PRINTED BY THE MANAGER GOVT. OF INDIA PRESS COIMBATORE-19.
1987

LANGUAGE USE, ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY AMONG LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

(A CASE STUDY OF DAKKHINI URDU SPEAKERS IN MYSORE)

HANS R. DUA

INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
MYSORE 570 006

LANGUAGE USE, ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY AMONG LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

A CASE STUDY OF DAKKHINI URDU SPEAKERS IN MYSORE

DATA ENTERED
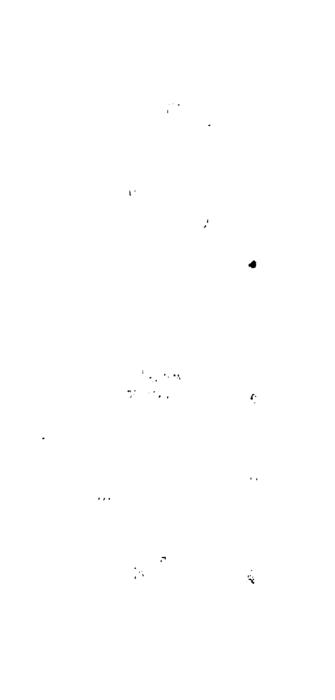
CATALOGUED

(ii)

CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES

SOCIOLINGUISTICS SERIES

8

LANGUAGE USE, ATTITUDES AND IDENTITY AMONG LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

[A CASE STUDY OF DAKKHINI URDU SPEAKERS IN MYSORE]

HANS   R. DUA

First Published: *November* 1986
Agrahayana 1908

© *Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1986*

401.4

70981

12 3.88

Price: *Inland* Rs. 34.00 *or Foreign* £ 3.97 *or* $ 12.24

491.439
D85L

FOREWORD

India is a country of linguistic minorities as it can be seen at different levels in different regions. What is a major language in a region is a minor language in the national context. The strength of grass-root multilingual, multicultural and multi-ethnic polity of India lies in the spirit of accommodation, respect for the different and the co-existence of linguistic majorities and minorities. The language problems of minor and minority languages can neither be solved by territorial adjustment nor by the imposition of major and dominant languages under the plea of standardization, modernization and unity. It is important to understand the aspirations of minority communities and the dynamics of their language and cultural identity on the one hand and the processes of language maintenance and shift in the context of social change on the other.

Urdu occupies a unique position in the sub-continent of India. It is a non-State language and therefore a language of minorities in every region. The religious, social and political mobilization of Urdu speakers has serious implications not only for their identity but also for national integration.

Just like other speech communities, Urdu speakers also show a great deal of variation. Dakkhini Urdu in different Southern states not only shows regional variation but also differs significantly from Standard Urdu. It serves as a symbol of local identity which complements both regional identity associated with dominant regional language and with super-ordinate identity associated with Standard Urdu.

The co-existence of multiple identities, complementary language use and the dynamics of language attitudes towards various languages are the characterising

attributes of linguistic minorities in India. If the present study helps in understanding this and contributes to the development of a theoretical and methodological perspective for studying the language problems of linguistic minorities, it would have proved its worth and relevance.

D. P. PATTANAYAK

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

LINGUISTIC MINORITIES IN INDIA

Introduction

The question of linguistic minorities has assumed a great significance all over the world since the language problems of the minorities have wider implications for the sociolinguistic processes of language identity, language maintenance, shift or loss, the planning of language development and language use in education, and the socio-cultural, economic and political development of minority communities. On the one hand the linguistic minorities have shown a greater awareness of their identity, social solidarity and cultural autonomy and even asserted their separate political identity in varying degrees of seriousness and intensity all over the world. The majority groups on the other hand have demonstrated a greater degree of concern, and have evolved language or educational policies either for the assimilation of minorities or for their integration with the majority life and culture, while preserving their language, religion and culture in the process of change and modernization. Thus, the language problems of linguistic minorities and the minority-majority relationship have assumed great importance from the point of view of language use, change and development on the one hand, and social change, mobilization, modernization and communication on the other.

Keeping in view the significance of language problems of linguistic minorities, the present project has been undertaken with the main objective of understanding the nature and complexity of language problems of linguistic minorities, with a special reference to the Dakkhini Urdu Speakers in Mysore City. Though the linguistic minorities may be unique in several respects, it is likely that they have to face similar recurrent problems of language use, language attitude and language identity in the speech community as a whole. We have therefore focused our attention in the present study on three major issues: the question of language use in the domains of family, education, literature and mass communication; the attitudes of the minority

community towards language structure and use in various domains: and the symbolic functions of language for integrative and instrumental objectives. It is expected that the case study of the Dakkhini Urdu speakers in Mysore will not only be useful in itself but also provide a theoretical and methodological perspective for understanding and studying the language problems of linguistic minorities.

With preliminary remarks about the focus of the present study it would be essential to provide a contextual background to the Dakkhini Urdu Speakers in Mysore. The present chapter is intended to fulfil this objective. It specifically deals with three issues necessary for a comprehensive view of the language problems of linguistic minorities in India in general and of Dakkhini Urdu speakers in particular. First, we characterize the nature of multilingualism in India which involves a wide range of linguistic minorities. Second, we present a broad view of the nature and types of linguistic minorities in India in terms of a set of criteria. Finally, we deal with the sociolinguistic context of the Dakkhini Urdu speakers in Mysore.

Multilingual Situation in India

It is an extremely complex task to characterize the extent of linguistic diversity and nature of multilingualism in India. The Census 1961 provides a wide spectrum of bilingualism in one language in different regions with respect to different mothertongue groups. Several scholars have made use of data on bilingualism and tried to characterize the patterns of interlingual communication and the role of various languages in the context of language policy for use and development. (Apte 1971: Khubchandani 1971: Dua & Sharma 1977: Srivastava 1977a: 1977b: Pattanayak 1980). They emphasize not only the stable, grassroot character of multilingualism in India but also the interdependent, hierarchically organized and yet criss-cross patterns of language use in various domains. It is essential to understand the relationship between different speech communities and the functional role of speech varieties in the verbal repertoire for characterizing the nature of multilingualism.

In spite of the reorganization of States in Indian Union, it has neither been possible to reduce the extent of multilingualism nor to solve the problems of linguistic minorities. Though in the States Reorganization Commission's report (1956) the primary consideration had been the principle of security, unity and

economic prosperity, the principle of linguistic homogeneity also played a crucial role. The idea of linguistic States had been accepted and reiterated as a viable strategy for socio-economic development and political mobilization by great national leaders of independence movement in various forums of the Congress and other political parties. Accordingly, at the time of reorganization of States in many cases people speaking a common language were brought together in one State or the other, thus reducing the number of linguistic minorities in a particular region. However, the principle of linguistic minorities could not be applied rigidly party for economic and political reasons and partly for linguistic reasons. From the linguistic point of view there were certain obvious limitations to the realization of the unilingual principle rigidly in the reorganization of the States. These limitations have been explicitly stated by the State Reorganization Commission which clearly indicate the inherent, stable multilingual character of Indian States and Union Territories. These limitations are:

(i) Not all the language groups are so placed that they can be grouped into separate states;

(ii) There are a large number of bilingual belts between different linguistic zones; and

(iii) There exist areas with a mixed population within unilingual areas.

The process of reorganization of States on linguistic basis was not completed in one stroke. In 1960 Maharashtra was bifurcated into two States because of the two prominent speech communities—Marathi and Gujarati. In 1956 Panjab did not present any problem from the point of view of reorganization as it can be seen from the Commission's Report (1956 : 141). "There is no real language problem in the State of Punjab as at present constituted. This is so because the Panjabi and Hindi languages as spoken in the Panjab are akin to each other and are both well understood by all sections of the people of the State. Nobody has seriously argued before us that the present set up presents any serious difficulty so far as the communicational needs of the people are concerned." However, as language boundaries are not fixed once for all (Dua 1981), in 1966 Panjab had to be divided in two States—Panjabi Suba and Haryana because of the conflict between the Sikhs who identified themselves with Panjabi and the Hindus who rallied around Hindi. Thus, the Sikh population in minority in erstwhile Panjab became a dominant majo-

rity after the reorganization of the State. This can be seen by comparing the population figures of Hindi and Panjabi speakers according to the Census 1961 and 1971 as given below:

1961		1971	·
Hindi	Panjabi	Hindi	Panjabi
55.6	41.1	20.01	79.49

The process of making a minority community into a majority on the basis of regional distribution can never resolve the problems of linguistic minorities for three reasons. First, as the language diversity shows, there are so many distinct language groups in India that the principle of language territoriality and linguistic homogeneity can never be fully operational. Second, as the Panjab situation shows, even after the reorganization there remains a significant minority of Hindi speakers in Panjab. Finally, the free inter-state migration due to industrialization, urbanization or other factors has been attested in earlier periods and seems to be further reinforced by mobility due to social and professional reasons. Thus, the existence of linguistic minorities of different types and nature form an integral part of the multilingual situation in India.. The recognition of this fact and understanding its implications would go a long way in resolving the problems of linguistic minorities.

Living within the dominant speech community the linguistic minirities have not only to contend with the forces of change within their own community but also face subtle and complex pressures socially, economically and politically exerted by the dominant language and culture in various degrees and forms. (Dua 1980a). The agitation to implement Gokak Committee Report in 1982 in Karnataka is one of the examples of recent manifestation of pressure on the part of the dominant majority. However, this course of confrontation between the dominant majority and linguistic minorities is against the spirit of tolerance and co-existence characteristic of stable multilingual situation in India. It will not only aggravate the difficulties and problems of the linguistic minorities but also encourage militant attitude and strong loyalty in the maintenance of their language and culture, leading to the consolidation of the principle of language territoriality. It is therefore essential to understand the complex language problems of linguistic minorities at socio-cultural, economic and political levels within the context of

charge and forces of pressure operating in the linguistic minorities in particular and the society in general. The present project has been undertaken with this objective in view.

Nature and Types of Linguistic Minorities

Though India may be considered as a country of linguistic minorities in general, no serious attempt has been made to describe the nature and types of linguistic minorities in terms of well defined criteria. While the Indian Constitution recognizes this by making provisions for the safeguards of linguistic minorities, it neither defines the term 'minority' nor provides the criteria for determining a minority. However, several principles and guidelines can be formulated for deciding about the minority status of a community on the basis of specific cases that have come up before the Supreme Court. In one of the cases the Court observed that a linguistic minority "is one which must at least have a separate spoken language. It is not necessary that language should also have a distinct script for those who speak it to be a linguistic minority. There are in this country some languages which have no script of their own but nevertheless those sections of the people who speak that language will be a linguistic minority" (Quoted by Jacob 1972: 371). This point will be taken up below in the discussion of the types of linguistic minorities.

The most commonly used criterion is the numerical strength of the speakers of a language relative to the other group in a speech community. However, this criterion has validity only when it is operationally applied in relation to the geographical or administrative region. In this respect it has been held by the Supreme Court that for the purpose of the Act of the Union Government the term 'minority' must be defined operationally in terms of the total population of India. This would protect the interests of linguistic minorities even if they are small in number and located in a restricted region.

The numerical strength along with regional distribution has generally been considered in relation to recognition of varieties of language. Thus we can distinguish between minority speakers of scheduled languages recognized in Schedule VIII of the Constitution and minority speakers of other languages which include broadly tribal languages, non-tribal languages, foreign languages and others. The distribution of linguistic minorities in terms of numerical strength and scheduled—non-scheduled

distribution can be seen in Table I. 1. The table shows a number of significant points. First, the speakers of scheduled languages in minority status are found in all the States and Union Territories. The lowest percentage (0.77%) of such minority groups is found in Laccadive, Minicoy and Amin Div Islands, and the highest percentage (52.64%) in Nicobar Islands. Second, except for Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Chandigarh and Pondicherry the speakers of tribal languages in minority are also found in all States and Union Territories. It is interesting to note that minority speakers of tribal languages are predominantly found in Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Tripura and Manipur. Furthermore, though the minority speakers constitute more than 75% total population in Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland, the largest of the minority groups there are 24.42% and 14.26%, respectively. Third, the speakers of non-scheduled, non-tribal languages in minority status are found in all States and Union Territories. The highest percentage of such minorities is found in Jammu & Kashmir (27.88%) followed by Arunachal Pradesh (13.60%), Sikkim (7.40%), Karnataka (5.81%), Himachal Pradesh (5.56%) and Meghalaya (4.55%). Finally, in all the States and Union Territories we find small linguistic minorities who speak foreign languages or other languages not covered under scheduled, tribal or non-scheduled, non-tribal lables. Thus, each State and Union Territory presents a unique configuration of linguistic minorities defined in terms of numerical strength and language labels such as schedule, tribal, non-schedule, non-tribal, foreign, etc.

The criterion of numerical strength along with geographical distribution is inadequate as it does not show the functional role of minority language in the verbal repertoire of the community. To throw light on this aspect Srivastava (1983) has drawn attention to the notion of language power which has been characterized in terms of the following three factors on the basis of Pieterson (1978) : (a) The wider action radius and range of usage in a certain domain; (b) greater degree of control over the speakers of another language, and (c) higher status and prestige in the eye of the people. However, there are certain limitations in applying the notion of language power for characterizing the nature of linguistic minorities. First, the notion of power can be defined in several ways. For instance, Mackey (1973) has discussed six indicators of language power—demography, dispersion, mobility, economic wealth, ideology and culture, and points out that these are not the only measures. The other possible indicators could be literacy, urbanization, educational level, population, homogeneity, political mobilization etc. Second, the

notion of language power would become a mere terminological jargon unless the range of usage and degree of control can be precisely measured. Without this the differences between the linguistic minorities cannot be shown on the power dimension. Thus, all the minority groups in Mysore such as Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Malayalam, Urdu speakers etc., would be — power. Third, the application of the features Quantum and Power in dichotomous terms is too restricted to characterize different types of minorities. We, therefore, consider the features in terms of scalar values which can be defined depending upon the socio-linguistic context. Finally, though Srivastava (1983) makes a distinction between a major (developed) language and a minor language (underdeveloped) he uses the same two dimensions of $\pm$ Quantum and $\pm$ Power to distinguish between them. The distinction between a major and a minor language seems to have been implicit in such lables as scheduled, tribal non-scheduled, non-tribal languages. Similarly, the question of script raised above in defining a linguistic minority also shows that a separate feature would be essential to highlight the developmental status of a minority language. For this purpose we suggest that we may set up a feature Standard which could be further defined in terms of the following criteria : (a) the spoken or written form of language, and (b) the strength of literary tradition.

The feature Standard is particularly pertinent in the case of Dakkhini Urdu speakers who identify themselves with Dakkhini Urdu at the local level and with Standard Urdu at the national level. The Dakkhini Urdu predominantly used as a spoken variety in the home domain will be marked as minus Standard, and Standard Urdu accepted as superposed variety for formal domains as plus Standard. This distinction will be further reinforced by the feature Power defined in terms of use, control and prestige.

Two more features would be necessary to characterize the nature and types of linguistic minorities. We have noted above that all types of linguistic minorities are found in all States and Union Territories as far as scheduled, tribal, non-scheduled, non-tribal labels are concerned. However, it is also to be seen that some linguistic minorities are restricted to a local region. Even if the same linguistic minority may be found in more than one region, they may not have any contact or reinforcement from the same community in other region. Thus, it would be useful to distinguish this aspect as it may have implications for group solidarity or resolution of their language problems. This aspect

can be characterized in terms of a feature, Local which can be defined in terms of the following criteria : (a) the degree of isolation, and (b) the nature of reinforcement, (c) intelingual communication.

The second important features pertains to the relationship of the minority language with the majority language. For instance, Marathi and Urdu in Mysore city have a different relationship with the majority language Kannada than Telugu or Tamil. In the former case the relationship between languages is non-cognate, whereas it is cognate in the latter. Similarly, the language problems of Urdu speakers in Karnataka would be different from those of the Urdu speakers in Uttar Pradesh in terms of the language relationship. Thus, we may set up a feature Language Distance, to bring out the differences between different types of linguistic minorities in the same region or of the same linguistic minority in different regions.

We have set up the following five features to characterize the nature and types of linguistic minorities in India :

(i) Quantum

(ii) Power

(iii) Standard

(iv) Local

(v) Language Distance

Each of the criteria may be further defined in terms of various factors. However, these factors must be operationally defined in terms of measurable indices We feel that these five features would characterize linguistic minorities in a comprehensive way. However, a defined set of operationally valid criteria for typological description of linguistic minorities will emerge only after a great deal of empirical work on the complex problems of linguistic minorities. The present study is expected to encourage such a work.

Urdu Speakers in India

It is essential to study the social context of a linguistic minority for a deeper understanding of its complex language problems. Several social factors make the study of Dakkhini Urdu speakers an interesting case for throwing light on dynamic processes of identity and language maintenance.

The Urdu speakers constitute 5.22% of total population of India according to the Census 1971. They are spread in all States and Union Territories, though majority of them are found in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Karnataka and Uttar Pradesh (Table 1.2). These States account for 83.41% of total Urdu speakers.

Unlike other scheduled languages except Sindhi, Urdu is not a dominant language of any State or Union Territory. Though Urdu is the official language of Jammu and Kashmir, the Urdu speakers form a negligible minority as it is spoken only by 0.53% Urdu speakers in the State. It is also recognized as an additional official language in Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Thus the language problems of Urdu speakers would be different in nature in various regions not only because of variation in numerical strength, not only because of different language groups in a particular region, but also because of different status of Urdu in different States.

The distribution of Urdu is uneven not only in India as a whole but also in each State. In Karnataka, for instance, the lowest percentage of Urdu speakers is found in South Kanara district and the highest percentage in Bidar (Table 1.3). In Mysore district 5.32% of the total population are Urdu speakers, though in Mysore city their percentage goes up to 19.97% of the total population of the city according to the Census 1971. The uneven distribution of a minority group in various regions has implications for the cohesion and identity of the group, its attitudes towards the use of its mothertongue in various domains, its bilinguality and intergroup relations, and the implementation of the constitutional safeguards for the use of minority languages in administration, mass communication and education, (D... 1980a). The Urdu speakers unevenly spread over different regions provide an interesting case for studying these issues.

The geographical distribution, size and strength of a linguistic minority are significantly influenced by socio-cultural symbols in the process of formation, maintenance or loss of a separate language identity. The attitudes of the members of the community in general and elite and educated class in particular show how language and literary symbols including language history, script and literary tradition are manipulated for social mobilization and identity perpetuation. Apart from language and literary symbols, religion, ethnicity, and social organization play a significant role in crystalizing and cementing the bonds of language identity and consolidation of language maintenance

efforts. The study of Urdu speakers provides an interesting case for understanding the dynamics of socio-cultural symbols in the processes of language identity and maintenance among the linguistic minorities.

The interaction between linguistic and social-cultural symbols in the case of the Urdu Speakers presents a complex study and will not be considered in detail in the present report. However. a few remarks need to be made in order to provide the social context for the present study. First, the total number of Muslims who report Urdu as their mother-tongue according to the Census 1971 is 46.57% at all-India level, and this percentage, quite naturally, varies from State to State. Thus, while in West Bengal 10.48% of total Muslim population are Urdu speakers, the percentage is as high as 93.74% in Andhra Pradesh (Table 1.4). The variation in the correlation of religion and Urdu speakers has obvious implications for the mobilization of those Muslims who do not report Urdu as their mothertongue. In what way the linguistic and religious symbols reinforce each other in the process of mobilization requires empirical investigation.

Second. Urdu is claimed as a mothertongue by Hindus and Muslims alike. This goes against the identification of Urdu only with the Muslims. However, it cannot be denied that the religious literature and cultural achievements of the Muslims are mostly in Urdu because of which it serves as a strong identity token for them. To quote Brass (1975 : 187-88):

"That sense of a separate identity derives not from the spoken Urdu of everyday speech which is the same as the spoken Hindi or Hindustani, but from the more Persianized Urdu written in the Persian script and frequently deriving its literary symbols and form of cultural expression from Islamic ideology and history".

The emphasis on the Perso-Arabic script and sources of word formation has led to the process of divergence of Urdu in written style from Hindi which relies heavily on Sanskrit for its vocabulary. Thus, the interaction between linguistic and religious symbols has implication for both sociolinguistic identity and language change. In the present study we have considered the significance of Urdu as a symbol of identity for the Dakkhini Urdu speakers in identifying themselves with the Muslims in other parts of India.

The Dakkhini Urdu speakers as a minority community in Mysore City can be distinguished from Telugu, Tamil or Malayalam speaking minorities on the one hand, and from Urdu speaking minority in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar or Madhya Pradesh on the other. First, from the point of view of socio-cultural organization the Dakkhini Urdu speakers differ more than the Telugu or Tamil speaking minorities in Mysore city from Kannada speaking majority. Second, from a linguistic point of view there is more linguistic affinity between Kannada and Telugu than between Kannada and Dakkhini Urdu because of the cognate-non-cognate relationship as pointed out above. The degree of similarity between the majority and minority communities in relation to language and social organization must be considered in studying the language problems of a minority community as it might have implication for assimilation or maintenance orientation.

Though Dakkhini Urdu has not been listed as separate language in the Census, it is distinct from Standard Urdu in both grammatical and phonological features. Furthermore there is functional separation in the use of the two languages. While Dakkhini Urdu is spoken at home and in close networks of communication. Standard Urdu is accepted as a supra-local variety for communication in formal domains such as education, communication and literary production. Standard Urdu is also considered as a mark of social status and prestige. The dinstinction between Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu in structure, use and status has significant implications for regional and national identity and for the acquisition, use, and development of the two varieties of Urdu. The issues of identity and attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu have been considered relevant for the present study. Apart from these the attitudes towards the use and acquisition of the majority language Kannada also constitute a significant aspect of the present work.

Conclusion

To sum up, we have shown the importance of studying the complex language problems of linguistic minorities from the point of view of language use, change and development on the one hand, and social change, mobilization and modernization on the other. We have shown that in the stable multilingual situation in India the linguistic minorities not only contend with forces of change within their own community but also face

subtle and complex pressures from the majority community. We have discussed a set of criteria for characterizing the nature and type of linguistic minorities in the Indian situation. Apart from these criteria we have shown the relevance and significance of linguistic, literary and socio-cultural symbols with reference to Urdu speakers for a better understanding of the language problems of linguistic minorities and of the dynamics of the processes of language identity and language maintenance. We hope that with this background in view the study of language use, language attitudes and language identity among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers will not only reveal complex language problems faced by them, but also provide a theoretical and methodological perspective for such studies in future.

