LANGUAGE IN INDIA

Strength for Today and Bright Hope for Tomorrow Volume 6 : 6 June 2006

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Socio-economic Background, Language Attitudes, and Motivation of the Students Who Prefer to Pursue Post-Graduate Studies in a Language in Punjab

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND, LANGUAGE ATTITUDES, AND MOTIVATION OF THE STUDENTS WHO PREFER TO PURSUE POSTGRADUATE STUDIES IN A LANGUAGE IN PUNJAB

Sukhdev Singh, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

The study of language attitudes is a complex phenomenon (Saville-Taroike1989; Baker1992; Garnett et. al. 1999) originated in social psychology as a discipline. The issue of language attitudes has become important in view of the regular formation and growth of multi-lingual societies. The individuals are under constant pressure to learn more than one language because of pragmatic/cultural/political reasons. The languages in such situations compete and often generate linguistic controversies about the relevance and/or primacy or supremacy of one language over the other.

The individuals undergoing the process of socialization develop positive, negative or mixed attitudes toward one or more language(s). But more interesting are the cases of contradictory positions of condemning a language in which one has acquired or has a desire to acquire a very high level of proficiency. For example, a Caribbean writer, Jamaica Kincaid, indicts the colonial rule and English as an instrument of colonization. "For isn't it odd that the only language I have in which to speak of this crime is the language of the criminal who committed the crime? And what can that really mean? For the language of the criminal can contain only the goodness of the criminal's deed... (Kincaid1988 quoted in Bailey1996:41).

On the other hand, it is possible that individuals, in spite of their positive attitudes toward a language, make no effort to acquire proficiency in that language because the target language lacks social and/or instrumental value. For example, some studies have shown that a great number of people in Ireland hold strong positive attitudes towards Gaelic language, yet very few of them show high proficiency in that language (O'Raigain and O'Gliasain1984,1994). Some people wish to relate themselves to their culture, roots and people but at the same time don't want to be left behind in the race achieving economic benefits, social prestige and positions of power. The relationship between language attitudes and power is an important socio-linguistic issue (Fishman 1971; Labov 1966, 1972; Trudgill 1974; St. Clair 1982; Smith 1985; Carranza 1982; Bourshis 1982; Phillpson 1992; Pennycook 1994; Cargile et al 1994; Krishnaswamy and Burde 1998; Annamalai 2001 etc.).

Another case of great interest is where a language hold social as well as instrumental value and people wish to gain proficiency in it but can not fulfill their wish because of their socio-economic background, improper training and learning

and living environment. In these situations, individuals make decisions about not only which language to learn but also which language to use; they must choose between the opportunity to gain social mobility and prestige by adopting the language of power and dominance or to maintain the group identity by preserving their own language. Many people develop ambivalent language attitudes under the cultural, pragmatic, and socio-economic pressures. The similar linguistic situation obtains in Punjab: every literate Punjabi by default is multilingual because he has to learn Punjabi as mother language, Hindi as national language and English link language. The present paper is the study of sociolinguistic situation and social psychology of language learning in Punjab.

OBJECTIVES

To investigate the motivating factors responsible for students' decision to graduate for the degree of M.A. in English or Punjabi or Hindi.

- 1. To explore if there exists any relationship between students' socio economic background (social variables) and their decision (motivation and attitudes) to graduate in one rather than the other of English, Punjabi or Hindi languages.
- 2. To investigate if there is any significant relationship between the claimed proficiency in different languages and their choice of graduating for the degree of M.A. in a particular language.

SUBJECTS

The respondents comprised 253 post graduate students doing M.A. in English/Punjabi/Hindi at the departments of English, Punjabi and Hindi at Punjab University Chandigarh, Punjabi University Patiala and Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar.

LIMITATIONS

A major limitation of the study is that a great number of other students who were graduating for the same degree in colleges through correspondence courses and as private candidates were ignored due to the constraints of time, finance and reach. The study was therefore focused only on the regular students at the different language departments at the three universities in Punjab.

III. PROCEDURE

A detailed questionnaire comprising social background, language use, language attitude and motivation for choice of a language for the degree of M.A. was administered on 253 students of M.A. English (94), M.A. Punjabi (98) and M.A. Hindi (61) at the three universities in Punjab. The first section of the questionnaire contained the questions related to the name of the respondent, name of the course, sex, mother tongue, area of residence, previous education which included medium of instruction at school, location and educational standard of the school where the respondent studied, education and occupation of a respondents' mother and father, linguistic skills of mother, father and his/her own self in English, Hindi and Punjabi.

The second section was based on the categorization of language use in different day to day domains. The domains were broadly identified as (a) social i.e. greeting, talking and writing letters to parents, friends, relatives and others and discussing current issues like politics, religion etc. and (b) personal i.e. reading magazines and newspapers, reading literary books and using languages for creative writing. The third section comprised the statements to elicit the response about the students' motivation and attitudes on a Likert scale of four alternatives (strongly agree, agree, disagree and strongly disagree) and their views about medium of instruction at the levels of primary, secondary, B.A., B.Sc., M.A., M.Sc., professional degree. The questionnaire adapted from Agnihotri and Khanna (1997) was discussed with some colleagues and pretested on some students in a college.

The questionnaire was administered during the classes by the researcher himself. The questionnaire was explained before it was distributed among the students. The responses of the students were collected on the spot. During pretesting, it was experienced that many students did not fill up all the spaces for their responses and the process was delayed because some students forgot to bring their questionnaires the next day so on and so forth. Therefore, the researcher decided to visit the students personally and collect the responses on the spot. Moreover the respondents could not get help from others. Additionally, the students in case of any difficulty in understanding an item were able to seek help from the researcher. Although it was a difficult and time consuming exercise, it proved more fruitful and result oriented.

The researcher experienced the difficulty of arranging with the teachers and students of different departments at different universities the time schedule since all of them were busy in their own work. However both the teachers and the students cooperated.

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THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE CODING SYSTEM

A. Personal and Socio Economic Background

- 1. Name of respondent:
- 2. Sex was codified and quantified in terms of '1' for Male and '2' for Female
- 3. Class or course of study was quantified as follows:

M.A. English: 1; M.A. Punjabi: 2; M.A. Hindi: 3

- 4. Mother tongue: '1' for Punjabi; '2' for Hindi; '3' for English
- 5. Area of residence was quantified in terms of '1' for urban and '2' for rural
- 6. Medium of instruction at school was coded and quantified in the following way:

English: 1; Punjabi: 2; Hindi: 3

- 7. Location of school in terms of urban and rural was quantified as '1' for urban and '2' for rural.
- 8. Educational standard of school was measured at three levels and quantified as '1' for low, '2' for average and '3' for high
- 9. Education of Father and mother was quantified on a seven point scale in the following way:

Illiterate: 0; Primary: 1; Secondary: 2; Post Secondary: 3; Post Graduation: 4

Professional: 5; Ph.D.: 6

10. Linguistic skills of self and parents

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Very high: 5; High: 4; Average: 3; Low: 2; Very Low: 1
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- B. Patterns of language use in various personal and social domains. The frequency for the use of each of English, Punjabi and Hindi was measured on a four point scale i.e. always = 3, often=2, sometimes=1, never=0
- C. Motivation was measured on Likert scale of four alternatives: Strongly agree=2, agree=1, disagree=-1, strongly disagree=-2
- 2. Attitudes: the same system as used for motivation was applied.

