

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF /n/ AND /j/ IN LAHORE

By

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FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis entitled **SOCIAL STRATIFICATION OF /n/ AND /J/ IN LAHORE** has been completed under my guidance and I am fully satisfied with the quality of student's research work.

15 May, 2012.

Name and signature of Supervisor

ABSTRACT

The following study is an investigation of language within the social context of the community in which it is spoken, carried out in 2011 in a region with a particular linguistic background, Lahore, the capital of Punjab, Pakistan. The study examines the objective pattern of language behavior to be correlated with the overall social pattern of differential reaction to social pressures.

This research investigates and examines the stratification of nasal variants /n/ and /J/ in the Lahore city, relating social parameters of age, education, gender, geographical background and social class. The study is concerned with presence or absence of /J/ a retroflex nasal flap that frequently occurs in the speech communities of various parts of rural and urban Punjab.

A structured interview was administered in order to examine this issue of social stratification by language. In this regard, this study becomes a Labovian methodological replica in the present context. The results show several statistically significant differences in linguistic usage among different groups of people residing in Lahore city.

The Labovian concept of rhoticity in the 70s brought significant changes in the field of sociolinguistics. This concept of social stratification is supposed to be equal in the context of nasal variants /n/ and /J/ in the present research.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my mother

Samina Najam



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CHAPTER 1

1.1 Background to the Study

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study carried out in 2011 in Lahore, Pakistan. Lahore is a region with a particular sociolinguistic context which stems from the area's sociolinguistic, political and economic history. This study is an investigation of language within the social context of the community in which it is spoken. The focus of this thesis is to know the objective pattern of language usage in a speech community. More specifically, this examines the relationship between language and social stratification amongst the people of Lahore and how the members of different social classes distinguish themselves from one another in a whole range of social behaviors including the type of language they use. The examples of this phenomenon is common round the globe ,e.g. members of established families on the Massachusetts island of Martha's Vineyard heightened their usage of certain unusual vowel sounds in order to distinguish themselves from tourists(Labov 1963).

This thesis aims to examine how the variation is constrained by both linguistic and social factors and the relationship between linguistic form and social category and to view linguistic variation as indexing social meaning so that individuals can use the variation to express their social category memberships. This variation represents a pattern of behavior learned by speakers through the experience of using language in social interaction.

This work concerns the direct observation of difference in the distribution of variants/n/and/J/. According to Labov(1966),there is a lot of evidence that variables are subject to quite systematic stratification in the speech of individuals and groups.

As the pronunciation of retroflex nasal flap /j/ shows a geographically as well as socially significant distribution. It has been observed that the lower, rural and uneducated class use more /j/ in their conversation. Two or more than two syllables and the second syllable starting /n/ would be pronounced /j/ in words like “panee (water), nianee (a little girl) wanee (gutter), khaydna (play)” but realization of /j/ is absent in these words like “paan, khayden, waan (field)” etc. In this regard, even at the coda position /n/ may be pronounced as /j/ in special cases. The words like sona (sleep), seena (to stitch), kana (one-blind-eyed), etc. the realization of /j/ is very much present among some varieties of Punjabi (Naseem, 2004)

In this way, these variants /n/ and /j/ become deliberate identity markers between rural and urban communities. According to Language Department of Punjabi University (India), the reason of this phonetic variation might be the close contact of Punjabi varieties with Sanskrit influenced languages like Hindi. The urban communities might be under the influence of Urdu which lacks /j/ but on the contrary, /j/ is very much present in the phonetic system of Sanskrit, Hindi as well as Sikh Punjabi, for example, a retroflex nasal flap in the Hindicized pronunciation of Sanskrit [m̐ji] *ruby* (Mosica, 1991). In other words, Punjabi in India is more open to Sanskrit and traditional sources whereas Punjabi in Pakistan is influenced by Perso-Arabic Sources.

The frequency of the (non-standard) variant /j/ according to socioeconomic class of the speaker represents the marker for identifying the class of speakers. The villagers use more of the non-standard variant /j/ and city dwellers use more of the standard variant /n/. This difference makes it even clearer why we talk about this stratification. Research shows that the alternation between /n/ and /j/ has been very

salient marker of social class. Another aspect of these nasal variants is that /J/variant appears clearly when it comes in the center of words like “pane” (water), “kana” (semi-blind) etc., but when it comes at the very end the sound pattern is changed in words like “paan” (Beatle leaf) “akhaan” (quotation) “naan” (a bread baked in oven), etc. The presence of /J/ variant also observed in both above-mentioned phonetic environments with different frequency in relation to age, gender, place of residence, education and social group of individuals.