CHAPTER 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter presents the goals and objectives of the research project on Dakkhini Urdu speakers, the hypotheses set to be explored to fulfil the objectives, the tools of data collection, the problems of collecting the data, the design of the sample, the methods of analysis, and the scheme for the interpretation and presentation of data.

Goals and objectives

The objectives of the project were formulated on the basis of the close observation of the community and discussion with some members on the problems of language use, attitudes and identity. It was noticed that Dakkhini Urdu is spoken mostly at home and in close interaction networks and that Standard Urdu is used in education, literature and for communication in formal settings. While competence in Dakkhini Urdu is the result of the natural process of language acquisition, the competence in Standard Urdu depends on formal education and exposure to Urdu literature. It was felt that the acceptance of Standard Urdu as a super-posed variety and a mark of social status presents the case of a linguistic minority which tends to forge a larger identity for itself. As opposed to Dakkhini and Standard Urdu, the competence of Dakkhini Urdu speakers in Kannada, depends on formal instruction and/or interaction with native speakers which would quite naturally differ in relation to the range of their interaction with native speakers and the degree of formal instruction. The minority community feels the pressures of the dominant majority language in subtle forms due to the socio-economic and instrumental functions of the language in its life. Thus the Dakkhini Urdu speakers present an interesting case of the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada and attitudes towards their use as well as symbolic functions. In order to focus on these issues the following objectives were formulated for the present study. Though the Dakkhini Urdu speakers would know Hindi and English and might show a wide range of attitudes towards them, it was decided to exclude them from the present project. The objectives of the present project were :

13

(i) To study variation in the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in the family and other close interaction networks and in the utilization of mass communication network such as reading, entertainment and radio-listening in relation to the social variables of sex, age, education and occupation.

(ii) To explore the range of attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in the domains of family, education, literature and other formal settings in relation to the above social variables.

(iii) To study the symbolic significance of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada for social identity, status and instrumental function in relation to the above variables.

(iv) To study the self-evaluation of Standard Urdu and Kannada as spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers.

(v) To standardize the instruments of data collection for the study of language use, language attitudes and language identity among linguistic minorities and to apply appropriate technique of statistical analysis in order to be able to extend such studies to other situations.

Hypotheses

Keeping in view the objectives stated above and exploratory discussions with the members of the community, the following hypotheses were formulated for investigation and testing.

(i) The male and female respondents differ in the frequency of the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in close networks of communication such as family, friendship, peer-group and neighbourhood.

(ii) The individuals belonging to different categories of age, education or occupation differ in the frequency of use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada.

(iii) The individuals classified in terms of social categories differ in their attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in family, education, literature and other formal settings.

(iv) The use of Standard Urdu as a medium of instruction is preferred to that of Kannada.

(v) The study of Kannada as a subject in the school curriculum is preferred to its use as a medium.

(vi) The development of Dakkhini Urdu for literary and scientific writings or for its use in education is not considered desirable.

(vii) The use of Standard Urdu in literature and public settings is preferred to that of Dakkhini Urdu, but the use of Dakkhini Urdu is preferred to that of Standard Urdu in close networks of communition.

(viii) Standard Urdu is considered as a symbol of identity at the national level. and Dakkhini Urdu of community identity at the local level.

(ix) The increasing use of Kannada in the family is considered as a threat to the distinctiveness of the community as a whole.

(x) Standard Urdu has more significance for integrative function, but Kannada for instrumental function.

(xi) The Dakkhini Urdu speakers tend to think that their competence in standard Urdu is low in terms of norms of Standard Urdu.

(xii) The Dakkhini Urdu speakers tend to think that they do not speak Kannada correctly.

It may be pointed out that we have not listed all the hypotheses. Further more, some of the hypotheses listed above consist of several sub-hypotheses each of which has been tested separately for the purpose of analysis and interpretation of data.

Tools of Data collection

We prepared two schedules for the collection of data about language use, language attitudes and language identity necessary for testing the hypotheses mentioned above. The schedule A consisted of 19 questions each of which was to be responded on a five-point scale showing the frequency of use from maximum to minimum. The questions in this schedule elicited data on the frequency of use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu

and Kannada in the close networks involving the use of these languages. The aspects of language use and mass communication networks are given below:

(a) Language use in the family.

(b) Language use in friendship networks.

(c) Language use by the ladies in neighbourhood.

(d) Language use by the children in peer-group relationship.

(e) Utilization of mass communication networks with reference to (i) listening to radio, (ii) reading newspapers, magazines and books, (iii) going to movies, and (iv) attending cultural programmes like Mushaira.

The data on the aspects of language use in close and mass communication networks mentioned above was necessary not only for studying variation in the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada but also for contrasting the actual use with the use considered desirable in terms of attitudes.

The schedule B consisted of 26 questions which elicited response on a five-point scale on the following themes:

(a) Attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in the family.

(b) Attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in education as medium of instruction and subject teaching at the primary, high school and college levels.

(c) Attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu in literature, formal public settings and mass communication.

(d) Attitudes towards the development of Dakkhini Urdu for literary and scientific writings.

(e) Attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada as symbols of identity.

(f) Perception of the instrumental function of Standard Urdu and Kannada.

(g) Self-evaluation of Standard Urdu and Kannada as spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers, of interference

of Dakkhini Urdu in speaking Standard Urdu correctly, and the stereotype that Urdu is the language of the Muslims.

Though the two schedules are independent, they are inter-related. This is particularly so where the attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu. Standard Urdu and Kannada are contrasted with their actual use. Similarly, the questions within each schedule show an internal relationship which has been duly high-lighted in presenting the analysis and interpretation of data in various chapters. The discussion of the relationship between various questions may appear to be repetitive at times, but this is justified to demonstrate the fact that the issues related to language use, language attitudes and language identity are intimately related with each other.

Sample Design

According to Census 1971 the total Muslim population of Mysore city is 70,626 constituting 19.9% of the total population of the city. It was decided to collect data from 250 respondents which constitute 0.35% of the total Muslim population. This number was considered to be adequately representative sample.

The sample was sub-divided in terms of the categories of sex, age, education and occupation for studying variation in language use. language attitudes and language identity. The age groups set up for studying the patterns of variation include the respondents below 25 years, between 25 and 40 years and above 40 years of age. Similarly, we considered three educational categories to be relevant for the present study. The first group, referred to as below high school, included those respondents who had formal education up to standard X. or no formal education at all, or some non-formal education in a maktab or school run on traditional style. The second group, referred to as below graduation, included those respondents who had high school or equivalent qualification or above, but below graduation. The third group consisted of respondents with graduation or above qualification. In terms of occupation the respondents were categorised as students, teachers. businessmen, office-goers, workers and professionals including doctors, lawyers, scientists, journalists, lecturers, etc.

The points of data collection were selected keeping in view the concentration of Dakkhini Urdu speakers in different parts of the city. The following points were decided upon after an exploratory survey:

(i) Nazarabad area including mosque area, Govt. teachers training college, Girls and Boys schools.

(ii) Mandi Mohalla including Sunni Chowk, Sade Road and Farooquia High School.

(iii) Lashkar Mohalla including Mandi Market area, Gandhinagar, Govt. Practicing School.

(iv) N. R. Mohalla.

(v) Such places of work as Central Food Training and Research Institute, Manasagangotri Campus, and Ideal Jawa where a large number of workers, office-goers and professionals could be contacted.

Collection of data

The data was collected with the help of Dakkhini Urdu speaker who was a calligrapher in the Institute and who was quite well known among the members of his community. He was very helpful in procuring co-operation from prominent members of the community resident in different areas.

As Urdu was the rallying point in the schedules, the people were quite willing and co-operative in giving the required information. However, this spirit of enthusiasm presented great difficulties at times. In some cases the informants were either influenced by other persons present at the time of data collection, or inclined to project general opinions instead of giving their own views. In other cases respondents were evasive in their replies. However, on the whole the respondents were thoughtful and gave consistent replies to the question in the two schedules. Wherever we found that the persons were evasive in replies, or were influenced by others in their response, we rejected the schedules for the purpose of analysis.

The two schedules were originally prepared in English and then translated into Urdu. In most cases the schedules in English or Urdu were filled in by the respondents themselves. It was made sure that the respondents understood the questions properly and gave their responses at the appropriate place. Whenever the schedules were filled in by the investigator, it was made sure that he did not create any bias or impose his opinion in either explaining the questions to the respondents or taking down their responses.

In all we collected data from 260 respondents. After rejecting the unreliable schedules and some schedules filled in

by house-wives or unemployed persons, the number came down to 243 out of which 60 are females and 183 males. The uneven distribution of female and male respondents was unavoidable due to social factors. For one thing we do not have enough females in all categories of occupation and education. In our data the females are drawn occupationwise from teachers and professions, educationwise from below graduation and graduation and above and age-wise from between 25—40 years and above 40 years. As the female data is not adequately representative in terms of social categories, it has not been considered in the analysis and interpretations of data. There were two other reasons for not analysing the female data. It was found that the women were generally more evasive in their response and did not have any definite opinion of their own in some questions.

In comparison to the females it was possible to collect a representative data from the male respondents with respect to all the categories. The break-up of the male sample is given below according to the various categories.

(i)	Age :	(a)	Below 25 years	41
		(b)	Between 25—40 years	81
		(c)	Above 40 years	61
(ii)	Education:	(a)	Below High School	32
		(b)	Below graduation	85
		(c)	Graduation and above	66
(iii)	Occupation :	(a)	Students	20
		(b)	Office-goers	20
		(c)	Teachers	35
		(d)	Professionals	37
		(e)	Workers	38
		(f)	Businessmen	32

In the processing of data according to occupation one respondent is less.

Statistical Analysis

The data has been analysed in two ways. First, we have obtained simple frequency percentage for each item at each point of the scale. On the basis of the distribution and patterns of frequency percentages we have studied the predominance of response at a particular point of the scale, the spread of responses at different points of the scale, the comparison bet•

ween any set of questions with respect to language or any point of the scale, and finally, the comparison between different groups according to social categories with respect to any set of questions, language or point of the scale.

Secondly, we have converted the five-point scale into a numerical value by assigning value 5 to maximum point of the scale and 1 to the minimum. Thus, we have obtained total score value for each question with respect to each group defined in terms of the categories of age, education and occupation. On the basis of total score value we have conducted one-way analysis of variance for each question to study the group differences. In the interpretation of data and delineation of trends and patterns of language use, language attitudes and language identity, we have made use of the results of both the variance analysis and the distribution of frequency percentages.

Presentation of findings

The findings of the survey have been presented in eight chapters. The chapter 3 presents the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in family and close interaction networks. It deals with questions 1—6, and 14—19 of the schedule A. The chapter 4 analysis questions 7—9 of the schedule B regarding the attitudes of Dakkhini Urdu speakers towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in the family. It also presents a comparison between the actual use of these languages and the attitudes towards their use in the family. In chapter 5 we deal with the analysis of attitudes towards the use of language as a medium of instruction and its teaching as a subject at various levels of education. The questions 1—6 of the schedule B are analysed in this chapter. The questions 7—13 of the schedule A form the basis of the sixth chapter which deals with the utilization of mass communication. The Chapter 7 concerns the attitudes towards language development, language use in literature and communication and is based on the questions 10—16 of the schedule B. The next chapter presents the study of language identity and language functions based on the analysis of questions 17—22 of the schedule B. The chapter nine is concerned with self-evaluation of speech and stereotype and presents the findings about the last four questions of the schedule B. The concluding chapter presents the summary of the findings of the project and delineates problems and prospects in the study of linguistic minorities in particular, and sociolingustic issues in general.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE USE IN CLOSE INTERACTION NETWORK

Introduction

In this chapter we present the analysis and interpretation of actual use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in close interaction networks as reported by the respondents. The close interaction networks include interaction among the members of the family, among friends, among ladies in neighbourhood and among children in peer group relation.

Before we present the results it would be useful to consider the reasons for the study of language use in close interaction networks. As the study of language in close interaction networks is considered significant from the point of view of language identity, language maintenance or language shift, it was considered relevant for the present study for the following reasons. First, as Dakhini Urdu speakers have been living among the Kannada speaking majority community, it was considered worthwhile to explore how far the use of Kannada has penetrated into the family and other networks. Second, as Standard Urdu is considered a mark of supra-local identity and social status, it was thought that the extent of its use in close interaction networks would indicate whether there is any trend of shift in the use of Dakhini Urdu. Finally, it would be possible to compare the actual use of these languages as reported by the respondents with the attitudes towards their use. This would indicate not only the patterns of change in the acquisition and use of these languages but also their symbolic function for identity and social status.

Patterns of Language Use

The response of the Dakkhini Urdu speakers regarding the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in the close network of interaction has been presented in table 3.1. The following points can be made about the patterns of their use

21

The Dakkhini Urdu is predominant in the family followed by its use among children and ladies. Its use in the friendship networks is the lowest whether we consider the percentage of response at the 'always' point of the scale separately or take the combined percentages of both the 'always' and 'quite often' points of the scale. In this respect the use of Dakkhini Urdu contrasts with that of Standard Urdu. While the use of Dakkhini Urdu is the lowest in the friendship networks in comparison to other networks, that of the Standard Urdu is the highest in this respect. There could be three reasons for this difference between the use of Dakkhini and Standard Urdu in friendship networks. First, the interaction in friendship networks may involve some friends who like to speak Standard Urdu for personal, social or other reasons. Secondly, the interaction may take place in semi-formal settings. Thirdly, the interaction may take place between Dakkhini Urdu speakers and those who do not know Dakkhini Urdu. The use of Standard Urdu shows two more interesting features. First, the response about its use at 'some times' point of the scale is the highest in the case of friendship networks followed by the family. As the use of Dakkhini Urdu is predominant in the family in terms of the 'always' point of the scale, the percentage of response regarding the use of Standard Urdu at 'sometimes' point of the scale may be considered to indicate highly favourable attitudes towards its use. Secondly, the use of Standard Urdu is the lowest in the interaction among children in comparison to other networks whether we consider the percentage of response, at any point of the scale singly or the combined percentages of the 'always' and 'quite often' or 'rarely' and 'never' points of the scale. This could be due to the fact that the children have not acquired adequate competence in Standard Urdu, or the adults think that children cannot speak in Standard Urdu or the norms of peer-group interaction require the use of Dakkhini Urdu. It is obvious that some more work needs to be done in this direction.

The use of Kannada in the close interaction networks reveals two things. First, Kannada has a very low frequency of use in the family, followed by the interaction among ladies in neighbourhood. It is clear from 65.57%, and 20.22% of response at the 'never' and 'rarely' points of the scale respectively. Secondly, the use of Kannada seems to be more among the children in comparison to other networks if we consider the percentages at 'sometimes' or 'never' points of the scale. This raises a number of questions which may be worthwhile to study how children acquire Kannada. Though the Dakkhini Urdu speakers live

in predominantly Muslim localities, the exposure of children to Kannada in peer—group relationship cannot be ruled out altogether. The percentage of respondents who claim that children use Kannada 'sometimes' or 'rarely' when they play among themselves would seem to support this. It would also be interesting to explore how frequently Dakkhini Urdu speaking children interact with Kannada speaking children in various localities. Furthermore, the use of Kannada among children seems to be slightly less than that of Standard Urdu. Whether this is really so can be verified by further investigation which could also reveal the order in which Kannada and Standard Urdu are acquired by the children.

Group Differences

The social variables of age, education and occupation do not have the same degree of significance in bringing out group differences with regard to the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in various close interaction networks. The age groups differ significantly in the use of Dakkhini Urdu with regard to interaction among children and ladies only, and the education and occupation groups show significant differences in all interaction networks. In the case of Standard Urdu the age groups differ significantly with regard to interaction in the family and among ladies in the neighbourhood, the education groups with regard to interaction in family and occupation groups in friendship networks only. As regards the use of Kannada the education groups differ significantly in the interaction among ladies only and both the age groups and occupation groups in all interaction networks except interaction among the children. (Table 3.2). Thus, the differences among the groups defined in terms of social categories are more pronounced in the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Kannada in all interaction networks than Standard Urdu which shows differences in selected networks.

The percentages of response are concentrated on the 'always' and 'quite often' points of the scale in the case of Dakkhini Urdu, on 'quite often' and 'sometimes' points of the scale in the case of Standard Urdu and on 'rarely' and 'never' points of the scale in the case of Kannada. The percentages at these two points in each case have been merged in order to study the patterns of group differences. The following points can be made on the basis of the distribution of percentages in this way.

First, it might be said that the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu seems to be less and that of Kannada to be more in the age group below 25 years of age than in other age groups.

24

(Table 3.3). Thus, while 80.48% and 39.02% respondents in the age group below 25 years report the use of Dakkhini and Standard Urdu respectively, the percentage for the age group above 40 years are 90.16% and 55.74%. As regards the use of Kannada in the interaction networks of family, friendship and ladies, while from 68.29% to 78.04% respondents from age group below 25 years report almost the negligible use of Kannada, this percentage goes up to 90.16% without any variation in relation to networks in the case of respondents from age group above 40 years. Thus, it seems clear that while the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu increases as the respondents grow in age, that of Kannada shows an opposite trend. It might be interesting to explore the reasons for this trend.

Secondly, there seems to be a definite relationship between language use and the educational level of the respondents. It has been pointed out above that educational groups differ significantly in the use of Dakkhini Urdu in all interaction networks. The distribution of percentages of respondents according to education shows that as the educational level of the respondents goes up, the use of Dakkhini Urdu in all networks goes down. The maximum drop is in the case of friendship networks in which case while 93.75% respondents from below high school group use Dakkhini Urdu, the corresponding percentage for the highly educated group is 69.69%. Kannada shows an opposite trend in that its use increases as the educational level of the respondents goes up. A similar trend is found in the case of Kannada except for its use among ladies and children. However, the correlation between the increasing use of these languages and the educational level of the respondents is not very strong as significant group differences are found only in the case of the use of Standard Urdu in family and of Kannada among the ladies in neighbourhood.

Finally, the professionals differ from other occupational groups in the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in various networks. The use of Dakkhini Urdu tends to be low among the professionals in comparison to other groups in all networks except interaction among the ladies. This is understandable in view of the composition of the professionals. On the other hand the use of Standard Urdu and Kannada among the professionals tends to be high, though this is true only in comparison to some groups and some interaction networks. Thus, the highest percentage of professionals report the use of Standard Urdu among children and of Kannada among members

of the family. As far as the use of Standard Urdu is concerned, all occupational groups report its use more in friendship networks than in other networks. (Table 3.5).

Conclusion

To sum up, we may draw the following conclusions regarding the patterns of language use and group differences as far as the interaction in close interaction networks is concerned.

(i) The use of Dakkhini Urdu is predominantly high in all interaction networks, of Kannada comparatively very low and of Standard Urdu in the middle range. The highest percentage of use is accounted for by the 'always', 'sometimes' and 'never' points of the scale in the case of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada respectively.

(ii) The use of Standard Urdu in friendship networks and of Standard Urdu and Kannada in interaction networks of children raise interesting issues of language competence and language acquisition which need further investigation.

(iii) The categories of age, education and occupation are variably significant in characterising the differences among respondents regarding the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in various networks. Thus, educational and occupational groups show significant differences in the use of Dakkhini Urdu in all networks, and age and occupational groups in the use of Kannada in all networks except interaction among children. The group differences with respect to age, education and occupation are found in the use of Standard Urdu only in selected networks.

(iv) The use of Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu increases as the respondents grow in age, and that of Kannada shows an opposite trend.

(v) The use of Dakkhini Urdu goes down as the educational level goes up and that of Standard Urdu and Kannada shows an opposite trend.

(vi) The professionals are distinguished from other groups by less use of Dakkhini Urdu in general and more use of Standard Urdu and Kannada in some interaction networks.

CHAPTER 4

THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE USE IN FAMILY

Introduction

This chapter presents analysis of attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in four role-relationships in the family. The role-relationships include interaction with wife and children, relatives, friends and other Hindi-Urdu speakers. The last role-relationship has not been considered relevant in the study of attitudes towards the use of Kannada.

The attitudes towards the use of the three languages have been compared with patterns of their actual use. Two assumptions have been made for the purpose of comparison. First, the attitudes towards the use of the languages in question in interaction with wife and children have been considered comparable with the actual language use in the family network. We would have also taken into consideration the interaction with family members of relatives for the purpose of comparison. We have not done this for two reasons. In the first place this would have involved calculation of average response regarding attitudes towards language use in two role-relationships of family and children and of relatives. Secondly, we did not find much difference in the patterns of response regarding attitudes towards language use in these two role-relationships. The other assumption concerns the comparability of the scales from the point of view of response. Thus, the response regarding actual language use is in terms of frequency and regarding attitudes towards language use is in terms of agreement-disagreement. We have assumed that 'strongly favour' corresponds to 'always', 'no opinion to 'sometimes' and strongly oppose' to 'No use' at all. An ideal procedure would have been to take the number of respondents who 'always' use the languages and see how they are distributed with regard to the five-points scale of attitudes and similarly in the case of other frequencies in relation to attitudes. As this involves statistical analysis in greater details, it will be taken up at a later stage.

27

Patterns of Attitudes towards Language Use

We can make the following points regarding patterns of
attitudes towards language use in the four role-relationships on
the basis of percentage distribution in Table 4.1. First, the
respondents strongly favour the use of Standard Urdu in all re-
lationships. The percentage of respondents who have 'no
opinion' or who 'strongly oppose' is almost negligible. Only
8.2% respondents 'oppose' the Standard Urdu in interaction
with wife and children. Secondly, the attitudes towards the use
of Dakkhini Urdu shows an apposite trend to the above. There
is not only a less percentage of respondents who 'strongly favour'
its use, but also a more percentage of respondents 'oppose' its
use in comparison to Standard Urdu. There seems to be more
opposition to the use of Dakkhini Urdu in interaction with Hindi-
Urdu speakers. The highly favourable attitudes towards the
use of Standard Urdu in comparison to Dakkhini Urdu raises
an interesting question. It might be asked whether the acceptance
of Standard Urdu as a super-posed variety would displace the
use of Dakkhini Urdu in the close role-relationship after a cer-
tain period of time. It is true that Dakkhini Urdu has existed
for about one thousand years. But the pressures of Standard
Urdu has been felt more strongly during the last 50 years than
before due to social and political reasons. It would therefore
be interesting to study whether the increasing use of Standard
Urdu for social and educational reasons under the changed con-
ditions will displace the use of Dakkhini Urdu or both will co-
exist with their complementary functions. This issues has been
discussed further in chapter 7.

