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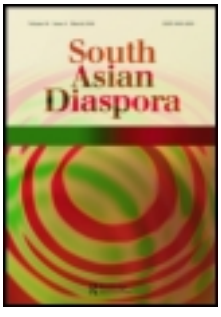

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Diasporic studies are about groups of people living as exiles, self-exiles, migrants and immigrants. Suppression of diasporic communities in various forms in their former (but original) homeland and/or adopted homeland has been the major concern of diasporic studies. Issues such as language, culture, identity and religion form core areas of these studies. Recently, the peripheral existence of various minorities within a country/society has led to diasporic studies in which no transborder situation is involved, which shows that the scope of diaspora as a discipline or research field has widened a great deal. However, there is one aspect of diasporic studies which has remained almost unexplored on its own. This is what can be termed as non-people issues facing diasporic fates of their own. Language, culture and religion can be such issues. This paper takes up the status of the Punjabi language in the state of Punjab in Pakistan. It claims that Punjabi language is being exiled from various domains of society by no other agent or institution but the Punjabis themselves. In other words, the Punjabi language is facing 'dispersion' at the hands of its own (native) speakers. Adapting a well-known sociolinguistic model called the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model, the paper seeks to document the diasporic status of Punjabi language in Punjab. The findings of this paper belie the generally made claim that the power of a language is related to the power of its speakers. Despite being the language of the overwhelming majority group of Punjab and Pakistan, Punjabi is alien in its own homeland.

Keywords: diaspora; diasporification; ethnolinguistic vitality; human rights; language attitudes; minority/majority language; Punjab; Punjabi language

Introduction

Diaspora, or *a* diaspora, is about migration, displacement, or dispersal. At its simplest, the term can be understood as an international phenomenon whereby dispersal or migration takes a group of people from one country or region to another. Thus, it has been claimed that a diaspora is a group of people 'of a common national origin or of common belief living in exile' or 'people of one country dispersed into other countries' (Choi 2003, 10). In its classic formulation, the scholars of diaspora do not understand it in synchronic terms; a diaspora is fundamentally a diachronic phenomenon involving more than one generation. A diaspora is a group of people who (have) migrated and 'their descendants who maintain a connection to their homeland' (Plaza and Ratha 2011, 3). In modern times, the concept of diaspora is not tied down to physical displacement/dispersal. Today, even a total lack of physical displacement can

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be interpreted in diasporic terms whereby a group identifies itself based upon its particular affiliations, inclinations and interests while staying in its 'homeland' (see Brubaker 2005, for details). A diaspora in this sense is a community symbolically constructed by people which is a 'resource and repository of meaning and a referent of their identity' (Cohen 1985, 118).

A diaspora, then, is about humans. That nonhuman issues and phenomena are not studied on their own in diasporic terms is because these are considered ancillary to humans and their situations. For instance, and relevant to this paper, languages of diasporic communities are treated in terms of minority and/or multicultural issues. The major part of research on language attrition or shift taking place in diasporic communities is about how a majority language backed by the majoritarian state apparatus, such as language planning, undermines a community (minority) language (Tollefson 1991; Phillipson 1992; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994; De Varennes 1996). The same is true of indigenous/native languages which have faced discrimination at the hands of exophoric or formerly colonial but now local rulers who happen to be in majority too.[1] It is rare that a language is treated as an agent *per se* and studied as such. It is even rarer that a language is treated as an agent on its own facing a diasporic situation (dispersion/displacement), especially a language which is the overwhelming majority language of a country and suffers at the hands of its own speakers.

This paper proposes to extend the debate on language/linguistic rights into natural, even human, rights by understanding Punjabi language (hereafter Punjabi) in the province of Punjab in Pakistan as an independent identity and report if its rights are being violated or not. This proposal may sound like a plea for linguistic anthropomorphism (which is certainly not), and a question may be raised if a language can be treated on its own terms. The answer is in the affirmative. Just like a river can be taken on its own,[2] a language can also be understood as distinct from its users, especially when the very users/speakers of it have been pushing it into obsolescence.

