Hindko, Urdu, Pashto and English) would be too heavy a language burden on students, against only 6, who consider thatthis sometimes a burden (question 3), whereas more than half of non-Hindko speaking respondents (39) declare that being proficient in three or four languages frequently imposes a burden on students. Here we can notice varying levels of polyglossia. As for question 4, many Hindko-speaking participants (51) declare that they seldom consider Hindko more important than any other regional language. The results show the similar responses of 49 non-Hindko speaking participants.

Table 5.5: **Responses about Hindko Versus Pashtu languages by Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Hindko versus Pashtu	Group	Hindko speaking All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	The Pashtu language is influencing Hindko in Mansehra.	Male			**22+**	8+12=20
		Female			**18=40**	
2	Hindko culture is influenced by Pashtun culture.	Male	**25+22=47**			5+8=13
		Female				
3	Proficiency in three or four languages (e.g. Hindko, Pashtu, Urdu and English) would be too heavy a language burden on students.	Male	**30+**			
		Female	**24=54**	6		
4	You consider Hindko more important than other regional languages.	Male		4+		**26+25=51**
		Female		5=9		

Table 5.6: **Responses about Hindko Versus Pashtu Languages by Non-Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Hindko versus Pashtu	Group	Non-Hindko speaking All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	Pashtu language is influencing Hindko in Mansehra.	Male	5		**25+**	
		Female		10	**20=45**	
2	Hindko culture is influenced by the Pashtun culture.	Male		4	**26+**	
		Female	10		**20=46**	
3	Proficiency in three or four languages (e.g. Hindko, Pashtu, Urdu and English) would be too heavy a language burden on students.	Male	9+		**21+**	
		Female	12=21		**18=39**	
4	You consider Hindko more important than other regional languages.	Male		5+	2	**19+**
		Female		4=9		**30=49**

5.2.2. Hindko versus Urdu

In this section, the results show that as many as 45 Hindko-speaking respondents sometimes tend to use Urdu for formal situations (question 1). Urdu, on the other hand, prevails in formal situations for non-Hindko speaking participants; as many as 46 respondents indicate their use of Urdu in formal situations. With regard to importance, many Hindko-speaking participants (38) seldom consider Hindko to be more important than Urdu, whereas the majority of non-Hindko speaking participants (58) seldom rank Hindko higher than Urdu (question 2). As far as national integration is concerned, as many as 45 Hindko speaking respondents declare that using Hindko

may frequently damage the ideal of national assimilation, while 36 non-Hindko speaking respondents assert that the use of Hindko all the time damages the model of national integration (question 3). The higher standing of Urdu is deep-rooted, and it is confirmed by the responses to question 4, which show that 23 Hindko speakers and 57 non-Hindko speakers declare that using Urdu all the time helps in communication with other ethnic communities, whereas 25 Hindko speakersdeclare that it frequently does so. This shows that Urdu may be used at the expense of Hindko. In fact, 12 respondents declare that less Urdu should be used. Given these responses, it seems evident that the status of Urdu in Mansehra is higher than that of Hindko and other regional languages, and that it is also used for "inter-ethnic communication" (Coluzzi, 2012, p. 128).

Table 5.7: **Responses about Hindko versus Urdu Languages by Hindko speaking respondents**

		Hindko speaking				
Q	Hindko versus Urdu	Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	You tend to use Urdu for formal situations.	Male		**20+**	10+	
		Female		**25=45**	5=15	
2	You consider Hindko to be more important than Urdu.	Male		12+		**18+**
		Female		10=22		**20=38**
3	Using Hindko may damage the ideal of national integration in some way.	Male		5+	**25+**	
		Female		10=15	**20=45**	
4	Using Urdu helps communication with other ethnic communities.	Male	23	7+		
		Female		5=12	**25**	

Table 5.8: **Responses about Hindko Versus Urdu Languages by Non-Hindko speaking respondents**

		Non-Hindko speaking				
Q	Hindko versus Urdu	Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	You tend to use Urdu for formal situations.	Male		4+	**26+**	
		Female		10=14	**20=46**	
2	You consider Hindko to be more important than Urdu.	Male				**30+**
		Female		2		**28=58**
3	Using Hindko may damage the ideal of national integration in some way.	Male	**30+**			
			6=36			
		Female			24	
4	Using Urdu helps communication with other ethnic communities.	Male	**30+**			
		Female	**27=57**	3		