As regards attitudes towards the use of Kannada, it is quite
clear that the respondents do not highly favour it. The respon-
dents who 'oppose' and 'strongly oppose' together constitute
about 75%, whereas only about 10% of them 'favour' its use
in the three role-relationships. About 12% to 14% of the res-
pondents have 'no opinion'. If we compare the range of atti-
tudes towards the use of Standard Urdu and Kannada, it is quite
clear that the Dakkhini Urdu speakers want to retain their iden-
tity with the Urdu speaking community. This will become fur-
ther clear in chapter 8.

Group Differences in Attitudes towards Language Use

The one-way analysis of variance does not show any signifi
cant differences in age, educational or occupational groups

However, we can make some observations on the trends in attitudes towards the use of the languages under consideration in relation to age, education and occupation.

As regards age, the percentage of respondents who have favourable attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in all role-relationships decreases as the age of the respondents increases. As a corollary to this, the percentage of negative response goes up with the increase in age. Thus, 65.86% respondents from the age group below 25 years favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu for interaction with wife and children (Table 4.2). The corresponding percentage for the age group above 40 years is 59.02%. An opposite trend can be noticed in attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in all role-relationships. However, there is not much difference between the age group between 25-40 years and above 40 years of age. In fact, the response of the third age group is slightly less than that of the second group. But both these age groups favour the use of Standard Urdu more than the age group below 25 years of age.

The interaction with Hindi-Urdu speakers differs from interaction in other role-relations in terms of hearer competence. This point emerges clearly in the range of positive and negative attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in relation to age. Thus, while in the age group below 25 years 56.10% favour and 34.14% oppose the use of Dakkhini Urdu in interaction with Hindi-Urdu speakers, the corresponding percentages for the age group above 40 years are 27.87% and 63.94% respectively.

As regards the attitudes towards Kannada, the first two age groups i.e., below 25 years and between 25-40 years, show similar range of favourable and negative attitudes. The third age group i.e., above 40 years shows slightly less favourable and more negative attitudes in comparison to the other two age groups.

Though age group differences are not significant in terms of one-way analysis of variance, it might be asked whether the highly favourable attitudes of older generation respondents towards the use of Standard Urdu would influence the younger generation and ultimately lead to shift in the use of Dakkhini Urdu.

The educational groups do not show much differences as regards their attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu (Table 4.3). The highly educated group shows a slightly higher per-

centage of 'no opinion' and opposition in comparison to other two groups. Similarly the percentage of response at the 'strongly favour' point of the scale is less in the case of highly educated respondents than found in the other two groups. However, there does not seem to be much difference in the range of overall positive attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu.

The attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu show a similar pattern as found in the case of Standard Urdu. The highly educated group favours the use of Dakkhini Urdu less than the other groups. The respondents with high school and below graduation qualification report in higher percentages in favour of Dakkhini Urdu than the other two groups.

As regards attitudes towards the use of Kannada, there seems to be some relationship between the attitudes and the educational level of the respondents. The educational group with below high school qualification shows less favourable attitudes towards the use of Kannada as seen from the percentages at the positive or negative points of the scale. The other two educational groups show the same range of both positive and negative attitudes. Thus, while among the first educational group about 60% respondents strongly oppose the use of Kannada with wife and children, the corresponding percentages among the highly educated group is 40% only.

In considering the differences among occupation groups we may compare language use in interaction with wife and children and Hindi-Urdu speakers. (Table 4.4). Among all groups a higher percentage of respondents favour the use of Standard Urdu in interaction with Hindi-Urdu speakers than with wife and children, though the difference between the two is not very wide. Similarly, among all groups except office-goers a higher percentage of respondents favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu in interaction with wife and children than with Hindi-Urdu speakers. However, the difference in the use of Dakkhini Urdu in the two interaction situations is greater than in the case of Standard Urdu. Thus, in interaction with Hindi-Urdu speakers the use of Standard Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu differs from their use in interaction with wife and children. Secondly the office-goers show less favourable attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in interaction with wife and children in comparison to other groups. Similarly they show more favourable attitudes towards the use of Kannada followed by professionals, students and teachers. The workers among the occupation groups have

the highest percentage of respondents against the use of Kannada. However, as pointed out earlier the differences among the occupation groups are not significant in terms of one-way analysis of variance.

Comparison of Actual Use with Attitudes towards Use

Keeping the assumptions in mind as made in the beginning of the chapter, we can made the following observations regarding the comparison of the actual use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada with attitudes towards their use. The most striking fact about the comparison is the contrasting situation observed regarding Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu (Table 4.5). While 71.04% respondents actually use Dakkhini Urdu 'always' in the family, only 22.40% 'strongly favour' its use. As opposed to this, while 5.46% actually use standard Urdu 'always'. 54.65% 'strongly favour' its use. The same contrast is observed at the next point of the scale, though not to the same degree. This contrast also holds for the interaction in friendship networks. It clearly shows the situation in which the use of Standard Urdu could displace the use of Dakkhini Urdu leading to its loss. However, whether this will take place within any period of time or whether both will co-exist for a long time to come will be decided in the course of history.

A similar contrast can be noticed in the actual use of Kannada and attitudes towards its use. For instance only 1.64%, use Kannada 'quite often' while 10.38% are in 'favour' of its use in the family interaction network. The same holds - true for the friendship network. This indicates that the use of Kannada may increase in future which may reflect the pressure that the minority community faces under the dominant use of majority language. This is quite clear from the instrumental function of Kannada. (See Chapter 8).

A final observation concerns group differences in terms of age, education and occupation. As discussed in Chapter 3 groups defined in terms of these categories show significant differences according to one-way analysis of variance in the use of Dakkini and Standard Urdu. However, all groups behaving alike in their attitudes towards use may be motivated by symbolic significance of language for social status and group identity. It is also possible that in reporting about the actual use of Standard Urdu the respondents might have been unconsciously influenced by

the highly favourable attitudes towards its use. If this is so, the relation between actual use and attitudes towards use seems to be a complex empirical problem.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can make the following concluding statements regarding the attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in family:

(i) All the categories of respondents have highly favour-
able attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in
comparison to Dakkhini Urdu.

(ii) The highly favourable attitudes toward Standard Urdu
do not imply any displacement of Dakkhini Urdu,
though such an eventuality cannot be entirely ruled out
in future depending upon the symbolic function of
Standard Urdu.

(iii) Though the categories of age, education and occupation
do not show any significant differences in terms of
analysis of variance, there seems to be some associa-
tion between these categories and attitude towards lan-
guage use. Thus, highly educated older generation res-
pondents have more favourable attitudes towards the
use of Standard Urdu than Dakkhini Urdu. Similarly,
the highly educated respondents show more favourable
attitudes towards Kannada than low educated respon-
dents.

(iv) The attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu and
Dakkhini Urdu present an entirely opposite picture of
the actual use of these languages. A similar contrast
between attitudes and actual use is noticed in the case
of Kannada. though the difference between the two is
not so wide.

(v) Though the categories of age, education and occupation
show significant group difference in varying degree in
terms of variance analysis in the actual use of Standard
Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu, they do not manifest any
significant differences in the attitudes towards the use
of these languages. This may be possibly because of
uniform symbolic significance of these languages for
all groups.

CHAPTER 5

THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE
USE IN EDUCATION

Introduction

In this chapter we present analysis and interpretation of attitudes towards use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada at the primary, high school and college levels of education. The question of language use in education has assumed a great significance in the last two to three decades because of its far-reaching implications for the edcational performance and mental growth of children, the development of language structure and its extension in use in the context of language planning and the group cohesiveness and social identity in the context of language maintenance and shift processes. The present study focuses on the attitudes of the minority towards the majority languages as well as Standard Urdu.

A distinction has been made between the use of language as a medium for teaching all subjects and its teaching as a subject in school at the three levels of education as far as Standard Urdu and Kannada are concerned. The underlying assumption has been that highly favourable attitudes towards Standard Urdu as medium would imply a greater emphasis on group identity, while towards Kannada medium a greater degree of assimilation on the majority community. As Dakkhini Urdu has no place at all in the school curriculum, the questions regarding attitudes toward it had different implications. First, it was decided to explore how fare people prefer the teaching of Dakkhini Urdu as a subject if it was so planned in future. This question was intended to find out whether the native speakers want to develop their own variety as distinct from Standard Urdu. This is related to some other similar questions dealt with in chapter 7. Secondly, it was decided to investigate whether the use of Dakkhini Urdu in the class-room in teaching Standard Urdu in particular and other subjects in general was considered as an appropriate pedaogical strategy since the children speak it as their mother tongue. This question is related to the study of the common belief that the use of Dakkhini Urdu is a handicap in speaking Standard Urdu correctly which has been explored in chapter 9.

Patterns of Attitudes towards Language use in Education

The attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu and Kannada as medium of instruction show the following significant facts (Table 5.1). First, a very high percentage of respondents favour the use of Standard Urdu as medium as opposed to Kannada at all levels of education. This seems to indicate the fact that Dakkhini Urdu speakers want to maintain their separate identity by the use of Standard Urdu medium in education. If any attempt is made to impose Kannada medium on minority children, there may be a strong resistance to it by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. Second, from 4 to 5 times more respondents 'strongly favour' the use of Standard Urdu medium at the primary level than those who simply 'favour' it. The marked difference in percentages at 'strongly favour' and 'favour' points of the scale clearly indicates the definiteness and certainty with which the Dakkhini Urdu speakers prefer the use of Standard Urdu as medium for education. The same marked difference in the range of negative attitudes towards Kannada medium is not found. This might be an indication of the fact that people may not like to identify themselves as having strong opposition to any issue unless there is such a social trend that warrants for an extreme opinion on the matter. However, the total number of respondents who 'oppose' and who 'strongly oppose' Kannada as medium of instruction clearly indicates that the majority language has a limited role in education for the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. Finally, the attitudes towards Standard Urdu as medium of instruction show a definite relationship with the level of education. The percentage of respondents who 'strongly favour' Standard Urdu medium at the primary level goes down as the educational level goes up. Thus 75.96% and 49.18% 'strongly favour' Standard Urdu at the primary and college levels respectively. The opposite holds true in the case of respondents who 'oppose' or 'strongly oppose' Standard Urdu medium, though the percentage is very small. The relationship between attitudes towards Standard Urdu medium and the level of education seems to reflect the general trend in the use of Indian languages in education in comparison to English as it has been shown in the findings of languages use survey in Himachal Pradesh.

A different pattern is found in the attitudes towards teaching of Standard Urdu and Kannada as subject in the curriculam. A higher percentage of respondents favour the teaching of Standard Urdu as a subject than the use of Urdu medium at all levels of education. However, the decline in the percentage of response in relation to level of education is not so sharp in this case as in the case of Urdu medium. It might therefore be said that

there is more agreement about teaching of Urdu as a subject than its use as medium, particularly at the graduate level of education. Secondly, respondents favour the teaching of Kannada as a subject more than its use as a medium. The percentages at both the 'strongly favour' and 'favour' points of scale account for 60% to 80% respondents. The maximum number of respondents favour the teaching of Kannada as a subject at the high school level than at other levels. Thus, it would appear that if the majority language is to be introduced in the education of minority children, it should be taught as a subject rather than used as a medium, and the most appropriate stage would be high school or from middle classes onward to completion of high school.

The attitudes towards teaching of Dakkhini Urdu as a subject show a contrast with attitudes towards teaching of Standard Urdu and Kannada as a subject. Only 33% to 36% of respondents favour teaching of Dakkhini Urdu as a subject when the response at the 'strongly favour' and 'favour points of the scale is merged. There could be various reasons for this. First, Dakkhini Urdu is mainly spoken variety and is not considered adequate for writing and teaching, though there has been some attempts to use it in some forms of literature. The attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in literature and scientific writings support this assumption. (see chap. 7). Second, as Standard Urdu is accepted as a supra-local variety for education, administration, mass communication and group identity and solidarity, the local variety does not get any high priority for use and development. Finally, the teaching of Kannada as a subject has more relevance than Dakkhini Urdu for the minority community from the view-point of both interactional and instrumental purposes.

The use of Dakkhini Urdu in the class-room for teaching Standard Urdu and other subjects is almost equally favoured by more than 60% of respondents on merging the response on the two positive points of the scale. This clearly indicates the relevance of using mother tongue in the class-room as a pedagogical device. However, the nature and amount of disadvantages children undergo in the educational process if Dakkhini Urdu is not used at all in the class-room, or the interfering or facilitating affect it might have on the acquisition of Standard Urdu and other subjects if it is used in the class-room, provide an interesting area of research for further investigation.

Group Differences in Attitudes towards Language Use

The one-way analysis of variance shows that the education and occupation groups differ significantly in most cases as regards

attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu, Kannada and Dakk-hini Urdu at various levels of education. The age groups differ only with regard to attitudes towards teaching of Kannada as a subject at the high school and college levels and Dakkhini Urdu as a subject at the primary level. The fact that the education and occupation groups differ significantly in most cases in attitudes towards language use in education as well as other domains shows two importants facts. First, it seems that the level of education and profession plays a far more crucial role in the genesis and consolidation of attitudes than age. Second, the different education and occupation groups seem to have the different interests at stake as regards their attitudes towards language use in education. This point will become clear in the discussion below.

As regards age, the age group above 40 years favours teaching of Kannada as a subject at the high school and college level more than the other two age groups (Table 5.5). An opposite trend can be noticed in the age-groups difference as regards teaching of Dakkhini Urdu as a subject at the primary level. Thus, older generation respondents have more favourable attitudes towards teaching of Kannada as a subject than Dakkhini Urdu.

The education groups show significant difference in attitudes towards Standard Urdu as medium of instruction at all levels, and its teaching as subject only at the high school level. (Table 5.2). The below graduation group shows more favourable attitudes towards Urdu medium than the low educated or highly educated group. (Table 5.4). The highly educated group has less favourable attitudes towards it than the other two groups. The difference between the highly educated group and the other two education groups is more prominent in the case of attitudes towards using Urdu medium at the graduate level. For instance, 93.75% and 75% respondents from below high school group favour Urdu medium at the primary and college levels respectively, whereas the corresponding percentages in the case of highly educated group are 87.88% and 48.48% respectively. The highly educated respondents not only show a low range of positive attitudes in comparison to other groups, but also a fair percentage of them have 'No opinion' or negative attitudes. It is therefore possible to make two observation on the basis of the above pattern. First, though the education groups differ significantly in attitudes towards Urdu medium at primary level, they all want Urdu medium at the primary level as indicated by the high percentage of respondents from all groups. This seems to be

quite expected as the question of language medium at the primary level has more significance for group identity and educational performance. Second, the use of Standard Urdu medium at the college level does not seem to fulfil the aspirations of highly educated middle and upper class people, whereas the low educated people may attach more importance to Standard Urdu even at this level. As regards teaching of Urdu as a subject is concerned, these two observations do not hold good. Whether the education groups differ significantly as in attitudes towards teaching Urdu at the high school level, or do not differ in the case of other two levels, a very high percentage of respondents from all groups uniformly want the teaching of Urdu as a subject. Some differences and similarities can be noticed in the group differences in their attitudes towards Kannada as medium and as subject in comparison to Standard Urdu. Thus the education groups do not differ significantly in their attitudes towards teaching of Kannada at any level, but differ significantly regarding Kannada medium. The difference in attitudes towards Kannada medium is in terms of opposition, and the highly educated group shows less opposition to it than the other two groups. Thus, while hundred percent respondents from below high school group have negative attitudes towards Kannada medium at the primary level, this percentage comes down to 65.15% in the case of highly educated groups. Though the opposition is slightly less in the case of Kannada medium at the high school level, the difference in the range of opposition in relation to the levels of education is marginal.

While all education groups are against Kannada medium, they are very much in favour of teaching Kannada as a subject. The below graduation group has slightly less favourable attitudes to Kannada teaching than the other groups. However, all groups equally favour teaching of Kannada more at the high school level than at the primary or college level. The teaching of Kannada at the college level is favoured less in comparison to other two levels.

As regards Dakkhini Urdu, the education groups differ significantly in its teaching as a subject at all levels and in its use in the class-room in teaching subjects other than Standard Urdu (Table 5.2). They however show a constrasting trend in attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu as a subject and its use in the class-room. While the below high school group has less favourable attitudes towards teaching Dakkhini Urdu, it favours its use in the class-room more as compared to the attitudes of the other

two groups. Thus, while 12.50% of respondents from below high school group want Dakkhini Urdu to be taught at the primary level, and 78.12% to be used in teaching all subjects, the corresponding percentages for the highly educated group are 37.88%, and 53.03% respectively.

In short, it appears on the whole that the highly educated group can be distinguished from the low educated group in terms of less favourable attitudes towards Standard Urdu medium, less opposition to Kannada medium, more favourable attitudes towards teaching of Dikkhini Urdu as a subject and less favourable attitudes towards its use in the class-room.

The occupation groups differ significantly with regard to attitudes towards Standard Urdu as a medium and its teaching as a subject at the high school and college levels (Table 5.2). All groups uniformly support in a high percentage the use of Standard Urdu at the primary level. As regards Urdu medium at the high school and college levels, the professionals and office-goers have less favourable attitudes than the other groups. For instance, 90% students and 85% teachers favour Urdu medium at the college level. but the percentages for the professionals and office-goers are respectively 43.25% and 55%. The Urdu medium is favoured less at the college level than other levels, as in the case of education groups or the total respondent as a whole. As regards teaching of Urdu as a subject. though the occupation groups differ significantly with regard to two levels as mentioned above, they all favour it in high percentage.

As in the case of education groups, all occupation groups oppose Kannada medium, but favour its teaching as a subject more at the high school level than at other levels. They differ significantly in their attitudes towards Kannada medium at the primary level and its teaching at the high school and college levels. As regards Kannada medium at the primary level, students, teachers and professionals show less opposition than other groups and as regards teaching of Kannada at the high school level teachers. professionals and businessmen have more favourable attitudes than other groups. Thus, the professionals can be distinguished from other groups in terms of less opposition to Kannada as medium, but more favour to its teaching as a subject at the high school level.

The occupation groups differ significantly in the attitudes towards teaching of Dakkhini Urdu at all levels and its use in the class-room in teaching Standard Urdu. The students and

teachers favour the teaching of Dakkhini Urdu more **than all**
other groups. However, the professionals have less **favourable**
attitudes towards using Dakkhini Urdu in the class-room than
all other groups (Table 5.5). Thus, again the professionals can
be distinguished from all other groups in terms of less favourable
attitudes towards teaching of Dakkhini Urdu and its use in the
class-room.

Conclusion

To sum up, we can draw the following conclusions regarding
attitudes towards language use in education:

(i) All the categories of respondents have highly favourable
   attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu as medium
   at the primary level than at the college level.

(ii) The teaching of Standard Urdu as a subject is strongly
   favoured by all categories of respondents at all levels of
   education.

(iii) The respondents have more favourable attitudes towards
   teaching of Standard Urdu as subject than its use as
   medium in general.

(iv) The respondents do not favour Kannada medium at any
   level of education. However, they strongly favour the
   teaching of Kannada as subject at all levels, more parti-
   cularly at the high school level than at the primary or
   college level.

(v) The teaching of Dakkhini Urdu as subject is not very
   much favoured partly because it is not adequately deve-
   loped and partly because Standard Urdu has been
   accepted as a superposed variety for education. How-
   ever, a higher percentage of respondents are in favour
   of using it as a pedagogical principle in teaching standard
   Urdu and other subjects.

(vi) The age groups do not show any significant difference
   in their attitudes towards language use in general.

(vii) The education groups differ significantly in their attitudes
   towards Standard Urdu medium, Kannada medium and
   teaching of Dakkini Urdu as subject at all levels of

education. The highly educated group can be distinguished from the low educated group in terms of less favourable attitudes towards Standard Urdu medium, particularly at the college level, less opposition to Kannada medium, more favourable attitudes towards teaching of Dakkhini Urdu, but less favourable attitudes in its use for teaching various subjects.

(viii) The occupation groups differ significantly in their attitudes towards the teaching of Standard Urdu, Kannada and Dakkhini Urdu as subjects and the use of Standard Urdu as a medium at the high school and college levels mainly. The professionals can be distinguished from other groups in terms of less favourable attitudes towards the Standard Urdu medium at the college level, the teaching of Dakkhini Urdu as well as its use in the class-room and in terms of less opposition to Kannada as medium but more favour for teaching it as subject.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE USE IN
MASS-COMMUNICATION

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of language use in mass-communication networks such as radio. film. newspapers and journals, and Musharia in Standard Urdu and Kannada. The purpose of studying the patterns of langugae use in mass-communication networks was two-fold. First, we wanted to find out how far the Dakkhini Urdu speakers were exposed to Standard Urdu in these networks. This was considered complementary to the use of Standard Urdu in the family. Second, it would be possible to find out whether mass-communication networks in Kannada performed any significant function in the lives of the minority speakers.

The present study of the language use in mass-communication networks is general in framework and has certain limitations. We have not studied whether the Dakkhini Urdu speakers listen to specific kinds of radio programmes in Standard Urdu and Kannada broadcast from various stations or whether they read specific kinds of newspapers, weekly and other periodicals and books in these languages. Similarly, we have not studied whether they have their own radio sets or buy their reading material. The focus of the present study was to find out general trends in the utilization of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada.

As there are no films in Standard Urdu as such. we have considered how far the Dakkhini Urdu speakers go to Hindi-Urdu moves as opposed to Kannada movies. Apart from mass-communication networks such as radio, film and newspapers and journals. we have included a question on the literary and cultural tradition of Mushaira in Standard Urdu. As Mushaira may be considered to have implications for identity formation and social status. it was thought proper to study how far the Dakkhini Urdu speakers attend cultural activities.

Patterns in the use of Mass-Communication Networks

The patterns of response regarding the utilization of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada show the following important facts. (Table 6.1). First, the Dakkhini Urdu speakers make more use of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu than in Kannada. This is particularly so when we compare the percentages of 'always' and 'very often' or rarely and 'never' points of the scale. Thus, while 37.70% 'always' and 3.28% 'never' listen to radio programmes in Standard Urdu. the corresponding percentages for Kannada are 1.09% and 42.08% respectively. However, a fairly large number of respondents occasionally listen to radio programmes in Kannada. Thus, 28.41% respondents 'sometimes' listen to radio programmes in Kannada as opposed to 32.79% who do so in Standard Urdu. The significance of this percentage depends on what we mean by 'sometimes' in terms of the scale. Second, as regards networks, the Dakkhini Urdu speakers make use of the printed medium more than other networks. This could be possibly because the printed medium has more hold on the people than the oral medium or because the expectations of people are fulfilled more by the printed than the oral medium. Whatever the reason. it seems interesting to note that two or three local daily newspapers in Standard Urdu and daily, weekly and monthly journals published in Bangalore have quite a good circulation among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. Next to reading. both radio and Mushaira seem to be equally popular in general, though there are slight variations in percentages in relation to 'always' and 'very often' points of the scale. Films occupy third place. Third, as regards networks in Kannada, the respondents make use of radio networks, if we consider the percentages on 'sometimes' point of the scale for comparison. Since radio listening is not constrained by the reading skills in language, the potential utility of Kannada programmes can be augmented for the Dakkhini Urdu speakers.

