Language ideologies in a Multilingual Corporate Setting

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Abstract

This case study explored the English and Urdu language related ideologies of different management groups at a multinational organisation of Karachi, Pakistan. The current study tried to bring an insider's perspective to the causes of certain language ideologies prevalent in the structure of work environment, and what power relations existed between the social actors. A sample of two research participants was selected from each of the four management cadres to get an in-depth understanding of the context. The findings suggest that trajectories of language related beliefs and ideologies are formed from macro to the micro levels of management, stratified according to organizational hierarchies, ethnicity, linguistically, and joint orientations of participants in different speech communities. These ideologies are marked by indexical framing, entextualization, stylistic shifts and speech acts. The study recommends that in such multilingual contexts cultural pluralism rather than assimilation should be aimed, at as it strengthens cultural and social diversity of different linguistic groups, while creating a political and socio-economic unity among them.

Keywords: *semiosis; dialectical-relation; interdisciplinary; entextualization*

The field of language ideology is quite a recent one. It surfaced fully as an independent field of linguistic-anthropological study in 20th century. It has taken and combined insights from linguistic ethnography and social scientific study of ideology. According to Woolard (1998), it has a considerable affect in the fields of linguistic anthropology, linguistics, discourse analysis, and sociololinguistics. Subjects of particular interest to language ideology are power processes; ideological state apparatuses that normalize imaginary relationships between people and their positions in the social world; control, dominance, and hegemony. According to Zaidi(2012)ideology is the basis of promoting one language by marginalizing another language. In this way, Zaidi concludes, ideology is also a political-economic weapon which serves oppressive forces (class, colonial, imperial). Language becomes a medium through which people transmit beliefs and perceptions in society. Language ideologies study relations between the beliefs speakers have about language and the larger social and cultural systems they are a part of, and show how these beliefs are informed by and grounded in such systems. In this way, the field of language ideology has been able to relate to the latent and manifested assumptions people have about language, given the speakers' various educational, socio-economic, historical, and political contexts and backgrounds.

Recently, the subject of language ideologies has attained a significant place in the ethnographic tradition of linguistic anthropology, variationist sociolinguistics and applied linguistics. It is most dominantly developed in the social-scientific tradition and has displaced some very basic established concepts of language, text, speech community, and identity. Major scholarships in the field of language ideology are concerned with ideologies prevalent in education, gender studies, globalization and political economy, migration, media, organizations, and so on. Some of the major topics of probes have been issues related to power and control, peripheral normativity, racism, inequality, and child labor.

The impetus of the current study is the various discourses of the employees in a private sector about the different languages and their status in a multilingual setting such as in Pakistan. The current study tries to bring an insider's perspective to the issue of language attitudes in *Sindh*. The results of the current study reveal an interesting paradox in the attitudes of employees towards the official, national and regional languages. These attitudes are double-faced: people may be defensive as well as offensive towards certain languages. They may even be ready to denounce their mother tongue. The study attempts to explore the possible causes of these attitudes in the socio-cultural, geo-political and ethno-linguistic backgrounds of the participants.

This study, which is essentially a qualitative exploration, tends to find explanations for people's perceptions and beliefs towards different languages and language communities.

In Pakistan there have been two sociolinguistic surveys conducted to study the attitudes towards the languages. The *first* study, conducted by Mansoor (1993) explored the attitudes of Punjabi and Urdu speaking students towards Punjabi, Urdu, and English languages and language communities. The results of the study showed: low ethno linguistic vitality to the mother tongue (Punjabi); a language shift to Urdu; and, preference to English as the medium of instruction. The *second* study by Rahman (2002) discusses the opinions of students about language teaching as well as their ideological base. The results show the students' preference for medium of instruction, and give Rahman's recommendations for a language policy in education in Pakistan that highlights the role of six regional languages as medium of instruction.

This study is significant because of *three* main reasons. *Firstly*, there is a dearth of research in the area of language attitudes in Pakistan, except for the two studies mentioned above. *Secondly*, the area of employment has never been explored before from the perspective of language and attitudes. This research study would be a landmark in the area of language attitudes and employment. *Thirdly*, the studies in language ideologies have not been carried out in the province of Sindh. From this view, this study is unique and hopes to fill quite some gaps in the geo-political, historical and socio-cultural life of the region, specifically in an urban city like Karachi. By implication, the study hopes to inform the policy-makers about the *languageattitudes* of private sector employees. This would be facilitative in drawing attention towards the complexities of issues related to language policy for the professional domain.

