

A Study of Language Maintenance and Shift in Migrant Kashmiri Pundits in Jammu

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Abstract

This paper examines the question of language maintenance and shift in migrant Kashmiri Pundits in Jammu. The paper is based on an empirical study examining language usage in different domains across different age groups.

Key words: Language, Language Maintenance, Language shift, Language choice, Informal and formal domain

Introduction

As is known, the eruption of militancy in Kashmir valley in late eighties and early nineties of the past century witnessed mass migration of Kashmiri Pundits from Kashmir valley to different parts of the country. The migration led to their settlement not only in an alien socio-cultural setup but also a completely diverse linguistic environment. Consequently, right from day one of their migration, the migrant community is vigilantly trying to safeguard its cultural and linguistic identity.

In this backdrop, the main objective of the proposed paper is to ascertain as to how far the migrant Pundit community has succeeded in maintaining its mother tongue in an alien linguistic environment or has any shift taken place. Since language plays a pivotal role in various domains of the society, the study attempts to check which language is used by people belonging to the community in different domains like home, school, offices, etc. In other words, the frequency and intensity of use of Kashmiri or any other language in such domains will be looked into which will provide us input regarding the maintenance of the linguistic identity of the community.

Language maintenance and shift have been important fields of research for linguists, especially sociolinguists, and the phenomena have been widely studied by linguists in different parts of the world. The phenomenon comes into existence when people speaking a different language migrate to an alien linguistic place where a different language or languages is dominant. In such circumstances it

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becomes difficult for the migrant community to preserve its language and consequently the language identity.

Linguistic Situation in Jammu

Linguistically, Jammu, the winter capital of Jammu and Kashmir State, is a multilingual city. Dogri is the mother tongue of majority of its population. Hindi, being the national language, has a reasonable presence in the linguistic make-up of Jammu. Punjabi is also spoken by a good proportion of Jammuites with Sikhs forming a sizeable portion of Jammu population. Besides, Jammu is located in the neighbourhood of Punjabi speaking State of Punjab. In addition to these languages, English, Pahari and Urdu are also present in the linguistic scenario of Jammu. After the migration of Kashmiri Pandits to the place, Kashmiri has also added to the multilingual atlas of the city.

Methodology

The present study is primarily empirical in nature and is based on the field investigation inside migrant camps and other private/ rented accommodation situated in and around Jammu city. For this purpose, the researcher personally visited Jammu and undertook fieldwork to collect the data required for the present study. The fieldwork was undertaken in the years 2003 and 2006. Some of the data was also collected in the years 2008 and 2010 also.

The techniques of questionnaire and direct interview were employed for the collection of the data for the present study. Most of the data was elicited through questionnaire and, where necessary, the informants were also interviewed by the researcher. A questionnaire was designed keeping in mind the nature of the study and circulated among the informants to elicit the data from them. The data information is based on the responses of the informants which is quantitative in nature. The statistical data presented in this study is in terms of percentages and is essentially 'indicative' in nature as it clearly indicates the nature of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift. The collected data was codified, tabulated and quantified for every informant.

A sample of 300 informants, falling within the age group of 10-65, was selected for the study. It covered the migrants living in and around Jammu city in different migrant camps like Muthi, Nagrota and the private/ rented accommodation. The informants belonged to both urban and rural areas and covered both sexes. An attempt was made to select informants belonging to different economic and educational backgrounds. The respondents belonged to both sexes, out of which 165 were males and 135 were females. For the present study, the respondents were grouped into two categories on the basis of age. The first group which would be called as A1 includes respondents in the age group of 15-40 years and the second group, i.e., A2 includes respondents in the age group of 41-65. Both the groups include 150 respondents each. The breakup of the sample of respondents is as under.

Sex: Male = 165 Female = 135 Total = 300

Age:	A1 = 150	A2 = 150	Total = 300
Males:	A1 = 75	A2 = 90	Total = 165
Females:	A1 = 75	A2 = 60	Total = 135

Language Use/ Choices in Speaking

The section deals with the normal speaking practices of the respondents in their day to day life. Here an attempt was made to elicit information about the respondents' language choice in a variety of situations. The situations for which data was elicited through the questionnaire were the most common ones which the respondents had to encounter in their routine life. It included situations like talking to one's parents, children, spouse, friends, community members, etc. The situations chosen are the common ones which are sufficient to reflect the real and actual use of language by the respondents. The results of the survey are discussed below.