Patterns of Group Differences in the Utilisation of Networks

The one-way analysis of variance shows a contrasting pattern to a large extent regarding group differences in the use of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada. Thus, the education and occupation groups do not show significant differences in the use of radio and film networks in standard Urdu, while significant differences are found in these networks in Kannada. (Table 6.2). In the case of printed medium both the education and occupation groups show significant differences in the case of both Standard Urdu and Kannada. However, the age groups differ significantly in the use of radio and

reading networks in Standard Urdu, but do not show any difference in the case of these networks in Kannada. The opposite holds true for film networks as age groups differ significantly in the case of Kannada, but not Standard Urdu. Thus, the group differences show a contrasting pattern in the use of various networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada.

Though age groups differ significantly in the utilization of radio and reading networks in Standard Urdu, and do not differ so in the case of other two networks, all groups show a contrasting pattern in the four networks in terms of the frequency distribution of percentages (Table 6.3). Thus, the percentage of respondents who read newspapers, periodicals and books in Standard Urdu goes up as the age of the respondents increases. In the age group above 40 years 83.60% respondents report reading, whereas for the age group below 25 years the percentage is only 56.09%. Whether this is due to lack of knowledge and competence of Standard Urdu or some other reasons needs some empirical investigation, though the former reason seems to be likely on subjective opinion of some community members. A similar trend can be noted in the case of Mushaira and radio networks i.e. a higher percentage of respondents from age group above 40 years listen to radio or attend Mushaira than from age group below 25 years. However, the difference between the two age groups tends to become marginal when the percentages of 'always' and 'quite often' points of the scale are merged as in Table 6.3. While an increasing number of respondents from age group above 40 years make use of reading, Mushaira and radio networks in Standard Urdu as opposed to other age groups, the opposite holds true for going to films. Thus while 70.73% respondents from below 25 years age group go to movies, the percentage for the age group above 40 years is only 50.81.% It is difficult to say whether this is a general phenomenon or specific to the Dakkhini Urdu speakers.

The contrasting patterns noted above in the age group differences in the utilization of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada become clear when we consider the frequency distribution of percentages. Thus, a higher percentage of respondents from below 25 years or between 25-40 years age groups make use of radio, film and reading networks in Kannada in comparison to the older generations respondents. However, it is the older generation respondents who make use of radio and reading networks in Standard Urdu more than other age groups.

Though education groups do not show significant differences in the use of networks in Standard Urdu except Mushaira, there seems to be some relation between level of education and the use of the network. The respondents from below graduation and graduation and above categories make use of the networks in Standard Urdu more than the respondents from below high school. Thus, 77.65% respondents from below graduation group read various materials in Standard Urdu, while the corresponding percentage for the below high school group is 68.75% (Table 6.4). This difference is particularly significant in the case of Mushaira as the percentages for the two groups are 67.05% and 37.50% respectively. It is interesting to note that 50% respondents from below high school group claim that the cultural activities like Mushaira may play a significant role in the social and political mobilization of Dakkhini Urdu speakers for the case of Standard Urdu.

A similar trend in media utilization is found in the case of Kannada. In other words it is the highly educated group that makes more use of Kannada media networks than the other two groups. This fits in well with the highly favourable attitudes towards Kannada of the highly educated group in comparison to other two groups as discussed in chapter 4 and 5.

As pointed out above the occupation groups show significant differences in all cases except film and radio networks in Standard Urdu. In the case of reading and Mushaira networks in Standard Urdu the highest percentage of teachers in comparison to other groups read newspapers and other material in Standard Urdu and attend Mushaira. The lowest percentage of respondents who make use of these networks are found among the students. The professionals find the second place in the use of Mushaira networks and third place in the case of reading networks.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that among the professionals some respondents were found to be very much competent in Kannada. One of them was an editor of a daily newspaper in Kannada. But such people are very few and on the whole the utilization of media networks in Kannada is very low among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers.

Conclusion

To sum up, the following facts seem to be significant regarding the patterns of utilization of mass-communication net-

works in Standard Urdu and Kannada by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers:

(i) The Dakkhini Urdu speakers make more use of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu than in Kannada. This may be mainly due to favourable attitude towards Standard Urdu.

(ii) The utilization of printed media in Standard Urdu is more than that of film and radio networks.

(iii) The age, education and occupation groups show significant differences in the case of some media networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada as well as a contrasting pattern in their utilization to a large extent.

(iv) As regards age, the higher the age the more is the utilization of reading, Mushaira and radio networks in Standard Urdu. However, it is the younger generation respondents who make more use of radio, film and reading networks in Kannada in comparison to older generation respondents.

(v) As regards education, the highly educated group makes more use of media networks in both Standard Urdu and Kannada than the low educated group in general.

(vi) Among the occupation groups the teachers, and professionals make more use of media networks in Standard Urdu, and the students make the least use. However, it is the students, apart from professionals, who make the most use of media networks in Kannada.

CHAPTER 7

THE ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT AND LANGUAGE USE IN LITERATURE AND COMMUNICATION

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data on attitudes towards the development of Dakkhini Urdu for literary and scientific writings and its use in creative writing, stage performance, Mushaira, public speech, local newspapers and radio-broadcast as against the use of Standard Urdu. The purpose of this study was two-fold. First, we wanted to explore whether the Dakkhini Urdu speakers want Dakkhini Urdu to develop as an alternative variety in place of Standard Urdu which has been accepted as a superposed variety. Secondly we were interested in finding out how far the use of Dakkhini Urdu is favoured in various domains. This would indicate whether both Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu would co-exist as regards their use in various domains or any one of them would take over the functions of another leading to language shift in the long run. Thus these two objectives were considered useful in throwing light on the processes of language identity, language development and language maintenance and loss.

Patterns of Attitudes towards Language Development and Language Use

The following points can be made on the basis of attitudes towards language use in different domains. (Table 7.1).

The Dakkhini Urdu speakers seem to be divided over the issue of the development of Dakkhini Urdu for literary and scientific writing. Though some writers have done some creative work in Dakkhini Urdu and want to widen its scope, there does not seem to be any concerted movement in its development and use. On merging the percentages of the two positive points and two negative points we find that 43.71% respondents consider that Dakkhini Urdu should be developed as an effective medium for creative writings in literature and science, 42.07% are against this and 14.22% have no opinion in the matter. This indicates that the Dakkhini Urdu speakers are equally divided

and do not want to take any definite position in favour of or against the development of Dakkhini Urdu. However, when we consider the attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu in creative writing, stage performance, Mushaira, public speech and local newspapers, we find that they favour Standard Urdu more than Dakkhini Urdu. This will be discussed below in details.

At present Dakkhini Urdu is not used in radio-broadcasts. The respondents were asked if they would like it to be used. A higher percentage of them are in its favour, though only 27.32% 'strongly favour' and 33.33% just 'favour' it.

As regards attitudes towards use in other contexts, when we compare the percentages regarding Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu on 'strongly favour' and 'favour' points of the scale separately. an interesting fact becomes clear. The comparison of percentages at the 'strongly favour' point shows that a higher percentage of respondents are in favour of Standard Urdu than Dakkhini Urdu. However, the comparison of percentages at the 'favour' point shows the opposite trend except in language use in local newspapers. For instance, 65.57% respondents 'strongly favour and 28.12% 'favour' the use of Standard Urdu in public speech, whereas the corresponding percentages for Dakkhini Urdu are 12.57% and 31.69% respectively. One more observation need to be made here in respect of the other points of scale. The percentage of respondents, who have 'no opinion' or who 'oppose' or 'strongly oppose', is higher in the case of Dakkhini Urdu than Standard Urdu in all contexts. For instance. 32.24% 'oppose' the use of Dakkhini Urdu in public speech, whereas the corresponding percentage for Standard Urdu is only 1.09%.

We can draw two conclusions on the basis of the facts pointed out above. First, a clear contrast in attitudes is found between Standard Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu on the 'strongly favourable' and 'favour' points of the scale. This provides a strong case for the utility of using five-point scale for research into attitudes. Secondly, though a substantial percentage of respondents are against the use of Dakkhini Urdu, the percentages at the 'favour' points of the scale support its use more than Standard Urdu. This indicates that Dakkhini Urdu speakers would not like to give up Dakkhini Urdu and both Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu might co-exist in various domains for a long time to come, though it has been noticed in the previous chapters that they have very highly favourable attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in family and education.

Two comments are necessary regarding attitudes towards use of Dakkhini Urdu in various contexts. First, the respondents have expressed the view in informal discussion that they consider the use of Dakkhini Urdu to be appropriate for humorous effect or for some jokes and funny remarks within the Standard Urdu play. Similarly they hold that in Mushaira and public speeches Dakkhini Urdu may be used in light, comic poems or in casual remarks to gain rapport with the local audience. This explains why there is slightly less opposition and more favour towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in stage performance and Mushaira than in creative, public speech or local newspapers. Secondly, the use of Dakkhini Urdu is favoured more in oral medium than in the written medium. Thus, a higher percentage of respondents want it to be used in radio broadcasts than in local newspapers or in creative writing. Its use in stage performance, Mushaira and public speech occupies an intermediate position. Thus, the use of Dakkhini Urdu is considerd appropriate for oral communication and for comic and humourous effect in informal or semi-formal contexts, whereas that of Standard Urdu for both oral and written communication in formal and public settings.

As there are no strict norms against mixing the use of Dakkhini Urdu with Standard Urdu in comic stage performance or in public speeches or radio-broadcasts for humorous effect, it may ensure the co-existence of both varieties for a long time to come.

Group Difference in Attitudes towards Language Development and Language Use

A one-way analysis of variance does not show any significant age group differences except in the use of Standard Urdu in public speech (Table 7.2). However, two trends can be observed in attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu in various contexts in relation to the age groups (Table 7.3). First, the percentage of respondents who favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu declines as the age of the respondents goes up. Thus, 56.09% respondents form age group below 25 years favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing, whereas the corresponding percentages for age-groups between 25-40 years and above 40 years are 40.74% and 27.87% respectively. The opposite holds true for the attitudes towards Standard Urdu. Thus the percentages for the three age-groups, below 25 years, between 25-40 years and above 40 years are 82.92%, 96.30% and 98.36% respectively. This contrasting pattern in the attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu

in creative writing is also attested in the case of public speech, local newspapers as well as the development of Dakkhini Urdu with a slight, negligible deviation. The attitudes towards language use in stage performance. Mushaira and radio broadcast show a different pattern. In these situations the percentage of respondents who favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu or Standard Urdu increases as the age goes up, though the percentage among age group above 40 years is slightly lower than among age group between 25-40 years. Thus, 51.22%, 56.79% and 56.74 favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu in Mushaira among the three age groups, below 25 years, between 25-40 years and above 40 years respectively.

Secondly, when we consider the attitudes within a particular age-group towards language use in different contexts, we find that the age-group below 25 years reflects more or less similar range of favourable attitudes than the other two age-groups. For instance among the age group below 25 years the highest and the lowest percentages of respondents who favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing and local newspapers are 56.09% and 41.46%, respectively. However, among the age-group above 40 years the highest and lowest percentages are 56.74% and 18.04%, regarding the use of Dakkhini Urdu in Mushaira and local newspapers. Thus, the age-group above 40 years shows a wide range of difference in attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in different contexts. However, this range of variation in attitudes is not found in this age-group or any other age-groups towards the use of Standard Urdu in various contexts.

The education groups differ significantly in their attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing, stage performance. Mushaira, local newspapers and radio-broadcast. They do not show any significant differences in attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in these contexts, nor towards the development of Dakkhini Urdu.

The percentage distribution of respondents among the education groups shows a number of interesting facts. First. the below high school respondents are less in favour of the use of Dakkhini Urdu than the other two education groups. For instance. 40.63% below high school respondents want Dakkhini Urdu to be used in stage performance, whereas the corresponding percentage for the group graduation and above is 59.08%. This may be because the low educated respondents may consider Dakkhini Urdu as a symbol of low status. The two education groups, below graduation and graduation and above, do not

differ much in the range of attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in all settings except creative writing.

Secondly, an opposite trend in attitudes towards development of Dakkhini Urdu can be noticed among the education groups in relation to the above pattern. Thus, the below high school respondents are less in favour of the use of Dakkhini Urdu in different contexts, but more in favour of its development, whereas the graduation and above respondents are more in favour of its use in some contexts, but less in favour of its development.

A comparatively lower percentage of respondents among all the education groups in general favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing and local newspapers than in other contexts. For instance, 18.75%, 36.47% and 28.79% respondents among the three education groups respectively, below high school, below graduation, and graduation and above, are in favour of using Dakkhini Urdu in local newspapers, while the corresponding percentages for its use in stage performance are 40.63%, 54.12% and 59.08% respectively. Thus, the education groups seem to support the distinction made above regarding more favourable attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in oral, informal or semi-formal communication than in formal settings.

The occupation groups differ significantly only in their attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing and its development for literary and scientific writings. In this respect both the professionals and workers differ from other groups in that they favour the development of Dakkhini Urdu and its use in creative writing less than the other groups. Thus, 29.73% professionals and 21.05% workers favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing. The percentages in favour of the development of Dakkhini Urdu are 29.73% and 39.47% respectively. Though both the professionals and the workers have less favourable attitudes towards the development of Dakkhini Urdu and its use in creative writings, the reason for it may be different in both cases. As the professionals are likely to have more competence in Standard Urdu than the workers, they may consider the development of Dakkhini Urdu and its use in creative writing against their interest. The workers may however favour Dakkhini Urdu less as they may not consider it a symbol of status like Standard Urdu. In any case this explanation regarding the difference between the professionals and workers for having less favourable attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu requires some further investigation.

As opposed to the professionals and workers the students have highly favourable attitudes towards the development of Dakkhini Urdu and its use in creative writing. For instance 60% of them are in favour of its development and 70% want it to be used in creative writing. The teachers, office-goers and businessmen fall in the intermediate position.

All the occupation groups have equally highly favourable attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in the contexts under consideration. Similarly they do not differ as regards their attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in stage performance, Mushaira, public speech and local newspapers. However, except students all groups favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu in local newspapers less than in other contexts. Thus, 55% students want it to be used in local papers, whereas the percentages for teachers, office-goers, businessmen, professionals and workers are 31.43%, 25%, 27.13% and 26.31% respectively. But these groups favour the use of Dakkhini Urdu more in other contexts. For instance, 67.57% and 54.05% professionals want it to be used in stage performance and radio broadcast. The use of Dakkhini Urdu in public speech is favoured more in comparison to local newspapers, but less in comparison to other contexts. Thus, the occupation groups like the education groups seem to support the use of Dakkhini Urdu more in contexts which involve oral, informal or semi-formal communication.

Conclusion

To sum up, the following facts seem to be significant regarding the attitudes towards language use and language development:

(i) The Dakkhini Urdu speakers seem to be neutral regarding the development of Dakkhini Urdu. Only the occupational groups differ significantly in this respect. Among them the professionals and workers favour the development of Dakkhini Urdu less than other groups, though it may be for different reasons.

(ii) The people strongly favour the use of Standard Urdu in creative writing, stage performance, Mushaira, public speech and local newspaper in comparison to Dakkhini Urdu. This shows the acceptance of Standard Urdu as a super-posed variety for both oral and written communication.

(iii) At the 'strongly favour' point of the scale the Dakkhini Urdu speakers are in favour of Standard Urdu more than Dakkhini Urdu, whereas at the 'favour' point of the scale

the opposite holds true except for their use in local news-papers. This indicates that Dakkhini Urdu might co-exist with Standard Urdu in some contexts as it becomes clear from favourable attitudes towards its use.

(iv) The use of Dakkhini Urdu is considerd to be more desi-rable in stage performance, Mushaira, radio-broadcast and public speech for restricted purposes than in creative writing and local newspapers. Thus, its use is preferr-ed only for oral communication.

(v) The age-groups do not differ significantly. However, as the age of the respondents increases, they have more fa-vourable attitudes towards Standard Urdu and less fav-ourable towards Dakkhini Urdu regarding their use in some contexts. Again, the attitudes towards Standard Urdu seem to be more or less uniform within age-gro-ups, whereas this does not hold for Dakkhini Urdu.

(vi) The education groups differ significantly in their attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing, stage performance, Mushaira, local newspapers and radio-broadcast. In general highly educated people are more in favour of the use of Dakkhini Urdu in these contexts than the low educated people.

(vii) The education groups do not differ significantly as re-gards the development of Dakkhini Urdu. However, the low educated respondents are more in favour of its de-velopment than the highly educated respondents.

(viii) As the Dakkhini Urdu speakers are in favour of the use of Dakkhini Urdu for restricted purposes, but are not committed to its development, it might be said that they want to retain it as an identity symbol at the local level but do not want it to take over the functions of Standard Urdu.

(ix) The workers and the professionals have less favourable response regarding the development of Dakkhini Urdu and its use in creative writing. The students show the highest response in this respect. All the groups have equally highly favourable attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu in stage performance, Mushaira and public speech. As regards local news-papers, all groups have highly favourable attitudes to-wards the use of Standard Urdu, but have less favourable attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu except the students.

CHAPTER 8

IDENTITY STATUS AND INSTRUMENTAL FUNCTIONS OF LANGUAGE

Introduction

This chapter explores the symbolic significance of language for identity, social status and prestige and instrumental functions with respect to Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada. The question of language identity has been studied at regional and national level with regard to the functions of these languages. As Standard Urdu is accepted as a super-posed variety for education, literature and mass-communication, it was thought proper to study how far it is considered as a symbol of identity with the Muslims in other parts of the country. At the local level we were interested in finding out how far Dakkhini Urdu was valued as a significant symbol for separate identity with Muslims in other parts of the country. Again at the regional level we wanted to find out how far the increasing use of Kannada was considered as a threat to the distinctiveness of Dakkhini Urdu speakers as a community.

The symbolic functions of language for social status and prestige was studied with respect to Standard Urdu only. This was found relevant to understand the patterns of attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in family in particular and in other social contexts like public speech, education, literature etc., in general.

Finally, the instrumental function of language was studied to find out whether the Dakkhini Urdu speakers accord equal or different degree of importance to Standasd Urdu and Kannada and whether the perception of their significance fits in with the attitudes towards them with regard to their use and function in different contexts. It was thought that any dissonance that we might find in their perception of the instrumental and integrative functions of Standard Urdu will have implications for linguistic minorities. This will show the predicament in which the linguistic minorities find themselves and the kinds of language problems they face in the multilingual speech communities.

Symbolic significance of language

The Dakkhini Urdu speakers consider Standard Urdu as an unequivocal symbol of significance for identity with Muslims in other parts of the country (Table 8.1). More than 90%, respondents, on merging the response at 'strongly favour' and 'favour' points of scale consider it as a source of supra-local identity. With such a pervasive symbolic significance of Standard Urdu for identity, it is not surprising that the Dakkhini Urdu speakers have highly favourable attitudes towards its use in family, education, literature and mass-communication. Apart from its identity function, they consider it as a marker of social status and prestige. This could be the result of the use of Standard Urdu in education, literature and mass-communication and its control by socially affluent and educated people in the community.

The function of Dakkhini Urdu in providing a separate identity to Dakkhini Urdu speakers distinct from Standard Urdu speakers in other parts of the country does not seem to be clearly marked. Only 26.23% respondents, 'strongly favour' it as a separate identity symbol and those who 'favour' it constitute 31.15%. Thus, more than 50% respondents seem to be in favour of Dakkhini Urdu as a separate identity token. However, 32.78% are against this view, and 9.84% have 'no opinion' in the matter. Though the majority seem to be in favour of Dakkhini Urdu as a separate identity symbol at the local level, the distribution of responses at the different points of the scales shows a fluid rather than any definitive view on the matter. There could be two reasons to account this. First, as Dakkhini Urdu is not used in literature, nor in education or mass-communication, it does not serve as a rallying point for a 'symbol of identity at the local level. Secondly, as the Dakkhini Urdu speakers have accepted Standard Urdu as a super-posted variety and consider it as a mark of social status, Dakkhini Urdu does not emerge as a strong symbol of identity in the context of intra and intergroup relation. The increasing use of Kannada in the family does not seem to have any threat to the distinctiveness of Dakkhini Urdu speakers as a community. While 43.17% respondents, on merging the response at the two positive points, consider that the increasing use of Kannada will disrupt their distinctiveness as a community, 40.98% respondents, on merging the negative points of the scale, hold the opposite view. 15.85% respondents have no opinion in the matter. This distribution of percentages offers a number of explanations. First, this may indicate the fact that the Dakkhini Urdu speakers recognise

the importance of Kannada in their interaction with the majority community as the pragmatic value of the majority language for the minority speakers cannot be ignored. The attitudes of the Dakkhini Urdu speakers towards teaching of Kannada as a subject (see chapter 5) and its instrumental function (see below) reflect the recognition of this fact. Secondly, as the Dakkhini Urdu speakers are distinguished from the majority Kannada community in terms of socio-cultural organisation, they may not consider the increasing use of Kannada as a threat to their identity. Further more, their identity is strengthened by the use of Standard Urdu. Thus, the increasing use of Kannada in the family may not have any disruptive effect on the local identity of Dakkhini Urdu speakers, though this possibility cannot be altogether ruled out under the pressure of the majority community or the instrumental value of its language (see below).