DATA

The aim of the present paper is to investigate and identify the relationship between socio- economic background, language attitudes and motivation of the students graduating for the degree of M.A. in English/Punjabi/Hindi in Punjab. An underlying purpose of this research is to study the possible role and position of these languages in Punjab. In other words, it is to know how the young students studying for the highest degree of M.A. visualize the space for English, Punjabi and Hindi in Punjab. With these aims in view, the information was collected from 253 respondents with the help of a questionnaire. The attitudes, motivation and socio-economic background of the sample selected for the present study are analyzed language wise (M.A. English, M.A. Punjabi, M.A. Hindi) and variable wise on the basis of percentage of the total number of respondents for each language.

(A) Socio-Economic Background (Social Variables)

(1) Area of Residence

In Punjab, the area of one's residence in terms of urban/rural is an important indicator of one's possible occupation, education, income and other such things. Although, it is possible to classify further the area of residence into posh, ordinary or slum etc. (see Agnihotri and Khanna 1997), the present research is based on the rural/urban divide as even a person living in a city/town may be in a better position to provide quality education to his children in comparison with a sufficiently well-off person living in a village. The information based on the data collected by the researcher shows that the more number of students from rural areas do M.A. in Punjabi and the more number of students from urban areas do M.A. in English or M.A. in Hindi.

Table 1.0

Area of Residence

	Course of Study						
	M.A. English	M.A. Punjabi	M.A. Hindi				
Area of Residence							
	(%)	(%)	(%)				
Urban	85.1	39.8	67.2				
Rural	14.9	60.2	32.8				
Total	100	100	100				

(2) Parent's Education

The children of the educated parents benefit from the awareness, access, encouragement, knowledge and economic position of their parents. Therefore parents' education is very important in shaping the attitudes and developing the abilities of their children. The following tables based on the data show that the parents of the students of English (hereafter SE) have higher educational qualification than those of the students of M.A. in Punjabi (hereafter SP) and the students of M.A. in Hindi (hereafter SH).

Table 1.1

Profile of Fathers' Education

Course	Level of St	udy						
of Study	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	Post-	Post-	Professional	Ph.D.	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	Secondary	Graduation	(%)	(%)	(%)
				(%)	(%)			
M.A. Englishh	0.0	2.2	4.3	30.0	39.8	17.2	6.5	100
M.A. Punjabi	6.1	4.1	48.0	21.4	15.3	5.1	0.0	100
M.A. Hindi	6.6	1.6	41.0	31.1	14.8	4.9	0.0	100

Table 1.2

Profile of Mothers' Education

Course	Level of St	tudy						
of Study	Illiterate	Primary	Secondary	Post-	Post-	Professional	Ph.D.	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	Secondary	Graduation	(%)	(%)	(%)
				(%)	(%)			
M.A. English	2.2	0.0	15.1	41.9	37.6	1.1	2.2	100
M.A. Punjabi	12.2	15.3	53.1	11.2	8.2	0.0	0.0	100
M.A. Hindi	11.5	11.5	49.2	19.7	8.2	0.0	0.0	100

(3) Parents' Occupation

The occupation of parents is an important denominator of the socio-economic status of one's family. Some professions are by nature more income generating than others. Some professions provide economic security and social prestige while others are more demanding but less lucrative, and of less social prestige. Some professions enable parents to provide greater financial support and attention to the education of their children. For example, the parents in the government jobs can plan and finance the education of their children as well as they can spare time to guide them since these parents have financial stability and

fixed working hours. In general, they can and they live in cities/towns. Business ensures high income and therefore, the parents whose profession is business can spend on the education of their children. Since they live in cities, their children have access to good educational institutions without much effort. But the parents with business as their occupation may not be able to spare enough time to guide their children.

Agriculture and allied occupations are less lucrative and demand more hard work. The people whose full time occupation is agriculture are either illiterate or less educated and they have to live in villages. The children of such parents are in disadvantageous position. Thus the occupation of parents is an important determinant of the nature of their children's higher education.

Table 1.3

Profile of Fathers' Occupation

Course of	Occupation						
Study	Service	Business	Politics/	Agriculture	Labour	Domestic	Total
	(%)	(%)	Social Service (%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
M.A. English	60.6	27.7	6.4	5.3	0.0	0-0	100
M.A. Punjabi	45.4	8.2	1.0	43.3	2.1	0-0	100

M.A.	52.5	29.5	3.3	13.1	0.0	0-0	100
Hindi							

Table 1.4

Profile of Mothers' Occupation

Course of	Occupation						
Study	Service	Business	Politics/	Agriculture	Labour	Domestic	Total
	(%)	(%)	Social Service (%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
M.A. English	36.2	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	60.6	100
M.A. Punjabi	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	84.7	100
M.A. Hindi	8.2	1.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	88.5	100

(4) Income

Income is the most obvious indicator of one's economic and social position because, in general, the higher economic status of a person places one in high social position. Since the students don't have their own income and they depend on their parents in Punjab, the parents' income should be considered as an indicator of a students' economic status.

Table 1.5

Profile of Parents' Income

Course of	Income					
Study	Varan III ala	TT: -1.	N4: 441-	T	Variation.	T-t-1
	Very High	High	Middle	Low	Very Low	Total
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
M.A. English	20	50	25.6	4.4	0.0	100
M.A. Punjabi	5.4	20.5	42.0	22.6	9.5	100
M.A.						
Hindi	10.0	26.3	33.0	26.2	4.5	100

(5) Linguistic Skills (LS)

Linguistic Skills (LS) in different languages indicate one's educational and social position. In fact, skills in some languages are acquired as a commodity and flaunted and marketed as a pride possession. The high linguistic skills in more than one languages mark them as educated and important persons. The children of such people may benefit from them in achieving high level of linguistic skills. Thus the level of linguistic skills of a student and his parents is a constituent of one's socio-economic background. The level of linguistic skills of the students, their parents in English, Punjabi and Hindi is presented in the following three tables 1.6-1.8:

Table 1.6

Linguistic Skills (LS) of Self (Informants)

	Level of LS	Course of Study		
		M.A. English	M.A. Punjabi	M.A. Hindi
Language				
		(%)	(%)	(%)
English	Very High	9.6	0.0	0.0
	High	56.4	2.0	6.6
	Average	34.0	61.2	77.0
	Low	0.0	33.7	16.4
	Very Low	0.0	3.1	0.0
	Total	100	100	100
Punjabi	Very High	25.5	55.1	23.0
	High	35.1	42.9	42.6
	Average	29.8	2.0	23.0
	Low	8.5	0.0	8.2
	Very Low	1.1	0.0	3.2
	Total	100	100	100
Hindi	Very High	8.5	1.0	31.1
	High	31.9	31.6	68.9
	Average	45.7	62.2	0.0

Low	12.8	5.1	0.0
Very Low	1.1	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100

Table 1.7
Fathers' Linguistic Skills (LS)

	Level of LS	Course of Study		
		M.A. English	M.A. Punjabi	M.A. Hindi
Language				
		(%)	(%)	(%)
English	Very High	23.4	3.3	10.7
	High	40.4	22.2	25.0
	Average	21.3	27.8	32.1
	Low	7.4	33.3	23.2
	Very Low	6.4	13.3	8.9
	Total	100	100	100
Punjabi	Very High	54.8	37.1	18.0
	High	35.5	57.7	65.6
	Average	6.5	4.1	6.6
	Low	2.2	1.0	9.8
	Very Low	1.1	0.0	0.0
	Total	100	100	100
Hindi	Very High	5.4	0.0	6.6
	High	33.3	14.4	36.1
	Average	35.5	6.8	39.3
	Low	23.7	18.6	13.1
	Very Low	2.2	6.2	4.9
	Total	100	100	100

Table 1.8

Mothers' Linguistic Skills (LS)

	Level of LS	Course of Study		
		M.A. English	M.A. Punjabi	M.A. Hindi
Language				
		(%)	(%)	(%)
English	Very High	6.4	0.0	0.0
	High	16.0	6.3	7.5
	Average	52.1	27.5	35.8
	Low	14.9	33.8	22.6
	Very Low	10.6	32.5	34.1
	Total	100	100	100
Punjabi	Very High	41.5	28.6	21.3
	High	37.2	63.3	54.1
	Average	16.0	7.1	11.5
	Low	4.3	1.0	4.9
	Very Low	1.1	0.0	8.2
	Total	100	100	100
Hindi	Very High	7.4	2.0	4.9
	High	27.7	2.0	21.3
	Average	38.3	49.0	47.5
	Low	21.3	32.7	23.0
	Very Low	5.3	14.3	3.3
	Total	100	100	100

(6) Previous Education

Previous education of a student may play an important role in his choice for a language for the degree of M.A. It includes the medium of instruction, the location and the educational standard of the school one attended for school education. The location of a school in terms of urban and rural area is an indicator of availability or lack of proper facilities at the school.