The thesis of this paper can be formulated thus: *despite being Pakistan's overwhelmingly majority language and having no threat from another language or ethnolinguistic group, Punjabi is facing diasporification within its own homeland.*

The Punjabi language in Punjab

Punjabi is the majority language of Pakistan. The province[3] of Punjab is Pakistan's largest political-administrative unit whose population is more than 60% of the country's population. Punjabis are not just the most numerical group in Pakistan, they are also the most powerful ethnolinguistic entity in the country. If in the national assembly (i.e. the parliament) a party wins all the seats from Punjab,[4] it will form a comfortable majority to rule Pakistan because Punjab's seats exceed those of all the provinces and administrative regions of Pakistan combined. Details from the latest census of Pakistan, which was held in 1998,[5] are given in Table 1.

The above figures speak for the dominance of Punjabi on the linguistic cartography of Pakistan. The population of the Punjabis within the province of Punjab is well over 80%.[6]

Methodology

As indicated above, the diasporification of Punjabi is about its extreme marginalization. Marginalization of a language is related to what in sociolinguistics is known as

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

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

Source: Census of Pakistan-1991 (1998).
[a]Mohiuddin (2007, 26) claims that the population of the Punjabis is ‘48%.

language health, language vitality, language attrition and language obsolescence. These issues are part of a subfield of sociolinguistics known as *Language Maintenance and Language Shift* (LMLS), or *Language Shift* (LS). Thus, a well-known LMLS/LS model called the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model is employed in this paper to find out if Punjabi is undergoing a process of diasporification in Punjab.

The reason for selecting the Ethnolinguistic Vitality Model (hence, the EVM) is that a number of sociolinguists have successfully used it in order to find out the state of viability and vitality of the languages of their various foci (Giles and Rosenthal 1985; Cenoz and Valencia 1993; Currie and Hogg 1994; Mann 2000; Sayahi 2005). The following section will examine the EVM with reference to this paper. It will also be pointed out why this model is important for this paper.

Ethnolinguistic vitality model

In 1977, Giles, Richard, and Taylor (1977) presented the EVM, which they believed could point to the sustainability of a language. According to them, ethnolinguistic vitality of a group

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

The EVM parameters of an ethnolinguistic group can be summarized thus: (i) status (economic, social and sociohistorical); (ii) demography (distribution of the group in the national territory, its number, proportion and concentration and (iii) institutional support (formal such as mass media, education, government services and informal such as industry, religion and culture.

The economic status, according to Giles et al. (1977, 310), is ‘the degree of control a language group has gained over the economic life of its nation, region or community’. Baker (1993), commenting on the economic status, says that where a minority language community experiences considerable unemployment or widespread low income, the pressure may be to shift to majority language.

It has been observed that an economically dominant class is able to manipulate other classes (Taylor 1993; Pieter 2001). This is done through different means such as media, education and cultural practices. It is usually the case that the economically dominant classes are the ruling classes in their respective polities. It is their values which become national values, and it is their icons, which become national icons (Boggs 1984; Duong 2002). One of the repercussions of economic domination can be linguistic domination of an economically dominant group's language over other languages in a given scenario and it usually serves as the *lingua franca* (Bisseret 1979; Adler 1980). Korth's (2005, 146) research backs this argument thus:

> The acceptance of Russian as superior language consequently led to the negation or rejection of Kyrgyz language and culture. In order to fit into society's norm and to be accepted many Kyrgyz children before independence claimed to be Russian.

In the maintenance of a language,[7] *social status* and *sociohistorical status* are two important factors and are closely related. People whose language has a low social status or who themselves have a low view of it are likely to shift to another language. On the other hand, a socially high status language is more likely to be maintained. If a language is supposed to have played a significant part in the past, it can still have symbolic value for its speakers in the present. Regarding *social status* and *sociohistorical status* with reference to *language status*, Giles, Richard, and Taylor (1977, 312) argue, '... history, prestige and the degree of standardization may be a source of pride or shame'.

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

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

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

Ethnolinguistic vitality model: A critical view

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

Perhaps the most incisive critique of the EVM has come from Williams (1992, 206) who argues that the model is based upon a 'contradiction' which is evident all over. The contradiction is that although the model is subjective, Giles, Richard, and Taylor (1977) relate it to objective social factors. Giles et al. refer a group's vitality to its esteem of its own language. But, according to Williams, if status evaluation is based upon a group's own culturally conditioned values, then the out-group's esteem 'derives from a different set of values' (Williams 1992, 208). Williams thinks that the EVM is unsatisfactory in its claim regarding the degree of control a group exercises over economic resources because it conflates control of economic resources with 'group coherence or enclosure' (1992, 208). Another problem which Williams encounters in the model is that it does not deal with two significant dimensions of inequality: gender and social class. Besides, there is little regarding the struggle that a minority wages for its rights.