The consideration of the instrumental function of Standard Urdu and Kannada shows a paradoxical situation in which the Dakkhini Urdu speakers find themselves and which may be characteristic of all linguistic minorities in general. We have seen above that the Dakkhini Urdu speakers consider Standard Urdu as a potent symbol of supra-local identity and social status. It has also been shown that they have highly favourable attitudes towards its use in family, education, literature and mass-communication. Thus, the Standard Urdu has a great integrative function for them. However, it has a low value as far as its instrumental function is concerned as very few job opportunities are available to those who graduate in Urdu language and literature or who are educated through Urdu medium. For instance, only 22.40% respondents 'strongly' think that the knowledge of Urdu helps in getting jobs, 15.85% have 'no opinion' in the matter, and 28.22% think that it does not help them in getting jobs. On merging the percentages of the 'strongly favour' and 'favour' points of the scale we find that 58.47% respondents consider the knowledge of Standard Urdu to be helpful in getting jobs. However, this percentage is quite low as compared to the percentage of respondents who have highly favourable attitudes towards standard Urdu for group identity and social status as well as its use in education, literature and mass-communication. Thus, there seems to be some degree of dissonance in attitudes towards the integrative and instrumental functions of Standard Urdu. This dissonance becomes important when we consider the attitudes of the Dakkhini Urdu speakers towards the instrumental function of Kannada. For instance, 48.09% respondents 'strongly' think that Kannada should be made essential for getting jobs. On merging the two positive

points of the scale we find that this percentage goes up to 84.16%
This percentage compares well with the percentage of respon-
dents who want that Kannada should be taught as a subject in
the school (see Chapter 5). Here two comments are necessary
regarding the attitudes of the Dakkhini Urdu speakers towards
the instrumental function of Kannada and Standard Urdu. First,
it might be said that the attitudes of Dakkhini Urdu speakers
towards Kannada reflect the fact that the knowledge of Kannada
has been declared essential for getting any government jobs in
the Karnataka State. Alternatively it might be said that the
Dakkhini Urdu speakers recognize the utility of majority langu-
age and therefore not only want it to be taught as a subject
but also consider it essential for getting jobs. Secondly, as Stand-
ard Urdu has a low instrumental function, it may not only erode
its integrative function but also may create a sense of frustration
and alienation among the people educated in Urdu language and
literature. Thus, the minority community may be subject to
both internal and external pressures. It is in this context that
linguistic minorities need to be given not only equality of treat-
ment but also "a measure of differential treatment in order to
preserve the basic ethnic and linguistic characteristics which
they possess and which distinguish them from the majority of
population". (Verdoodt 1975 : 21).

Group Differences in Attitudes towards Symbolic Significance of Langauge

A one-way analysis of variance shows that age groups differ
significantly regarding the symbolic significance of Standard
Urdu for identity and social status only (Table 8.2.). However,
some trends in age-group differences can be seen on the basis of
the distribution of frequency percentages (Table 8.3.). Thus, a
higher percentage of respondents from age group above 40 years
consider Standard Urdu as a symbol of identity in comparison
to age-group 25 years. For instance. 51.22% respondents from
age group below 25 years strongly favour Standard Urdu as a
symbol of identity with Muslims in other parts of the country,
while the percentage for the age group above 40 years is 81.97%.
This difference is however reduced when the percentages of the
two positive points are merged. As regards the disintegrating
effect of the increasing use of Kannada on identity an opposite
trend can be noticed. Thus, the percentage of respondents who
consider the increasing use of Kannada as a threat to identity
goes down among the age group above 40 years in comparison
to age group below 25 years, though the difference between the

age groups is not significant in terms of one-way analysis of variance. No definite trend in age group differences can be found in the identity function of Dakkhini Urdu.

The status function of Standard Urdu shows a similar trend to its identity function in relation to age groups as noted above. Thus, while 78.04% respondents from age group below 25 years, regard Standard Urdu as a mark of social status, the corresponding percentage for the age group above 40 years is 96.72%

As regards the instrumental function of Kannada and Standard Urdu, we do not find much difference between the age groups, though the percentage among the age above 40 years is slightly lower than among the age group below 25 years. Thus, it shows a similar trend as found for the implication of the increasing use of Kannada for identity.

As age groups differ significantly in their attitudes towards the symbolic significance of Standard Urdu for group identity and social status, it would be interesting to explore further whether there is any generation gap between the younger and older generation people. This is particularly relevant since we do not find any significant differences between age groups as far as attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in education, literature, and communication are concerned (see chaps. 5 and 7).

The education groups differ significantly only with regard to the effect of the increasing use of Kannada for identity. Thus, while 78.13% respondents from the below high school group consider that the increasing use of Kannada will destroy the distinctiveness of their community, the percentages for the below graduation and above graduation groups are 36.48% and 34.85% respectively (Table 8.4). Though the education groups do not differ significantly regarding the other aspects of the symbolic significance of language, the relationship of a higher percentage of response among the highly education groups is found in these cases also. The reasons in each case might be different. For instance, at the 'strongly favour' point of the scale 40.62% respondents from the below high school groups consider Dakkhini Urdu as a symbol of identity at the local level, while the percentage for the above graduation group is merely 15.15%. This difference is reduced when the percentages of the two positive points are merged (Table 8.4). A similar though less marked trend is also found between the low and high education groups regarding Standard Urdu as a symbol of identity. It might be that the low educated people are more emotionally involved in the

issues related to the symbolic significance of language than the highly educated respondents. However, this needs some further empirical investigation in different situations.

Again as regards the significance of Standard Urdu for social status, the low educated group gives it more importance than the highly educated group. Thus, 84.37% respondents from below high school group consider it a symbol of identity, while the corresponding percentage for above graduation group is 63.64% at the 'strongly favour' point of the scale. This difference is reduced when the two positive points of the scale are merged. The reason for this could be that in the social organisation different social groups have different reference points and different social markers for evaluating their social status with respect to each other. It is therefore not surprising if highly educated respondents do not give as much importance to standard Urdu as a mark of social status as the respondents with low education do.

Finally, while 81.25% respondents from below high school group consider the knowledge of Standard Urdu helpful in getting jobs, the percentage for the graduation and above group is only 43.94% (on merging the two positive points). This seems to be quite expected since it would be highly educated people in Urdu who may have more experience of not getting any job opportunities in comparison to the low educated or uneducated Urdu speaking people. The same pattern is found in the case of response about the instrumental function of Kannada. In this case it might be said that the highly educated respondents might consider the requirement of Kannada knowledge as a mark of discrimination more than other groups. However, this explanation does not hold good as 43.94% 'strongly favour' that the knowledge of Kannada should be made essential in getting jobs.

In short though the education groups do not differ significantly regarding the symbolic significance of language except for the effect of the increasing use of Kannada for identity, the highly educated group shows a lower range of positive response in comparison to the low educated group. The possible reasons that have been offered to account for this require some further empirical investigation.

. The occupational groups differ significantly with respect to the symbolic significance of language for identity and social status (Table 8.2). Though they do not differ significantly as regards the instrumental function of language, somewhat similar trend is also found in this case as far as the percentage distribution of respondents according to occupation is concerned (Table 8.5.).

As regards the identity function of Standard Urdu, Dakkhini Urdu and Kannada, the students, professionals and workers present an interesting situation. The lowest percentage of professionals (56.76%) 'strongly favour' standard Urdu as a symbol of identity for the Dakkhini Urdu speakers with the Muslims in other parts of the country. However, if the percentages of two positive points of the scale are taken into consideration, the students show the lowest percentage of response (Table 8.5). On the other hand the workers show the highest percentage of favourable response if the two positive points are taken together, though the businessmen also come very close to them. However, the contrast between the professionals and workers is not so marked in the case of identity function of Standard Urdu as in that of Dakkhini Urdu. For instance, only 8.11% professional at the 'strongly favour' point of scale consider Dakkhini Urdu significant as a symbol of identity at the local level as opposed to 42.11% workers. However, this difference between the two is reduced somewhat when the percentages of the two positive points are taken together. On merging the percentages the response among the students is found slightly lower than among the professionals. Similarly, except for students the lowest percentage of professionals think that the increasing use of Kannada will have a disruptive effect on the distinctiveness of their community as a whole as opposed to the highest percentage of workers. Thus, the workers are distinguished from other occupation groups in terms of highly favourable attitudes towards Standard Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu as symbols of identity at the national and regional levels respectively. They consider the increasing use of Kannada as a threat to their identity. The professionals and the students, on the other hand, give much less importance to Standard Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu as symbols of identity or to the discruptive effect of the increasing use of Kannada for identity. It would be interesting to explore why students and professionals have similar attitudes towards the identity function of these languages and why they give much less importance to these languages as symbols of identity than other groups.

As regards the significance of Standard Urdu for social status the students show the lowest percentage at the 'strongly favour' point of the scale. The professionals come next. On merging the two positive points of the scale, the workers show the highest percentage and businessmen, office-goers and teachers closely follow them. The students show the lowest percentage and the professionals come next. Thus, both the students and professionals seem to have similar attitudes towards Standard Urdu as a symbol of social status just as they have similar attitudes towards it as an identity symbol.

However, both the students and the professionals show a contrast as regards the instrumental function of Standard Urdu and Kannada. For instance, only 37.84% professionals (on merging the two positive points of the scale) consider the knowledge of Standard Urdu helpful in getting jobs, where as the corresponding percentage for the students is 60%, the highest percentage being 65.62% among the businessmen. It might be said that as the professional are involved in highly specialised jobs as scientist, doctors, lawyers etc., Standard Urdu has less significance for them than for other groups. Similarly, the lowest percentage of professionals on merging the two positive points (72.97%) consider that the knowledge of Kannada should be made essential for job opportunities, whereas the students show the highest percentage (95%) in comparison to other groups.

Thus, the professionals are distinguished by all the other groups in terms of the lowest percentage of response regarding the symbolic significance of Standard Urdu, Dakkhini Urdu and Kannada.

Conclusion

To sum up, the following points seem to be significant regarding the symbolic functions of Standard Urdu, Dakkhini Urdu, and Kannada.

(i) The Dakkhini Urdu speakers regard Standard Urdu as an unequivocal symbol of identity with the speakers of Urdu in other parts of country, though some groups give it less importance than others.

(ii) The function of Dakkhini Urdu as an identity token at the regional level is not very sharply defined, though its significance cannot be altogether ignored as some groups give it more importance than others.

(iii) The increasing use of Kannada is not considered a threat to the distinctiveness of the community as a whole, though it cannot be ruled out altogether as some groups consider it a threat more than others.

(iv) The age-groups differ significantly regarding the significance of Standard Urdu for identity and social status. The age group above 40 years has highly favourable attitudes toward its symbolic significance than other groups. The age groups do not differ much in their attitudes towards the discruptive effect of the increas-

ing use of Kannada for identity or the instrumental function of Standard Urdu and Kannada.

(v) The education groups show significant differences as regards the distintegrating impact of the increasing use of Kannada at home. The highly educated group considers the increasing use of Kannada a less threat for identity than the low educated group. Though the education groups do not differ significantly regarding the other symbolic functions of Standard Urdu, Kannada and Dakkhini, a low percentage of response is characteristic for the highly. educated group and the opposit holds for the low educated group.

(vi) The occupational groups show significant differences in their attitudes towards Standard Urdu, Dakkhini Urdu and Kannada as identity tokens. The professionals and the students are distinguished from other groups in that they moderately favour Sandard Urdu as a supralocal identity token, accord very low importance to Dakkhini Urdu as a marker of identity at the regional level and give a low support to the view that the increasing use of Kannada will destroy the distinctiveness of the community. The highest percentage of response regarding the identity functions of Standard Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu, and the discruptive effect of the increasing use of Kannada is found among the workers. The occupational groups also differ significantly regarding the significance of Standard Urdu for social status. The professionals and the students give it less importance as a marker of social status in comparison to other groups.

(vii) Though age, education or occupation groups do not show any significant differences in their attitudes towards instrumental function of Standard Urdu and Kannada, it seems that highly educated respondents and professional perceive the importance of Standard Urdu for employment to be low than the other groups. Similarly, they do not strongly consider the knowledge of Kannada essential for employment as other groups.

(viii) The significance of Standard Urdu for instrumental function is perceived to be low in comparison to its role for identity and social status or to the instrumental function of Kannada. This situation requires not only equality of treatment but also a measure of differential treatment in the solution of language problems faced by linguistic minorities.

CHAPTER 9

EVALUATION OF SPEECH AND STEREOTYPES

Introduction

In this chapter we present analysis of the data about self-evaluation of the Standard Urdu and Kannada as spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. We have also analysed the subjective opinion of the speakers regarding the stereotype that all Urdu speakers are Muslims. The study of the evaluation of speech and stereotypes is exploratory in nature and scope.

The Standard Urdu spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers can be distinguished in terms of certain phonological features. However, in the present study we were interested in finding out how far the speakers considered the Standard Urdu spoken by them to be same or different from the Standard Urdu as spoken by Muslims in other parts of the Country. We also wanted to find out whether Dakkhini Urdu was a handicap in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. The study of the distinctive phonological features in the Standard Urdu spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers in relation to social variables was decided to the taken up separately. Similarly, Kannada as spoken by the Dakkhhini Urdu speakers can be distinguished in terms of certain grammatical features. However, we were interested in finding out whether the Dakkhini Urdu speakers thought that they could be identified by the native Kannada speakers by the way they speak Kannada. Thus the purpose was to show whether they had different norms of speaking Kannada and whether they thought that Kannada speakers were aware of such differences. The study of grammatical features that distinguish Kannada as spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers could be taken up in future.

The study of the stereotype was made only from the point of view of the Dakkhini speakers who were asked whether they thought that Kannada speakers identified all Urdu speakers as Muslims. Only after we study whether Kannada speakers do really identity all or some Urdu speakers as Muslims can we

say that such a stereotype has any substance for both the parties. Though the study of the evaluation of speech and stereotype is exploratory in nature and scope, it could be useful in understanding intergroup relations and intergroup communicative patterns in a multilingual setting.

Patterns of Self-Evaluation of Speech and Stereotype

As regards the evaluation of Standard Urdu, 63.93% respondents consider it 'some what' similar and 21.30% 'very much' similar to the Standard Urdu spoken in other parts of the country (Table 9.1). Thus, a majority of Dakkhini Urdu speakers seem to be aware of the differences between the Standard Urdu spoken by them and the Standard Urdu spoken by Muslims in other parts of the country. There could be two reasons for this. First, it might be that they have a low competence in Standard Urdu as its use is very low in comparison to Dakkhini Urdu. Second, it might be that they are aware of the phonological features that distinguish their Standard Urdu from the norms of Urdu spoken in northern parts of India. This seems to be indirectly supported by the following reason regarding the interference of Dakkhini Urdu in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. Thus 22.40% respondents consider Dakkhini Urdu to be 'very much' and 44.80% 'some what' a handicap in speaking Standard Urdu correctly.

A somewhat similar pattern is found in the evaluation of Kannada as spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. A majority of respondents think that they can be identified by the native Kannada speakers by the way they speak Kannada. Thus, 32.78%. respondents consider that they can 'always' be identified as Dakkhini Urdu speakers by the way they speak Kannada. The percentage of response on 'very often' and 'sometimes' points of the scale are 28.42% and 21.31% respectively. Whether this is due to interference effect of Dakkhini Urdu or for some other reason needs some further investigation.

A large majority of Dakkhini Urdu speakers hold the opinion that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims. Thus, 42.07% respondents think that Kannada speakers 'always' identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims, and the percentages of response on 'very often' and 'sometimes' points of the scale are 23.50% and 13.66% respectively. Though it is a fact that Urdu is spoken by a large number of non-Muslims, it may not be well-known among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. Moreover, from the point of view of identity also they might be

led to believe that most Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims. However, as pointed out earlier this stereotype needs to be studied from the view-point of the Kannada speakers also.

Group Differences in Patterns of Self-evaluation of Speech and Stereotype

A one-way analysis of variance shows that age-groups differ significantly with regard to whether the Standard Urdu spoken by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers is the same as the Standard Urdu spoken by Muslims in other parts of the country (Table 9.2). They do not show any significant differences as regards evaluation of Kannada, interference of Dakkhini Urdu in speaking Standard Urdu or identification of Urdu speakers.

As a majority of respondents consider their Standard Urdu to be 'some what' similar to the Standard Urdu spoken in other parts of the country, we may take the percentage of response on 'somewhat' point for age-groups comparison. Accordingly, we find that the percentage of response goes down as the age of the respondents goes up. For instance 78.05% respondents from age group below 25 years consider their Standard Urdu to be 'somewhat' similar to the Standard Urdu spoken in other parts of the country, while the corresponding percentage for the group above 40 years is 57.38% only. However, this trend is marked when the percentages of the two positive points are merged (Table 9.3). On merging the percentages the age group between 25-40 years shows the lowest percentage of response in comparison to other two groups.

Though the age-groups do not differ significantly in other respects, we can make one observation on the basis of percentage distribution. We find that the respondents from age group below 25 years show a lower percentage of response on merging the percentages of two positive points in camparison to other two groups regarding the evaluation of their Kannada or the identification of Urdu speakers as Muslims. The opposite holds true regarding the interference of Dakkhini Urdu in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. The age groups between 25.40 years and above 40 years show more or less similar range of response. The difference between the age group below 25 years and other groups regarding the evaluation of Kannada shows that the respondents from the former age group seem to be more confident of their Kannada as less percentage of them think that they

can be identified as Dakkhini Urdu speakers by the way they speak Kannada. This may be due to the formal acquisition of Kannada in schools by more respondents of younger generation in comparison to the older generation. Similarly, less percentage of younger generation respondents think that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims.

The education groups do not differ significantly as regards the evaluation of their Standard Urdu, Kannada or the interference of Dakkhini Urdu in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. But they show significant differences as regards their opinion of Kannada speakers' identification of Urdu speakers as Muslims. A higher percentage of below high school respondents think that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims in comparison to the other education groups. For instance, 75% below high school respondents report that Kannada speakers 'always' identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims, while the corresponding percentage for the above graduation group is 37.88%. This difference in percentage is however reduced when the response of the two positive points is merged (Table 9.4). The difference between the education groups as regards their response on the always' point of the scale implies that the highly educated people are less inclined to believe that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims. This may be indicative of their awareness that Standard Urdu is spoken by non-Muslims as well.

There seems to be some relationship between the level of education and the evaluation of Standard by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers, though the educational groups do not differ significantly in this respect. Thus, 28.79% respondents from the above graduation consider their Standard Urdu to be 'very much' similar to Standard Urdu spoken elsewhere, while the corresponding percentage for the below high school is 21.87%. However, this trend is reversed when we consider the response on 'somewhat' point of the scale. On merging the two positive points a higher percentage of below high school respondents in comparison to other groups consider their Standard Urdu similar to the standard Urdu spoken in other parts of the country. (Table 9.4). This may be either because they are not aware of the difference between the two varieties as the use of Standard Urdu among them is low in comprison to highly educated group (see chap. 3) or because they give it more importance as a symbol of identity (see chap. 8) or both.

As regards the interference of Dakkhini Urdu, a higher percentage of respondents from below high school group in comparison to other groups consider Dakkhini Urdu to be a handicap in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. However as pointed out above, the different between the groups is not significant.

As regards the evaluation of Kannada, 56.25% respondents from below high school group think that they can 'always' be identified as Dakkhini Urdu speakers by the way they speak Kannada, while the corresponding percentages for the two groups. below graduation and graduation and above are 30.59% and 24.24% respectively. However, the three education groups do not show much difference when the percentages of the two positive points are merged. Thus, it seems that the highly educated speakers would not speak Kannada any better than the low educated Dakkhini Urdu speakers. However this needs some further investigation.

The occupation groups do not differ significantly regarding the evaluation of Standard Urdu as spoken by them. This is also clear form the distribution of the percentages of respondents if the response on the two positive points of the scale is merged. However, if we take the percentage of respondents who consider their Standard Urdu to be 'very much' similar to the Standard Urdu spoken elsewhere, we find that the professionals lead all the other groups. This might be quite expected as the professionals are highly educated group of people. The same point was noted above in connection with education groups. We might therefore conclude that the highly educated respondents would be more competent in Standard Urdu, aware of the norms of correctness and inclined to consider their Standard Urdu 'very much' similar to the Standard Urdu spoken in other parts of the country.

As regards the interference of Dakkhini Urdu in speaking Standard Urdu correctly, the occupation groups show significant differences. The highest percentage of workers, on merging the percentages of two positive points of the scale, consider Dakkhini Urdu to be a handicap in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. The highest percentage of teachers and professionals, on the other hand, do not think the knowledge of Dakkhini Urdu to be a hindrance in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. As the teachers and professionals would be more educated than the

workers, it would appear that Dakkhini Urdu is perceived to be a hindrance in speaking Standard Urdu correctly when people are less educated in Standard Urdu. This interpretation is also supported on the basis of response among the educated groups.

The occupation groups show significant differences as to whether they can be identified by the way they speak Kannada. The lowest percentage of students report that they can be identified as Dakkhini Urdu speakers by their way of speaking Kannada. The highest percentage is found among the teachers followed by businessmen. The workers and professionals show the same range of percentage of response respectively. It would be interesting to explore whether both students and teachers differ in the command or manner of speaking Kannada.

Finally, the occupation groups show significant difference as to whether Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims. In this respect also the lowest percent of students report that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims, whereas the highest percentage is found among the workers followed by professionals. Though the students are not highly educated, they show the lowest percentage of response about the stereotype. We can offer the following explanation for this. As students come from a comparatively younger age group than the respondents from the workers or professionals, it might be that they have less experience of being exposed to the stereotype that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims.

Conclusion

To sum up, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding self-evaluation of speech and stereotypes by the Dakkhini Urdu speakers:

(i) The Majority of the Dakkhini Urdu speakers consider that the Standard Urdu spoken by them is not the same as spoken by Muslims in other parts of the country.

(ii) The majority of them consider Dakkhini Urdu to be a handicap in speaking Standard Urdu correctly.

(iii) The majority of them consider that they can be identified as Dakkhini Urdu speakers by the way they speak Kannada by the native Kannada speakers.

(iv) The majority of them think that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims, though this may be due to the identity function of Standard Urdu to a large extent.

(v) The age groups differ significantly regarding the evaluation of Standard Urdu spoken by them, but they do not show significant differences in other respects. The higher percentage of younger generation respondents consider the Standard Urdu spoken by them to be the same as spoken by Muslims elsewhere than the older generation respondents. Again, less percentage of them think that they can be identified by the way they speak Kannada or that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims. Thus, they seem to be more confident of their competence in Standard Urdu and Kannada than the older generation respondents.

(vi) The education groups show significant differences regarding the stereotype that Kannada speakers identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims, but do not show such differences in other respects. The highly educated respondents consider that the Standard Urdu spoken by them is the same as spoken elsewhere, that Dakkhini Urdu does not interfere in speaking Standard Urdu correctly, that they can be less frequently identified as Dakkhini Urdu speakers by the way they speak Kannada and that Kannada speakers less frequently identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims. The opposite holds for the low educated respondents.