The objectives of the study were to:
1. Identify the factors involved in forming specific ideologies about English and Urdu.
2. Find explanations of how these language ideologies transmit in society.

The objectives of the study led to the formulation of the following questions for the research:

1. What are the perceptions of professionals at various management cadres, towards English and Urdu languages in a private sector of English?
2. What are the manifested and latent language- related ideologies embedded in the participants' discourses?

Literature Review

Language ideologies are based on the beliefs and perceptions of people in society form different. Language ideology concerns the sharedness of common beliefs, views and perceptions about language, which includes cultural assumptions about language, nature and purpose of communication, and patterns of communicative behavior as an enactment of a collective order (Woolard, 1992). These ideational patterns are existent in every aspect of communication: about linguistic forms and functions as well as about the wider behavioural frames in which they occur (cf. Woolard, 1994; Blommaert, 2006). According to Tollefson (1999) language ideology tries to capture the implicit, usually unconscious assumptions about reality that fundamentally determine how human beings interpret events.

Language ideologies postulate that people perform meanings through semiosis through the mode of language. According to Whorf (1993) grammatical organisation is cultural and social like other forms of social and cultural patterning (Blommaert, 2006). Silverstein (1979, 2006) furthered that linguistic form is indexical, indexing 'context' through ideological inferences: a particular form 'stands for' a particular social and cultural meaning.

We project social and cultural meanings (ideological, that is indexical meanings while we talk (Whorf, 1993). We are, in this process manipulating and molest language for social and cultural purposes. According to Blommaert (2006) widespread language ideologies are indexical. By implication, the range of variability in language is vastly expanded, that is, the metapragmatic layer also provides an enormous potential for social and cultural differentiation (Blommaert, 2006). Standard language is only one variety of language which has been given this status because of elaborate socio-historical processes of normalization and codification (Silverstein, 1996; Blommaert, 1999a; Kroskrity, 2000a; Gal & Woolard, 2001a; Bourdieu, 1991; Cameron 1995). Such ideologies about language are the outcomes of deep rooted socio cultural, historical and political beliefs about language, and involves power, authority, and control (Blommaert, 2006). Thus texts and discourses are lifted from their original situations and contexts and transmitted with new meanings and contexts (cf. Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 73).

Language ideologies are formed through the combination of particular discourses and registers, institutional structures, and professional practices. This makes utterances packed with indexical meanings: every utterance is genred, topically organized, linguistically coded (Blommaert, 2005). Communities are the allegiance of people according to the artifactual language: where speakers display joint orientations towards identities and communities. Its existence and range depend on the sharedness of indexical values. According to Blommaert (2006), Language ideology has contributed to the understanding of cultural variability, of concepts such as inequality, for example the forms of regimentation used by bureaucracy can differ strongly from those used by laymen. Language ideologies take artefactualised replica as the norm, which is the determiner of identities, as people are regarded as middle class or upper class based on the variety of language that they use: those speaking with an accent become distinct from those who speak accentless, i.e. the elites. This necessarily leads to inequality in society, in case of less powerful or minority language because of the absence of a grammar or orthography or a dictionary, restricting roles of languages to community, or home domain, and not that of development, education or work.

Currently, the metaphors are associated with globalization: it's a disconnection between commodities and places; it's now acts of delocalization while remaining an act of dislocation, of precisely the status or a particular class. Thus language ideologies mediate language form and social structure, which impact each other.

In relation to power Blommaert (2006) talks of *capillary power* as Foucault (1973) refer to as power. Such processes move in a stratified field, signaling particular meanings by means of using particular forms. This particular study tries to explore through the data, about the perspective regarding power in the field of language. Language attitudes are not formed in a vacuum; they are strongly influenced by social and political factors, such as *power* – as in the case of the dominant language(s) used in the government, within the media and educational authorities. There is a correlation between high status languages and their use in important domains. The converse is true; low status languages become subordinate, undervalued and unused.

There is an organizational speech community with a top-down perspective which looks at language ideologies from the point of language prioritization and policies about language use in institutions and companies; equally and simultaneously, individual ideologies are also at work (Sherman & Strubell, 2013). People actively experience power relations, and weave webs of perceptions and beliefs around their experiences (Blommaert, 2013).