Table 2.1

Medium of Instruction (MIS) at School attended by Informants

Course of Study	English	Punjabi	Hindi	Total
M.A. English	84.0	8.5	7.5	100
M.A. Punjabi	9.2	89.8	1.0	100
M.A. Hindi	19.7	21.3	59.0	100

Table 2.2

Location and Standard of School attended by Informants

Course of	Location			Educational	Educational Standard				
Study	Urban	Rural	Total (%)	High	Average	Low (%)			
M.A. English	93.6	6.4	100	75.5	24.5	0.0	100		
M.A. Punjabi	43.9	56.1	100	21.4	68.4	10.2	100		
M.A Hindi	65.6	34.4	100	41.0	57.4	1.6	100		

(B) Individual Variables

Individual Variable of age was not considered necessary as the informants selected for the study were regular students of M.A. degree and it was assumed that they were in the same age group. Sex as a variable was introduced in the questionnaire but it was found unimportant in the present analysis as the number of male students was very less:

Table 2.3

Distribution of Data by Sex

Sex	Course of Stud	Course of Study											
	M.A. English		M.A. Punjabi		M.A. Hindi								
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%							
Male	9	9.6	32	32.7	13	21.3							
Female	85	90.4	66	67.3	48	78.7							
Total	94	100	98	100	61	100							

(1) Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue should generally be an influential variable in shaping one's attitudes and choice but it has proved unimportant in the present study because there are not other equally strong linguistic groups. The number of students claiming Punjabi as their mother tongue was very high; less than one sixth of the total number of informants claimed Hindi as their mother tongue. No one claimed English as the mother tongue.

Table 2.4

Mother Tongue Claims of Informants

Mother Tongue	Course of Study									
	M.A. English (%)	M.A. Punjabi	M.A. Hindi							
Punjabi	81.9	100.0	63.9							
Hindi	18.1	0.0	36.1							

English	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100

(2) Motivation

Motivation, being one of the most important component of this research project, was introduced as a separate section of the questionnaire. The aim of this section was to analyse the motivational orientation of the students in Punjab, graduating for the degree of M.A. in English, Punjabi and Hindi. The thirteen statements seeking the students' responses in the form of agreement or disagreement were introduced to elicit information about the various kinds of orientation. The motivational orientation and its kinds will be discussed in the next section. The distribution of the students' responses are presented in the table 3.1 based on the statements.

(3) Attitudes

Attitudes are very complex and difficult to measure. Moreover the attitudes continue to change with the change in the circumstances of a person. However attitudes condition the choices in a very significant manner if other things remain equal. Even in a complex network of multivariate situation the attitudes play some role. Gardner and Lambert(1972) conclude that the positive attitudes of the learners toward the target language play a major role in the achievement of success. Following Agnihotri and Khanna (1997), attitudes may be categorized as follows:

(a) Attitudes toward those who graduate for the degree of M.A. in English/ Punjabi/ Hindi and acquire proficiency in that language.

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(b) Attitudes toward the study of English/ Punjabi/Hindi.

Table 3.1

Results of the Students's Responses About Language Motivation

(course- wise % of the informants)

The Reasons for	Course of Study											
Graduating for M.A	English	-			Punjabi				Hindi			
English/ Punjabi/ Hindi	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Statement												
(a) I have no other choice	5.4	4.3	55.4	34.8	13.4	25.8	35.1	25.8	6.6	19.7	50.8	23.0
(b) My parents want me to do that	15.2	40.2	37.0	7.6	6.1	51.0	34.7	8.2	8.2	36.1	42.6	13.1
(c) My friends/ relatives persuaded me to do that	3.3	25.0	60.9	10.9	5.1	40.8	42.9	11.2	4.9	26.2	54.1	14.8
(d) Other people have great liking for it	17.4	47.7	26.2	8.7	4.1	29.8	56.9	9.2	8.2	19.5	57.4	14.9
(e) It is considered prestigious in Punjab	19.6	54.3	25.0	1.1	3.1	45.9	48.0	3.1	3.3	42.6	49.2	4.9
(f) People respond more positively	25.0	62.0	12.0	1.0	9.2	61.2	29.6	0.0	16.4	45.9	36.1	1.6
(g) It can help me in relating myself to that culture and people	4.3	38.0	52.0	5.4	45.9	52.0	2.1	0.0	16.4	63.9	18.1	1.6
(h) It can help me in interacting with more number of people	34.8	59.8	5.4	0.0	8.2	65.3	24.5	2.0	11.5	75.4	13.1	0.0
(i) It will improve my speaking, listening/ writing/ reading skills in the language	50.0	46.7	3.3	0.0	25.5	70.4	3.1	1.0	42.6	50.8	4.9	1.6
(j) It will help in finding a better life partner	12.0	43.5	35.9	8.6	7.1	36.7	45.9	10.2	8.2	45.9	36.1	9.8
(k) It can provide me more job opportunities	30.4	66.3	3.3	0.0	7.1	60.2	27.6	5.1	16.4	50.8	31.2	1.6
(1) It will help me in achieving success in my profession	35.9	59.8	4.3	0.0	14.3	69.4	15.3	1.0	19.7	67.2	13.1	0.0
(m) It will help me in to	16.3	60.9	21.7	1.1	9.2	49.0	36.7	5.1	8.2	73.8	18.0	0.0

get things done.						

Table 3.2

Results of the Students's Responses About Language Attitudes (Course wise percentage of informants)

	Course of	Study										
	English				Punjabi				Hindi			
Statement	Strongly Agree	Agre e	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongl y Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Strongly Agree	Agre e	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(a) Those who graduate for M.A. English develop negative attitude towards Punjabi/Hindi	5.3	13.8	54.3	26.6	16.3	33.7	38.8	11.2	23.0	39.3	34.4	3.3
(b)In Punjab, people pay more attention to those who are proficient in English	18.5	51.4	28.0	2.1	23.3	45.9	26.7	4.1	21.5	42.6	32.6	3.3
(c)In comparison with Punjabi and Hindi, English literatures makes one more broadminded	25.5	48.9	21.3	4.3	12.2	43.9	38.8	5.1	4.9	41.0	49.2	4.9
(d)Those who graduate for M.A. Punjabi develop negative attitude towards English/ Hindi	6.4	10.6	63.8	19.1	4.1	12.2	58.2	25.5	3.3	18.0	70.5	8.2
(e) In Punjab, people pay more attention to those who are more proficient in Punjabi	4.3	62.8	33.0	0.0	11.2	55.1	28.6	5.1	11.5	57.4	31.1	0.0