(vii) The occupation groups do not differ significantly regarding the evaluation of Standard Urdu, but show significant differences in other respects. The professionals consider the Standard Urdu spoken by them to be very much similar to the Standard Urdu spoken elsewhere. The professionals and teachers think that Dakkhini Urdu does not seem to present much hindrance in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. The students think that they are less frequently identified as Dakkhini Urdu speakers by the way they speak Kannada and that Kannada speakers less frequently identify all Urdu speakers as Muslims.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The complex multilingual situation in India presents a wide range of the nature and types of linguistic minorities which can be characterised in terms of such sociolinguistic factors as numerical strength, geographical distribution, ethnicity, religion, language identity, domains of language use, status of language development, minority-majority relationship, socio-economic and political power etc. Though each linguistic minority presents a unique situation in terms of these and other sociolinguistic factors, some language problems would be found to be recurrent across linguistic minorities in different settings. In particular most linguistic minorities face similar kinds of language problems about language use, language development and attitudes towards their own language as well as the majority language with respect to their symbolic functions. The present study focuses on the issues related to these problems with reference to Dakkhini Urdu speakers in Mysore City.

The Dakkhini Urdu speakers present a unique situation with respect to Urdu speakers in general which are found in minority varying in numerical strength, distribution and social mobilization in different States and Union Territories. They speak a variety of Urdu which is distinct from Standard Urdu in terms of phonological and grammatical features. They have accepted Standard Urdu as a super-posed variety for use in education, mass communication, literature and other public domains. They differ from the Kannada speaking majority in terms of not only their language which has non-cognate relationship with Kannada, but also socio-cultural organization which is distinct from the majority culture and social system. However, the study of attitudes towards language use, development and symbolic functions among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers with respect to Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada brings out certain theoretical and methodological issues that may be characteristic of all linguistic minorities in one form or the other.

Attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu

Almost all Dakkhini Urdu speakers use Dakkhini Urdu at home and other close interaction networks. The number of those who exclusively use Standard Urdu for all interaction in the family and other clos. networks is very small. However, Dakkhini Urdu does not emerge as a significant variety in comparison to Standard Urdu. The contrast between its actual use and the attitudes toward its use shows (see chapter 4) that its use is not strongly favoured in comparison to Standard Urdu, though it might continue to be used in family and other networks. Its teaching as a subject is not considered desirable. However, people are not against its use as a pedagogical principle in teaching Standard Urdu or other subjects. They do not seem to have any definite opinion regarding its development. They want it to be used in radio-broadcast and for restricted purposes in creative writing, stage performance, Mushaira and public speech. However, they want it to be used more for oral communication than for written communication and do not want it to be used and developed in opposition to or as a co-existing variety with Standard Urdu. Even as a mark of identity at the local level, it does not emerge as a strong rallying point as Standard Urdu does at the national level. It is considered as hindrance in speaking Standard Urdu correctly. However, notwithstanding the negative attitudes towards the use, development and symbolic function of Dakkhini Urdu in comparison to Standard Urdu, it seems it might co-exist with Standard Urdu for limited purposes. This does not imply that the highly favourable attitudes toward Standard Urdu may not create pressures leading to the loss of Dakkhini Urdu eventually. If it happens it would present a case of a linguistic minority which gives up its local idiom in order to identify itself with a symbol of identity significant at the inter-regional level. If Dakkhini Urdu co-exists with Standard Urdu even though it may not be developed for use in education and for creative and scientific writing, it would present the case of a linguistic minority which can retain both the regional and national identity. Thus, the attitudes of Dakkhini Urdu speakers towards Dakkhini Urdu have implications for language use, development and identity in the context of the process of language shift and maintenance which may be relevant in the case of other linguistic minorities as well.

Attitudes toward Standard Urdu

The actual use of Standard Urdu among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers in family and other close network is very low in comparison to Dakkhini Urdu. However, very high percentage of people are in favour of the increasing use of Standard Urdu in these networks. The reason for this is that Standard Urdu is not only accepted as a superposed variety for use in education, mass communication and literature but is also considered as a mark of social status and national identity. Its use in education is favoured by all sections of people both as a subject and medium of instruction. There seems to be more agreement in the teaching of Standard Urdu as a subject than its use as medium of instruction. In the latter case the Standard Urdu medium is favoured more at the primary level of education than at the college level. This pattern of language use in education would be characteristic of all linguistic minorities.

Just like the use of Standard Urdu in family and other close networks, the utilization of mass communication networks is not very high, though it is more as compared to its actual use in family. Among the mass communication networks a higher percentage of people read newspapers, magazines and books in Standard Urdu than listen to radio broadcasts or attend Mushaira. However, a higher percentage of people are in favour of using Standard Urdu in comparison to Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing, stage performance, Mushaira, public speech and local newspapers. Thus Standard Urdu presents a contrast with Dakkhini Urdu with respect to actual use and attitudes towards its use. While the actual use of Standard Urdu in family and close networks and utilization of mass communication networks is low, the people are highly in favour of its use in education, family, literautre and mass communication networks. The opposite holds true for Dakkhini Urdu as far as its actual use and attitudes towards its use and development are concerned.

The highly favourable attitudes towards Standard Urdu are in consonance with its symbolic functions for identity and social status. As an identity token Standard Urdu is considered as an unequivocal symbol of identity with Muslims in other parts of the country. Similarly, its acquisition and use is considered as a mark of social status by all sectors of population, though some groups emphasize its symbolic functions more than others. The significance of Standard Urdu for so-

cial status and identity which may be referred to as its integrative function shows a contrast with its instrumental function in job opportunities. Thus, while Standard has a great significance as far as its integrative function is concerned, it is considered to have low value as regard its instrumental function. In its instrumental function Standard Urdu does not compare well with Kannada since the latter is given more importance than Standard Urdu. The discrepancy in the perception of the value of Standard Urdu for integrative and instrumental functions on the one hand, and a comparatively more importance accorded to Kannada as regards instrumental function require that the solution of language problems of linguistic minorities need to be given not only equality of treatment but also a measure of differential treatment.

Attitudes toward Kannada

The actual use of Kannada in the family and other close interaction networks and the utilization of mass communication network in Kannada is almost negligible. Even the attitude towards its use in family do not show any increase in its use. However, all the Dakkhini Urdu speakers are in favour of its teaching as a subject, and do not favour it as a medium of instruction. This seems to be characteristic of the attitudes of all linguistic minorities toward the majority language since the acceptance of the majority language as medium of instruction may lead to its assimilation in the majority community.

The increasing use of Kannada in the family is considered not to pose any threat to the distinctiveness of the community of Dakkhini Urdu speakers. This may be due to partly their distinctive socio-cultural organisation and partly strong loyalty to Standard Urdu as a symbol of identity. However, as pointed out above, the Dakkhini Urdu speakers accord more importance to Kannada than Standard Urdu as regards instrumental function. It is through the instrumental function that the majority language may create pressures on the linguistic minorities and it is for this reason that equal but differential treatment has been suggested above in order to help them in solving their language problems.

Group Differences : Age-groups

Among the age, education and occupation groups, the age groups show significant differences in terms of one-way

analysis of variance in relation to less number of questions about language use, attitude and identity than found in the case of other groups. This implies that the variable of age is less significant in studying the variation about language use, and attitudes. However, it may not be generalizable across different language situations among various speech communities including the minorities. Even in the case of Dakkhini Urdu speakers the variable of age assumes significance with respect to certain issues as discussed below.

The age groups show significant differences in the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in the family and other close networks. The trend seems to be that the older generation people use Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu more, whereas the younger generation use Kannada more, though the former favour the teaching of·Kannada as a subject more than the latter. Similarly the older generation respondents show highly favourable attitudes toward the use of Standard Urdu than the younger generation people. In the utilization of mass communication networks also a contrast between the older and younger generation becomes clear as the former make use of the Standard Urdu networks more, while the younger generation use Kannada networks more. Again, the older age people give more importance to Standard Urdu as a symbol of identity and social status than do the younger general respondents. The age group differences regarding the use of and attitudes toward Standard Urdu, Dakkhini Urdu and Kannada suggest a generation gap between the older and younger generation people. The generation gap hypothesis which has been substantiated in respect of some issues of language use and attitudes plays an important role in the transitional society as regards the process of language maintenance and language shit. Its significance is therefore obvious in the context of linguistic minorities.

Education Groups

The variable of education seems to be more important than age, but less than occupation in the study of the issues of language use, attitudes and identity among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. In particular the education seems to be a significant variable in bringing out the variation among Dakkhini Urdu speakers with regard to the use of Standard Urdu in close interaction networks, of standard Urdu and Kannada in education and mass communication networks and the attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu as regards its use and development. Thus,

the use of Dakkhini Urdu shows a decline as the educational level goes up and that of Standard Urdu and Kannada shows an opposite trend. Also the highly educated people make more use of media networks in both Standard Urdu and Kannada than the low educated people in general. However, they have less favourable attitudes in comparison to low educated people as regards Standard Urdu medium particularly at the college level. less opposition to Kannada medium and more favourable attitudes towards teaching of Dakkhini Urdu as well as its use in creative writing. stage performance, Mushaira, local newspaper and radio broadcasts. Finally. they show a low percentage of response regarding the symbolic functions of Standard Urdu. Kannada and Dakkhini Urdu than the low educated people. though the difference between the education groups is not statistically significant. Thus, the education groups show a pattern of behaviour and attitudes which is characteristic of a gap between the elite and the masses. The highly educated people have a better control of Standard Urdu, use it in the close networks and utilize its media networks more, but have less favourable attitudes towards its use in education. The low educated people show an opposite trend as they have less control of Standard Urdu and favour it more in education. Similarly. as the highly educated people encourage the use of Dakkhini Urdu. the low educated do not favour it so much as it might present an abstacle in the control of Standard Urdu. However, the difference between the education groups seems to be matter of degree rather than kind as all groups support the use of Standard Urdu in education. mass communication and literature and consider it a significant symbol of identity and social status.

Occupation groups

As pointed out above the occupation groups show significant differences as. regards language use and attitudes in most cases. The professionals contrast in their behaviour and attitudes with the workers in general except that they show similar attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing and its development for literary and scientific writing. In most cases students and others behave like professionals, whereas the businessmen and office-goers seem to align with the workers. Thus the professionals make less use of Dakkhini Urdu and more use of Standard Urdu and Kannada in close networks than the other groups. As regards the utilization of mass-communication networks, the teachers and professionals make use of Standard Urdu networks more than other groups and students and professionals make use of

Kannada networks more than others. Again, the professional can be distinguished from other groups in terms of less favourable attitudes toward the Standard Urdu medium at college level, the teaching of Dakkhini Urdu and its use in the class-room, and in terms of less opposition to Kannada as a medium but more favour for it as a subject. A clear contrast between the professionals and workers is found in their attitudes to symbolic function of language. The professionals moderately favour Standard Urdu as a mark of supra-local identity, accord very low importance to Dakkhini Urdu as a marker of local identity and give a low support to the view that the increasing use of Kannada would be disruptive of local identity. The opposite holds true for the workers. Thus, the contrast between the professional and workers seem to support the distinction between the elite and the masses as made above in connection with the education groups. However, as in the case of education groups, the differences between the occupation groups seem to be in degree rather than in kind as all groups have highly favourable attitudes towards the use of Standard Urdu in education, mass communication and literature and consider it a significant symbol of identity and social status. They also show a broad agreement regarding the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Kannada and their symbolic functions.

Measurement scale

A few observation can be made about the use of five-point scale in the study of attitudes. In some cases the distribution of frequency percentages is concentrated on the 'strongly favourable' or 'strongly oppose' points of the scale. Thus, the use of Dakkhini Urdu and Kannada is represented by the two extreme points of the scale. The use of Standard Urdu is highly represented by 'sometimes' point of the scale. This has been interpreted to imply that people have highly favourable attitudes towards Standard Urdu as the actual use is very low among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. In most other cases the intermediate point of the scale does not create any problem as the percentage of response does not exceed 20... This shows that people are mostly definite in their attitudes as the concentration of percentages is mainly on the extreme points of the scale. This is particularly true when the positive response is involved. Thus, the attitudes towards the use of Kannada medium and the teaching of Dakkhini Urdu have 30% to 25% of response at the 'oppose' point of the scale. As the response is generally concentrated

at the extreme points of the scale, the percentages of the two positive points and two negative points have been merged in considering the patterns of distribution of frequency percentages for the study of group differences. This suggests that three point scale would have been better than the five point scale. However, the five point scale has proved very useful in relation to the use of Standard Urdu and Dakkhini Urdu in creative writing, stage performance, Mushaira and public speech. In these contexts there is higher percentage of response for Dakkhini Urdu than Standard Urdu at 'favour' point of the scale, whereas the opposite holds true for the 'strongly favour' point of the scale. This has been interpreted to imply that though the people highly favour Standard Urdu, they also want to retain the use of Dakkhini Urdu. Again the range of difference of percentages between the two positive or two negative points seems to be useful from the point of interpretation. Furthermore, it would be useful to collect data on five point scale, which can be reduced to three points if desired, but opposite is not possible. Thus the five-point scale in the present study has proved reliable as well as useful.

To sum up, the present study shows a contrasting situation between Dakkhini Urdu and Standard Urdu with regard to actual use and attitudes towards its use. The attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu have been found to have implications for language use, development and identity in the context of the process of language shift and maintenance. The attitudes towards Standard Urdu have been found to have a dissonance with regard to its integrative and instrumental functions. The attitudes toward Kannad show that the instrumental function of the majority may exert subtle pressures on the linguistic minority. An equal but differential treatment of the linguistic minorities therefore seems to be a viable strategy in solution of the language problems of linguistic minorities.

The variables of age, education and occupation have been found of varying significance in studying the issues related to language use, attitudes and identity among the Dakkhini Urdu speakers. While the age variable has shown the relevance of generation gap, the education and occupation variables show the gap between the elite and the masses in studying variation as regards these issues. These group differences could be significant from the point of view of distribution of power and resources as well as the process of language maintenance and shift among the linguistic minorities depending upon their sociolinguistic situation.

TABLES

TABLE 1.1

Percentage Distribution of Majority and Minority Language Speakers to the population in States and Union Territories (Census 1971)

State/Union Territory	Major languages	Minority languages	Scheduled minority languages	Tribal minority languages	Non-tribal non-scheduled minority languages	Foreign languages	Other minority languages
Andhra Pradesh . .	85.37	14.63	13.70	0.87	0.02	0.02	0.02
Assam .	59.54	40.46	26.12	10.89	3.31	0.01	0.13
Bihar .	79.77	20.23	13.26	6.83	0.08	0.02	0.04
Gujarat .	89.39	10.61	7.39	2.83	0.34	0.02	0.03
Haryana . .	89.42	10.58	10.41	0.01	0.08	0.01	0.07
Himachal Pradesh .	86.86	13.13	6.11	1.31	5.56	0.01	0.14
Jammu & Kashmir	53.14	46.86	18.92	0.01	27.68	..	0.24
Karnataka	65.97	34.03	28.05		5.81	0.08	0.09
Kerala . .	96.02	3.98	3.18	..	0.75	0.03	0.01
Madhya Pradesh .	83.30	16.70	8.35	7.40	0.00	0.01	0.04
Maharashtra	76.61	23.39	20.30	1.92	0.96	0.15	0.06

82

Manipur	.	63.24	36.76	3.03	25.32	2.49	0.03	5.88
Meghalaya	.	45.18	54.82	13.88	36.30	4.55	0.05	0.05
Nagaland	.	14.26	85.74	7.32	72.11	3.84	0.01	2.46
Orissa .		84.15	15.85	6.91	8.80	0.06	0.01	0.07
Punjab		79.49	20.51	20.32	0.01	0.18	..	..
Rajasthan		91.13	8.87	5.57	3.26	0.02	0.01	0.01
Sikkim	.	63.97	36.03	3.61	14.52	7.40	0.01	10.49
Tamilnadu .	.	84.51	15.49	15.36	..	0.03	0.08	0.02
Tripura .	.	68.79	31.21	2.57	25.34	2.96	0.02	0.32
Uttar Pradesh .	.	88.54	11.46	11.37	..	0.07	0.01	..
West Bengal . .	.	85.32	14.68	9.15	3.97	1.42	0.09	0.05
Andaman Nicobar Islands		24.42	75.58	52.64	20.63	0.28	0.08	1.95
Arunachal Pradesh		24.42	75.60	12.99	42.87	13.60	0.01	6.13
Chandigarh . .		55.96	44.04	43.53	..	0.34	0.09	0.08
Dadar & Nagar Haveli .		83.10	16.24	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.01	0.53
Delhi . . .		75.97	24.03	23.35	0.01	0.48	0.12	0.17
Goa, Daman & Diu		64.87	35.13	34.15	0.03	0.07	0.33	0.55
L.M.A. Islands .		83.90	16.10	0.77	0.02	0.02	0.01	15.28
Pondicherry . .	.	89.00	11.00	10.68	..	0.06	0.06	0.20

TABLE 1.2

Percentage distribution of Urdu speakers to the State/Union Territory and all India population and total
Urdu speakers over States and Union Territories (Census 1971)

Sl. No.	India/State/Union Territory	Total Population (in thousands)	Total Urdu speakers	Percentage of Urdu speakers to total population	Percentage of Urdu speakers to total Urdu speakers
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	India	5,47,950	28,620,895	5.22	..
2.	Andhra Pradesh	43,503	3,299,916	7.59	11.53
3.	Assam	14,958	6,325	0.04	0.02
4.	Bihar	56,353	4,993,284	8.86	17.45
5.	Gujarat	26,697	581,508	2.18	2.03
6.	Haryana	10,037	195,793	1.95	0.68
7.	Himachal Pradesh	3,460	10,121	0.29	0.04
8.	Jammu & Kashmir	4,617	12,740	0.28	0.04
9.	Mysore (Karnataka)	29,299	2,636,688	8.99	9.21
10.	Kerala	21,347	11,374	0.05	0.04
11.	Madhya Pradesh	41,654	1,001,064	2.40	3.50

84

12. Maharashtra	50,412	3,661,898	7.26	12.80
13. Manipur .	1,073	311	0.03	
14. Meghalaya	1,012	1,410	0.14	..
15. Nagaland .	516	252	0.05	..
16. Orissa	21,945	286,541	1.31	.00
17. Punjab	13,551	29,003	0.21	0.10
18. Rajasthan .	25,766	650,947	2.53	2.27
19. Sikkim .	210	213	0.10	..
20. Tamilnadu	41,199	759,607	1.84	2.65
21. Tripura	1,556	67	..	..
22. Uttar Pradesh	88,341	9,273,089	10.50	32.40
23. West Bengal .	44,312	950,363	2.14	3.32
24. A. & N. Islands .	115	2,488	2.16	0.01
25. Arunachal Pradesh	468	330	0.07	..
26. Chandigarh . .	257	1,703	0.66	0.01
27. Dadra & Nagar Haveli	74	134	0.18	..
28. Delhi . .	4,066	231,127	5.68	0.81
29. Goa, Daman & Diu .	858	19,205	2.24	0.07
30. L. M. & A. Island	32	32	0.10	..
31. Pondicherry	418	3,362	0.71	0.01

Table 1.3

Precentage Distribution of Urdu speakers in the Districts of Karnataka in relation to District population
Muslim population and Total Urdu speakers (Census 1961)

Districts	Total population	Total Muslims	Percentage of Muslims to total popula-lation	Total Urdu speakers	Percentage of Urdu speakers to total popula-tion	Percentage of Urdu speakers to Mus-lim popu-lation	Percentage of Urdu speakers to total Urdu speakers in the state
Bangalore . .	25,04,462	2,42,828	9.66	239,434	9.56	99.01	11.77
Belgaum .	19,83,811	1,78,389	8.99	164,620	8.30	92.28	8.09
Bellary .	9,15,261	96,924	10.59	87,423	9.55	90.20	4.30
Bidar	6,63,172	1,19,742	18.06	116,708	17.60	97.54	5.74
Bijapur .	16,60,178	2,05,085	12.35	184,942	11.14	90.18	9.09
Chikmagalur .	5,97,305	39,780	6.66	33,017	5.53	83.00	1.62
Chitradurga	10,94,284	78,117	7.14	74,724	6.83	95.66	3.67
Coorg .	3,22,829	34,910	10.81	8,070	2.50	23.12	0.40
Dharwad	19,50,362	2,87,191	14.73	248,678	12.75	86.59	12.22
Gulbarga	13,99,457	2,42,048	17.73	239,900	17.14	99.11	11.79
Hassan .	8,95,847	43,178	4.82	39,429	4.40	91.32	1.94

Kolar	12,90,144	1,24,348	9.64	123,626	9.58	90.42	6.08
Mandya	8,99,910	31,381	3.49	29,673	3.30	94.56	1.46
Mysore .	16,71,399	94,514	5.65	88,989	5.32	94.15	4.37
North Kanara	6,89,549	54,432	7.55	51,482	7.47	96.35	2.53
Raichur .	11,00,985	1,31,045	11.90	111,382	10.12	85.00	5.47
Shimoga	10,17,368	90,163	8.86	83,288	8.19	92.37	4.09
S. Kanara	15,63,837	1,52,225	9.73	27,480	1.76	18.05	1.35
Tumkur . .	13,67,402	84,076	6.15	81,616	5.97	97.04	4.01

Table 1.4

Distribution of Urdu Speakers in relation to Muslims over States and Union Territories
(Census 1971)

India/States/Union Territories	Muslims	Urdu speakers	Percentage of Urdu speakers to Muslims
India	61,418,000	28,607,874	46.57
Andhra Prdesh	3,520,000	3,299.854	93.74
Assam	3,594.000	6,325	0.175
Bihar	7,594.000	4,993,284	65.75
Gujarat	2,249,000	581,508	25.86
Haryana	406,000	195.836	48.235
Himachal Pradesh	50,000	10,121	20.42
Jammu & Kashmir	3,040.000	12,740	41.07
Karnataka	3,113,000	2,636,688	84.699
Kerala	4,163,000	11,374	0.273
Madhya Pradesh	1,816,000	988,275	54.42
Maharashtra	4,233,000	3,661,898	86.508
Manipur	71,000	311	.0043
Meghalaya	27,000	1,410	5.2

Nagaland .	3,000	252	8.40
Orissa	327,000	286,541	87.7
Punjab	114,000	29,003	25.44
Rajasthan	1,778,000	650,947	36.61
Tamilnadu	2.104,000	759,947	36.11
Tripura .	104,000	67	0.06
Uttar Pradesh	13,676,000	9,273,089	567.805
West Bengal	9,064,000	950,363	10.48
A. & N. Islands	12,000	2,488	20.73
Arunachal Pradesh	1,000	330	33.0
Chandigarh .	4,000	1,703	42.57
Dadra & Nagra Haveli	1,000	134	13.40
Delhi . .	263,000	231,127	87.88
Goa, Daman & Diu	32,000	19,205	60.01
L.M. & A. Island .	30,000	32	0.106
Pondicherry	29,000	3,362	11.20