Currently, the instrumental value of language is regarded powerful, what it can buy in the market. The desire for power, and high socio-economic aspirations could lead people to learn a language, and the elites could teach it for political reasons. All the machineries of the state serve this purpose: of creating inequality by dominance and by denial of access to elite education.

Language acts are acts of identity (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller). Language spoken by someone and that person's identity cannot be separated; a means of identifying its members according to their *culture* (Fyle, 1983). Therefore, language, being a great unifying factor, becomes an even more important issue in many developing countries, where there is a strong surge for a single national language, to achieve national unity. The issue of language and identity has a peculiar role in a multilingual country like Pakistan, as 'language *has become a marker of ethnic identity which makes it a politically sensitive subject'* (Rahman, 2002, p. 1).

Blackledge and Creese (2010), in their ethnographic studies illustrated portfolios of multilingual students and other actors of academia to show how students engage in sense- and self-making through flexible and creative language and literacy practices. They talk of plurilingualism, and challenge the concept of monolingualism with the assertion "that monolingualism in English is the natural and desirable state" (p. 7). Their ethnographic studies of interlocking case studies of Bengali, Chinese, Gujarati, and Turkish complementary schools, regard these spaces as critical for multilingual development, as cases employ a wide range of linguistic repertoires while negotiating multiple identity positions. In this way, multilingualism views language not as discrete systems but 'languages', as a set of communicative or linguistic repertoires that are drawn upon as required in specific contexts (Pennycook, 2008; García, 2009; Sridhar, 1994). Thus, language is no more a thing, rather a process of 'languaging' (Jørgensen& Møller, 2014).

Languages are now viewed as socio-political constructs (e.g., Makoni& Pennycook, 2005). From this perspective specific grammars/varieties are acknowledged as 'sedimentation of certain forms/patterns.' (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 16) or 'entrenched features' (Jørgensen & Møller, 2014, p. 68); thus, monolingual/multilingual dichotomy ceases to exist (Canagarajah, 2014). As Cronin (2003) illustrates language borders are not respected, which is a process of translingual activism. Taken in educational scenario, translingual practices 'take us beyond the ugly and simplistic labels of grammar-translation versus communicative language teaching that have reduced English to a language used and taught only in its own presence' (Pennycook, 2008: 30.7). Canagarajah (2014) postulates that communicative competence is replaced by performative competence, a translingual competence that includes a key concept of 'alignment' or (accommodation?), and focuses on the how rather than what of communication. Translanguaging involves people moving between different languages for different communication channels, like reading a text in one language, and writing a summary in another (Baker, 2011), or communicating with a sergeant on the street. According to García (2009), 'translanguaging' is 'the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximise communicative potential' (p. 140). Similarly, Canagarajah's performative competence talks about issues of identity, language affinity and language politics, and these are all foregrounded, as in translingual practices (García & Li Wei, 2014).

Performative competence involves interaction-based and procedural competence processes, rather than a set of learnt (propositional) resources as in communicative competence. It means an 'alignment': 'connecting semiotic resources, environmental factors and human subjects in relation to one's own communicative needs and interests in order to achieve meaning.' According to Canagarajah (2013, pp. 174-75), translingual interaction includes the following process:

- starting from your own positionality;
- negotiating on equal terms;
- focusing on practices, not forms;
- co-constructing the rules and terms of engagement;
- being responsive to joint accomplishment of goals;
- reconfiguring your norms and expanding your repertoire.

Research Methodology
This case study followed exploratory-interpretive design by collecting qualitative data. The study tried to explore the socio cultural factors which often limit an individual's interpretation and the way reality is understood.

Sampling. The study used a representative sample, on the basis of participants' status in the organization, so as to get an understanding of the issues from the context's grade allocation. Two participants were selected from each of the management cadre: Senior Management (grade 16 and above); Middle Management (grade 11-15); Junior Management (grade 9-10), and Non-Management (grade 7-9). Below these grades were basic categories which were not included in the study because of possibilities of incorrect understanding, inaccurate presentation of data, and limitation towards the validity of findings; the more, because of the reason that the focus of the study is demarcated to the legible literate levels. This sampling helped to understand the phenomena as a specific case, whose peculiarities and findings are not generalisable; however, the

study brought bring in-depth insights about language ideologies prevalent among different management groups of this context.

Measurement. In this study direct questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were used not only to collect data but to develop ideas and perceptions, to explore employees' ideologies towards different languages. All the interviews were conducted in English, except for the one with the non-management respondent, which was in Urdu on the request of the respondent.

