CHAPTER-III
LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE
AMONG GUJJJARS
3.0. Introduction

Language is a part of society and holds an important position in understanding a particular society. It is believed that culture loses its essence without language and would not exist. Society is formed by language. Language is the typical representation of individuals and involves their social and chronicled foundation. It additionally incorporates their methods for living and believing that is their way to deal with life. Language is a part of culture and plays a very important role in reflecting culture. It is a symbolic representation of people as it comprises their historical and cultural background as well as their ways of living and thinking. The role of language is essential in the formation of society. It incorporates certain practices propensities and traditions of the groups. The use of language by a particular social group helps in revealing essential parts of behaviour and society. The study of language looks at how a specific language is organized, how is it used and how it can change.

3.1. Objective

This study analysis the patterns of language use, attitude and prestige among Gujjars with an expectation of considering and investigating their way of life. The present study depends on the information extricated from 100 informants separated along diverse lines of sexual orientation, age and economy. The different systems utilized for information gathering were interview (both open and close ended), participant observation and so on the respondents were made inquiries with respect to different domains like language use, attitude, and prestige. The feedback for various queries like proficiencies in Gojri, Kashmiri, Urdu and other languages were measured against 4 skills: Understand, Read, Write and Speak. The proficiency for the four skills was measured across 5 levels ranging from Nil to Excellent.
Table 3.1: Coding for proficiency levels in different languages

The proficiency for different languages was calculated by calculating the mean of all four skills (Understand, Speak, Read, Write) using all the variables (OM, OF, MM, MF, YM, YF).

3.2. Language Identification

Gujjars speak a variety of Gojri, which is an offshoot of Indo-Aryan language. The language belongs to the Rajasthani language group. The language is closest relatives of Dogri, Pahari, Punjabi, and Haryanvi. Gojri is the language of all the Gujjars and Bakerwals of Jammu and Kashmir state, Grierson a famous linguistic expert was of the opinion that the Gojri spoken by the Gujjars of the sub-mountain districts of Punjab and Kashmir was allied to Rajasthani. Grierson opined, “One of the two things is quiet certain. Either Gojri is for of Rajasthani and conversely, Rajasthani is form of Gojri and resemblance of Gojri to Marwari is very striking. But still closer is the resemblance of Gojri to Marwari dialect of Rajasthani spoken in Alwar, some distance to north of Merwar and separated from that state by the territory of Jaipur”.

Gujjars of Fakir Gujri are also proficient in Kashmiri, Urdu and Pahari. Thus the Gujjar community functions mainly in three languages i.e. Gojri, Kashmiri and Urdu. The community being illiterate shows a little proficiency in English. This

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Levels</th>
<th>Coding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very Less</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
proficiency is only shown by the educated chunk of the community (in reading and writing). However Gojri is the language of comfort and ease and Gujjars prefer to use it frequently. They use Urdu and Kashmiri in situations where Gojri cannot be used.

### 3.3. Language Proficiency

Under this domain the proficiency of language used by the Gujjar speakers was studied. It is discussed below:

#### 3.3.1. Language Proficiency in Gojri

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Very less</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.2: Measured Gojri Proficiency among Females**

From the above table it was seen that the measured proficiency of Gojri among all the females for the two skills (understanding and speaking) was high (excellent). But it declined to very less in case of the third skill (reading) and was nil for the fourth skill (writing). So Gujjar women are proficient only in two skills (understanding and speaking).
Table 3.3: Measured Gojri Proficiency among Males

Gujjar men were found proficient in understanding and speaking. They showed excellent results for these two skills. As compared to females Gujjar males were slightly more proficient and showed intermediate proficiency in reading. But for the writing skill there proficiency was zero except for a few old males who are well proficient in Urdu who can read and write in Gojri. The proficiency of Gujjars declines as we move from ‘Understanding’ to ‘Writing’ in all genders. Also the decline is more among the women because most of them are illiterate. This may be because Gujjars are illiterate. So they do not have any practice of reading and writing in Gojri. It can be concluded that Gujjars are mostly proficient in two language modalities of Gojri i.e. understanding and speaking. Most of the Gujjars do not know how to read and write in their mother tongue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
<td>Excellent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Very Less</td>
<td>Very Less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.2. Language Proficiency in Kashmiri