(f)The study of Punjabi literature relates a person to Punjabis	10.6	60.6	22.3	6.4	20.4	70.4	7.1	2.0	4.9	63.9	29.5	1.6
(g)Those who graduate for M.A. in Hindi develop negative attitude towards English/ Punjabi	5.3	17.0	59.6	18.1	3.1	18.4	63.3	15.3	3.3	11.5	70.5	14.7
(h) In Punjab, people pay more attention to those who are proficient in Hindi	1.1	13.8	73.4	11.7	2.0	37.8	59.2	1.0	8.2	36.1	54.1	1.6
(i) The study of Hindi literature relates a person to Indians	7.4	20.2	42.6	29.8	39.8	37.8	17.3	5.1	13.1	36.1	37.7	13.1

(4) Proposed Medium of Instruction

If people recommend a language as more suitable than other languages for the medium of instruction at different stages of education, it conveys their attitude toward the language(s) under consideration and the relevance of the recommended language for the people because of various reasons. For example, if the mother tongue of the community is recommended as the medium, it is because the education is more easily acquired through the mother tongue but if a language other than the mother tongue of a community is used as the medium of instruction, it is because that language is perceived to have instrumental value/orientation. The study indicates that English is recommended as the medium of instruction at the higher level of study by a great majority while the views about the medium of instruction at the school level are divided. The views of the students of M.A. English, M.A. Punjabi and M.A. Hindi about the proposed suitable medium of instruction at different stages of study are given in the Table 3.3:

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Table 3.3
Views About Medium of Instruction

(Course wise and Language wise Percentage of Informant)

Education Level	Course of Study	Medium of Inst	truction		Total
		English(%)	Punjabi(%)	Hindi (%)	
					(%)
Primary	M.A. Punjabi	29.6	70.4	0.0	100
	M.A. Hindi	37.7	39.3	23.0	100
	M.A. English	69.1	22.4	8.5	100
Secondary	M.A. Punjabi	41.8	58.2	0.0	100
	M.A. Hindi	52.5	24.5	3.0	100
	M.A. English	97.9	2.1	0.0	100
B.A.	M.A. Punjabi	50	50	0.0	100
	M.A. Hindi	54.1	9.8	36.1	100
	M.A. English	100.0	0.0	0.0	100
B.Sc.	M.A. Punjabi	65.3	34.7	0.0	100

	M.A. Hindi	68.9	3.3	27.8	100
	M.A. English	97.9	2.1	0.0	100
M.A. (Social Sciences)	M.A. Punjabi	59.2	40.8	0.0	100
	M.A. Hindi	60.7	1.6	37.7	100
	M.A. English	100.0	0.0	0.0	100
M.Sc.	M.A. Punjabi	71.4	28.6	0.0	
	M.A. Hindi	72.1	0.0	27.9	
	M.A. English	100	0.0	0.0	
Professional Courses	M.A. Punjabi	78.6	21.4	0.0	
	M.A. Hindi	78.7	0.0	21.3	
	M.A. English	100	0.0	0.0	

(5) Patterns of Language Use

Patterns of language use convey the circulation of one or more language(s) in a society. The frequency and domains of language use demonstrate the linguistic situation in a society and the attitudes of its people. The students of M.A. English, M.A. Punjabi and M.A. Hindi were asked to evaluate the frequency of their use of English, Punjabi and Hindi on a four point scale i.e. never, sometimes, often and always. The use of language(s) was divided into personal domains and social domains. The latter refers to the situations that require the participation of another person and therefore the choice of a language in such situations partially depends on the other person also, because which language a person would use, for example, to write letters or to talk, or to greet, or to discuss current affairs etc., also depends on which language(s) the other person knows. But on the other hand, in personal domains such as reading newspapers, magazines or literary books, watching TV, writing poems, novels, plays and essays etc., one enjoys freedom and which language a person would use depends on his personal liking or his evaluation of a language. Thus the students were given statements identifying domains and they were asked to indicate which language(s) they use and how often they use it for performing various linguistic acts. The results of the student responses about their language use are given in Table 3.4 and 3.5:

Table 3.4
Language use in interpersonal domains

Statement	Number	of SE (%	of Inform	nant)	Number o	f SP (% of Ir	nformant)		Number of SH (% of Informant)			
	Never	Some- Times	Often	Always	Never	Some- times	Often	Always	Never	Some- times	Often	Always
I use Punjabi to write letters to my parents	77.7	10.6	7.4	4.3	41.8	1.0	11.2	45.9	62.3	6.6	11.5	19.7
Hindi to write letters to my parents	87.2	10.6	1.1	1.1	88.8	8.2	3.1	0.0	44.3	8.2	23.0	24.6
I use English to write letters to my parents	40.4	12.8	9.6	37.2	89.8	10.2	0.0	0.0	68.9	24.6	4.9	1.6
I use Punjabi to write letters to my friends	85.1	13.8	1.1	0.0	28.6	8.2	17.3	45.9	62.3	23.0	9.8	4.9
I use Hindi to write letters to my friends	87.2	11.7	1.1	0.0	80.6	17.3	2.0	0.0	18.0	18.0	31.1	32.8
I use English to write letters to my friends	7.4	7.4	14.9	70.2	75.5	19.4	3.1	2.0	55.7	31.1	11.5	1.6
I use Punjabi to write letters to my relatives	68.1	21.3	1.1	9.6	24.5	1.0	15.3	59.2	63.9	9.8	14.8	11.5
I use Hindi to write letters to my relatives	80.9	14.9	1.1	3.2	86.7	12.2	1.0	0.0	31.1	8.2	24.6	36.1
I use English to write letters to my relatives	33.0	13.8	16.0	37.2	83.7	13.3	2.0	1.0	73.8	26.2	0.0	0.0
I use Punjabi to write letters to others	91.5	6.4	2.1	0.0	45.9	3.1	16.3	34.7	67.2	16.4	8.2	8.2
I use Hindi to write letters to others	90.4	8.5	1.1	0.0	83.7	14.3	2.0	0.0	31.1	14.8	19.7	34.4
I use English to write letters to others	33.0	4.3	10.6	52.1	80.6	15.3	1.0	3.1	68.9	26.2	4.9	0.0
I use Punjabi to greet my parents	17.0	13.8	54.3	14.9	2.0	3.1	20.4	74.5	19.7	8.2	27.9	44.3
I use Hindi to greet my parents	47.9	25.5	24.5	2.1	82.7	17.3	0.0	0.0	45.9	19.7	27.9	6.6
I use English to greet my parents	22.3	62.8	12.8	2.1	79.6	18.4	1.0	1.0	59.0	37.7	3.3	0.0
I use Punjabi to greet my friends	22.3	31.9	44.7	1.1	2.0	8.2	44.9	44.9	23.0	26.2	29.5	21.3
I use Hindi to greet my friends	22.3	52.1	25.5	0.0	52.0	46.9	1.0	0.0	19.7	23.0	42.6	14.8
I use English to greet my friends	3.2	55.3	36.2	5.3	50.0	45.9	3.1	1.0	45.9	42.6	9.8	1.6
I use Punjabi to greet my relatives	21.3	25.5	42.6	10.6	3.1	6.1	30.6	60.2	21.3	16.4	24.6	37.7
I use Hindi to greet my relatives	34.0	39.4	21.3	5.3	68.4	30.6	1.0	0.0	39.3	19.7	32.8	8.2
I use English to greet my relatives	23.4	66.0	8.5	2.1	64.3	33.7	2.0	0.0	55.7	34.4	8.2	1.6
I use Punjabi to greet others	23.4	44.7	28.7	3.2	4.1	12.2	37.8	45.9	31.1	24.6	29.5	14.8
I use Hindi to greet others	22.3	54.3	21.3	2.1	54.1	43.9	2.0	0.0	14.8	23.0	42.6	19.7
I use English to greet others	16.0	50.0	30.9	3.1	51.0	43.9	5.1	0.0	42.6	50.8	6.6	0.0
I use Punjabi to talk to my parents	30.9	26.6	29.8	12.8	4.1	3.1	30.6	62.2	24.6	13.1	18.0	44.3