Language Choice in Family Domain

The section deals with the language use of respondents in talking to grandparents, parents, spouse, brother(s)/ sister(s) and children. The information is provided below.

Family Member	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Grand Parents	72.33	3.33	35.33	1.33	Nil
Parents	90.00	Nil	36.67	19.67	Nil
Spouse	81.00	Nil	14.00	13.33	Nil
Brother/Sister	84.00	Nil	23.00	13.67	Nil
Children	77.00	Nil	87.67	31.67	Nil

Figures for A1

Family Member	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Mal e	Fem ale	Mai e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Male	Fem ale	Ma le	Fem ale
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age

Grand parents	58.67	70.67	2.67	4.00	37.33	46.66	2.67	Nil	Nil	Nil
Parents	84.00	88.00	Nil	Nil	40.00	62.67	13.33	4.00	Nil	Nil
Spouse	34.67	60.00	Nil	Nil	80.00	88.00	12.00	13.33	Nil	Nil
Brother/Sister	85.33	56.00	Nil	Nil	74.67	81.33	16.67	11.67	Nil	Nil
Children	22.67	10.67	Nil	Nil	80.00	72.00	69.33	43.33	Nil	Nil

Figures for A2

Family Member	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Grand parents	75.56	93.33	4.44	3.33	28.88	25.00	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Parents	83.33	80.00	Nil	Nil	68.89	60.00	13.33	4.00	Nil	Nil
Spouse	84.44	95.00	Nil	Nil	80.00	86.67	7.00	10.33	Nil	Nil
Brother/Sister	95.56	85.00	Nil	Nil	65.56	80.00	14.67	6.67	Nil	Nil
Children	63.33	70.00	Nil	Nil	74.44	78.33	39.33	32.00	Nil	Nil

A major percentage of 72.33% respondents reported that they use Kashmiri in talking to grandparents. It is followed by Hindi which is used by 35.33% respondents. It is interesting to note that very less number of respondents reported to use other languages in talking to them. A very small percentage of 3.33 and 1.33 respondents use Urdu and English, respectively, in talking to them while as nobody reported to use Dogri in talking to grandparents. It may be due to the reason that the grandparents of these respondents, being old aged, may be mostly monolingual. The figures clearly show a decrease in use of Kashmiri and increase in use of Hindi in case of A1. Besides, the number of females using Kashmiri and

Hindi in this group is greater than males. Same is the case with Urdu. However, no female respondent reported to use English with her grandparents in this group, while as a small percentage of 2.67 male respondents have reported the use of English in this situation.

90% respondents reported that they use Kashmiri in talking to their parents. 36.67% use Hindi and 19.67% use English in talking with their parents. As can be seen from the figures, there is marginal increase in use of Kashmiri in A1 in comparison with A2 while as use of Hindi has considerably decreased in case of males in A1. 68.89% male respondents have reported to use Hindi in talking to their parents in A2 while as in case of A1 it has decreased to 40.00 percent. In case of females the figures are almost the same with 62.67% in A1 and 60.00% in A2 using Hindi in talking to their parents.

Almost the same trend is found in talking to spouse and brother/ sister where 81% and 84% respondents, respectively, have reported to use Kashmiri in talking to them. 23% respondents reported to use Hindi and 13.67% reported to use English in talking to their brother(s) and sister(s). The use of Kashmiri has marginally decreased in case of A1 in talking to the parents. There is also a slight increase in use of Hindi in this domain in A1 when compared to A2. A total of 14% respondents reported to use Hindi in talking to their spouse. However, a great deal of variation is found in the use of Hindi in this domain in case of the two age groups. In case of A2, 84.44% males and 95.00% females reported to use Kashmiri in talking to their spouses while as, in case of A1, the figures have considerably decreased with 34.67% males and 60.00% females using Kashmiri in talking to their spouses. Interestingly, a small number of 13.33% respondents reported to use English in talking to the spouse with a slight increase in the figures in case of A1.