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Intermediate-Good</td>
<td>Intermediate-Good</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Very Less</td>
<td>Very Less</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: Measured Kashmiri Proficiency among Females

In case of Kashmiri the proficiency of understanding among OF is lesser than MF and YF. For the speaking skill all the female show a less proficiency. Reading and writing skills in Kashmiri, among Gujjar females are nil.
Middle aged men are more proficient in understanding and speaking Kashmiri as compared to young and old males. But all the males show zero proficiency in reading and writing skills. Even though Kashmiri has been introduced at school level but still young Gujjar males lack proficiency in it. It was also observed that the proficiency rate declines from understanding to writing.

**Table 3.5: Measured Kashmiri Proficiency among Males**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Good –Excellent</td>
<td>Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Intermediate-Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Fig 3.2: Language Proficiency in all the four skills of Kashmiri.**
3.3.3. Language Proficiency in Urdu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Intermediate-Good</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Intermediate-Good</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Very Less</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.6: Measured Urdu Proficiency among Females

In case of measured proficiency for Urdu YF show better results as compared to MF and OF. Old females show least proficiency in Urdu. It was also observed that understanding and speaking skills in Urdu, among Gojri females were better as compared to their reading and writing skills which were very less or negligible in majority of the cases.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Intermediate-Good</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Good</td>
<td>Intermediate-Good</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Very Less</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Measured Urdu Proficiency among Males

Gujjar males show better results for understanding and speaking skills in Urdu. YM show better proficiency than MM and OM. The reading and writing skills are very less and almost negligible. It was observed that a few OM could read religious texts in Urdu but could not write it.
So it could be concluded that the overall proficiency in speaking and understanding skills was better than reading and writing skill. Now-a-days with the increasing exposure and social mobility the proficiency in understanding and speaking has increased. Gujjar children are also getting proficient in reading and writing Urdu at school level.

Fig 3.3: Language Proficiency in all the four skills of Urdu.

3.3.4. Language Proficiency in English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Very Less</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Very Less-Intermediate</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.8: Measured English Proficiency among Females

Gujjar females show poor results for proficiency in English. They cannot understand, speak, read or write in English except for a few YF show a very less
proficiency in reading and writing. They have acquired these two skills from school. Social mobility and increasing interaction with other people may also lead to the adoption of some words from English which they pronounce in their native accent. For example, TV, bus, table, school, doctor etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read</td>
<td>Very Less- Intermediate</td>
<td>Very Less-Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write</td>
<td>Very Less Intermediate</td>
<td>Very Less - Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.9: Measured English Proficiency among Males**

In case of measured proficiency among males, only a few young and middle aged men show a little proficiency in reading and writing skills. While as all the OM showed zero proficiency in all four skills. YM and MM also show zero proficiency in understanding and speaking skills.

**3.3.5. Language Proficiency for Gojri, Urdu and Kashmiri**

From the above study it can be concluded that respondents show better proficiency in Kashmir and Urdu for understanding and speaking skills as compared to reading and writing skills which are less and almost negligible. It was also observed that males are more proficient than females. This may be due to their increased social mobility and exposure. All Gujjars speak Gojri language followed by Urdu and Kashmiri. Even though Gujjar women may show some proficiency in understanding Urdu and Kashmiri apart from Gojri but they prefer to speak in Gojri.
OF restrict their use to Gojri only while as YF may switch to Urdu or Kashmiri when required. OF show least proficiency in all the skills as compared to MF and YF. Among males MM and YM make more use of Kashmiri and Urdu as compared to OM.

Fig 3.4: Language Proficiency for Gojri, Urdu and Kashmiri.

3.4. Language Acquisition

The procedure of acquiring language is profoundly influenced by the procedure of becoming competent member of a society which is acknowledged to a vast degree through language, by acquiring information of its functions, social appropriation, and understanding in and crosswise over socially characterized circumstances, i.e. through exchange of language specifically social circumstances. In multilingual contact circumstances language learning and utilize work together, individuals learn different languages as they utilize them. Distinctive codes are adopted for diverse contexts and the objective of acquisition is typically repertoire building. Individuals learn or acquire diverse languages for distinctive purposes such
as social interaction, work, and so on. These languages are learnt through different sources such as home, school, and environment.