I use Hindi to talk to my parents	61.7	23.4	10.6	4.3	78.6	19.4	1.0	1.0	49.2	26.2	16.4	8.2
I use English to talk to my parents	21.3	36.2	24.5	18.1	63.3	30.6	3.1	3.1	54.1	36.1	6.6	3.3
I use Punjabi to talk to my friends	43.6	45.7	9.6	1.1	5.1	13.3	44.9	36.7	32.8	32.8	29.5	4.9
I use Hindi to talk to my friends	48.9	44.7	6.4	0.0	58.2	39.8	2.0	0.0	16.4	27.9	47.5	8.2
I use English to talk to my friends	2.1	16.0	50.0	31.9	40.8	48.0	7.1	4.1	19.7	44.3	24.6	11.5
I use Punjabi to talk to my relatives	27.7	28.7	31.9	11.7	6.1	7.1	33.7	53.1	29.5	14.8	23.0	32.8
I use Hindi to talk to my relatives	46.8	30.9	19.1	3.2	66.3	30.6	2.0	1.0	37.7	31.1	19.7	11.5
I use English to talk to my relatives	17.0	45.7	27.7	9.6	59.2	34.7	2.0	4.1	50.8	36.1	9.8	3.3
I use Punjabi to talk to others	31.9	45.7	18.1	4.3	10.2	10.2	41.8	37.8	34.4	26.2	32.8	6.6
I use Hindi to talk to others	40.4	46.8	9.6	3.2	56.1	40.8	2.0	1.0	14.8	31.1	42.6	11.5
I use English to talk to others	10.6	36.2	39.	13.8	43.9	46.9	3.1	6.1	21.3	54.1	18.0	6.6
I use Punjabi to introduce myself to	33.0	53.2	13.8	0.0	2.0	10.2	49.0	38.8	31.1	41.0	26.2	1.6
people												
I use Hindi to introduce myself to	39.4	55.3	5.3	0.0	49.0	48.0	2.0	1.0	4.9	39.3	45.9	9.8
people												
I use English to introduce myself to	12.8	73.4	13.4	0.0	42.9	50.0	6.1	1.0	18.0	60.7	19.7	1.6
people												
I use Punjabi to discuss current	23.4	38.3	34.0	4.3	2.0	7.1	48.0	42.9	21.3	34.4	32.8	11.5
affairs												
I use Hindi to discuss current affairs	34.0	42.6	20.2	3.2	57.1	40.8	1.0	1.0	11.5	24.6	55.7	8.2
I use English to discuss current	9.6	53.2	36.2	0.0	53.1	45.9	1.0	0.0	36.0	57.4	6.6	0.0
affairs												

Table 3.5 Language Use in Personal Domains

Statement	Number of SE (% of informants)				Number of SP (% of informants)				Number of SH (% of informants)			
	Never	Some - times	Often	Always	Never	Some- times	Often	Always	Never	Some- times	Often	Always
I read literary texts (other than prescribed in the syllabus in Punjabi)	3.3	53.2	13.8	0.0	2.0	10.2	49.0	38.8	31.1	41.0	26.2	1.6
I read literary texts (other than prescribed in the syllabus in Hindi)	39.4	55.3	5.3	0.0	49.0	48.0	2.0	1.0	4.9	39.3	45.9	9.8
I read literary texts (other than prescribed in the syllabus in English)	12.8	73.4	13.4	0.0	42.9	50.0	6.1	1.0	18.0	60.7	19.7	1.6
I read newspapers/ magazines in Punjabi	63.8	26.6	9.6	0.0	1.0	14.3	63.3	21.4	32.8	34.4	31.1	2.6
I read newspapers/ magazines in Hindi	50.0	43.6	6.4	0.0	33.7	60.2	5.1	1.0	1.6	23.0	62.3	13.1
I read newspapers/ magazines in English	9.6	50.0	40.4	0.0	30.6	63.3	6.1	0.0	31.1	44.3	24.6	0.0
I watch TV programmes and films in Punjabi	41.5	55.3	3.2	0.0	4.1	28.6	62.2	5.1	37.7	41.0	21.3	0.0
I watch TV programmes and films in Hindi	2.1	23.4	72.3	2.1	8.2	21.4	68.4	2.0	4.9	77.0	18.0	0.0
I watch TV programmes and films in English	3.2	48.9	47.9	0.0	68.4	29.6	1.0	1.0	32.8	60.7	6.6	0.0
I write poems/ short stories/ plays in Punjabi	77.4	9.7	11.8	1.1	26.5	12.2	61.2	0.0	62.3	29.5	6.6	1.6
I write poems/ short stories/ plays in Hindi	73.1	19.4	7.5	0.0	87.8	10.2	1.0	1.0	18.0	8.2	37.7	36.1
I write poems/ short stories/ plays in English	24.7	23.7	15.1	36.6	98.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	75.4	21.3	3.3	0.0

DISCUSSION

The data reveals a definite relationship between the socio-economic background of the informants and their choice of a course i.e. M.A. English, M.A. Punjabi or M.A. Hindi. The choice is further influenced by the motivational orientation of different kinds while language attitudes play no important role. The Tables 1.0-2.2 showing the comparative position depict that all the socio-economic variables like area of residence, parents' education, occupation and linguistic skills, previous education and linguistic skills of the respondents (students) have important bearings on their choice of a language for higher studies. For example, the students whose area of residence is urban show greater tendency and ability to graduate for the degree of M.A. English: 85.1 percent of the students of English (hereafter SE) informed that the area of their residence was urban. On the other hand, the students whose area of residence is rural graduate for the degree of M.A. Punjabi.

More than 60 percent of the students of Punjabi (hereafter SP) claimed that they belonged to rural area. Although the majority (67.2 percent) of the students of Hindi (hereafter SH) also indicated that the area of their residence was urban, their number is much less than the number of SE (see Table 1.0). Thus there is a clear connection between the area of residence of students and a particular language they study for the degree of M.A. An explanation of this condition can be sought in other related variables. It is axiomatic that those who live in urban area get education in the institutions located in cities/ towns and the majority of rural students study in the institutions located in villages/ small towns.

This general observation is supported by the Table 2.2 according to which a very high percentage (93.6) of SE studied in the schools situated in urban areas. On the other hand only 43.9 percent of SP and 65.6 percent of SH attended urban schools. Further, it is a fact that the schools in rural areas are marked by poor educational standards in comparison with the schools in urban areas. More than seventy five percent of SE rated the schools where they had studied as of high standard while only 21.4 percent of SP and 41 percent of SH made such a claim (see Table 2.2).

Another variable indicating previous education is medium of instruction at the level of school education. In Punjab, there are Punjabi medium schools, English medium schools and Hindi medium schools which provide choice of medium to the students. The English medium schools of high standard are situated in urban areas and are very expensive. It is, therefore, understandable that the students who live in urban areas and those who belong to rich families can be educated in such schools. The Table 2.1 indicates that 84 percent of SE received their school education through English medium, whereas 90 percent of SP claimed to have studied in Punjabi medium. On the one hand, medium of instruction for school education is an indicator of one's socio-economic background, on the other hand, it shows one's exposure to a language of instruction. Therefore it relates to a student's linguistic skills also.