In case of talking to children, Hindi is the most preferred language followed by Kashmiri. 87.67% respondents reported to use Hindi in talking to their children while as 77% respondents use Kashmiri. A reasonable percentage of 31.67% also reported to use English in talking to the children. The figures are witness to the fact that there is a sharp decline in the use of Kashmiri in case of talking to the children. Only 22.67% males and 10.67% females belonging to A1 use Kashmiri in talking to their children while as 63.33% males and 70.00% females of A2 use it in talking to their children. There is a slight increase in use of Hindi in case of males in A1 while as, surprisingly, a slight decrease is found in its use in case of females of this age group. However, use of English has increased considerably in A1 in comparison to A2 in talking to children. 39.33% male respondents, belonging to A2, reported to use English in talking to their children which has increased to 69.33% in case of A1. Similarly, in case of females, the number has increased from 32.00% in case of A2 to 43.33% in case of females. As is clear from the figures, Hindi and English are the dominant languages used for talking to children. It shows a clear change/ shift in comparison to the preferred choice of Kashmiri in talking to other family members. It perhaps owes to the dominant

and powerful status enjoyed by Hindi (being the official language) and English in the current linguistic scenario of the Indian Union.

The above figures clearly illustrate that Kashmiri is the dominant language used by respondents in talking to different family members. However, as is evident from the figures, there is a decline in its use in A1, i.e., the younger generation.

Language Choices in Friendship Domain

Below are given the figures about the language choices of the respondents in talking to their friends.

Language used with	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Friends	91.00	15.00	61.67	28.00	Nil

Figures for A1

Language used With	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Friends	77.33	73.33	16.00	9.33	72.00	74.67	30.66	18.67	Nil	Nil

Figures for A2

Language used With	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Friends	64.44	86.67	Nil	Nil	63.33	70.00	23.33	13.33	Nil	Nil

A total of 91% respondents have reported using Kashmiri, which is their mother tongue, in talking to their friends. 15% use Urdu while as 28% use English with their friends. A good number of respondents, which amounts to 61.67%, use Hindi in talking to their friends. The use of Dogri has not been reported by any respondent. As is clear from the figures, Kashmiri is the dominant language used in friendship domain.

On comparing the figures of two age groups, a good deal of variation is easily discernible with more number of respondents, belonging to A1, reporting the use of Hindi and English in talking to their friends. 72.00% male and 74.67% female respondents of this group use Hindi in talking to their friends as compared to 63.33% male and 70.00 females belonging to A2. Similarly, 30.66% males and 18.67% females of A1 reported to use English in this domain while, as in case of A2, the figures are 23.33% males and 13.33% females. Surprisingly, nobody has reported the use of Urdu from A2 while as 16.00% males and 9.33% females have reported to use Urdu from A2.

Talking to Neighbours

Language used with	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Neighbours	95.67	Nil	50.67	Nil	Nil

Figures for A1

Language used With	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Neighb ours	82.67	86.67	Nil	Nil	58.67	61.33	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

Figures for A2

Language used With	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale

	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Neighbours	80.00	90.00	Nil	Nil	57.78	76.67	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil

95.67% respondents reported that they use Kashmiri in talking with their neighbours. A reasonably good percentage of 50.67% uses Hindi with their neighbours. The figures are almost the same in both the groups, i.e., A1 and A2. However, the percentage of females is slightly more than males in both the groups. The difference is greater in A2 with 90.00% and 76.67% females using Kashmiri and Hindi, respectively, in comparison to 80.00% and 57.78% males. Nobody uses Urdu and English in such situations. Interestingly, no one reported the usage of Dogri in talking to the neighbours. It may be due to the fact that majority of respondents live in migrant camps established by the state government for migrant Kashmiri Pandits where they have Kashmiri Pandits as their neighbours. It seems that with their non-Kashmiri neighbours, the migrant Pandits prefer to use Hindi.