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

As has been reported above, the EVM has been used by a number of sociolinguists to assess the heath, vitality, etc., of various languages of their focus. But it cannot be used indiscriminately. Its explanatory power can adequately be utilized only when it is adapted to the needs of a given situation.

In the discussion on the diasporification of Punjabi in Punjab below, various parameters of the EVM discussed above have been adapted into *postulates* followed by *responses* to postulates (their confirmation or refutation) and *elaborations*.

Diasporification of Punjabi in Punjab

Based upon the postulates derived from the EVM, this section will discuss whether or not Punjabi has been undergoing diasporification in Punjab. The postulates cover all three areas of the EVM: status, demography and institutional support.

Status

Postulate 1: The Punjabis as an ethnolinguistic group face unemployment and fall in the low-income group in Punjab.
Response: No; the Punjabis are in no way at a disadvantage in terms of employment or low income compared with other groups.
Elaboration: Punjabis dominate not just the province of Punjab, but the entire country of Pakistan. From the very establishment of Pakistan in 1947, the Punjabis have been, in Alvi's words, the 'most privileged group' (1986, 25). He elaborates his point thus:

> The Punjabis were preponderant in the bureaucracy and the army and held key positions in the state. They became visible as the new dominant group, winning out over other regional groups who had less than their due share of education, jobs, and power. (Alvi 1986, 25)

Postulate 2. As an ethnolinguistic group, the Punjabis' contemporary as well historical social status has been lower than other ethnolinguistic groups in Punjab.
Response: No; historically Punjabis have either ruled Punjab or have been under the rule of foreigners (e.g. the Moguls and the British). The entire subcontinent has been under foreign rule in the past. Within their own province, i.e. Punjab, the Punjabis were the eyes and arms of the foreign occupiers and were never relegated to the lower socioeconomic position. In the present times, the social status of the Punjabis is the highest not only in Punjab but also in entire Pakistan.
Elaboration: Historically, the Punjabis have dominated their own province. Before the British colonizers defeated Maharaja Dalip Singh in 1848 and annexed Punjab, it was exclusively the Punjabis who had been ruling Punjab for some time (Chopra 2003). The Sikh rule of Punjab did not exclude the Punjabi Muslims; the latter acted in the highest bureaucratic and military positions. The British rule did not suppress the Punjabis. On the contrary, they were co-opted by the British to become the most significant part of their military might. According to Singh,

> Punjab was one of the last provinces in India to become a part of the British empire in India and, therefore, remained under British rule for a shorter time than most other regions in India. Far-reaching and rapid economic, political, social and cultural changes took place in Punjab during British rule. A large number of Sikhs and Muslims from the peasant communities became soldiers in the British army; canal irrigation networks were developed in some regions of Punjab; the landed elites of all the three main religious communities [i.e., Hindu, Muslim, and Sikh] cooperated with each other in seeking mutually beneficial arrangements by collaborating with the British authorities. (2008, 54)

Later, when the British introduced democracy in India, it was the Punjabis who formed their own government comprising the representatives of the three Punjabi communities, viz., Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. Interestingly, since the Punjabi Muslims were in majority in Punjab, the chief minister of the province was always a Muslim.

As noted above and will be noted below too, since the creation of Pakistan, the Punjabis have dominated the country. Thus, the Punjabis face no inferiority complex in terms of their contemporary or historical social status.

Postulate 3. Overall, Punjabis are politically and economically a poor group.
Response: No, economically and politically, the Punjabis are the most powerful ethnolinguistic group in Pakistan.
Elaboration: A number of research studies can be cited to support the point that the Punjabis dominate not just the province of Punjab but the entire country of Pakistan in economic and political terms. For instance, Banuazizi and Myron (1986, 4) say, 'In Pakistan, the Punjabis . . . are the politically dominate group within the bureaucracy and the military'. Levinson (1998, 268) makes the same point when he says that it is the Punjabis who 'dominate the government and military, the two most powerful institutions in Pakistani society'. Adeney (2009, 119) has observed that,

> The size of the Punjab, reflected in its electoral dominance, means that national political parties have to win in the Punjab if they wish to form a national government. Political parties that articulate regionalist agenda are either consigned to a small number of seats in their respective provinces or cannot gain the support of the Punjab for their regionalist agendas as these agendas normally have anti-Punjab hue.