The main elements that were built into the research strategies to data collection were openness and flexibility in the questions and the atmosphere of informality. Transcription of interviews was done focusing mainly on basic high and low intonation patterns, pauses, and questioning tone. Tapes were played several times for accuracy. The coding system has been built upon Woods (1996) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). According to this coding guide, the following coding of speech acts helped to understand the phenomena:

- A pause of less than a second is signified by a comma(,)
- Longer pause than a second by three commas   (,,,)
- Broken syntactical structure by slash   (/)
- Low to high tone by bracket holding number and addition sign [1+]
- High to low tone by bracket holding a number and minus sign [1-]
- Rising questioning tone by a bracket and a number   [2]
- Quotes by double inverted commas (" ")

These symbols appeared after the instance noticed, in the eight interviews which were of an average duration of 20-25 minutes. The coding focused mainly on the pauses, low and high tones and questioning tones of the speakers. The semiotic use along with the artefactual use of language facilitated the inherent perceptions and messages of the speakers, and assisted very usefully in understanding language ideologies. The findings of the study heavily rely on the coding of the speech guided by the above coding aspects.

Taken cumulatively, certain trends emerge that are analyzed together. Firstly, the pauses at different points suggest thoughtfulness and deliberation, as well as proper re-phrasing of utterances, judging and checking appropriacy at different levels of operations: senior management asserted authority and power while junior participant's speech showed hesitance and largely a tendency to generalize issues rather than taking a responsibility as an assertion. Secondly, whenever participants entextualised, there was a high tone-it may be because of the confidence of quoting established beliefs, without taking responsibility. Thirdly, in dealing with sensitive matters like ethnicity, politics, or one's identities, there were high tones, and minimum pauses. Conversely, there was a structured low tone and pauses of around 3 seconds whenever the participants were involved in reflexive use of language: *I mean, I think.*

Ethical considerations
Verbal as well as written consent was obtained from the participants of the study and their supervisors. The anonymity of the research participants has been kept intact.

Results and Discussion

Ideologies related to English

Findings of this study show that for empowerment, management as well as non-management level employees adhered towards development of English language skills. Data from interviews and questionnaires show a strong orientation towards English: English enjoys a high position and status in Pakistan; it is a guarantee towards better opportunities for employment; and, is a dominant factor for upward mobility. Moreover, it gives a completely different and a prestigious image of an employee in his/her job situation. English language skills are needed for work and employment; English is considered an asset for those who possess it, while the deprived ones are struggling for survival economically (employment), socially (better status) and emotionally (better self-image).

Due to internationalization of trade and business, and attention of foreign investors to Pakistan, the spread of multinationals is on the increase who are keen at employing candidates competent in English language; thus, those from Urdu medium educational backgrounds are finding it increasingly difficult, firstly, to get employment and then to survive in the employment market. The national language (Urdu) or regional languages can not empower candidates as much as the official language (English). Candidates with outstanding proficiency in national and regional languages are not able to get a job of their choice. The socio-economic level builds the educational background for future generations: economically strong groups could afford expensive English-medium private schools and colleges, whereas the low-salaried classes could only afford government institutions. Recent studies (Mansoor, 2004) reveal that most of the students of public and low standard schools and colleges end up doing menial jobs. English has remained a dominant language for all official purposes especially in higher education and employment (Rahman, 1998; Abbass, 1998). The learning of English and employment is thus seen as synonymous. This relationship seems to be strong in Pakistan and has persisted despite efforts aimed at nationalism and promotion of Urdu to replace English for official purposes (cited in Constitutions of Pakistan, 1956,1962,1973). Since the element of universality or internationalism runs parallel to local contexts, an acceptable level of generality or commonness has to be adopted among the employees to avoid miscommunication at the workplace.

Senior management expressed the need for the English education, because of its great utilitarian value in employment, performance appraisal, in academics and transfer of knowledge. According to the middle as well as the junior management participants, English will continue to hold a promising position for development. Non-management valued English because of its great utilitarian perspective. Two participants favored English in media representation, while one participant disagreed. For their children's education, each of the participants expressed that they would definitely choose an English medium institution. The role of English in economic progress is highly realized by all the groups. English, in this sense, is like a gateway to better socio-economic opportunities at the national level. There is also a realization that quality education is possible through elite institutions which are the fundamentals that pave the way to future prosperity and better socio-economic positions. This general assumption reflects the practical ideational concepts; the general belief that acquiring English will lead them to prosperous and their own and their children's better future.