Language Choices in Market Place

In transaction in the market, Hindi is predominantly used by the respondents with all the respondents (100%) reporting to use it. 15% use Dogri, 15% English and 22.33% use Kashmiri in the market domain. This reflects the linguistic situation in the market where most shopkeepers are Hindi speaking. It needs to be mentioned that mostly Urdu and Hindi are used in the markets of Jammu as people from Kashmir and other parts of India who come to Jammu cannot speak Dogri, the mother tongue of majority of Jammuites. It seems that the respondents who use Dogri with shopkeepers are aware about the Dogri speaking background of these shopkeepers. Kashmiri seems to be used mostly with the Kashmiri speaking shopkeepers in the migrant camps. Almost the same figures are found for both the age groups and both sexes. The figures are provided below.

Language used	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
In the Market	22.33	Nil	100.00	15.00	15.00

Figures for A1

Language used	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Mal	Fem	Mal	Fem	Mal	Fem	Mal	Fem	Mal	Fem

	e	ale	e	ale	e	ale	e	ale	e	ale
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
In the Market	14.67	12.00	Nil	Nil	98.67	97.33	21.33	10.67	10.67	5.33

Figures for A2

Language used	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
In the Market	11.11	10.00	Nil	Nil	91.11	93.33	17.33	8.33	18.89	13.33

Language Choices in Community Gatherings

Language used in	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Community Gatherings	82.33	Nil	56.00	35.67	Nil

Figures for A1

Language used in	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Community Gatherings	42.67	49.33	Nil	Nil	41.33	34.67	38.66	28.00	Nil	Nil

Figures for A2

Language used in	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female

	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Community Gatherings	64.44	60.00	Nil	Nil	40.00	41.67	41.11	15.00	Nil	Nil

Here also, Kashmiri stands out as the most widely used language with 82.33% respondents reporting to use it in community gatherings although Hindi and English also fare better. 56% and 35.67% respondents reported to use Hindi and English, respectively, in such settings. No one reported to use Dogri or Urdu in community gatherings.

The variable based data shows a considerable decrease in the use of Kashmiri among the respondents belonging to A1. Besides, the number of females of this group who reported to use Kashmiri is greater than their male counterparts. Hindi has almost the same figures in both A1 and A2. In case of English, the percentage of males has slightly gone down in A1 while the percentage of females, using English, has gone up from 15.00% in A2 to 28.00% in A1.

Language Choices in Emotional Condition

Here, questions were asked regarding the use of language when one is angry, happy or sad both at home and away from home. The responses are provided in the tables given below:

Language Used When You are Extremely Emotional		Language				
		Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	Dogri	English
		% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
At Home	Angry	94.67	Nil	16.00	Nil	22.33
	Happy	78.33	Nil	40.33	Nil	25.33
	Sad	95.00	Nil	Nil	Nil	13.00
Away from Home	Angry	67.00	Nil	22.33	Nil	9.33
	Happy	77.00	Nil	35.00	Nil	12.00
	Sad	92.67	Nil	15.00	Nil	16.00

Figures for A1

Language Used When You are Extremely Emotional	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	Dogri	English

		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
		%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age
At Home	Angry	8 5. 33	96. 00	Nil	Nil	1 6. 00	10. 67	Nil	Nil	2 1. 33	8.0 0
	Happy	7 7. 33	82. 67	Nil	Nil	2 5. 33	20. 00	Nil	Nil	3 2. 00	2 2.6 7
	Sad	9 0. 67	90. 67	Nil	Nil	2. 67	4.0 0	Nil	Nil	1 0. 66	4. 00
Away From Home	Angry	7 2. 00	74. 67	Nil	Nil	1 6. 00	10. 67	Nil	Nil	2 6. 66	1 6.0 0
	Happy	6 1. 33	64. 00	Nil	Nil	2 9. 33	17. 33	Nil	Nil	3 2. 00	2 0.0 0
	Sad	9 6. 00	9 6.0 0	Nil	Nil	1 2. 00	8.0 0	Nil	Nil	1 0. 66	2. 67

Figures for A2

Language Used When You are Extremely Emotional		Language									
		Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		Dogri		English	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
		%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age
At Home	Angry	8 6. 67	9 3.3 3	Nil	Nil	2 4. 44	3 0.0 0	Nil	Nil	2 1. 11	1 0.0 0
	Happy	7 5. 56	8 6.6 7	Nil	Nil	3 4. 44	2 5.0 0	Nil	Nil	3 7. 77	2 0.0 0