Table 3.1

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on the five-point scale regarding the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in close interaction networks

Language	Interaction Networks	Always	Quite often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
	Family	71.04	21.31	2.73	2.83	1.09
	Friendship	47.00	32.79	12.02	7.10	1.09
Dakkhini Urudu	Ladies	60.66	25.68	7.10	4.37	2.19
	Children	65.57	22.40	6.01	3.83	2.19
Standard Urdu	Family	5.46	15.30	44.27	26.23	8.74
	Friendship	7.10	24.04	47.55	15.30	6.01
	Ladies	7.65	9.84	34.97	39.34	8.20
	Children	4.37	8.74	24.59	30.05	32.25
	Family	..	1.64	12.57	20.22	65.57
Kannada	Friendship	1.64	1.64	15.85	34.97	45.90
	Ladies	3.82	1.64	9.29	22.40	65.85
	Children	4.92	3.83	22.95	28.40	39.90

Table 3.2

One-way analysis of variance for group differences according to age, education and occupation regarding language use in close interaction networks

Language	Interaction Networks	Age		Education		Occupation	
		F value	Level of significance	F value	Level of significance	F value	Level of significance
Dakkini Urdu	Family	1.53	NS	8.93	0.01	6.84	0.01
	Friendship	2.18	NS	7.30	0.01	4.95	0.01
	Ladies	6.71	0.02	3.39	0.10	3.59	0.02
	Children	8.56	0.01	3.79	0.05	2.89	0.05
Standard Urdu	Family	3.49	0.10	3.39	0.10	1.68	NS
	Friendship	2.19	NS	2.00	NS	3.48	0.02
	Ladies	4.13	0.05	2.41	NS	1.63	NS
	Children	0.63	NS	1.64	NS	1.94	NS
Kannada	Family	11.01	0.01	2.23	NS	2.73	0.05
	Friendship	12.38	0.01	0.75	NS	5.07	0.01
	Ladies	11.22	0.01	4 02	0.05	6.68	0.01
	Children	0.79	NS	0.58	NS	2.09	NS

Table 3.3

Percentage Distribution of Respondents according to age regarding language use in close interaction networks (The percentages on the 'Always' and 'quite often' in the case of Dakkhini Urdu, 'Quite often' and 'sometimes', in the case of Standard Urdu and 'rarely' and 'never' in the case of Karnada have been merged)

Language	Interaction Networks	Below 25 years	Between 25—40 years	Above 40 years
Dakkini Urdu .	Family	95.12	91.36	91.80
	Friendship	80.49	80.24	78.69
	Ladies	80.48	86.42	90.16
	Children	85.37	87.65	90.66
Standard Urdu .	Family	48.78	62.96	62.29
	Friendsihp	63.41	75.31	72.13
	Ladies	39.02	39.51	55.74
	Children	46.34	35.80	34.43
Kannada .	Family	78.04	96.42	90.16
	Friendship	70.73	79.02	90.16
	Ladies	68.29	90.13	90.16
	Children	68.29	65.43	72.13

Table 3.4

Percentage Distribution of Respondents according to education regarding language use in close interaction networks (percentages merged as in Table 3.3)

Language	Interaction Networks	Below High School	Below Graduation	Graduation and above
Dakkini Urdu .	Family	96.88	95.29	94.85
	Friendship	93.75	82.36	69.69
	Ladies	90.63	85.88	84.85
	Children	93.75	92.94	79.79
Standard Urdu	Family	65.62	56.47	72.73
	Friendship	68.75	65.88	80.30
	Ladies	34.37	49.41	43.94
	Children	31.25	27.06	42.43
Kannada .	Family	81.25	81.17	93.94
	Friendship	78.13	79.90	83.3 3
	Ladies	87.51	82.35	87.88
	Children	68.75	75.29	59.09

Table 3.5

Percentage Distribution of Respondents according to occupation regarding language use in the close interaction networks (percentages merged as in Table 3.3)

Language	Interaction Networks	Students	Teachers	Office-goers	Businessmen	Professio-nals	Workers
Dakkini Urdu .	Family	95.00	91.43	100.00	93.76	78.38	100.00
	Friendship	85.00	71.43	75.00	96.85	59.46	86.84
	Ladies	75.00	85:72	85.00	93.75	86.49	89.47
	Children	85.00	88.57	95 00	96.88	70.27	94.73
Standard Urdu	Family	50.00	62.86	55.00	65.63	59.46	57.89
	Friendship	60.00	65.72	85.00	78.13	72.98	71.05
	Ladies	45.00	40.00	50.00	46.88	48.64	42.10
	Children	20.00	31.43	20.00	31.25	51.35	34.21
Kannada .	Family	55.00	85.71	90.00	93.75	97.30	81.58
	Friendship	45.00	85.71	90.00	84.38	89.19	78.95
	Ladies	60.00	80.57	85.00 -	96.88	86.48	86.84
	Children	65.00	80.00	70.00	84.38	48.64	63.16

Table 4.1

Percentage Distribution of Respondents on the five-point scale regarding attitudes towards the use of Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in different role-relationships in family

Language	Role-Relationship	Strongly favour	Favour	No opinion	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Dakkhini Urdu	Wife & children	22.40	40.44	8.74	20.77	7.76
	Relatives	22.31	39.34	9.84	21.86	7.65
	Friends	20.21	40·44	9.27	21.86	8.20
	Hindi-Urdu speakers					
Standard Urdu	Wife & children	54.95	32.96	3.30	8.24	0.56
	Relatives	49.17	42.08	1.64	4.92	2.19
	Friends	53.00	40.44	1.09	3.83	1.64
	Hindi-Urdu speakers	53.55	41.53	3.83	1.09	..
Kannada .	Wife & children	2.19	10.38	12.57	27.86	47.00
	Relatives	2.19	9.84	12·02	32.24	43.71
	Friends	2.19	9.84	14.21	31.15	42.61

Table 4.2

Percentage Distribution of Respondents according to age on three points of scale (on merging the percentage on the 'strongly favour' and 'favour' and 'oppose' and 'strongly oppose' points of the scale) regarding attitudes towards language use in different role-relationships

Age	Language	Role relationships	Strongly favour+favour	No opinion	Oppose+strongly oppose
1	2	3	4	5	6
Below 25 years	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife & children	68.85	7.32	26.83
		Relatives	65.85	9.76	24.39
		Friends	65.85	4.88	24.39
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	56.10	9.76	34.14
	Standard Urdu	Wife & children	82.93	..	17.07
		Relatives	80.48	..	19.52
		Friends	87.80	..	12.20
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	90.24	4.88	4.88
	Kannada	Wife & children	12.20	14.63	73.17
		Relatives	14.64	12.20	73.16
		Friends	14.64	17.08	68.28
25—40 years	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife and children	64.19	9.88	25.93
		Relatives	62.96	9.88	27.16
		Friends	64.19	11.12	24.69
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	40.74	17.28	41.98

	Standard Urdu	Wife and children	93.83	2.47	3.70
		Relatives	97.54	1.23	1.23
		Friends	100.00	..	..
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	96.30	3.70	..
	Kannada	Wife and children	14.81	14.81	70.38
		Relatives	14.81	12.45	72.84
		Friends	13.58	14.81	71.61
Above 40 years	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife and children	59.01	8.20	32.79
		Relatives	54.10	9.84	36.06
		Friends	52.46	9.84	37.70
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	27.86	8.20	63.94
	Standard Urdu	Wife and children	81.97	6.56	11.47
		Relatives	90.17	3.28	6.55
		Friends	88.53	3.28	8.19
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	96.72	3.28	..
	Kannada	Wife and children	9.84	8.20	81.96
		Relatives	6.56	11.48	81.96
		Friends	8.20	11.48	80.32

97

Table 4.3

Percentage Distribution of Respondents according to education on three-point scale (as in Table 4.2) regarding attitude towards language use in different role-relationships

Education	Language	Role Relationships	Strongly favour + favour	No opinion	Oppose + strongly oppose
1	2	3	4	5	6
Below High School .	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife and children	62.50	3.12	34.38
		Relatives	59.38	3.12	37.50
		Friends	59.38	3.12	37.50
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	34.38	3.12	62.50
	Standard Urdu	Wife and children	87.50	3.12	6.25
		Relatives	96.88	..	3.12
		Friends	96.88		3.12
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	96.88	..	3.12
	Kannada	Wife and children	6.25	3.12	90.63
		Relatives	6.25	6.12	87.50
		Friends	6.25	3.12	90.63
Below Graduation .	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife and children	69.41	8.23	22.36
		Relatives	55.30	21.18	23.52
		Friends	65.88	9.41	24.71
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	48.24	12.94	38.82

98

	Standard Urdu	Wife and children	92.94	2.35	4.71
		Relatives	91.70	..	8.30
		Friends	94.05	..	5.95
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	96.47	2.35	1.18
	Kannada	Wife and children	12.94	15.29	71.77
		Relatives	11.77	15.29	72.94
		Friends	14.11	16.47	69 42
Graduation and above	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife and children	54.54	12.12	33.34
		Relatives	53.03	12.12	34.85
		Friends	54.54	12.12	33.34
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	31.82	16.67	51.51
	Standard Urdu	Wife and children	80.30	7.58	12.12
		Relatives	87.87	4.55	7.58
		Friends	89.39	3.03	7.58
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	92.42	7.58	..
	Kannada	Wife and children	15.15	13.64	71 21
		Relatives	15.15	10.61	74.24
		Friends	12.12	16.67	71.21

Table 4.4

Percentage Distribution of Respondents according to occupation on three-point scale (as in Table 4.2) regarding attitudes towards language use in two- role-relationships

Occupation	Language	Role-relationships	Strongly favour+favour	No opinion	Oppose+ strongly oppose
1	2	3	4	5	6
Students . . .	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife and Children	75.00	5.00	20.00
		Hindi Urdu-speakers	55.00	15.00	30.00
	Standard Urdu	Wife and children	90.00	..	10.00
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	95.00	5.00	..
	Kannada	Wife and children	15.00	20.00	65.00
Teachers	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife and children	68.57	5.71	25.72
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	48.57	11.43	40.00
	Standard Urdu	Wife and children	82.85	2.86	14.29
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	91.43	8.57	..
	Kannada	Wife and children	14.29	8.57	77.14
Office-goers	Dakkini Urdu	Wife and children	30·00	15 00	55.00
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	35.00	20.00	45.00

	Standard Urdu	Wife & children	95.00	..	5 00
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	100.00	..	..
	Kannada	Wife and children	20.00	15.00	65.00
Business men . .	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife & Children	75.01	6.25	18.74
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	37.50	6.25	56.25
	Standard Urdu	Wife & Children	87.50	3.13	9.37
		Hindi-Urdu speakess	96.88	..	3.12
	Kannada	Wife & Children	3.13	9.37	87.50
Professionals . .	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife & Children	59.46	13.51	27.03
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	27.02	18.93	54.05
	Standard Urdu	Wife & Children	86.49	8.11	5.40
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	94.59	5.41	..
	Kannada	Wife & Children	16.22	16.22	67.56
Workers	Dakkhini Urdu	Wife & Children	60.53	10.53	28.94
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	39.47	7.89	52.64
	Standard Urdu	Wife & Children	86.84	2.63	10.53
		Hindi-Urdu speakers	94.74	2.63	2.63
	Kannada	Wife & Children	10.52	10.53	78.95

Table 4.5

Percentage distribution of respondents on the five-point scale regarding actual use and attitudes towards Dakkhini Urdu, Standard Urdu and Kannada in family and friendship networks

Actual use/Attitudes towards use	Interaction networks	Languages	Always/ strongly favour	Quite often/ favour	Sometimes/ no opinion	Rarely/ oppose	Never/ Strongly Oppose
Actual use	Family	Dakkhini Urdu	71.04	21.31	2.73	3.83	1.09
		Standard Urdu	5.46	15.30	44.27	26.23	8.74
		Kannada	..	1.64	12.57	20.22	65.57
	Friendship	Dakkhini Urdu	47.00	32.79	12.02	7.10	1 09
		Standard Urdu	7.10	24.04	47.55	15.30	6.01
		Kannada	1.64	1.64	15.85	34.97	45.90
Attitudes towards use	Family	Dakkhini Urdu	22.40	40.44	8.74	20 77	7.65
		Standard Urdu	54.65	32.96	3.30	8.24	0.55
		Kannada	2.19	10.38	12.57	27.87	47.00
	Friendship	Dakkhini Urdu	20.21	40.44	9.29	21.86	8.20
		Standard Urdu	53.00	40.44	1.09	3.83	1.64
		Kannada	2.19	9.84	14.21	31.15	42.61

Table 5.1

Percentage distribution of respondents on the five-point scale regarding attitudes towards language use at different levels of education

Language	Mode of Use	Level of Education	Strongly favour	Favour	No opinion	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Standard Urdu	Medium	Primary	75.95	17.95	1.00	4.92	0.55
		High	58.46	22.95	4.92	9.84	3.83
		College	49.73	18.23	7.73	14.92	9.39
	Subject	Primary	82.51	14.21	1.64	0.55	1.09
		High	78.69	14.75	2.19	3.28	1.09
		College	74.31	14.21	3.38	4.37	3.83
Kannada	Medium	Primary	2.28	10.93	11.48	33.33	40.98
		High	2.19	15.85	14.75	30.05	37.16
		College	1.64	10.93	14.21	32.79	40.45
	Subject	Primary	43.17	34.97	6.01	7.65	8.20
		High	43.71	37.71	6.56	6.56	5.46
		College	28.42	33.33	14.21	13.11	10.93
Dakkhini Urdu	Subject	Primary	18.03	15.85	10.38	34.43	21.31
		High	16.39	18.03	8.20	35.52	21.86
		College	18.58	18.03	8.20	30.60	24.59
	Use in Teaching	Standard Urdu	33.33	30.60	7.10	19.13	9.84
		Other subjects	31.14	34.43	6.01	18.13	9.29

Table 5.2

One-way analysis of variation for group differences according to age, education, and occupation regarding attitudes towards language use at different levels of education

Language	Mode of Use	Level of Education	Age		Education		Occupation	
			F. Value	Level of Significance	F. Value	Level of Significance	F. Value	Level of Significance
Standard Urdu	Medium	Primary	8.43	NS	4.33	0.05	1.15	NS
		High	1.87	NS	6.96	0.02	3.51	0.02
		College	1.93	NS	11.09	0.01	6.94	0.01
	Subject	Primary	0.05	NS	3.43	NS	0.89	NS
		High	1.34	NS	6.02	0.02	2.74	0.05
		College	0.47	NS	1.39	NS	2.44	0.10
Kannada	Medium	Primary	0.15	NS	11.99	0.01	2.43	1.10
		High	0.86	NS	4.54	0.05	0.91	NS
		College	1.32	NS	4.69	0.02	1.62	NS
	Subject	Primary	1.54	NS	0.69	NS	1.52	NS
		High	5.58	0.02	2.40	NS	3.52	0.02
		College	4.23	0.05	0.33	NS	2.41	0.10
Dakkhini Urdu	Subject	Primary	6.06	0.02	9.81	0.01	5.79	0.01
		High	3.35	NS	9.21	0.01	6.57	0.01
		College	3.11	NS	10.26	0.01	7.24	0.01
	Use in Teaching	Standard Urdu	3.29	NS	3.57	NS	2.51	0.10
		Other Subjects	3.17	NS	4.08	0.05	2.13	NS

Table 5.3

Percentage distribution of respondents according to age on three-point of scale (on merging two positive and two negative points) regarding use of Standard Urdu, Kannada and Dakkhini Urdu in education

Language	Mode of Use	Level of Education	Below 25 years			Between 25—40 years			Above 40 years		
			Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Standard Urdu	Medium	Primary	87.80	..	12.20	96.30	1.23	2.47	93.44	1.64	4.92
		High	82.92	..	17.08	77.76	7.41	14.83	85.24	4.92	9.84
		College	78.05	2.44	19.51	61.73	9.88	28.39	70.49	8.20	21.31
	Subject	Primary	97.56	..	2.44	96.30	2.47	1.23	96.72	1.64	1.64
		High	90.24	..	9.76	93.84	3.70	2.46	95.08	1.64	3.28
		College	82.93	4.87	12.20	88.89	2.47	8.64	91.80	3.28	4.92
Kannada	Medium	Primary	14.64	19.51	65.85	14.81	12.34	72.85	13.12	4.92	81.96
		High	21.95	24.39	53.66	16.05	14.81	69.14	18.03	8.20	73.77
		College	14.64	26.83	58.53	9.88	18.52	71.60	14.76	3.28	81.96
	Subject	Primary	70.73	9.76	19.51	76.55	6.17	17.28	85.24	2.28	11.48
		High	75.60	9.76	14.64	75.31	8.64	16.05	93.44	1.64	4.92
		College	56.10	21.95	21.95	56.80	13.58	29.62	72.13	9.84	18.03
Dakkhini Urdu	Subject	Primary	36.58	12.20	51.22	40.74	17.28	41.98	22.95	..	77.05
		High	41.46	2.44	56.10	39.50	14.82	45.68	26.96	3.28	73.76
		College	43.90	7.32	48.78	40.74	13.58	45.68	26.23	1.64	72.13
	Use in Teaching	Standard Urdu	78.04	2.44	19.52	64.20	9.88	25.92	54.10	6.55	39.35
		Other Subjects	82.93	..	17.07	61.19	8.65	27.16	55.73	6.56	37.71

Table 5.4

Percentage distribution of respondents according to education on three-point-scale (as in Table 5.3) regarding use of Standard Urdu, Kannada and Dakkhini Urdu in education

Language	Mode of Use	Level of Education	Below High School			Below Graduation			Graduation & above		
			Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Standard Urdu	Medium	Primary	93.75	..	6.25	97.65	..	2.35	87.87	3.03	9.10
		High	81.25	..	18.75	90.59	3.53	5.88	69.70	9.08	21.22
		College	75.00	..	25.00	81.18	5.88	12.94	48.48	13.64	37.88
	Subject	Primary	93.75	..	6.25	98.82	1.18	..	95.45	3.03	1.52
		High	81.26	3.12	15.62	97.64	1.18	1.18	93.94	3.02	3.04
		College	84.37	..	15.63	90.59	3.53	5.88	87.88	4.54	7.58
Kannada	Medium	Primary	..	..	100.00	12.94	16.47	70.59	22.73	10.60	66.67
		High	9.38	..	90.62	16.47	21.18	62.35	24.25	13.64	62.11
		College	3.12	3.12	93.76	11.77	21.18	67.05	18.18	13.64	68.18
	Subject	Primary	84.37	..	15.63	71.76	11.76	16.48	83.33	1.52	15.15
		High	87.50	3.13	9.37	72.94	10.59	16.47	89.39	3.03	7.58
		College	62.50	6.25	31.25	60.00	18.82	21.18	63.64	12.12	24.24
Dakkhini Urdu	Subject	Primary	12.50	..	87.50	38.82	12.94	48.24	37.88	12.12	50.00
		High	12.50	3.13	84.37	42.35	10.59	47.06	34.85	7.58	57.57
		College	15.63	..	84.37	48.24	11.76	40.00	31.82	7.58	60.60
	Use in Teaching	Standard Urdu	78.12		21.83	67.06	8.23	24.71	53.03	9.09	37.88
		Other Subjects	78.12	..	21.88	70.58	4.71	24.71	53.02	10.61	36.37

Table 5.5

Percentage distribution of respondents according to occupation on three-point scale (as in table 5.3) regarding use of Standard Urdu Kannada and Dakkhini Urdu in education

Language	Mode of Use	Level of Education	Students			Teachers			Office-goers		
			Posi-tive	Neu-tral	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	Neu-tral	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	Neu-tral	Nega-tive
Standard Urdu	Medium	Primary	90.00	..	10.00	97.15	..	2.85	85.00	..	15.00
		High	90.00	..	10.00	94.28	..	5.72	70.00	15.00	15.00
		College	90.00	..	10.00	85.72	5.71	8.57	55.00	5.00	40.00
	Subject	Primary	100.00	..	..	97.14	..	2.86	95.00	5.00	..
		High	95.00	..	5.00	97.14	..	2.86	90.00	5.00	5.00
		College	95.00	5.00	5.00	94.28	..	5.72	75.00	5.00	20.00
Kannada	Medium	Primary	25.00	25.00	50.00	14.29	20.00	65.71	15.00	..	85.00
		High	20.00	30.00	30.00	20.00	72.00	54.28	15.00	..	85.00
		College	20.00	25.00	55.00	17.15	22.85	60.00	5.00	..	95.00
	Subject	Primary	50.00	30.00	20.00	68.57	8.57	22.86	80.00	..	20.00
		High	50.00	30.00	20.00	85.72	8.57	5.71	60.00	5.00	35.00
		College	50.00	30.00	20.00	65.72	17.14	77.14	40.00	10.00	50.00
Dakkhini Urdu	Subject	Primary	45.00	25.00	30.00	60.00	8.57	31.43	25.00	20.00	55.00
		High	65.00	5.00	30.00	51.43	8.58	40.00	25.00	20.00	55.00
		College	70.00	10.00	20.00	51.43	8.57	40.00	25.00	20.00	55.00
	Use in Teaching	Standard Urdu	85.00	5.00	10.00	62.86	11.43	25.72	60.00	10.00	30.00
		Other Subject	80.00	5.00	15.00	65.71	5.71	28.58	65.00	10.00	25.00

Table 5.5—*Contd.*

Language	Mode of Use	Level of Education	Businessmen			Professionals			Workers		
			Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative
Standard Urdu	Medium	Primary	96.88	3.12	..	91.89	2.70	5.41	94.74	..	5.26
		High	90.63	3.12	6.25	64.87	13.51	21.62	78.95	..	21.85
		College	78·12	6.25	15·63	43·25	13·51	43·24	63·15	10·53	26.32
	Subject	Primary	96.88	3.12	..	97.30	2.70	..	94.74	..	5.36
		High	96.88	3.12	..	97.20	2.70	..	84.21	2.63	13.16
		College	93.76	3.12	3.12	89.18	5.41	5.41	84.21	2.63	13.16
Kannada	Medium	Primary	6.25	6.25	87.50	18.92	13.51	67.57	10.53	5.26	84.21
		High	15.62	9.38	75.00	16.22	13.51	70.27	18.42	10.53	71.05
		College	12.50	9.38	78.12	13.51	8.11	78.38	7.90	18.42	73.68
	Subject	Primary	84.38	..	15.62	89.19	2.70	8.11	84.21	2.63	13.16
		High	90.63	3.12	6.25	91.89	2.70	5.41	86.84	..	13.16
		College	78.12	9.38	12.50	64.87	13.51	21.62	57.90	10.53	31.57
Dakkhini Urdu	Subject	Primary	25.00	6.25	68.75	29.73	8.11	72.16	21.05	5.26	73.69
		High	21.88	9.38	68.74	32.43	5.41	62.16	21.05	5.26	73.69
		College	28.12	9.38	62.50	27.03	5.41	67.56	26.31	2.63	71.06
	Use in Teaching	Standard Urdu	62.51	3.13	34.36	45.95	10.81	43.24	73.69	2.63	23.68
		Other Subject	71.88	..	28.12	43.25	13.50	43.25	73.69	2.63	23.68

Table 6.1

Percentage distribution of respondents on the five-point scale regarding utilization of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada.