The participant from senior management regarded English, as a symbol of '*culture*' and '*knowledgability*'.

> *I'm sure that people with great English and people with great Urdu will have different impact. English speakers have a much greater impact… Because of the same reason people express their anger in English, to show that they are more superior than others…showing off of status.*

The non-management participants reported that English was the most effective parameter or indicator to know the status of a person and to differentiate the status, because it depends upon one's schooling: if one can competently speak in English it means he must be from Karachi Grammar School; if he can't he may be from 'Nai Roshni School'.

> *If I can speak English it means that I am 'super'. …. If you speak English you will always be regarded correct. … regarded good. … I think that the image speaker of English carries is that he has got high status, respect, education and wealth.*

Giving his own personal experience he said:

> *Once I went to the bank and showed them my slip. They told me to sit on one side and wait. After me a person came and spokein English and he was entertained right away and his work was done in the first go. Only because he spoke in English.*

English has become one strong indicator of membership in lower, middle or upper class strata of Pakistani society. While a lack in English is interpreted as the low socio-economic levels and poor education standards, high socio-economic group is associated with better standard and elegant style of living; education from elite institutions (and one strong indicator is English medium institutions); sophistication and refinement in mannerism and behavior, and so on. English is also responsible for creating classes, and may become an exploitation tool for power, authority and control- the political history of the country evidences how English has been controlled by the political agencies, by allowing the access of English education to few and denying it to others.

Another structured ideology emerging from the discourses of the participants is the importance of good schooling. It is believed by all the respondents at all the levels that early English education is a vital factor for good professional and personal life. Explicitly there may be expressed sentiments of nationalism through adherence towards the national language; there are repeated expressions in strong favor for English as the medium of education.

Ideology about Urdu Language
Senior management unanimously agreed that Urdu should be promoted. They were of the view that Urdu, a mix of all regional languages, is used for inter-regional communication; it is the language of the nation and integration that links people from different backgrounds. Urdu is held in high esteem because Urdu is the language that creates nationalism and unity among the regions

of Pakistan, a '*binding force between Provinces'*. One senior management respondent felt that Urdu is the greatest bond that is holding the nation together

> *Religion could not stop East Pakistan from breaking away …and I find language is the most important among those bonds. …all their schools had an impact on the generations who are coming now have at least read and writtenin it and the major entry is through the national language.*

Another respondent from senior management expressed that Urdu has got a set-back, since nowadays students adhere more towards English,

> *sometimes we do speak in Urdu in the class, a sentence or two, but what is happening is that now the kind of doctors being produced is such that if you recite one verse from Urdu poetry in front of them they will not understand it. I'm very fond of reciting verses in the class and I enjoy doing it.*

He felt that Urdu does not enjoy that high equal status with English that it could be used in formal educational and professional forums.

The respondent from middle management expressed that till the time there are no standard books available in different specialties and research in Urdu

> *…till then Urdu is only a lingua franca and not the language of education.*

However, there are clear indications, he said, that Urdu is very much secured, for e.g. the circulation of Urdu newspaper 'Jang' only is more than all other English newspapers taken together. Urdu is and should always remain a link language among the provinces of Pakistan.

The junior management felt that for national identity, and to have a bonding with our own culture, it is important for the regional growth and development Urdu should be uniformly implemented throughout the state. However it was clearly realized that Urdu has a very little instrumental and practical value.

The respondent from the *non-management* group felt that at the national level Urdu is fine.

> *If we look at Karachi, people from many provinces have come and settled in Karachi… we need a platform where we can understand each other.*

All the groups expressed that Urdu's position as a link language was high. There was however, very little adherence towards studying and learning Urdu. However, the possibility for such expressions of nationalism could be for giving socially pleasant answers, can also not be evaded; any Pakistani cannot disregard the national language. The political and educational history of Pakistan bears evidence that Urdu as the national language has not been supported from all the regions, and the linguistic and ethnic riots in the nation's history are a clear proof of that. Urdu has mostly been resented and resisted in two provinces: Bengal and Sindh. Bengal was successful to get its independence in 1972. For Sindh, the strife continues.