	Sad	8 8.89	9 5.00	Ni 1	N il	1 3.33	2 0.00	Ni 1	Nil	1 2.22	6.67
Away From Home	Angry	7 2.22	7 5.00	Ni 1	N il	2 6.67	2 1.67	Ni 1	Nil	3 0.00	1.67
	Happy	5 8.89	7 1.67	Ni 1	N il	2 7.78	2 6.67	Ni 1	Nil	2 5.55	1.67
	Sad	9 3.33	9 5.00	Ni 1	N il	2 3.33	2 0.00	Ni 1	Nil	1 8.88	3.33

The figures clearly demonstrate that Kashmiri is the most widely used language in different emotional conditions both at home and away from home. It is followed by Hindi and English while as nobody reported the use of Urdu and Dogri in such conditions. Here, it needs to be mentioned that usually people use their mother tongue when they are extremely emotional perhaps because they feel at ease in expressing their feelings in it.

Almost the same figures have been reported for use of Kashmiri in the angry, happy and sad states of mind for both the age groups and sexes. The use of Kashmiri is marginally better in males of A1 as compared to the male respondents of A2. While as, except in case of being angry at home and being sad away from home, the percentage of female respondents is more in case of A2. The percentage of the respondents using Hindi in emotional conditions is greater for both the sexes in case of A2 than their counterparts in A1. The percentage of use of Hindi when one is sad both at home and away from home is considerably lower in both the male and female respondents of A1. It is only 2.67% in males and 4.00% in females of A1 in case of being sad at home as compared to 13.33% in males and 20.00% in females belonging to A2. Similarly, in case of being sad away from home, it is only 12.00% in males in A1 as compared to 23.33% in males of A2 and 8.00% in females of A1 as compared to 20.00% in females of A2. In case of English, not much variation is found between the two age groups. However, in both the age groups, the percentage is better for males as compared to females.

Language Choices in Reading, Writing and Listening

In this section, the respondents' choices and preferences in reading, writing and listening to various radio programmes will be looked into.

Language Choices in Writing: Here questions were asked about writing letters to family members and friends. The responses got are given below.

Writing Letter to a Family Member

Writing Letter to a	Language
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	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age
Family Member	8.33	17.33	54.00	78.66	Nil

Figures for A1

Writing a Letter to a	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age
Family Member	6.66	4.00	16.00	10.66	58.66	53.33	86.66	73.33	Nil	Nil

Figures for A2

Writing a Letter to a	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age
Family Member	13.33	8.33	24.00	16.00	55.55	46.66	82.22	70.00	Nil	Nil

English is the most widely used language here with 78.66% respondents reporting to use it in writing letters to their family members. It is followed by Hindi and Urdu. 54% respondents use Hindi and 17.33% use Urdu in this domain. A small percentage of 8.33% have reported that they use Kashmiri in writing to their family members. The poor response with regard to Kashmiri perhaps owes to the poor proficiency of majority of respondents in the writing skill in Kashmiri.

Besides majority of respondents are well versed in English and they perhaps feel comfortable in writing in English.

The percentage of both males and females using Kashmiri and Hindi is higher in case of A2 while as it is marginally higher for both males and females in A1 with regard to the use of Hindi and English. In both the age groups, the males fare better than females.

Writing Letter to a Friend

Writing Letter to a Friend	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age
Friend	7.66	15.33	37.66	83.00	Nil

Figures for A1

Writing Letter to a Friend	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age	%age
Friend	4.00	2.66	13.33	8.00	46.66	33.33	90.66	86.66	Nil	Nil

Figures for A2

Writing Letter to a	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri

	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Ma le	Fem ale
	%g e	%ge	%g e	%ge	%g e	%ge	%g e	%ge	%g e	%ge
Friend	13.33	10.00	23.33	15.00	40.00	28.33	82.22	70.00	Nil	Nil

In this situation also, English was found to be the dominant language with 83% respondents reporting that they use English in writing letters to their friends. It is followed by Hindi which is used by 37.66% respondents. 15.33% respondents use Urdu while as only 7.66% use Kashmiri. No one reported to use Dogri. As is clear, Kashmiri is at the bottom of the table and reasons may be the same as given in relation to writing letter to a friend.