If a student has studied through English medium at a school of high standard in urban area and the area of his/her residence is also urban, it is predictable that one would belong to an educated/ rich/ urban family. This generalization is corroborated by the Tables 1.1-1.5. As

revealed in the Table 1.1, the male parent of SE are educationally better qualified than the those of SP and SH. For example, among the fathers of SE, 6.5 percent hold the degree of Ph.D., 17.2 percent possess higher professional degree in medicine, engineering, or law etc. and 39.8 percent have graduated for master's degree in various subjects. None of them is illiterate. On the other hand, no one among the fathers of SP and SH has the Ph.D. degree and only 15.3 percent of SP and 14.8 percent of SH are postgraduates. A very small number i.e. 5.1 percent of SP and 4.9 percent of SH possess higher professional qualifications in medicine, engineering or law. Similarly the mothers of SE are educationally better qualified than the mothers of SP and SH (see Table 1.2). The number of the mothers of SE holding educational qualifications like Ph.D., M.A./ M.Sc. and other professional degree is five times more than the number of the mothers of SP and SH with the same qualification. More than twelve percent of the mothers of SP and more than eleven percent of SH are illiterate while 53.1 percent of the mothers of SP and 49.2 percent of SH have studied only up to the level of Matric. On the other hand, the number of matriculate mothers of SE is only 15.1percent and illiterate mothers is just 2.2 percent. In other words, as high as 80 percent mothers of SE and as low as 40 percent mothers of SP and SH separately hold the educational degree above the level of senior secondary certificate.

The RSR further project 'service' and 'business' as the professions of parents with high academic qualifications and those living in urban areas while agriculture and labour as the professions of parents with low academic qualifications living in rural areas. Table 1.3 shows that 88.3 percent fathers of SE work as either government employees (60.6 percent) of high rank or business men (27.7 percent) earning high income (see Table 1.5). Nearly the same number (82 percent) of SH are engaged in the similar occupations with the difference that the number of those in the same income group is comparatively less (see Table 1.5). It means this group of fathers may have government jobs or business of lower category. More than forty three percent fathers of SP are either peasants or labourers while only 53.6 percent of them have government service or business as their occupation. Only one fourth (25.9 percent) of them fall in the category of high income group and almost one third (32.1 percent) of them fall in the low and very low income category (see Table 1.5).

The occupation of 39.4 percent mothers of SE is either service (36.2 percent) of business (3.2 percent) while the rest remains engaged in domestic work, popularly known as housewives. On the contrary, 84.7 percent mothers of SP and 88.5 percent mothers of SH are domestic workers or housewives. A very less number (14.3 percent of SP and 8.2 percent of SH) of them work as government servants. Since the Table 1.5 demonstrates the level of family income of parents, one reason of the low income category of more number of SP and SH may be that their mothers are housewives and the work of a housewife is not evaluated in terms of income and it affects the financial position of parents.

Table 1.6 projects the multilingual reality of Punjab and the variation in the level of linguistic skills of the students and their parents in Punjabi, Hindi and English reflects in their choices, particularly in the choice of English. First of all, except 36.8 percent of SP, all other student respondents have claimed above average proficiency in Punjabi, Hindi and English. While 98 percent of SP claimed above average proficiency in Punjabi, only 9.6 percent of SE and 11.5 percent of SH rated their linguistic skills in Punjabi below average. Similarly 13.9 percent of

SE and 5.1 percent of SP have graded themselves below average. On the contrary, 36.8 percent of SP and 16.4 percent of SH consider their linguistic skills in English below average. It shows that the great majority of the student respondents acquired above average proficiency in Punjabi, Hindi and English in the due course of time. Ninety eight percent of SP claimed above average proficiency in Punjabi language, 100 percent of SH made such a claim in Hindi and 66 percent of SE evaluated their linguistic skills in English above average. The above discussion on the linguistic skills of the self highlights three points: the language policy and the circumstances are turning the Punjabi youth into trilingual. In comparison with Punjabi and Hindi, lesser number of students claim high proficiency in English in spite of their school education through English medium and choice of English for the degree of M.A. But English seems to have an important position in the life of educated people in Punjab as the students of English opted for English although they held similar claim for linguistic proficiency in Punjabi and Hindi (see Table 1.6).

On the other hand, the SP and only option of Punjabi as only 2 percent of them claimed above average proficiency in English and 32.6 percent in Hindi. The SH have choice between Hindi and Punjabi: only 6.6 percent of them indicated their above average proficiency in English while 100 percent have the same claim in Hindi and 65.6 percent of them in Punjabi. They might have opted for Hindi due to reasons like urbanization and additional association with Hindi as national language or denial of admission to other course etc.

Thus, the variable of linguistic skills of the self is important in the sense that SP and SH cannot be admitted to M.A. English as the level of their linguistic skills in English is either just average or below that. In other words, the low level of linguistic skills in English and the high level of linguistic skills in Punjabi and Hindi of SP and SH respectively. The denial of admission to other courses is confirmed by 39.2 percent of SP and 26.3 percent of Hindi by agreeing with the statement that they were doing M.A. Punjabi and Hindi respectively because they had no other choice. But the case of SE is slightly different as almost the equal number of them had claim for above average proficiency in English, Punjabi and Hindi.

It shows that more than the linguistic skills, it is something else that influenced their choice for English. There is the similar situation in the case of linguistic skills of parents (see Tables 1.7 and 1.8). The students whose parents have a high level of linguistic skills in English get admitted to M.A. English. It may be noted that the great majority of the students irrespective of which language they were studying claimed the high level of their parents' linguistic skills in Punjabi.

It can be said that the social variables are logically related to each other and collectively influence the decision of the students to graduate in English/ Punjabi/ Hindi.Language attitudes are generally considered important in language learning. For example, Gardner and Lambert, as already pointed out, emphasized that the positive attitudes resulted in the higher achievement in learning a second language. But this claim is not universally applicable and it has been proved by more than one researchers (Agnihotri and Khanna; Gardner and Lambert themselves). The present study shows that the attitudes do not play an important role when a comparative view is taken. For example, the SE hold positive attitude not only towards

English but also towards Punjabi and Hindi. A very large number of them disagree with the following statements:

- (a) Those who graduate in Punjabi develop negative attitude towards English/ Hindi.
- (b) Those who graduate in Hindi develop negative attitude towards English/ Punjabi (see Table 3.2).

About sixty seven percent of them agree that the people of Punjab pay attention to those who are proficient in Punjabi and 71.2 percent think that the study of Punjabi literature makes a person more relevant to the people in Punjab. They hold nearly similar views about Hindi (see Table 3.2). Their attitude towards English is equally positive: eight one percent of SE disagree with the statement – "those who graduate in English develop negative attitude towards Punjabi/ Hindi. But 69.9 percent of them believe that people in Punjab pay more attention to those who are proficient in English and 74.4 percent hold the view that the study of English literature makes a person intelligent and broadminded.

Thus it is clear that the majority of SE hold positive attitude towards Punjabi, Hindi, English and their users. Although SP have some reservation about those who graduate in English, they hold, in general, positive attitude towards English and Hindi. As revealed in Table 1.6, SH also hold the similar attitudes towards Punjabi and English. It seems there is no visible linguistic conflict in Punjab. It is interesting to note that almost all the students favour English as the suitable medium of instruction at the level of B.Sc./ M.Sc. and professional degrees in medicine, engineering and law etc. (see Table 3.3) but the majority of them favour Punjabi as the medium of instruction at the primary level (see Table 3.3).