At the official level Urdu does not enjoy the equal prestige as English. Using Urdu in places of prestige and domains of power like government or administration is not the norm. At the ideological level the use of Urdu, or the inappropriate use of English in the offices may defect the image of a person, his whole being comes under doubt or incredibility-of not belonging to the elite class, a mediocre, and so on. As a case, when the junior management respondent used the lexicon 'earth' for the concept of land, it very vividly indexed his identity as from a mediocre Urdu medium background. The concept of appropriacy could be argued in favour of the senior management where we find views on the artefactual view of language; appropriacy of grammar and lexicon, suitability of expressions, and the authoritative tone by the use of direct style, active voice and argumentative tone.

The senior management respondent felt that on the language matter, there was political manipulation, and historically, media played a big role in it. When Urdu was under threat (referring to 1972 fierce language riots) supporters of Urdu put up the slogan in the newspaper:

> *'Urdu ka janaaza hai, zara dhoom se nikle'(IT'S THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF URDU, IT SHOULD COME OUT WITH GREAT POMP AND SHOW). Now the same newspaper is after destroying Urdu, and has started including Hindi words in the paper.*

The attitude of the people towards the national language is paradoxical. On one hand, in the study people all along supported Urdu as it has the status of the mother tongue and they wanted to identify with it; and on the other hand, Urdu has been shown to be a weak language: those from the Urdu-medium backgrounds could not achieve their objectives in their educational and professional career because of the hurdle created by English. This learned experience may have led people to adhere more towards English, and make very minimum efforts to learn their national language.

The emerging trend is that respondents are limited to here and now issues; there is no mention of colonialism or historical division. The re-migration and re-location of the people in Sindh arises issues concerning the recent past. Implicit, however, is the historical conflict of ethnicity, culture, and language. The history has taken its re-birth with new communities and identities. People have built on older identities.

Language Quality: An Issue of Social Hierarchies and Stratification

Hierarchies are built among the respondents, not only on the basis of organizational hierarchy, but also on the basis of their educational background. The senior management privileged to get first the finest private English-medium institutions and then higher education from abroad. This hierarchy takes a structured form with the middle and then later categories to the lower levels, till we have non-management groups with local Urdu-medium public schools. Educational background is, therefore, also a source of social stratification; it affects the language repertoires of the people, as well as their world view formed out of their exposure at different educational and socio-cultural levels.

The theme of the varieties of English is the metapragmatic layer that describes how the social structure impacts upon language form and vice versa, so a particular variety will denote a

membership of a particular level of society as such processes are imbued with political-economic values (Blommaert, 2006). Such view is based on assumptions: American English equals a high society reach, whereas it is the aspiration of the middle class level, while the lower classes are struggling at the basic acquisition level. This is the case of political and economic stratification, projecting values like power, authority and domination. At the social level, using a variety of the language in power domains makes one variety the language of the elites, a mark of superiority and privilege (Kroch 1978). According to Rahman (2002) because the elite justify the use of the variety of a language, it is 'in the interest of elites to promote' them 'as the single model of correctness' (Cooper, 1989, p. 135). The 'ideology of standardization'; as Milroy and Milroy (1985) call it in their book on '*Correctness in Language*', serves to confer authority and legitimacy on elitist power, elitist institutions, and elite culture. They are seen as being intrinsically superior rather than being powerful.

The Role of Actors or Centering Institutions

As the findings of the study illustrate, the respondents seem to associate themselves with particular groups, following the indexicalities, norms or values of that group, to be identified among the members of a particular group or community which is distinct from other groups. However, the centering feature may overlap, creating hybrid identities or multiple belongings. Notably, every centre is stratified with different level, scope and depth (Blommaert, 2006). Thus a senior management participant would have different level and depth than the middle management representative, and this is how stratification is created.

Social actors also bring about new meanings to the subjects. Blackledge & Creese (2010) point out that power relations are embedded into beliefs about languages and the people who speak them have been affected and go through a process of transformation by social actors who draw from a range of linguistic skills and practices to suggest new stance and positions.

Entextualisation and Reflexive Language Usage

In the discourse of the senior management there is sufficient entextualization; it shows the collective cultural views. '*Religion could not stop East Pakistan …*'; '*..the major entry is through the national language*'. But then he tries to add from the repertoire of his own: '*and I find…*'; '*So I think…*'. Texts carry indexical, metapragmatic values, besides denotational meanings. Texts are transmitted, discourses are lifted out of its interactional setting and are transmitted together with new suggestion of context (cf. Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 73) that is original pieces of discourse, which may be socially, culturally, and historically situated unique events, are lifted out of their original context and transmitted into another context or discourse (Blommaert, 2006). This entextualization takes into account the reflexive nature of language usage (Lucy, 1993).