The use of Kashmiri has significantly decreased in case of A1 where only 3 males and 2 females reported to use Kashmiri in writing letters to their friends. In case of Urdu, the percentage of respondents using it in letter writing is greater for A2. However, with regard to the use of Hindi and English, the percentage is greater for A1. The males fare better the females in both the age groups.

Language Choices in Reading

The respondents were asked to report in which language they read (i) newspapers, (ii) magazines and (iii) novels/ short stories. The received figures are as under.

	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Newspaper	Nil	41.33	44.00	80.67	Nil
Magazine	Nil	28.00	37.33	78.00	Nil
Novel/Short Story	Nil	14.33	41.33	46.00	Nil

Figures for A1

	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Ma le	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Ma le	Fem ale
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age

Newspaper	N il	N il	40 .00	16. 00	42 .67	28 .00	72 .00	54 .66	N il	Nil
Magazine	N il	N il	21 .33	22 .67	37 .33	32 .00	56 .00	34 .66	N il	Nil
Novel/ Short Stories	N il	N il	30 .67	26. 67	26 .67	30 .67	42 .67	20 .00	N il	Nil

Figures for A2

	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Ma le	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Mal e	Fem ale	Ma le	Fem ale
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
Newspaper	N il	N il	28.8 9	21. 67	44. 44	28 .33	76 .67	63 .33	Nil	Nil
Magazine	Nil	Nil	23. 33	20. 00	35. 56	33 .33	58 .89	41. 66	Nil	Nil
Novel/ Short Stories	Nil	Nil	22 .22	23 .33	35 .56	35 .00	47 .78	21 .66	Nil	Nil

Let us discuss the figures about reading of newspapers, magazines and short stories/ novels one by one.

Reading of Newspapers

As is clear from the above figures, nobody reported reading of any newspaper in Kashmiri. It owes to the fact that no newspaper is available in Kashmiri in Jammu. Although three daily newspaper are published in Kashmiri from Srinagar nowadays, it seems that either the papers have no circulation in Jammu or the respondents are not interested in them. English is the dominant language as 80.67% respondents read newspapers in English. Almost the same figures have been reported for Hindi and Urdu with 44% and 41.33% respondents reporting to read newspapers in Hindi and Urdu, respectively. The figures have increased for Urdu in case of males with 40.00% males in A1 as compared to 28.89% males in A2 reporting that they read newspapers in Urdu language. In contrast the figures have gone down for A1 with regard to females with 16.00% females of A1 as compared to 21.67% females in A2 reporting to read newspapers in Urdu language. Similarly there is a marginal decrease in figures for A1 in case of English and Hindi. It clearly shows that the trend of reading newspapers has gone down in case of younger generation of Kashmiri Pandits.

Reading of Magazines

With regard to reading of magazines, English is the most preferred language with 78% respondents reporting that they read magazines in English. 37.33% read magazines in Hindi while as 28% read in Urdu. Nobody reported to read magazines in Kashmiri. It should be noted here that although Kashmiri magazines do not exist in plenty but some literary magazines like *Naagraad* are published from Jammu.

In terms of sex and age, there is not much difference in the figures for the two groups. Except for the increase in the figures for females of A1 reading magazines in English, there is slight decrease in the responses with regard to reading of magazines in males and females of A1 in case of Hindi, Urdu and English (males). It reflects the trend, witnessed in case of reading of newspapers that the reading of magazines has slightly decreased in case of younger generation of Pandits.

Reading of Novels/ Short Stories

Here also, Kashmiri does not find any place among the respondents, some novels exist in Kashmiri language. In terms of short stories also, Kashmiri can be regarded as rich. The figures clearly demonstrate that English, Hindi and Urdu are the preferred languages among Kashmiri Pandits as far as the reading of novels and short stories is concerned. 46% respondents read novels/ short stories in English while as 41.33% read in Hindi. In comparison to the reading of newspapers and magazines, there is a decrease in the percentage of respondents reading novels/ short stories in English. Similarly, the figures have also decreased in case of Urdu.