5.2.3. Linguistic and cultural integration

In Mansehra, Hindko is the main language of communication; however, the original Hindko dialect is disappearing, as the responses to question 1 in this section show. As many as 39 Hindko-speaking participants declare that the original Hindko dialect is fading all the time, against 11 participants who consider that the original dialect is sometimes vanishing. On the other hand, most non-Hindko speaking participants (44) declare that the original Hindko dialect is fading

frequently, against 10 participants, who assert that sometimes it is diminishing. As far as question 2 is concerned, only half of the Hindko-speaking respondents (30) declare that they frequently wear traditional dress and celebrate Hindko festivals, whereas 20 Hindko-speaking participants show all the time their affiliation with Hindko dress and festivals. Since the non-Hindko speaking community lives in Mansehra, they frequently show their taste for Hindko dress and festivals, as 47 of them declare. As for question 3, the majority of the Hindko-speaking participants (43) declare that Friday sermons are frequently delivered in Hindko, against 10 participants who affirm that Friday sermons are seldom delivered in Hindko. On the contrary, non-Hindko speaking participants gave varying answers; 36 participants assert that it is sometimes delivered in Hindko, 14 participants declare that this seldom happens. With regard to cultural integration (question 4), a small majority of the Hindko-speaking participants (47) frequently support the cultural integration of multilingual speakers, which would lead to a plurilingual society. Non-Hindko speakers (34) sometimes support the same idea, whereas 26 participants do so.

Table 5.9: **Responses about Lignuistic and Cultural integration by Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Linguistic and cultural integration	Hindko speaking Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	The original Hindko dialect is disappearing in the Mansehra region.	Male	**20+ 19=39**		10	
		Female		11		
2	You wear Hindko traditional dress and celebrate Hindko festivals.	Male	10+ 10=20	7	**20+ 10=30**	3
		Female				
3	Hindko is used to deliver Friday sermons on religious and moral subjects.	Male			**20+ 23=43**	10
		Female		7		
4	You support the cultural integration of multilingual speakers.	Male	5		**25+ 22=47**	
		Female				8

Table 5.10: **Responses about Linguistic and Cultural integration by Non-Hindko speaking respondents**

Q	Linguistic and cultural integration	Non-Hindko speaking Group	All the time	Sometimes	Frequently	Seldom
1	The original Hindko dialect is disappearing in the Mansehra region.	Male	6		**24+ 20=44**	
		Female		10		
2	You wear Hindko traditional dresses and celebrate Hindko festivals.	Male	7+ 6=13		**23+ 24=47**	
		Female				
3	Hindko is used to deliver Friday sermons on religious and moral subjects.	Male	6+ 4=10	**20+ 16=36**		10+ 4=14
		Female				
4	You support the cultural integration of multilingual speakers.	Male		**16+ 18=34**	14+ 12=26	
		Female				

6. Discussion

This survey seems to show that non-Hindko speaking participants seldom use Hindko in Mansehra, and that Hindko has not attained a higher status in the region since independence in 1947. Urdu, the national language, particularly important as the official language, is seeping into the Hindko dialect. The level of multilingualism is becoming high in the area; however, other languages, like Pashto, are used "on their own or in code-switching or mixing" Urdu and Hindko (Coluzzi, 2012, p. 128). The sample of participants is sufficient to be"representative of both [Hindko-speaking and non-Hindko speaking] societies" (ibid.). Unlike Coluzzi (2012), they do not overrepresent or underrepresent any society. The equal division helpsthose used by us to assesslanguage attitudes among Hindko-speaking and non-Hindko-speaking societies. The results indicate that both societies do not use Hindko for instrumental purposes; rather they use it only for integrative purposes (see 2.1). Hence it is interesting to note the general development that more and more Hindko-speaking and non-Hindko speaking participants wear Hindko dresses and celebrate Hindko festivals. Interestingly, the results indicate the' influence of other regional languages on Hindko, which shakes the "linguistic identity" (Edwards, 1985, p. 46). Unlike LaBelle's (2011) findings, the results suggest that the use of Hindko is limited to informal rather than formal settings.. However, we cannot deny LaBelle's (2011) findings that languages are used in rituals in order to preserve group identity; and the results of this sociolinguistic survey represent the similar use of a specific language in festivals and sermons. Other sociolinguistic surveys show that participants use a prestige language more frequently than local languages (Coluzzi, 2012; David, 2001, 2006). The participants in this survey speak the official and prestige language i.e. Urdu for inter-ethnic communication, and thus they maintain national integration in Mansehra, as does the use of Urdu in the rest of Pakistan.

With regard to education, English and Urdu seem to be the most popular languages in the country; and no other systematic electronic, digital or curricular system has been developed in Mansehra and other parts of Pakistan. The dichotomised language formula, presented in the constitution of 1973, reflects two types of policies i.e. overt and covert (see 2.2) (Article 251 of the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, 1973 cited in Rahman, 2006, p. 74). The results clearly show that the demand or need for expertise in three or four languages (Hindko, Urdu, Pashto and English) will create a language burden on students, so it is not desirable to demand multilingualism in the domain of education. However, the demand to acquire three or four languages creates rapport among different ethnic communities and also helps small ethnic groups to be a part of main ethnic group. Furthermore, the results show that linguistic and cultural integration should not be neglected, since it helps to integrate and assimilate the people of a multilingual society, thus forming a transcultural society.

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