The acquisition contexts of Gojri, Urdu, Kashmiri and English from various sources like home, environment and school have been discussed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>At School/Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahari</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>At School</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.10: Language Acquisition among Females

From the above table it can be seen that Gojri is acquired at home. They learn Kashmiri from environment; Urdu is learnt from both environment and school. Gujjar women also know a little Pahari which is learnt from the environment. English which is limited to younger educated generation only is learnt from school. Certain words are also learnt from environment while interaction.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Home</td>
<td>Home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>At School/Environment</td>
<td>At school/Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahari</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>Environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>At School/Environment</td>
<td>At School/Environment</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.11: Language Acquisition among Males
Fig 3.5: Language Acquisition Context of Gojri

It was observed from the above table it can be seen that Gujjar men acquire Gojri at home. They learn Kashmiri from environment; Urdu is learnt from both environment and school. Gujjar men also show a little proficiency in Pahari which is learnt from the environment. English is either learnt from school or environment by YM and MM.

Fig 3.6: Language Acquisition Context of Kashmiri
3.5. Domains of Language Use

Domain is an area of human activity in which one particular speech variety or a combination of several varieties is regularly used. A domain can be considered as a group of related social situations. These social situations can be best understood in terms of three defining characteristics i.e. place, role relationship and topic. A particular variety of a language is appropriate to a particular domain. Today in the multi lingual world different languages are considered appropriate for different domains depending upon the need and role relationship. For example, father and children might use one language with each other but a teacher and student might use another.

Fasold (1984: 183) noted that the concept of domain was first proposed by Fishman as a way of looking at language choice. According to Fishman, domains are institutional context in which one language variety is more likely to be appropriate than another. Domains are taken to be constellations of factors, such as location,
activities and participants. The family domain is a typical domain. Domain analysis is related to diglossia.

Fase el al. (1992:6) say that it has been commonly found that when the mother tongue of a minority language remains dominant in communication within the ethnic group, it can be said that the mother tongue is being maintained. If only inter group language shift occurs, the language situation within the community will evolve towards a form of stable bilingualism.

3.5.1. Home Domain

The domain of home is generally a domain where all the family members prefer to use their mother tongue. In this domain mother tongue plays the dominant role and is used for accomplishing all the tasks, may it be interaction with the family members or petting the cattle, etc. The domain of home includes the roles and relationships associated with family members and visitors. This domain is considered informal as compared to other domains of language use and is also referred as an intimate domain. It is said that if a language loses its vitality in other domains but can still survive if used in home domain.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grand-Parents</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand-Children</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pets and Live</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.12: Language Used In Home Domain By Females
### Table 3.13: Language used In Home Domain by Males

From the above table it can be concluded that Gojri is the language of Home domain. Gujjars prefer to use their own language Gojri for ease and comfort. There are various activities of the family like the conversation with each other, the meal, the household or any other general discussions between the family members or visitors where Gojri is used exclusively. Gujjars use Gojri with their pets because they assume that the pets are the in-group members and will not understand any other language. They are treated as part of their family. They use Kashmiri and Urdu only when required.

![Fig 3.8: Language of Comfort](image-url)
### 3.5.2. School Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>At School</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>YM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With teacher in classroom</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With teacher outside classroom</td>
<td>Gojri/ Urdu</td>
<td>Gojri/Urdu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends of same community in class</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends of different community in classroom</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends of same community outside classroom</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With friends of different community outside classroom</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Urdu/Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.14: Language Used In School By Young Males And Females**

In school domain Urdu dominates Gojri. It is used or communicating with the teacher both inside and outside the class room. It is also used for communicating with the friends belonging to other communities. Along with Urdu Gojri also forms the part of school domain. It is used to interact with the friends of same community and also with the teacher if he is a Gujjar. Kashmiri has a very limited role in this domain. It is used very often for interaction with non native members.
3.5.3. Market Domain