The figures in terms of age and sex illustrate that most of the males and females belonging to A1 read novels and short stories in Urdu in comparison to their counterparts in A2. In case of Hindi, more number of males and females belonging to A2 read novels and short stories in Hindi as compared to males and females belonging to A1. With regard to reading novels and short stories in English, there is not much difference in the figures of the two age groups. However, the number of males is more than double in comparison to females in both the age groups in case of

Language Choices in Listening to Radio Programmes

Radio is one of the widely used medium of entertainment and responses were elicited to find out the language choices/ preferences of the respondents in listening to various radio programmes like news and songs. The reported responses in this domain are provided below.

Radio Programme	Language				
	Kashmiri	Urdu	Hindi	English	Dogri
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age

News	74.67	68.00	94.33	74.33	27.33
Songs	82.33	37.33	90.67	12.33	21.33

Figures for A1

Radio Programme	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
News	59.33	79.67	61.11	47.33	80.67	65.33	30.67	23.67	28.67	21.67
Songs	68.67	79.33	63.33	65.33	79.67	86.67	23.44	16.33	25.33	22.67

Figures for A2

Radio Programme	Language									
	Kashmiri		Urdu		Hindi		English		Dogri	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age	% age
News	69.33	89.33	64.00	49.33	90.67	69.33	35.55	29.33	31.33	27.67
Songs	74.67	82.67	66.67	73.33	86.67	90.67	26.66	18.67	30.00	25.33

News

74.67% respondents reported listening news in Kashmiri. However, Hindi is the dominant language here as 94.33% respondents reported listening news in this language. 74.33% and 68% respondents reported that they listen to news in English and Urdu, respectively. Besides, a good percentage of 27.33% reported listening to news in Dogri. As is evident, Kashmiri holds a prominent place in this domain although other languages also do not lag behind. However, a look at the figures for the two age groups reveals that less number of males and females of A1 as compared to the males and females of A2 listen to the news in Kashmiri. Same is the case with other languages also. In both the age groups, more number of females reported listening news in Kashmiri than males. However, in case of other languages, the number of males is more than the females.

Songs

Again Hindi is the dominant language as far as listening to songs is concerned. 90.67% respondents reported that they listen to songs in Hindi. The strong position of Hindi owes to the overwhelming dominance of Hindi-based cinema at the national level. Kashmiri also does not lag behind with 82.33% respondents listening Kashmiri songs. 37.33% respondents reported listening songs Urdu language. It is followed by Dogri with 21.33% respondents listening songs in Dogri. Surprisingly, English is the least preferred language here with only 12.33% respondents listening to English songs. As is clear from the above figures, Dogri holds a good position as far as listening songs is concerned. In terms of the variables of sex and age, the figures are slightly better for A2 when compared with A1. In both the age groups, the percentage of females is more than males in case of listening songs in Kashmiri, Urdu and Hindi languages while as in case of Dogri and English, the percentage of males is more than females.

Conclusions

The present study, which was undertaken to study the phenomena of language maintenance and shift among migrant Kashmiri Pandits, has come up with illuminating results with regard to the language choices of Kashmiri Pandits in various domains of language use. As is clear from the data and the discussions in the above sections, even after more than two decades of migration from their native place, Kashmiri language still holds a prominent position in the life of Kashmiri Pandits.

Kashmiri is the dominant language as far as speaking is concerned. It is widely used in speaking with family members, friends and neighbours. It is also the dominant language as far as communication in community gatherings like marriage ceremonies, cultural functions, condolence meetings, etc., is concerned. Its dominance is also reflected by its wide use during various emotional conditions like happiness, sadness and anger.