A Pakistan scholar has this to say,

> Punjabi domination in Pakistan is so conspicuous that many non-Punjabis consider Pakistan to be an imperial state, the state machinery of which is monopolized by a dominant ethnic group at the expense of the other ethnic groups. (Shah 1997, 141)

Demography

Postulate 1. The Punjabis are a minority ethnolinguistic group in Punjab. Their population is scattered in Punjab which makes them an incoherent ethnolinguistic group.
Response: No; the Punjabis are the majority ethnolinguistic group not only in Pakistan but in Punjab also. We have seen the proportion of the Punjabis in Pakistan's population. In their own province, their population is exceedingly higher than any other group. West (2009) in her study of the peoples of Asia and Oceania says that over 90% of the population of the Punjab is comprised of Punjabis.
Elaboration: In such a situation, it would not be possible even to visualize, let alone content, that the Punjabis are a minority or scattered group in Punjab.

Postulate 3. Migration and/or immigration has affected the Punjabi population of Punjab in a significant way.
Response: The Punjabis migrate to foreign countries. Karachi in the province of Sindh has a significant Punjabi population. But the migration has not affected the population of Punjab at all.
Elaboration: With around 90 million Punjabis living in Punjab, migration or immigration is not an issue in the percent case.

Postulate 4. Interethnic marriages have affected the Punjabis as an ethnolinguistic group.
Response: No such pattern has ever been documented.

Elaboration: Qadeer in his study of ethnicity in Pakistan has found that although ethnic isolation is an uncommon phenomenon, interethnic marriages is not common at all. To quote him,

> There is no part of the country that has been left untouched by the flow of people of diverse ethnicities. . . . . The only area in which ethnicity, rather more precisely tribal or *biradri* ties, remains largely unbreached is in matters of marriage and family. Interethnic marriages are rare, except in districts of historically co-inhabiting ethnic communities of Balochis and Sindhis. (Qadeer 2006, 76)

Postulate 5. The Punjabis birth rate is low compared with other ethnolinguistic group.
Response: The population growth of the Punjabis is no less than that of any other ethnolinguistic group.
Elaboration: Pakistan's census and studies on birth rate have never documented any dwindling of the Punjabis. The Punjabi population has always been overwhelmingly dominant.

Institutional support

Postulate 1. The media are heavily owned by non-Punjabis. Thus, Punjabi language and culture do not find enough exposure.
Response: The media, both in its print and electronic form are overwhelmingly controlled by the Punjabis.
Elaboration: Pakistan's top media houses, both print and electronic, such as Jang/Geo, Waqt and Dunia are owned by Punjabis. There is no way non-Punjabis can undermine Punjabi language and culture.[8]

Postulate 2. In various government institutions and especially policy-makers are non-Punjabis who do not make pro-Punjabi language policies (e.g. language planning).
Response: All government institutions are controlled by the Punjabis.
Elaboration: As has been documented above, the Punjabis control Pakistan economically and politically. In terms of government, governance and policy-making, the Punjabi control is complete and unchallenged. This fact is repeatedly noted by scholars such as Mohiuddin (2007) and Alvi (2011). In Alvi's words,

> In Pakistan. . . the dominance of a single salariat group, Punjabis, in the military and the bureaucracy has given rise to an authoritarian political system even during periods when there was a semblance of representative 'democracy'. (2011, 90)

The same point is made by Wilson too,

> Punjab has historically determined Pakistan's destiny since 1947. It has supported and sustained authoritarian regimes and has greatly influenced the ouster of unpopular governments. (2009, xix)

Postulate 3. Religious activities are carried out in Punjabi.
Response: Not at all; Urdu is the language of religious activities in Punjab. Punjabi is not supposed to be fit for religious activities.
Elaboration: The Punjabis do not use Punjabi for religious activities. They practice diglossia, which is a sociolinguistic situation (Fishman 1970; Wardhaugh 1986) in

which one language performs higher functions (called the H language) and the other performs lower functions (called the L language). According to Wardhaugh,

> A key defining characteristic of diglossia is that the two varieties are kept quite apart functionally. One is used in one set of circumstances and the other in an entirely different set. (1986, 88)

The Punjabis have set aside their own language as the L language and Urdu the H language when it comes to performing religious functions. Those who have dared to offer prayers in Punjabi have been even manhandled (Malik and Salim 2004). Every research study carried out in this respect has verified this claim (Mansoor 1993; Rahman 1996, 2002; Zaidi 2013).