Language Spoken at Market

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With merchant of Gojri community</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the merchant of other community</td>
<td>Kashmiri/Urdu</td>
<td>Kashmiri/Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintance in the Market</td>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmir</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.15: Language Used At Market By Females

It was observed that in the market domain Gojri was used with the native Gujjars but with the acquaintance and merchants who are non natives, Kashmiri is used. Except for some MF and OF who communicate in Gojri only. YF and some MF make use of Urdu or Kashmiri depending upon the interlocutor.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With merchant of Gojri community</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the merchant of other community</td>
<td>Urdu/Kashmir</td>
<td>Urdu/Kashmir</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acquaintance in the Market</td>
<td>Kashmiri/Urdu</td>
<td>Kashmiri/Urdu/Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.16: Language Used At Market By Males
The male members of the community use Gojri with a Gujjar merchant. With a Kashmiri merchant they prefer to use Kashmiri except for YM who make use of Urdu. With the acquaintances in the market Gujjars use Gojri with the natives and Urdu or Kashmiri with non-Gujjars. This usage depends upon who the interlocutor is.

3.5.4. Religious Domain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>While praying to God</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While reciting or performing rituals</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While singing religious songs</td>
<td>Gojri/Pahari</td>
<td>Gojri/Pahari</td>
<td>Gojri/Pahari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When possessed</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While talking with other worshippers</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmir</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmir</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For religious discussions at the place of worship with priest</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.17: Language Used in Religious Domain By Females**

From the above table it is observed that Gojri plays the dominant role. Arabic, Pahari and Kashmiri are also used. Arabic is used by Gujjar females while reciting or performing religious rituals. It is also used while offering prayers (Namaz). Gojri is used for making Duaa. They also use Gojri for singing religious songs and for getting
possessed. Kashmiri is only used for discussions at religious places with non Gujjars. Gujar women may sometimes use Pahari for singing the religious songs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>While praying to God</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While reciting or</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
<td>Gojri/Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>performing rituals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While singing</td>
<td>Gojri/ Pahari</td>
<td>Gojri/Pahari</td>
<td>Gojri/Pahari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>religious songs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When possessed</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While talking</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmiri</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmiri</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with other worshippers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For religious</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmiri</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmiri</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discussions at the place</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of worship with priest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.18: Language Used in Religious Domain By Males**

The Gujar males use Arabic while offering their prayers and reciting the verses of Holy Quran. They also use Gojri at the time of making Duaa. Gojri is also used for singing religious songs, getting possessed and talking with the native Gujar worshippers and at religious discussions in the Masjid. Apart from using Gojri they also make use of Kashmiri while communicating with Kashmiri speakers who live nearby.
3.5.5. **Language Used at Community Meetings**

Community meetings are usually held in the village Panchayat where along with Gojri speakers some Kashmiri and Pahari speakers living in the vicinity are also present. The domain of community or village meeting is marked as the predictable mixed group domains in which all these language speakers exist. So the initiator of the conversation can always predict who the interlocutor is. In presence of all these speakers Gojri or Urdu is used as it is intelligible to all. However the Gujjar speakers are in large concentration so Gojri forms the dominant language of this domain.

3.5.6. **Language used with Strangers**

Talking with strangers is marked as an unpredictable mixed group domain. In this situation it is difficult for the initiator of any conversation to predict about the interlocutor. The reason behind this may be the multi-lingual society where the speakers of many languages like Kashmiri, Pahari, Pashto and Gojri co-exist. It was observed that middle aged men (MM) prefer to use Kashmiri with strangers. OM use Kashmiri to interact with Kashmiri speakers and Urdu with others. Gujjars females prefer using Gojri with strangers. They may understand Urdu or Kashmiri but respond in Gojri.