Expectedly, in talking to strangers, Kashmiri is marginally used given the minority status of migrant Kashmiri Pandits in Jammu. Same is the case with its use in the market place. Although 22.33% respondents reported that they use Kashmiri in the market, it seems that they use it with shopkeepers who can speak Kashmiri. It needs to be mentioned here that Hindi is the most widely used language in the market and in talking to strangers and servants as reported by the respondents. Besides 15% respondents reported using Dogri in the market place. However, it is in the domains of reading and writing that Kashmiri looks like a non-entity. As is evident from the figures, Kashmiri is virtually lost in the domain of reading as no one reported to read newspapers, magazines and novels/ short stories in Kashmiri. As far as writing is concerned, the functional role of Kashmiri is barely visible. Only 7.30% use it in writing letters to friends while as a small percentage of 8.11% respondents write letters to family members in

Kashmiri language. However, it needs to be stressed that Kashmiri does not find any place in the educational setup of Jammu and is taught in the schools. As such, very less percentage of Kashmiris is able to read and write in Kashmiri. English, Hindi and Urdu are the most widely used languages in these domains which owes to the fact that they are the real languages of literacy and educational setup in Jammu and Kashmir State.

As regards listening to news and songs on radio, Kashmiri enjoys a reasonably good position with 74.67%, and 82.33% respondents reporting to listen to news and songs in Kashmiri. It follows that the said programmes in Kashmiri language are popular among migrant Kashmiri Pundits. In relation to listening to these programmes, only Hindi stands ahead of Kashmiri. It perhaps owes to the official status and the dominant position of Hindi in other spheres at the national level. English enjoys a good position as far as listening to news is concerned. Urdu also has a good position as far as listening to news in this language is concerned. It has also got a good representation in relation to listening songs and dramas. However, English enjoys a relatively lower position with regard to listening of songs. Dogri is in a better position as far as listening news and songs in the language is concerned. It owes to the fact that Dogri enjoys a dominant position in the linguistic scenario of Jammu city and, with more than two decades of stay in this environment, a reasonably good number of migrant Kashmiri Pandits have acquired this language, perhaps, in the natural settings. The claim gets substantiated by the figures that 47.33% and 24.33% respondents reported that they understand and speak Dogri, respectively. However, no respondent claimed that he can read or write Dogri.

It becomes clear from the study that use of Kashmiri has decreased in the younger generation which can be gauged from the figures which have been received in case of the AI age group. There is also an increase in the use of English and Hindi in most of the domains (not all) for the respondents of this group. There is no doubt that this indicates a partial shift from Kashmiri in the younger generation of migrant Kashmiri Pundits. However, the figures with regard to the use of Kashmiri for this younger age group of Pundits cannot be treated as totally disappointing. As is clear from the data, Kashmiri has not been totally lost in this generation in spite of the fact that this young generation of Pundits has spent major part, and in most cases all, of its life outside Kashmir.

To sum up, the results of the survey bring into fore the fact that Kashmiri plays a prominent role in the personal and community life of migrant Kashmiri Pundits. English and Hindi (and in some cases Urdu) also occupy a vital position in their life. These languages are needed by Kashmiri Pundits in order to fulfil different functions and roles in their day to day life and in different domains in the society. Besides, the vital position of these languages at the national level, coupled with the global dominance of English at the international level, has made these

languages indispensable. However, their increased use may result in the loss of space for Kashmiri language, and consequent shift from it, in the long run.

One of the vital factors in language maintenance is the attitude of the speakers with regard to their language. There is no doubt that Kashmiri Pundits love their language which gets reflected by the fact that, as a conscious community, they have been actively pursuing different programmes to safeguard their language and culture. It needs to be put on record here that majority of Kashmiri Pundits have a positive attitude with regard to preserving and maintaining their mother tongue i.e., Kashmiri. In response to a question whether Kashmiri should be preserved, almost all the respondents replied in affirmative. Besides the community has established some literary and cultural organizations which frequently conduct various cultural and literary activities. In nutshell, one can safely conclude that the migrant Kashmiri Pundits have maintained, to a large extent, their mother tongue, i.e., Kashmiri in an alien lingua-cultural environment. And since language is an important and inseparable component of the identity of a group/ community/ nation, one can say that the Pandit community has succeeded in maintaining their linguistic identity to a great extent. However, as the data portrays (especially with regard to the younger generation) an imminent threat to the linguistic identity of the community looms large and one has to keep his fingers crossed as to how long the community can withhold the pressure of an alien linguistic environment to safeguard its linguistic identity.

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