The index 'you' is at a deeper level about differing constructions of the self. This is a conflict between two ideological systems: *collectivism* (the self is defined in relation to others, within a larger collectivity (you), and *individualism* (I) when the self is defined as unique and independent of any collectivity (Houghton, 1995, pp. 123-24, Cameron, 2001). In using both these indexes the senior and middle management respondents are trying to show their individuality and at the same time, are trying to generalise the issues at the larger community level.

Speech Communities and Multiple Identities

A joint orientation of participants towards indexcalities creates identities and communities (Blommaert, 2006). Multiple belonging is the rule, and shifts in discourse may signal shifts in orientation towards, or inclusion of, other community-identifying indexicalities. In this context the concept of 'voice' becomes important. The speakers in their discourses on various aspects related to language deploy diverse social identities; various voices as inhabitants of different roles or social actors emerge in a person's discourse. Thus, the findings illustrate how the person may express perspectives in different social roles, which are volatile: from the Dean of a university to an Urdu-speaking representative, to an educationist and academician, to a nationalist, to a social scientist and so on.

In the context of language ideologies, the case of hybridity becomes a particular area of interest. The issue of identity always has two dimensions (Blommaert, 2006): inhabited identities (identities we ourselves construct and articulate) and ascribed identities (identities others attribute to us). The politics of identity is often between both of these dimensions: the identities we claim for ourselves clash with identities others attribute to us. The concept of Other is significant in multi-cultural contexts: how does someone become this other- friend or enemy, and so on, that is, it brings the conflictual cultural issues related to identity, some manifestations of which are language, culture, history and politics.

Marketing campaigns are flustered with English as it is the direly needed language for employment. In government services also, like Superior Civil Services English is one vital criterion to pass. Similarly, in the public sector most of the forms are in English. On the signboards, placards, boards on the shops, signboards, and road signs English is used. In thanking or excusing very few people are found to be using Urdu. Even rickshaw and taxi drivers use expressions like thank you and sorry.

The senior management is the centre institution or main actors who have set the norms of communication. The metapragmatic layer points towards institutional socio-cultural stratification and thus the differentiation between different cadres of employee population, as referred to by Blommaert (2006). As compared to senior management, the nature of work gets a little localized, limiting to national and inter-institutional levels with the middle management, where a more bilingual approach is followed. It is at the junior and non-management level, by contrast, that the importance of English is explicitly expressed. Their mediocre and weak educational backgrounds could speak for the need of improvement in verbal and written skills.

In this analysis, the language ideological issue becomes quite a reality; there is a joint orientation towards identities and communities, as all the levels of employees create a community where language is a part of the prestigious image of the organization- all the employees at this place should be able to communicate in English- as if it was the structured norm. A person's self-image also comes into play; there is a strong desire to be someone (Blommaert, 2006) and it may be assumed that this identity is created by acquiring English and become identified (socially) as one of the organization's community.

The expression 'good' reflects that the quality of language as good or worst is pre-dominantly present among people at all levels. Such expressions are the recognition of the existence of a

standard norm and the centering institutions create a 'sociopolitical evaluative stratification in language usage, with "better" or "worse" forms of usage; these centre actors transfer beliefs at the lower levels of operations, and thus a general belief is created in the society, which is facilitative of creating socio-cultural stratification (Blommaert, 2006).

A volatile community is speech community in which, according to Blommaert (2006) speakers display joint or shared orientations towards indexical values, that is multiple belonging. Therefore, when the senior management expressed that he encouraged his children to speak good Urdu, he seemed more of a nationalist; while talking about mohajir-Sindhi controversy his language indexed a judgmental tone in favour of mohajirs; when he talked about the inequality and the set back Sindhis bore historically, he sounded more of a social scientist; when he talked about mohajirs and their good luck to have settled in urban areas of Sindh, he sounded more of an ethnicist; and, when he complained about the media's increasing use of Hindi lexicon, his identity integrates into a Pakistani citizen.