3.5.7. **Language used with the Doctor or Healer**

The native healer or the doctor may be either a Kashmiri or Urdu speaker. Here the initiator of the conversation can predict about the interlocutor. The Gujjars preferably use Urdu with doctors. Some Gujjar men may also use Kashmiri if the doctor initiates the conversation in Kashmiri. However the Gujjar women restrict to Gojri only. Some young and middle aged female (MF and YF) may use Urdu. Urdu may also be used with the healer or herbalist. But if the healer is native, Gojri is used.
3.5.8. Language used in Mass Media

Majority of the respondents claimed listening to Gojri folk songs and other Gojri programs broadcasted on Radio. There is not much exposure to television. Only a few households have television. No newspapers or magazines etc are published in Gojri. Certain programs like Karva, Lishkara, Pahari programme and Gojri news bulletin are broadcasted on radio and television.

3.5.9. Language used for Professional Activities

It is observed that Gojri plays a dominating role in this domain of professional activities. Gujjars prefer to use Gojri language for various activities like cattle rearing, agriculture, collecting wild herbs, hunting and other manual labour. Within the community they use Gojri. Kashmiri and Urdu are used while interacting with non Gujjars.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>YF</th>
<th>MF</th>
<th>OF</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thinking/Planning</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreaming</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Talking</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counting</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusing</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joking</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story Telling</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riddles/lullabies</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flattering</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.19: Language Used In Day-To-Day Activities By Females
From the above table it is seen that Gujjar women make use of Gojri for various activities like self talking, counting, dreaming, abusing, joking etc. Hence this domain of language use is dominated by Gojri language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activities</th>
<th>YM</th>
<th>MM</th>
<th>OM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thinking/Planning</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreaming</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Talking</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Counting</td>
<td>Gojri/Urdu</td>
<td>Gojri/Kashmiri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abusing</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joking</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story Telling</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riddles/lullabies</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flattering</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>Gojri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.20: Language Used In Day-To-Day Activities By Males**

Majority of the Gujjar men make use Gojri language for almost all the activities like planning, self talking, flattering, joking and abusing etc. Some middle aged (MM) and young men (YM) may very often use Urdu or Kashmiri for the activities like counting.
It is observed that the level of comfort is very high while using Gojri. The Gujjars can easily express their feelings in Gojri. They use it for general communication within the community. MM show a decrease in Gojri usage as compared to others. Old females (OF) utilization Gojri maximally. It was also seen that Gujjar females show maximum retention of Gojri as compared to young (YM) and middle aged men (MM). Even though being in minority and continuously exposed to other languages Gojri is prevalent in majority of the domains and hence continues to survive with strong vitality among the tribe.
3.6. Language Attitude

Language attitude is an idea, opinion and prejudice that speakers have regarding the languages. The speakers of a community have a particular belief and attitude about their language. They believe that their language is superior to other groups and is best for performing various activities. They may also find it difficult to learn other languages simultaneously. The speakers of community may also promote learning other prestigious languages for various purposes like getting jobs, interacting with people and improving their future. The attitudes of people can be observed through their actual behavior i.e. the way how people treat speakers of other languages, their desires to learn other language. How people of one language speech community view the social status and personal character of the speakers of another speech community and how they form associations about other languages. So the assessment of language attitudes is based on the inter group connections and affinity.

Saville-Troike 1989:181 talks about language attitude from the ethnographer's perspective, outlining areas of interest such as "questions of how culture-specific criteria for 'speaking well' function in the definition of marking social roles, how attitudes toward different languages and varieties of language reflect perceptions of people in different social categories, and how such perceptions influence interaction within and across the boundaries of a speech community. In addition to their value in adding to our understanding of functions and patterns of language use, answers to such questions are relevant to the explanation of language maintenance and shift...." Characterizes three types of language attitude studies: "(1) those which explore general attitudes toward language and language skills (e.g., which languages or varieties are better than others, to what extent literacy is valued, etc.); (2) those which explore stereotyped impressions toward language, their speakers, and their functions;
and (3) those which focus on applied concerns (e.g., language choice and usage, and language learning). Underlying each are questions of the nature of language attitudes, their causes, and their effects."

Omdal 1995:85 states that “Language attitudes are … found to be 'relevant to the definition of speech communities, to the explanation of linguistic change, language maintenance and language shift, and to applied concerns in the fields of intergroup communication, language planning and education.”