Postulate 4. Punjabi is taught in schools.
Response: Punjabi is not taught in Punjab at any level.
Elaboration: Sindhi and Pashto are taught in schools in their respective provinces (Sindh and Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa) where they are compulsory. But Punjabi is not taught in any school in Punjab. It is interesting to note that Punjabi can be taken as an optional subject in colleges. At the university level, one can do Master's or PhD degrees in Punjabi, but when it comes to teaching Punjabi in schools, the Punjabis themselves have chosen not to do so.

Postulate 5. Official correspondence in Punjab can be carried out in Punjabi.
Response: Not at all; it is Urdu and English which are the languages of official communication in Punjab.
Elaboration: The reasons are more or less the same as given in response to the preceding two postulates.

Postulate 6. Punjabi can be used on a political forum such as the Punjab assembly.
Response: Never; Punjabi has officially been banished from significant official political forums such as the provincial legislative assembly.
Elaboration: The Punjabis themselves have banned the use of Punjabi on a forum like the Punjab legislative assembly. In the rest of the provinces in Pakistan, elected legislators take the oath of office in their own languages (Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, Urdu and Kashmiri), but in the Punjab assembly, it is forbidden to do so, and those legislators elect who wanted to take the oath in Punjabi were warned of disqualification by the speaker of the assembly (for details, see Zaidi 2010).

Postulate 7. There is an official or unofficial academy which promotes Punjabi.
Response: There are official institutions like the Punjabi Adaby [i.e. Literary] Board, but it is practically dysfunctional.
Elaboration: When a language is banned or discouraged at every official and nonofficial level, academies are meaningless. The academies established to 'promote' Punjabi are meant to act as places where rulers can 'adjust' their cronies.

Discussion

'Language shift' says Romaine (2012, 320), 'involves a *loss* of speakers and *domains* of use, both of which are critical for survival of a language'. There is an absolute

consensus among sociolinguists on it (Gal 1979; Fasold 1984; Fishman 1991; Dorian 1992). The question arises: What can possibly make a sociopolitically and numerically overwhelming and secure group exile its own language from various domains? Or more specifically: Why have the Punjabis of Punjab, the ruling elite of Punjab as well as Pakistan, exiled their own language from various domains?

Different scholars have identified a number of factors which play a part in the marginalization or obsolescence of a language. For example, Weinreich (1974 [1953]) recounts the following factors: age, geography, group membership, indigenousness, occupation, rural/urban residence, sex and social status. Other factors which have been studied are migration, industrialization, urbanization, language prestige and the medium of instruction (e.g. Dorian 1980; Edwards 1985). Romaine (1995) recounts that factors which play a great part in language shift are: status of language, attitudes of a language's speakers, the role of school, language policy, speakers' inability to maintain their language in the home domain and insufficient learning of a language by the younger generation. According to Gal (1979), the factors that cause language shift are: industrialization, urbanization, loss of isolation, loss of national self-consciousness and loss of group loyalty. Fasold (1984) enumerates several factors for language shift such as migration, industrialization, school language, urbanization, language prestige and the composition (small or big) of population. Kulick (1992) claims that migration, industrialization, urbanization, proletarianization and government language polices determine if a language will undergo a shift or not.

None of the above factor answers the question about the Punjabi language. I would like to focus on one cause behind the diasporification of Punjabi: the language attitude of Punjabis. 'In the life history of a language', argues Baker, 'attitude may be crucial. In language growth or decay, restoration or destruction, attitudes may be central' (1988, 112). Gardner (1985) and Holmes and Harlow (1991) share Baker's view. Gardner (1985) considers attitudes as components of motivation and thinks that the preference for speakers' choice of a language, dialect or accent is influenced by their attitudes.

Punjabi is undergoing diasporification because of the attitudes of the Punjabis. This claim is supported by major works done on the sociolinguistics of Punjabi in Punjab/Pakistan. It has been reported that the Punjabis view their language as 'vulgar' and consider it to be fit only for jokes and mockery (Mansoor 1993; Rahman 1996, 2002; Schiffman and Spooner 2011; Zaidi 2013). The next question is: Why do the Punjabis have negative attitudes toward their own language? The answer to this question can be given in postcolonial terms.