If about half of SP and SH think that those who graduate in English develop negative attitude towards Punjabi/Hindi, it may be because they perceive English as more powerful than Punjabi and Hindi. Thus the attitudes seem to play no major role in the students' decisions about their choice of M.A. English of M.A. Punjabi or M.A. Hindi. But the RSR may reveal a different linguistic reality if considered from the point of view of language shift v/s language maintenance and language planning. Although at the obvious level and from the angle of the majority, there are no linguistic conflicts among the younger educated generation, the perceptions of minority can not be ignored. But the principal aim of this research being the investigation of the role of various factors responsible for the students' choice of English or Punjabi or Hindi for the degree of M.A., this above-mentioned aspect of language attitudes in Punjab is postponed for some other research.

Motivation is another variable that is generally considered to have an important role in language learning. Gardner and Lambert (1972) and Gardner (1985) themselves revised their previous thesis that the positive attitudes are responsible for success in second language acquisition. Categorizing motivational orientation as integrative, instrumental, resentment and manipulative, they found that the instrumental motivation, as mentioned in the previous section of this report, also played a significant role in second language acquisition. When a learner perceives the target language as an instrument of doing things, the motivation is said

to be instrumental. Integrative motivation is concerned with a person's desire to be the part of the target linguistic community.

The motivation is identified as resentment when someone learns the target language under various kinds of pressure and it is manipulative if target language is learnt with the aim of using it to manipulate the situation i.e. getting things done. Agnihotri and Khanna (1982; 1997) have argued that the types of motivational orientation introduced and advocated by Gardner and Lambert do not obtain in India in the context of learning English as a second language. They point out that in India, "people learn English for a variety of reasons but all of them have unmistakable instrumental colour; some are integratively instrumental, some instrumentally instrumental and some instrumental despite resentment" (Agnihotri and Khanna, 1997:83). Although it is more convincing, it is possible to explore it further and add two more categories of environment-adaptive motivation and self-improvement motivation which in a way be viewed as instrumental. When someone learns the target language to earn the appreciation of the people and to add it as an attraction to his personally, it may be described as environment adaptive motivation.

For example, one learns a language because it is liked by people. The motivational orientation is self-improvement if a person learns the target language at the higher level of education to improve his skills in that language. It may be relevant to those who graduate in a language. For example, many students seeking admission to M.A. English may say that they want to improve their English. Thus the languages are learnt for a variety of intermixed reasons and the situation is more complicated when it is pursued for higher academic degree. But an important point to note is that the instrumental motivation is the most prominent when someone studies a language for a higher degree like M.A. and it is irrespective of whether the language is mother tongue, second language or a foreign language.

Agnihotri and Khanna rightly say that "English is perceived not only as an academic and economic leader, it is also seen as a means for enhancing social mobility and individual personality" (1997:85): A great number of SE indicated instrumental motivation as the reason for graduating in English. For example, more than 95 percent of them agreed with the following statements:

- (a) It can provide me more job opportunities.
- (b) It will help me in achieving success in profession.

Even more than 55 percent of them accept that the reason of their graduating in English is that it can help them in finding a better life partner. But the number of the students in agreement with this statement being so less than those agreeing with the other two statements mentioned above highlights that the instrumental motivation is oriented towards economic and professional aspects of life rather than social aspects of life.

Since the majority of these students respondents were girls, this finding refutes a general opinion that girls graduate in English to improve their marital value. The Table 3.1 shows that getting more jobs, achieving success in profession and improving speaking/ listening/

writing/ reading (hereafter SLWR) skills in English are the most important reasons for the SE to graduate in English.

Thus, another equally strong form of motivation is self-improvement. The main reason for distinguishing this kind of motivation for instrumental motivation is that it relates to the ability and skill rather than to any direct material achievement. In other words, it is itself instrumental in nature, if someone possesses better linguistic skills, it ensures better chances of employability and success in profession.

Next in importance is the integrative motivation but the point of Agnihotri and Khanna (1997) that the nature of integrative motivation is rather instrumental, is supported by this research: The first of the following two statements was acceptable to more number of SE:

- (a) It can help me in interacting with more number of people.
- (b) It can help me in relating myself to that culture and people.

While 92.5 percent of SE agree with the first statement which is instrumentally integrative, only 42.3 percent of SE agree with the second which is simply integrative. The desire to interact indicates the desire to go closer for various reasons but not a desire to merge whereas the wish to relate to some culture/ cultural group conveys one's wish to integrate or associate oneself with the cultural community. In the absence of a true English speaking cultural community, the desire to integrate with just a vague image of English society is expressed by only 42.3 percent of SE. on the other hand 92.5 percent of them present the ability to interact with more number of people as the reason of their doing M.A. in English. Thus, purely integrative motivation does not obtain in the case of SE in Punjab.

Another kind of motivational orientation is environment-adaptive. The following three statements indicating environment-adaptive motivation are positively responded to by the majority of SE:

- (i) The people of Punjab respond more positively;
- (ii) It is considered prestigious in Punjab;
- (iii) Other people have great liking for it.

The statements indicate that the reason for SE to graduate in English is the positive environment and they want to do what is liked in the society. While 87 percent of them agree with the first statement, 74 percent agree with the second and 63.1 percent agree with the third statement (see Table 3.1). The manipulation motivation was favoured by 77.9 percent of SE.

The resentment motivation is not found very important in the case of SE. a very large number of them (see Table 3.1) disagree with the statements indicating resentment motivation:

- (a) I have no other choice.
- (b) My parents want me to do it.
- (c) My friends/ relatives persuaded me to do it.

Only 9.8 percent of SE agrees with the first statement, 44.6 percent with the second and 28.2 percent with the third statement. It shows that the majority of these students had choice and they exercised the choice on their own. Therefore, very less number of them have resentment motivation. Thus, in the case of M.A. English, instrumental, self-improvement environment-adaptive and manipulative motivations are found important.

On the other hand, for the students of Punjabi and Hindi, it is instrumental, self-improvement, manipulative and integrative motivation that is important. Although Punjabi and Hindi obtain instrumental value because of the state support and the integrative value because of the cultural and group association and assertion, these languages lack glamour and social prestige. Therefore, the environment-adaptive motivation is not very strong for SP and SH. For example, only 33.9 percent of SP and 27.7 percent of SH think that other people have great liking for it, while more than half of SP (51.1 percent) and SH (54.1 percent) disagree that it is considered prestigious in Punjab.

The highest number of SP (95.9 percent) and SH (93.4 percent) give improvement in their SLWR skills in Punjabi and Hindi respectively as the reason for doing M.A. Punjabi and M.A. Hindi. Next in importance for SP and SH is integrative motivation. Nearly ninety eight percent of SP and 80.3 percent of SH believe that the reason for them to graduate in Punjabi and Hindi respectively is that it will help them in relating themselves to that culture and people. Similarly, 73.5 percent of the SP and 86.9 percent of SH favour the statement "it can help me in interacting with more number of people".

Against a general belief that in India only English obtains instrumental value, this research shows that even Punjabi and Hindi have an instrumental value. Instrumental motivation exists in learning Punjabi and Hindi at a higher level. For example, 67.3 percent of SP and 67.2 percent of SH agree that one reason for them to graduate in Punjabi and Hindi respectively is that in can provide them more job opportunities. Further, 83.7 percent of SP and 86.1 percent of SH believe that it can help them in achieving success in profession. Even 58.2 percent of SP and 82 percent of SH indicate manipulative motivation by agreeing to the statement that it will help them to get things done.

In comparison with SE, more number of SP and SH show resentment motivation: 39.2 percent of SP and 26.3 percent of SH agree that they leave no other choice. Although the number of SP, SH and SE who agree that their parents want them to graduate in Punjabi, Hindi and English respectively, is the same, they differ on the statement: "I have no other choice". This difference explains not only the difference in resentment motivation but also the difference in attitudes of the students of these languages.