As per Knops and van Hout 1988: 1-86, “The concept of attitude is widespread both in social psychology and other scientific fields and among lay people. However, there is no general agreement on the definition of attitude, not even in social psychology…. Social psychologists often operate with three attitude components: one cognitive, one evaluative, and one reactional or conative …: before a person can react consistently to an object, he or she must know something about it and is then able to evaluate the object positively or negatively; this knowledge and these feelings are usually accompanied by behavioral intentions. Within the definition of language attitudes, it is also quite common to include attitudes towards language users, and not only attitudes toward language and language use…. Furthermore, one has to consider both 'overt' and 'covert' language attitudes.”

Richards et al. (1992:199) state “The attitudes which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language. Expressions of positive or negative feelings towards a language may reflect impressions of linguistic difficulty or simplicity, ease or difficulty of learning, degree of importance, elegance, social status, etc. Attitudes towards a language may also show what people feel about the speakers of that language. Language attitudes have an effect on second language or foreign language learning. The measurement of
language attitudes provides information which is useful in language teaching and language planning.”

The present domain aims to study the language attitude of Gujjar community from various perspectives. The informants were asked a set of questions regarding the attitude towards their mother tongue and other languages. The various questions asked are listed below:

1) **Is your mother tongue easy to learn/speak?**

   For the general population of group learning or speaking Gojri is constantly simple yet for non locals, larger part of the Gujjar respondents trust that their native language is hard to talk or learn. Aside from a couple OF and unskilled MF who imagines that their first language is anything but difficult to get. The purpose for this may be their practically no presentation to different dialects (Kashmiri/Urdu). It was additionally watched that Gujjars demonstrate a superior capability in Kashmiri and Pahari when contrasted with the Kashmiri and Pahari talking individuals living in the same region who scarcely speak Gojri. The general population is not presented just to their native language once a day, yet different dialects like Urdu, Kashmiri and Pahari. This happens through broad communications and the various types of unavoidable and fundamental connection with individuals of other discourse groups. This inescapable dialect contact may be a risk to the etymological imperativeness of the group. The general population of the group figures out how to talk their native language for the most part due to their introduction to it at their homes.

2) **Can you express your thoughts in your mother tongue?**

   At the point when asked whether the general population could openly communicate in Gojri, the reaction was sure from every one of the respondents. Gojri
is the dialect of solace and character for them. They can without much of a stretch express their contemplations, feelings, emotions and so forth in their native language.

3) Do you accept mixing other language words with your mother tongue?

Greater part of the respondents wants to talk immaculate Gojri yet because of multi lingualism and inescapable dialect contact more youthful eras talk a blended assortment. They code switch and blend numerous words while talking. The recurrence with which these words and expressions are utilized shifts along two measurements: the measurement of sexual orientation and the measurement of age. The recurrence diminishes from males to females; and from the young to the elderly.

4) Given opportunity, would you be willing to learn to write in your mother tongue?

Major share of the respondents (both M/F) answered contrarily towards learning or writing in their primary language. As the majority of the general population in the group is ignorant so they demonstrate no enthusiasm for perusing and writing in their native language. Some communicated readiness to do as such in light of the fact that they thought it would enhance their experience. Apart from couple of men who lean toward Arabic or English over Gojri. They incline toward learning different dialects like English, Urdu and Kashmiri would enhance their possibilities of work as well as will enhance their frame of reference of information. Others communicated the conclusion that it would be an exercise in futility and exertion, in light of the fact that it would not at all enhance their possibilities of getting utilized.
5) **Do you think that your language is suited for such activities as business, schooling, etc.?**

Larger part of the respondents reacted adversely to this inquiry. The greater part of the general population imagined that Urdu and Kashmiri are more qualified for exercises like business, educating and so forth. They communicated the conclusion that utilizing Gojri to work together is conceivable the length of the gathering you are working with has a place with the same group. In situations where the other party has a place with some other group utilizing the first language is impossible. For educating Urdu and English are favored over Gojri and Kashmiri.