According to the official narrative, Pakistan was created in the name of Islam. In order to foreground Pakistan's Islamic credentials, the ruling elites made everything local/indigenous suspect. On the contrary, everything which had some Arabic connection, however minimal or bogus, was given legitimacy and authenticity. Irfani offers a very powerful argument. He writes that since 1947, the time when Pakistan was established, there has been a steady ascent of an 'Arabist shift'. He defines this shift as the tendency to view the present in terms of an imagined Arab past with the Arabs as the only 'real/pure' Muslims, and then using this 'trope of purity for exorcizing an 'unIslamic' present. Consequently, the Arabist shift lost the eclecticism and intellectuality that were the basis of a creative South Asian Muslim identity, and this has led to a hardening in the understanding of Islam as a result of imagining Pakistanis in Arabist terms' (Irfani 2004, 148). He goes on to say,

> The Arabist shift touched new heights through a convergence of General Zia-ul Haq's politically motivated Islamization of Pakistani state and society and the U.S.-sponsored *jihad* in Afghanistan on the one hand, and the fallout of the Iranian revolution, the Kashmir dispute, and uneven development on the other. Such a convergence was also boosted by romantic notions of an Arab-centric popular imagination as indeed the ground realities of multiple economic interests. For example, in a romanticized notion of Pakistan's breakup in 1971, the secession of Bangladesh is seen as a consequence of the failure to adopt Arabic as a national language; whereas cooperation in defense-related areas at the level of the state has been augmented by joint Pak-Arab business ventures that include partnership by "political" families, such as the family of the former prime minister Nawaz Sharif. There has also been a huge increase in the remittances of Pakistani expatriates from the oil-rich Arab states. Moreover, the Arabist shift is also underscored by the fascination of many Pakistanis and especially the religio-political groups with Talibanic Islam—generally seen as a slide toward a tribal, anti-intellectual and misogynist view of Islam promoted by a narrow interpretation of the Quran. And although the Taliban is not Arab, Talibanic Islam is a vigorous manifestation of the Arabist shift, of which Osama bin Laden has become the icon par excellence in Pakistan today. (Irfani 2004, 148–149)

Eric Cyprian, a well-known Punjabi and one of the leaders of the pro-Punjabi movement from the 1960s to the 1990s, also argued that the reason the Punjabi language was pushed to the margin by the ruling elite of the country was because of the past of the Punjabis and the Punjabi language. According to him, from the earliest times, foreign invaders had to pass through Punjab to attack Delhi, the capital of India. The Punjabis resisted all of them whether they were Muslim or non-Muslim. Thus, resistance to the foreign invaders became a part of the Punjabi culture, and the Punjabi poetry chronicles at length the bravery of the Punjabis against the foreigners. Hence, the foreigners, Muslim or non-Muslim, understood very well the political power of the Punjabi language and did everything to denigrate it, especially the British who brought Urdu-speaking administrative and police officers from Uttar Pradesh in order to consolidate their hold on the province of Punjab and its residents (Cyprian 1991).

The Punjabis' attitudes toward Punjabi can be understood from a socioeconomic or the so-called Marxist, angle too. The Punjabis are the dominant ethnolinguistic group in

Table 2. Fishman's GIDS.[a]

Stage 8	Social isolation of the few remaining speakers of the minority language. Need to record the language for later possible reconstruction
Stage 7	Minority language used by older and not younger generation. Need to multiply the language in younger generation
Stage 6	Minority language is passed on from generation to generation and used in the community (e.g. provision of minority nursery schools)
Stage 5	Literacy in the minority languages. Need to support literacy movements in the minority language, particularly when there is no government support
Stage 4	Formal, compulsory education available in the minority language. May need to be financially supported by the minority language community
Stage 3	Use of minority language in less specialized work areas involving interaction with majority language speakers
Stage 2	Lower government services and mass media available in the minority language
Stage 1	Some use of minority language available in higher education, central government and national media

[a]This table is Baker's adaptation (Baker 1993, 58).