The motivation that obtains in studying English, Punjabi and Hindi at the level of M.A. in Punjab is not singular. English is the preferred language for higher studies, primarily because of instrumental motivation and environment-adaptive motivation. It explains the socioeconomic status of English in Punjab. Although Punjabi and Hindi carry instrumental motivation, these languages do not inspire students to develop environment-adaptive motivation. Since the latter type of motivation partially results from the former, it can be said that the degree of instrumental motivation in the case of Punjabi and Hindi is less that it is in

the case of English. This point will be further explained in the next section when the relation between the socio-economic background, motivation and the choice of a language for M.A. is discussed.

Patterns of language use are important for two reasons: one, the use of a language helps in learning it; second, it identifies the role and circulation of a language among the people. In Punjab, a common phenomenon of language use among the youth, as revealed in the Table 3.4 and Table 3.5, is that sometimes one language is used and sometimes the other with varying frequency in different domains. Since many people can write English and Hindi but cannot speak well, its use can vary on the basis of this point.

For example, a common pattern is that quite a good number of SE write letters in English, SP in Punjabi and SH in Hindi. Since the use of a language also depends on if the other person (addressee) knows that language, there is variation in the number of SE to write letters to their parents, friends, relatives and others. For example, only 37.2 percent of SE always write letters in English to their parents and relatives, but this number increases to 70.2 percent whey they write letters to their friends. The use of Punjabi and Hindi by SE in writing patterns is not much.

On the other hand, 45.9 percent of SP always use Punjabi in writing letters to their parents and friends and this number increases to 59.2 percent of SP who always use Punjabi in writing letters to their relatives. Similarly, about 35 percent of SH always use Hindi when they write letters to friends, relatives and others but their number is 24 percent when they write letters to their parents. A very negligible number of students always use English in greeting, talking and introducing themselves to other people and, for discussing current affairs (see Table 3.4). So, in social domains where mode of discourse is spoken, the exclusive case of English is reduced to a very low level. The same is the case of Hindi. But the use of Punjabi with parents and relatives is quite high. For example, 74.5 percent of SP and 44.3 percent of SH greet their parents in Punjabi. Similarly, 62.2 percent of SP and 44.3 percent of SH use Punjabi to talk to their parents.

No language, thus, can claim any of the personal domains exclusively (see Table 3.5). Thus, it can be easily observed from Table 3.4 and Table 3.5 that Punjabi, Hindi and English are used with more or less similar frequency in different day-to-day domains in the life of young generation. It means English and Hindi have entered the life of Punjabi educated youth in a vigorous manner, which has created a potential multilingual setting. It points to partial language shift and to a future possibility of a mixed language (Esperanto). Since this is not the main objective of this research, we cannot go at length in this direction, yet it is a potential area of research, particularly with reference to language policy and planning. From the point of view of language learning, this situation cannot have any important bearings on the choice of one or the other language for the study at the level of M.A.

CONCLUSION

Having explored the socio-economic background, language attitudes, patterns of language use and language motivation of the students graduating in Punjabi, Hindi and English in

Punjab, it may be concluded first of all that many of these issues inter-relate and influence each other. For example, the students whose socio-economic background is low get admitted to M.A. Punjabi/ Hindi, and since they graduate in Punjabi/Hindi, they have less job opportunities and economic benefits in comparison with those who graduate in English.

The parents who live in urban areas and possess high academic qualifications and sound linguistic skills in English, have jobs of high category or business as their occupation and fall in high income category. Their children study through English medium schools of high educational standard, located in urban areas. Such students develop their linguistic skills in English to a very high level and get admitted to M.A. English.

On the other hand, the parents who live in rural areas and possess low educational qualification and low level of linguistic skills in English, have jobs or business of low category or agriculture as occupation and fall in low income category. Their children study in Punjabi/ Hindi medium schools of average or low educational standard. They acquire low or average proficiency in English and are admitted to either M.A. Punjabi or M.A. Hindi. Although the latter feel that these languages can be instrumental in making some jobs available to them and helping them to achieve success in their professions, they realize that English is more powerful in this regard. They think that M.A. English is considered prestigious; their perception in this connection is based on the linguistic resource of groups seems to be in the process of making.

Due to the language policy, every literate person in Punjab turns into at least a trilingual and the young educated Punjabis tend to use sometimes Punjabi, sometimes Hindi and sometimes English rather than using only one language. But there is no significant role of language use in opting for M.A. English or Punjabi or Hindi.

Although it seems to be a situation of 'additive' bilingualism which means the second language does not pose a threat to the development and maintenance of the original language and culture, its real force becomes visible when we observe how the number of English medium schools has dramatically increased.

The trend shows the socio-economic relevance of English in the given economic and education systems. Aware of the compulsion of the system, the large number of students irrespective of the language they are studying for M.A., suggest English as the suitable medium of instruction for the study in science and technology but the same number of them suggest Punjabi as the medium of instruction at the primary level.

So, English has already established its roots and is growing at a very fast speed. Thus, it may not be a situation of subtractive bilingualism and language shift because of a strong tradition of Punjabi and the state support to it but it may lead to that direction if some immediate decisions about policy and planning are not taken.

The level of linguistic skills in different languages reflects in the choice of English or Punjabi or Hindi for M.A. in an interesting manner: those who claim to have high level of linguistic skills in each of the three languages, decide to do M.A. English and those who possess low or

average level of linguistic skills in English are circumstantially restricted to their choice and therefore they choose either Punjabi or Hindi. Between Punjabi and Hindi, Punjabi is preferred due to reasons like cultural association, more jobs within the state and high level of linguistic skills etc. But language attitudes seem to play no important role as almost all student respondents show, in general, positive attitudes towards each of the three languages.

Motivation orientation is an important aspect of the students' choice to graduate in Punjabi or Hindi or English. In the case of M.A. English, instrumental, self-improvement and environment-adaptive motivation while in the case of Hindi and Punjabi, self-improvement, integrative and instrumental motivation obtains more prominently. There may be variation in the degree but all types of motivational orientation is found relevant in one way or the other. But the most important point to note is that the instrumental motivation is the most important, particularly, in the case of English. Even the environment-adaptive and self-improvement varieties of motivation are also related to instrumental motivation.

Thus the choice of one or the other of three languages will change if the change in circumstances of instrumental motivation occurs. In other words, if the managers of society in Punjab (India) are seriously interested in providing leadership to Punjabi and other Indian languages over English, there is the urgent need to change the circumstances that cause instrumental motivation for the prospective students to graduate in Punjabi. Opposition to English as a subject from the first standard is no solution. It is rather a retrogressive step in the sense that in the present circumstances, and with the present language and education policies, the above said opposition deprives the under-privileged from the power of a language that has so high instrumental value. It will widen the gap between those who know English and those who don't know English.

Agnihotri and Khanna (1997:140) quoting PennyCook (1994) and Ngugi Wa Thiongo (1986) rightly point out, "The argument here is not to eliminate English from the Indian scene but to insist that the space called English must be characterized by critical discourse that unfolds social inequalities and injustice resulting directly from the use of English and also by an awareness of the rich multilingual heritage of the learner". But we present this remark in the present context not exactly as it is presented by Agnihotri and Khanna to argue the change in the method of teaching literary discourse. Rather we present it in the context of language policy while agreeing with Patnaik's (1982:44) remarks that, "In a country like India, the question is not whether English or Indian languages but English and Indian languages".

To sum up, it can be said that a very significant relationship between the socio-economic background and the choice of a language course leading to the degree of M.A. exists. The choice is further influenced by motivational orientation. Against a general belief, language attitudes do not perform a very important role, but the language policy and socio-economic environment being favourable to English as a second/foreign language give it the status of an asset worth processing. Therefore, the emerging linguistic scene and social stratification require further research and attention.

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