Implications of the Study

The present study is hoped to fill up more than one gap in research undertaken in the area of language ideologies. It would help to get a deeper insight into the background and bases of attitudes of employees towards English and Urdu languages, use of these languages, and why their functions are being extended or restricted in formal and informal domains, in this context. It would also help to understand why in this particular case there is a spread, maintenance or shift of language(s). These insights will prove to be invaluable for the sustenance or development of English courses for the faculty of this private university , getting support and cooperation from the managers and supervisors in terms of getting nomination on these courses, and finally to create an awareness among the employees about the prestige of all languages, and their promotion.

Limitations of the Study

The study had some limitations and it is of importance that these limitations are considered when looking at the results. Firstly, there was time limitation and some informants discussed informally that they wanted to share more, but because of workload it was not possible for them to give more time to this interview. There was no response to questionnaires sent on the email by one-third of the respondents. Also, sometimes the researcher felt that there were socially 'politically pleasant answers'. Baker has listed some possible difficulties connected with measuring an individual's attitudes. The most relevant for my study are that people may, consciously or unconsciously, give socially desirable answers, or, for instance, the purpose of the research may affect them (Baker 1988: 117). In the wake of economic and socio-cultural value of English it may be difficult for the people to be neutral towards English.

The researcher tried the level best to remain as objective and detached as possibly, the interpretation might have created empathy or might have been influenced by the analysis of the responses. Therefore, before drawing conclusion of the analysis, great care is taken to remain as unbiased and non-judgmental as possible.

Conclusion and Recommendations

This exploratory qualitative study in the area of sociolinguistics attempted to study the nature and causes behind language ideologies prevalent among the employees at an international organization

of Karachi. The various socio-cultural, ethnic and political factors at play in the context of the study has guided towards understanding the complexity of the situation. First and foremost was the setting of the study, the Sindh province, which projected the strife and conflicts of ethno-linguistic polarity of diverse groups brought out in the complex layers of artefactual as well as the indexical aspects of language itself.

This study has tried to explore and interpret the data in its uniqueness and individualism of the respondents. Each response has indexed a unique trend, and when the responses were studied they formed trajectories of various beliefs and ideologies related to language, among different groups of respondents, stratified according to organizational hierarchies, ethno-linguistically, and their multiple identities as joint orientations in different speech communities, for example, senior management's language ideologies were distinct from those of junior management. Largely affected by such ideologies was the perception of language quality, and variety chosen for communication (e.g. American variety which is accentless as compared to Pakistani variety which is accented). Each language item, therefore, indexed a different socio-cultural meaning, and identity.

This study has also demonstrated how language ideologies are transferred from the macro to the lowest and micro levels of community, marked by such indexical framing. Moreover people place languages according to the hierarchies of importance: English is higher than Urdu and Urdu is higher than regional languages. The findings have pointed towards such beliefs as the collective perception.

This study has tried to unfold the layers of complexity and beliefs that runs inherently along with explicit and expressed beliefs. The ideologies of communities thrive in the socio-cultural vitality of diverse group. Dismissed as of little value, these ideologies keep surging beneath the society level, and have been a major cause of fierce ethno-linguistic strife of the province. This study makes recommendations based on the findings of the research. Firstly, the study recommends that English should be taught to all, as it is language of international education, mobility and employment. The situation requires for more respect and acceptability of one's own language- the Pakistani variety. This could be possible by media representation and popularization of Pakistani variety of English.

In order to cease the rivalry between Urdu and regional languages, the study also recommends a policy of three-language formula, (as is in India), according to which English, Urdu and a regional language should be taught. It necessitates the teaching of Sindhi in Sindh, for example, where the maintenance and promotion of Sindhi will be a very positive step towards solidarity of diverse ethno-linguistic groups. The study agrees with Mansoor's (2005) perception of 'cultural pluralism' rather than assimilation which re-energizes cultural and social diversity of different ethnic groups, but seeks to create a political and economic unity among them.

Finally, the findings suggest a more credit for a unified Pakistani culture, whereby a nation's values and traditions are maintained as cultural legacies and symbols of national identity. Therefore, English education with scarce culture impact should be imparted to the new generation. Language policies focusing on English language skills related to academic and professional needs

should be formulated. Curricula should consist of minimum foreign literature education and study of literary texts as these are strongly oriented to foreign cultures and values.

Such steps, it is hoped, would lead to equal opportunities for quality education. This would lead to eradicate the classes as upper or lower, etc. and would be instrumental in creating socio-cultural parity in the Pakistani society. The situation necessitates a re-organization of ideologies, from more than half a century old perceptions and aspirations, towards a re-unification of an independent, consolidated nation.

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