Pakistan. By denigrating their own language, they have denigrated all the indigenous languages of Pakistan. Urdu is not indigenous to Pakistan; it is the language of those Urdu-speaking people who migrated to Pakistan after Partition. Urdu used to be identified with Muslims and Islam in pre-Partition India (as opposed to Hindi/Hinduism). After the creation of Pakistan, Urdu was declared the national language of Pakistan and stood (stands) for Islam and the Islamic identity of Pakistan. Thus, by embracing Urdu at the cost of Punjabi, the Punjabis have monopolized the national-Islamic language which has helped them in perpetuating their hold on the rest of the ethnolinguistic groups of Pakistan. Hence, Urdu is an ideological weapon in the hands of the Punjabis, the dominant group in Pakistan.[9]

Conclusion

This paper began with the thesis that the Punjabi language is undergoing a process of diasporification at the hands of its own speakers and in its own homeland. The ethnolinguistic model adapted to understand the process has helped understand this process. However, just like any other theory or model, the EVM is not the only instrument to gauge the societal state of affairs of a language. The diasporification of Punjabi language in Punjab is so pervasive and so much taken-for-granted that it is not an issue among its speakers. One may type 'advertising/advertisements in Lahore' or 'graffiti in Lahore' into the 'Google image' dialogue box and find out that not a single text will appear in Punjabi; the only languages are (mainly) Urdu and (to some extent) English. This is evidence of the indifference and insensitivity on the part of the sparkers of Punjabi themselves.

Now that it is obvious that Punjabi is undergoing a process of diasporification, the matter can be dealt with from two angles: First, let Punjabi's process of diasporification continue where it meets its seemingly inevitable fate and second, ponder ways to stem the process of diasporification. For the latter, Fishman (1991, 87) has come up with what he calls a 'graded typology of threatened statuses'. He has developed the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) which he likens to the Richter Scale. GIDS in Fishman's own words 'may be thought of as a sociocultural reverse analog to the sociopsychological language vitality measures that several investigators have recently proposed' (1991, 87). GIDS has eight stages (Table 2):

In sociolinguistics terms, Punjabi will be taken as a minority language given its status in Punjab. All the GIDS stages, with the exception of Stage 8, can be exploited to benefit Punjabi. But that is possible only when a community in question is willing to see its language prosper and functional in various domains. But in the present case, the first angle seems more relevant because the Punjabi themselves are driving it into obsolescence.

When speakers of a language consider it vulgar, its future is bound to be defined by functional recession. This is what has been happening with Punjabi. It is on account of the attitudes of the Punjabis that Punjabi has no value, worth or utility. In societal terms, Punjabi's domains are too few to guarantee its viability; it is more of liability than asset. Thus, in its own homeland and among its on speakers, Punjabi is an alien.

The present paper has focused on the objective, macro aspect of the diasporification of Punjabi. There is immense scope to do research work on subjective and micro aspects of the diasporification of Punjabi. For instance, using methods like ethnography and phenomenology, people's relations with Punjabi can be explored in terms of language use, language repertoire and language attitudes. The use of Punjabi at work

place and between social classes is another area where the claim of its diasporification can be verified.

Notes

1. Some of the examples are Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA.
2. As reported in *The New Zealand Herald*, in August 2012, a New Zealand court conferred a legal entity on the Whanganui River. A spokesman for the Minister of Treaty Negotiations announced, 'The Whanganui River will be recognized as a person when it comes to the law in the same way a company is, which will give it rights and interests'. The agreement was signed on behalf of Whanganui Iwi by Brendan Puketapu of the Whanganui River Maori Trust, which represents a group of Iwi along the river, and the Crown in Parliament. For details, see Shuttleworth (2012).
3. The equivalent term for 'province' in India or the United States is 'state'.
4. The province is referred to as 'Punjab' or 'the Punjab'. In this paper, the definite article is dropped.
5. The census of Pakistan which was supposed to be held in 1991 was actually held in 1998. After that, the latest census was supposed to be held in 2008, but given the country's volatile situation, it has not been held so far. For details, see Zaidi (2010).
6. Interestingly, some scholars may claim that the percentage of the speakers of Punjabi is not as low as 44.15 as shown on the table but 54.68%: Seraiki is a dialect of Punjabi, but it has been separated from Punjabi on the political basis. Rahman (1996 and 2002) has pointed out that Seraiki as a separate language was the result of the movement in the 1960s which sought to redress economic deprivations suffered by the people of South Punjab, the so-called Seraiki belt. Some scholars of Seraiki contend that Seraiki and Punjabi are not different languages but two varieties (Nadiem 2005; Shackle 2007). This is, however, a controversial issue and involves political economic and emotional issues. This also involves sociolinguistic issues like what constitutes a language/dialect and who decides what a language/dialect is and what basis. This is why, I have avoided this matter because it cannot be mentioned in passing.
7. Language vitality is an area within LMLS. Maintenance or shift of a language depends on its vitality.
8. I have had years of experience as a journalist in Pakistan.
9. This aspect needs to be explored in greater details.

Notes on contributor

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