Language	Mass-communication Net-works	Always	Very often	sometimes	rarely	never
Standard Urdu	Radio	37.70	19·67	32.79	6.56	3.28
	Film	32.78	25.14	24.04	11.48	6.56
	Reading	54.10	21.31	15.30	5.46	3.83
	Mushaira	31.69	27.33	33.33	5.46	2.19
Kannada	. Radio	1.09	2.73	28.41	25.68	42.09
	Film	1.09	3.28	19.67	35.52	40.44
	Reading	4.37	2.19	14.21	22.40	56.83

Table 6.2

One-way analysis of variance for group differences according to age, education and occupation regarding utilization of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada

Language	Mass-communication Networks	Age Groups		Educational Groups		Occupation groups	
		F. Value	Level of signifi-cance	F. Value	Level of signifi-cance	F. Value	Level of signifi-cance
Standard Urdu	Radio	3.07	0.10	0.37	NS	0.76	NS
	Film	2.63	NS	0.16	NS	1.33	NS
	Reading	10.43	0.01	2.37	NS	3.63	0.02
	Mushaira	1.97	NS	4.45	0.05	3.88	0.02
Kannada	Radio	0.23	NS	3.94	0.05	3.20	0.02
	Film	7.36	0.01	7.62	0.01	2.83	0.05
	Reading	1.25	NS	2.83	NS	4.21	0.01

110

Table 6.3

Percentage distribution of respondents according to age regarding utilization of mass-communication, networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada (The percentages of two positive points always and 'quite often and the two negative points 'rarely' and 'never' have been merged)

Language	Mass communication networks	Below 25 years			Between 25—40 years			Above 40 years		
		Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never	Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never	Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never
Standard Urdu	Radio	58.54	31.70	0.76	55.55	32.10	12.35	59.01	32.79	8.20
	Film	70.73	12.20	17.07	56.79	23.46	19.75	50.81	32.79	16.40
	Reading	56.09	26.83	17.08	78·02	14.81	6.17	83.60	8.20	8.20
	Mushaira	41.46	41.46	17.08	61.74	30.86	7.40	67.21	31.15	1.64
Kannada .	Radio	..	31.71	68.29	7.40	24.69	67.91	1.64	31.15	67.21
	Film	7.32	24.38	68.30	9.86	28.40	61.74	1.64	13.11	85.25
	Reading	9.76	9.76	80.48	8.64	16.05	75.31	· 1.64	14.76	83.60

111

Table 6.4

Percentage distribution of respondents according to education regarding utilization of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada   (The percentages merged as in Table 6.3)

Language	Mass-communication net works	Below High School			Below graduation			Graduation & above		
		Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never	Always + quite often	Some-times ₤	Rarely -l- Never	Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never
Standard Urdu	Radio	56.25	31.25	12.50	60.00	29.41	10.59	54.54	37.88	7.58
	Film	53.25	25.00	21.88	61.18	20.00	18.82	56.05	28.79	15.15
	Readings	68.75	6.25	25.00	77.65	16.47	5.88	75.75	18.18	6.07
	Mushaira	37.50	50.00	12·50	67.05	27.06	5.89	59.09	33.33	7.58
Kannada . .	Radio	..	18.75	81.25	..	31.76	68.24	10.61	28.79	60.60
	Film	3.12	6.25	90.63	3.53	21.18	75.29	6.06	24.24	69.70
	Reading	3.12	18.75	78.13	5.88	14.12	80.00	9.10	12.12	78.78

112

Table 6.5

Percentage distribution of respondents according to occupation regarding utilization of mass-communication networks in Standard Urdu and Kannada   (The percentages merged as in Table 6.3)

Language	Mass-communication networks	Students			Teachers		
		Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never	Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never
Standard Urdu	Radio	40.00	50.00	10.00	65.72	25.71	8.57
	Film	60.00	..	40.00	57.15	34.28	8.57
	Reading	55.00	25.00	20.00	91.43	5.71	2.86
	Mushaira	30.00	45.00	35.00	77.15	20.00	2.85
Kannada .	Radio	..	35.00	65.00	2.86	37.14	60.00
	Film	10.00	25.00	65.00	8.57	20.00	71.43
	Reading	15.00	20.00	65.00	2.86	20.00	77.24

Table—6.5 *Contd.*

Language	Mass-communication networks	Office-goers			Businessmen		
		Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never	Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never
Standard Urdu ·	Radio	65.70	25.00	10.00	50.00	37.50	12.50
	Film	45.00	40.00	15.00	68.75	12.50	18 75
	Reading	75.00	25.00	..	87.50	..	18.75
	Mushaira	65.00	20.00	15.00	59.43	40.67	..
Kannada .	Radio	10.00	15.00	75.00	..	25.00	75.00
	Film	10.00	10.00	80.00	..	12.50	87.50
	Reading	10.00	..	90.00	6.25	15.62	78.13

114

Table **6.5**—*Concld*

Language	Mass-communication networks	Professionals			Workers		
		Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never	Always + quite often	Some-times	Rarely + Never
Standard Urdu	Radio	59.46	37.84	2.70	57.89	26.32	15.79
	Film	45.95	32.45	21.62	65.80	21.05	12.15
	Reading	78.38	18.92	2.70	57.89	23.68	18.43
	Mushaira	67.56	29.74	2.70	44.74	44.74	10.52
Kannada .	. Radio	10.81	32.43	56.76	..	21.05	78.95
	Film	..	32.43	67.57	2.63	15.79	81.58
	Reading	5.41	13.51	81.08	2.63	13.16	84.21

Table 7.1

Percentage distribution of respondents on the five-point scale regarding attitudes towards language development/language use in different contexts

Language use/Language development	Language	Strongly favour	Favour	No opinion	Propose	Strongly oppose
Creative Writing	Dakkhini Urdu	8.74	31.15	12.02	26.78	21.31
	Standard Urdu	65.57	28.42	3.28	1.09	1.64
Stage Performance	Dakkhini Urdu	17.49	36.06	9.29	20.22	16.94
	Standard Urdu	62.84	30.06	9.29	0.55	1.64
Mushaira .	Dakkhini Urdu	17.49	37.70	6.56	20.22	18.03
	Standard Urdu	67.21	40.06	1.09	0.55	1.09
Public Speech	Dakkhini Urdu	12.57	31.70	7.10	32.24	16.39
	Standard Urdu	65.57	28.42	3.28	1.08	1.64
Local Newspaper .	Dakkhini Urdu	11.48	19.13	11.48	27.86	30.05
	Standard Urdu	72.13	24.04	1.64	2.19	..
Radio Broadcast . . .	Dakkhini Urdu	27.33	27.33	7.65	16.39	15.30
Language development .	Dakkhini Urdu	22.40	21.32	14.21	25.68	16.39

116

Table 7.2

One-way analysis of variance for group differences according to age, education and occupation regarding attitude towards language development/language use in different contexts.

Language use/Language Development	Language	Age		Education		Occupation	
		F. Value	Level of Signifi-cance	F. Value	Level of signifi-cance	F. Value	Level of Signifi-cance
Creative Writing . . .	Dakkhini Urdu	0.52	NS	7·23	0.01	2.57	0.01
	Standard Urdu	1.27	NS	0.45	NS	0.34	NS
Stage Performance .	Dakkhini Urdu	1.74	NS	6.95	0.01	1.03	NS
	Standard Urdu	2.13	NS	2.93	NS	1.27	NS
Mushaira . .	Dakkhini Urdu	1.00	NS	5.56	0.02	1.48	NS
	Standard Urdu	2.75	NS	1.17	NS	0.82	NS
Public Newspapers . .	Dakkhini Urdu	0.16	NS	2.45	NS	0.48	NS
	Standard Urdu	3.88	0.05	1.57	NS	0.74	NS
Local Newspapers .	Dakkhini Urdu	3.48	NS	5.32	0.02	1.63	NS
	Standard Urdu	3.52	NS	0.59	NS	0.24	NS
Radio Broadcast . . .	Dakkhini Urdu	1·21	NS	4.42	0.05	1.37	NS
Language Development . .	Dakkhini Urdu	0.73	NS	1.82	NS	2.41	0.01

Table 7.3

Percentage distribution of respondents according to age regarding attitudes towards language development/language use in different contexts. (The percentages of the two positive points and two negative points have been merged).

Language use/ Language development	Language	Below 25 years			Between 25—40 years			Above 40 years		
		Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative
Creative writing .	Dakkhini Urdu	56·09	2.44	41.47	40.47	14.81	44.45	27.87	14.75	57.38
	Standard Urdu	82.92	7.32	9.76	96.30	3.70	..	98·36	..	1.64
Stage performance .	Dakkhini Urdu	48.78	4.88	46.34	56.79	14.81	28.40	52·46	16.39	31.15
	Standard Urdu	90.25	2.44	7.31	97.54	1.23	1.23	100·00	..	..
Mushaira . .	Dakkhini Urdu	51.22	4.88	43.90	56.79	9.88	33.33	56.74	4.92	39.34
	Standard Urdu	92.69	2.44	4.88	98.77	..	1.23	98.36	1·64	..
Public speech	Dakkhini Urdu	48.78	7.32	43.90	46·92	6.17	46.91	37.71	8.20	54·09
	Standard Urdu	90.24	..	9.76	95.07	3.70	1.23	95.08	4·92	..
Local Newspapers .	Dakkhini Urdu	41.46	4.88	53.66	34.57	17.28	48.15	18.04	8.20	73.76
	Standard Urdu	92.68	2.44	4.88	96.30	1.23	2.47	98·36	1.64	..
Radio Broadcast .	Dakkhini Urdu	51.22	..	48.78	67.90	12.35	19.75	57.38	5.56	36.06
Language Development	Dakkhini Urdu	46.35	14.63	39.02	46.91	16.05	37.04	37.70	11.48	50.82

Table 7.4

Percentage distribution of respondents according to education regarding attitudes towards language development/language use in different contexts. (The percentages merged as in Table 7.3).

Language use/ Language development	Language	Below High School			Below Graduation			Graduation & above		
		Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative
Creative Writing .	Dakkhini Urdu	21.88	3.12	75.00	50.58	10.59	38.83	34.85	18.18	46.97
	Standard Urdu	93.76	3.12	3.12	95.29	1.18	3.53	92.42	6.06	1.52
Stage Performance .	Dakkhini Urdu	40.63	..	59.37	54.12	11.76	34.12	59.08	10.61	30.31
	Standard Urdu	96.88	..	3.12	95.29	1.18	3.53	98 48	1·52	..
Mushaira . .	Dakkhini Urdu	40.63	3.12	56.25	58.83	8.23	32.94	57.58	6.06	36.36
-	Standard Urdu	93.76	3.12	3.12	96.47	1.18	2.35	100.00	..	..
Public speech	Dakkhini Urdu	37.50	3.12	59.38	48.24	8.23	43.53	42·42	7.58	50.00
.	Standard Urdu	93·76	3·12	3.12	92·94	4·17	2.35	95·44	1.52	3.04
Local Newspapers	Dakkhini Urdu	18.75	6.25	75.00	36.47	14.12	49.41	28.79	10.61	60.60
. .	Standard Urdu	90.63	3.12	6 25	96.47	2.35	1.18	98.58	..	1.52
Radio Broadcast .	Dakkhini Urdu	46.88	..	53.12	67.06	9.41	23.53	59.09	9.09	31.82
Language develoment	Dakkhini Urdu	43.76	3.12	53.12	49.41	14.12	36.47	36.36	19.70	43.94

119

Table 8.1

Percentage distribution of respondents on the five-point scale regarding attitudes towards symbolic functions of language.

Functions	Languages	Strongly Favour	Favour	No Opinion	Oppose	Strongly oppose
Identity	Standard Urdu	69.40	21.85	3.83	1.09	3.83
	. Dakkhini Urdu	26.23	31.15	9.84	22.40	10.38
	Kannada	28.96	14.21	15.85	24.59	16.39
Social Status	Standard Urdu	72.13	18.58	4.37	2.19	2.73
Instrumental .	Standard Urdu	22.40	36 07	15.85	20.22	5.46
	Kannada	48.08	36.07	4.92	7.10	3.83

Table 8.2

One-way analysis of variance for group differences according to age, education, and occupation
regarding attitudes towards symbolic functions of language.

Function	Languages	Age		Education		Occupation	
		F. value	Level of signifi-cance	F. value	Level of signifi-cance	F. value	Level of signifi-cance
Identity	Standard Urdu	5.37	0.02	1.46	NS	2.70	0.05
	Dakkhini Urdu	0.02	NS	2.5	NS	2.28	0.10
	Kannada	0.25	NS	8.39	0.01	3.09	0.02
Social Status	Standard Urdu	5.03	0.02	1.38	NS	6.22	0.01
Instrumental . . .	Standard Urdu	0.89	NS	3.4	NS	0.99	NS
	Kannada	3·2	NS	1.92	NS	1.49	NS

Table 8.3

Percentage distribution of respondents according to age regarding attitudes towards symbolic functions of language (The percentages of the two positive and two negative points have been merged).

Function	Language	Below 25 years			Between 25—40 years			Above 40 years		
		Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	No-opi-nion	Nega tive	Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive
Identity	Standard Udru	85.36	..	14.64	90.13	7.40	2.47	96.72	1.64	1.64
	Dakkhini Urdu	56.10	7.32	36.58	59.26	12.35	28.39	55.74	8.20	36.06
	Kannada	46.34	21.95	31.71	44.44	12.35	43.21	39.35	16.39	44.26
Social Status . .	Standard Urdu	78.04	7.32	14.64	92.59	4.94	2.47	96.72	1.64	1.64
Instrumental	Standard Urdu	60·97	14.63	24.40	59.26	18.52	22.22	55.74	13.11	31.15
	Kannada	92.68	2.44	4.88	75.30	7.41	17.29	90.16	3.28	6.56

Table 8.4

Percentage distribution of respondents according to education regarding attitudes towards symbolic functions of language (The percentages merged as in Table 8.3).

Function	Language	Below High School			Below Graduation			Graduation & above		
		Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive
Identity . . .	Standard Urdu	96.88	..	3.12	92.94	1.18	5.88	86.36	12.12	1.52
	Dakkhini Urdu	68.75	3.12	28.13	60.00	10.59	29.41	48.48	21.22	30.30
	Kannada	78.13	..	21.87	36.48	15.29	48.23	34.85	24.24	40.91
Social Status . .	Standard Urdu	100.00	..		87.96	3.53	9.41	90.90	7.58	1.52
Instrumental .	Standard Urdu	81.25	..	18.75	61.17	10.59	28.24	43.94	30 30	25.76
	Kannada	87.50	..	12.50	89.41	3.53	7.06	75.75	9.09	15.16

Table 8.5

Percentage distribution of respondents according to occupation regarding attitudes towards symbolic functions of language.   (The percentage merged as in Table 8.3).

Functions	Language	Students			Teachers			Office-goers		
		Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive
Identity . . .	Standard Urdu	75.00	..	25	94.28	..	5.72	95.00	5 00	..
	Dakkhini Urdu	40.00	..	55.00	65.72	2.86	31.42	65.00	5 00	30.00
	Kannada	20.00	40.00	40.00	42.86	11.43	45.71	45.00	10.00	45.00
Social Status . .	Standard Urdu	60.00	10.00	30.00	94.28	2.86	2.86	95.00	5.00	..
Instrumental · .	Standard Urdu	60.00	20.00	20.00	60.00	8.57	31.43	60.00	20.00	20.00
	Kannada	95.00	5 00	..	85.72	2.86	11.43	80.00	5.00	15.00

Functions	Language	Businessmen			Professionals			Workers		
		Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive	Posi-tive	No opi-nion	Nega-tive
Identity . .	Standard Urdu	96.88	3.12	..	83.79	13.51	2.70	97.37	..	2.63
	Dakkhini Urdu	56.24	15.63	28.13	43.24	21.62	35.14	71.06	5.26	23.68
	Kannada	50.00	12.50	38.50	29.73	21.62	48.65	65.79	7.89	26.32
Social Status . .	Standard Urdu	96.88	3.12	..	89.19	8.11	2.70	97.37	..	2.63
Instrumental . .	Standard Urdu⌡	65.62	6.25	28.13	37.84	35.14	27.02	71.06	7.89	21.05
	Kannada	84.38	6.25	9.37	72.97	10.81	16.22	92·11	..	7.89

124

Table 9.1

Percentage distribution of respondents on the five-point scale regarding self-evaluation of speech and stereotypes.

Evaluation of speech/stereotypes	very much /always	somewhat/ very often	no opinion sometimes	not/rarely	Not at all/ never
Standard Urdu	21.30	63·93	1.64	8.74	4 37
Kannada	32.78	28.42	21.31	10.93	6 56
Influence of Dakkhini on Standard Urdu . . .	22.40	44.80	3.83	20.77	8 20
Urdu speckers as Muslims	42 07	23.50	13.66	10.93	9.84

Table 9.2

One-way analysis of variance for group differences according to age, education and occupation regarding self-valuation of speech and stereotypes.

Evaluation of speech/stereotypes	Age		Education		Occupation	
	F. Value	Level of signifi- cance	F. value	Level of signifi- cance	F. value	Level of signifi- cance
Standard Urdu	9 04	00.1	0.67	NS	0.29	NS
Kannada	2.31	NS	1 28	NS	2.42	0.10
Influenc of Dakkhini on Standard Urdu	0.91	NS	3.64	NS	3 91	0 02
Urdu speakers as Muslims	1.73	NS	11.58	0·01	12.82	0.01

Table 9.3

Percentage distribution of respondents according to age regarding self-evaluation of speech and stereotypes. (The percentages of the two positive and two negative points have been merged)

Evaluation of speech/ stereotypes	Below 25 years			Between 25—40 years			Above 40 years		
	Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative
Standard Urdu .	95.12	2.44	2.44	76.54	1.23	22.23	90.16	1.64	8.20
Kannada . . .	46.34	29.27	24.39	65.43	16.05	18.52	65.57	22.95	11.48
Influence of Dakkhini on Standard Urdu .	73.17	4.88	21.95	64.20	4.94	30.85	68.85	..	31.15
Urdu speakers as Muslims . . .	53.66	9.76	36.58	71.61	11.11	17.28	65.57	19.67	14.76

Table 9.4

Percentage distribution of respondents according to education regarding self-evaluation of speech and stereotypes. (The percentage merged as in Table 9.3).

Evaluation of speech/ stereotypes	Below High School			Below Graduation			Graduation and Above		
	Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative	Positive	No opinion	Negative
Standard Urdu .	93.75	..	6 25	87.06	2.35	10.59	78.79	1.51	19.70
Kannada . .	62.50	21.88	15.62	62.36	22.35	15.29	59.09	19.70	21.21
Influence of Dakkhini on Standard Urdu	84.38	..	15.62	67.06	3.53	29.41	59.09	6.06	34.85
Urdu speakers as Muslims . .	81.25	6.25	12.50	54.12	15.29	30.59	72.72	15.15	12.13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aghesjysi, R & Fishman, J.A. 1970 'Language Attitude Studies: A Brief Survey of Methodological Approaches.' *Anthropological Linguistics*, 12. 137-57.

Apte, M.L.   .   .   . 1970 'Some Sociolinguistic Aspects of Interlingual communication in India, *Anthropological Linguistics*. 12: 3: 63-82.

Bayer, Jennifer, M.   . 1980 A Sociolinguistic Investigation of the English Spoken by the Anglo-Indians in Mysore City. Ph. D. Dessertation, University of Mysore.

Brass, Paul 1975 *Language, Religion and Politics in India*, Delhi : Vikas Publishing House (P) Ltd

Census of India . 1971 Social and Cultural Tables Pt. II-C(1)

Daswani, C.J., & Parchani S. 1978 *A Sociolinguistic Survey of Indian Sindhi ;* Mysore : Central Institute of Indian Languages.

Dua, Hans R. and Sakuntala Sharma .   .   .   . 1978 'Language Diversity, Bilingualism and Communication in India, *Indian Linguistics*. 38: 210-20.

Dua, Hans R. 1980a 'Language Planning and Linguistic Minorities': Paper presented in the International Institute in Language Planning, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.

Dua, Hans R.   1981   'Dimensions of Speech Community.' *International Journal of Sociology of Language.* 32: 85-119.

1985   Language planning in India New Delhi: Harnam publication.

Giles, H. & Powerland P.F. .   1975   *Speech Style and Social Evaluation*, New York & London: Academic Press.

Govt. of India   .   1956   States Reorganization Commission Report.

Khubchandani, L.M.   1971   Distribution of Contact Languages: A Study of 1961 Bilingualism Returns. Indian Census Centenary Seminar, 1972, New Delhi.

Mackey, W.F.   1973   *Three concepts for Geolinguistics.* Publication B-42, International Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Quebec.

Misra, B. G&Hans R Dua   1980   Language use in Himachal pradesh Mysore central Institute of Indian Language

Pattanayak, D.P.   1980   *Multslupualim and Mothertongue Education.;* Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Pieterson, L   1978   Issues and Trends in Frisian Bilingualim Advances in Societal Multilingualism

Fishman, Joshua A(ed)   The Hague: Mouton
.Shuy, Roger, & Fasold, R.
(eds)   .   .   .   1973   *Language Attitudes; Current Trends and Prospects*, Wa-

shington D.C.: George-town University Press.

Srivastava, R.N. .   1977a Language Policy and Problems of National Education. Language Forum II.

1977b 'Indian Bilingualism: Myth and Reality'. In Sharma, Gopal P and Suresh Kumar (eds) *Indian Bilingualism.* Agra: Kendriya Hindi Sansthan.

1983   *Linguistic Minorities and National Languages* (Mimeo) Delhi University, Delhi .

Verdoodt, A 1975   Ethnic Minorities and the United Nation '. in W mackey and A Verdoodt (ed) The Multinational society Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.