6) **Do you think that other languages are easy to learn?**

A large portion of the respondents believe that different dialects like Urdu, Kashmiri and Pahari are anything but difficult to learn. Some old and moderately aged females reacted contrarily as they trust that dialects like Urdu and Kashmiri are hard to learn. The purpose for this is their absence of education and absence of social portability. It was likewise watched that for the educated organization of the general public (M/F) learning different dialects was simple. They all concurred that English dialect is the most hard to learn. For MM Kashmiri is by all accounts simple. The accompanying table demonstrates the level of trouble in realizing some other dialect according to the reactions got by the specialists from the general population of the group.
Table 3.21: Level of difficulty in learning other languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Difficult</th>
<th>Easy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahari</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The level of trouble of taking in a language is specifically corresponding to the level of commonality with it. It implies the society discovers English to be the most hard to learn in light of the fact that it is seldom utilized as a part of their environment. So also, they discover Kashmiri the minimum hard to learn on the grounds that it is utilized once a day as a part of their environment.

7) **Do you think that one language is enough for all types of usages?**

The majority of the respondents reacted to this inquiry in the negative. As they would see it, diverse dialects are suitable for distinctive settings. Dominant part of the males and females trust that separated from Gojri, Urdu and Kashmiri ought to additionally be utilized. A couple individuals proposed the utilization of Pahari also. The vast majority of the females (for the most part unskilled) are with the perspective that Gojri is sufficient for a wide range of uses. English and Urdu are suitable for schools and in formal circumstances. Gojri is suitable for local and intra-group use. Kashmiri Urdu and Pahari are suitable for between group use. The accompanying table matches dialects with their suitable settings.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Settings</th>
<th>Intra-community</th>
<th>Inter-community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>Informal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gojri</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td>✔️</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kashmiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td></td>
<td>✔️</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pahari</td>
<td>✔️</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td>✔️</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.22: Language match with the suitable settings

8) Do you think that learning other languages improves your knowledge?

The majority of the respondents concurred that learning different dialects enhances information. Greater part of the people feels that learning Arabic and Urdu enhances their insight into religious sacred texts. Learning Kashmiri and Urdu helps them to speak effortlessly. Despite the fact that English is very little prominent among the group individuals, they demonstrate a little capability in persuading and composing proficiency. People dependably fancy their kids to learn English, the reason is for better openings for work and esteem component. The accompanying table shows whether the respondents think their insight enhances or not by a specific dialect.

9) What language(s) do you want your children to know well?

Apart from Gojri majority of the people want their children to learn English and Arabic. Gujjars show a very positive attitude towards their language and pass it on to their generations.
10) Do you prefer to marry a person who does not know your language?

Usually majority of the Gujjar respondents prefer to marry people from their own community, speaking the same language. But they have no issues in marrying Paharis, Bakarwals, Pakhtoons and Kashmiris even. They marry Paharis and Bakarwals as their languages are mutually intelligible. Even though the languages like Kashmir and Pashto are not intelligible, they still marry in these communities as they share a bond of intimacy with them.

It was seen that Gujjars demonstrate an extremely uplifting demeanor towards their dialect. They trust that the more youthful era will without a doubt convey forward their language and it will be utilized for eras. Gujjars likewise trust that most likely their more youthful era might learn different languages yet they will dependably keep up their personality. They need their kids to speak Gojri the same path as they do. It was seen that every one of the sources consider Gojri as the dialect they feel most great with. The Gujjars want to impart in Gojri so as to protect their language and keep up their character.

![Fig 3.11: Retention of Gojri Language and Identity](image)

Fig 3.11: Retention of Gojri Language and Identity
3.7. Language Prestige

Prestige is the level of admiration typically concurred to a particular dialect or tongue inside of a specific discourse group, in respect to different dialects or lingos. Prestige is in this way one appearance of, or undifferentiated from, the broader marvel of social stratification – particularly class. When all is said in done, a dialect or tongue connected with a high society has positive esteem, while a dialect or vernacular connected with a lower class has "negative glory". Eminence dialects/vernaculars are regularly attached nearly to an institutionalized dialect/tongue, in that the last is normally viewed as more prestigious inside of a discourse group, than a dialect/lingo that wanders essentially from etymological standards. Prestige eminence is particularly noticeable in circumstances where two or more unmistakable dialects are being used, and in assorted, socially stratified urban territories, in which there are prone to be speakers of distinctive dialects and/or tongues cooperating habitual.

Diverse dialects and tongues are concurred notoriety based upon variables which incorporate “rich artistic legacy, high level of dialect modernization, impressive global standing, or the eminence of its speakers”. Having a considerable lot of these properties will probably mean the dialect is seen as being of high eminence; in like manner, a dialect or tongue with few or none of these ascribes will be thought to be of low glory.

William Labov (2009)\(^1\) looked at change in language and how different social factors effected language change, ranging from age to social class to gender. He found language change was either conscious of unconscious, unconscious being when

\(^1\) https://aggslanguage.wordpress.com/2009/09/20/william-labov/
people change their language without noticing, and conscious being when people realize they are changing the way they speak, and actively encourage it.

The area of dialect glory examines different inquiries identified with notoriety component like the most prestigious dialect talked, dialect as an obstacle to social portability, dialect risk and demise and so on. The decision of individuals for picking their prestigious dialect mirrors the imperativeness and support of their dialect and society.

1) The language of which village is more prestigious?

Every one of the respondents answered that the dialect of their own town (Fakir Gujari, Dara) is the most prestigious assortment of Gojri. They likewise trust that that Gojri talked in Fakir Gujjar is in its immaculate structure.

2) Do people from neighbouring languages learn your language?

There was a blended reaction of this inquiry. A portion of the respondents answered emphatically. While as the others are with the perspective that individuals in the area don't learn Gojri accordingly. Gojri is very little well known among the Kashmiris. It is not in any case utilized as a medium of direction in schools. It is not the dialect of the masses. Just the general population living in close region of the Gujjars and a couple Kashmiris obtain Gojri by method for dialect contact.

3) Do you think your language is a hindrance to socio-economic mobility?

Majority of the respondents reacted contrarily to this inquiry. They denied that their dialect is a block to financial versatility. However a couple of youthful and moderately aged people trust that learning dialects like English and Urdu give them better open doors. English and Urdu are connected with notoriety.
3) How do you react when the speakers of your mother tongue speak other languages?

Majority of the respondents answered that if a Gojri speaker talks some other dialect like English, Urdu and Kashmiri with the group they get irritated and maintain a strategic distance from him/her. This reaction was more connected with the old and moderately aged eras while as the more youthful era is by all accounts somewhat adaptable in regards to this perspective. This may be because of the reason that youthful and moderately aged people are socially more versatile, have introduction to different dialects and associate in different dialects.

The accompanying table shows how respondents having a place with diverse age bunch respond when a speaker of their primary language talks in some other dialect to them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Kashmiri</th>
<th>Urdu</th>
<th>Pahari</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Above 50</td>
<td>Get Annoyed</td>
<td>Get annoyed</td>
<td>Get Annoyed</td>
<td>Get Annoyed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 30 to 50</td>
<td>Get annoyed</td>
<td>Get annoyed</td>
<td>Get Annoyed</td>
<td>Get Annoyed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 30</td>
<td>Get annoyed</td>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 20</td>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td>Encourage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.23: Scope for improvement by learning different languages

This table shows how the vast majority of the general population fitting in with a specific age bunch respond when communicating with an individual from their own group who utilizes a dialect other than his/her primary language. Inside of an age
bunch there may be individuals who respond in an alternate way to what is recorded in the table.

4) **Do you ever feel that your mother tongue is dying?**

   Every one of the sources reacted adversely to this inquiry. According to all of them the Gujjars still a solid adherence towards their dialect. They demonstrate an exceptionally uplifting disposition towards their dialect. It was watched that Gujjars use Urdu and Kashmiri just when required (i.e. at the point when Gojri can't be utilized). Youngsters are likewise capable in Gojri which implies that dialect is effectively gone from more established to more youthful era. Regardless of living in a multi-lingual world and being in minority Gujjars have protected their dialect and additionally their way of life. In any case it was watched that in spite of speaking Gojri and going on to eras Gujjars feel valorized while utilizing Gojri outside the group because of the renowned element.