1.1.1 The locale of study

Lahore is located at 31-34' north latitude and 74-22' east longitude, the geographic expanse of Lahore district has witnessed random growth in population from 0.67 million to 6.3188 million during 1941 to 1998 (FBS-1998). According to Census (1998) 82% of the total population of Lahore district is urban and the remaining 18% is rural.

Lahore is a cosmopolitan city like New York City, a place for mixed populations, majority of the people are immigrants from different areas of Punjab as well as very small percent of people from other parts of Pakistan. The multi-linguistic flavor is the result of these people with different varieties of Punjabi. In Lahore, Punjabi is in very active use for every day communication. On the other hand, rural areas are not as developed as Lahore in different walks of life. For example education is not easily available for the population of non-urban areas, which results in low literacy rate in these areas. The significant social variable sex shows a big difference between male and female literacy rates. It is higher among males, i.e. 39.7% and less among females which is 21.6%. (Economic Survey of Pakistan, 2010-11)

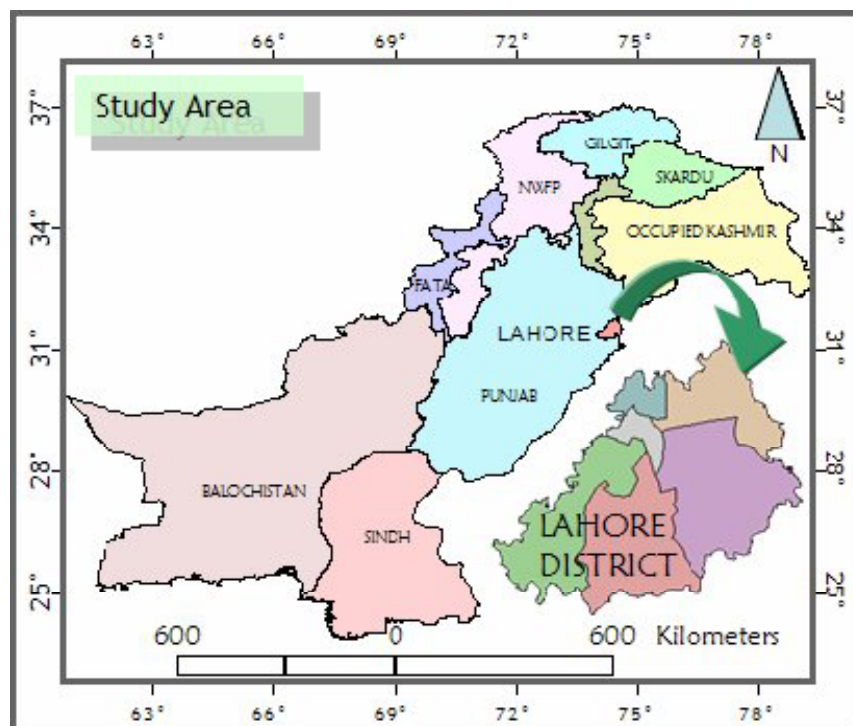


Figure (I) Location of Study Area, Lahore District, Pakistan.

Lahore is the second largest city of Pakistan and considered to be the 24th largest city of the world. It is called the capital of Punjab as well as the “cultural capital” of Pakistan. It is situated at the bank of “Ravi”. It encircles an area of 1772sqkm which is largely consisted of agricultural lands. Lahore city covers a total land area of 404 km .In the North and South; it connects the key trade route between India and Pakistan. The strategic location makes it as the heart of Pakistan. The population is over 6 million people (Census,1998).

Raza (1999) describes that the city is full of cultural and historical aspects. That is why Lahore is considered - the jewel of Punjabi culture. Lahore is a city of poets, men of letters, artists, wrestlers, colleges and some of the finest gardens in the sub-continent. In this regard, a famous saying is popular “haven’t seen Lahore, haven’t been born “District Kasur is in the south and Sheikhpura district is in the north-west.

1.1.2 Economy of Lahore

Lahore is considered the regional hub of Punjab and the second largest financial hub of Pakistan. It stands at 36th position in terms of GDP growth (Global City GDP Rankings, 2008). Lahore is projected to raise its GDP from US\$ 40 billion (PPP) in 2005 to US\$ 120 billion (PPP) by 2025 at a growth rate of 5.6% per annum, which is close to the current national average of Pakistan. The sustainable economic development of the city has relied mostly on this indicator; however, with inconsistent price hikes in commodities and fuel along with consistent deficit budget, it is likely that the current inflation figure of 12 to 13 percent is likely to touch 14 to 15 percent(Q1 2011 as reported by FBS) The center to Lahore's economy is the LSE, Lahore Stock Exchange, Pakistan's second largest stock exchange after Karachi Stock Exchange. Major industry situated in the District includes foundries, steel mills, textile units and chemical factories. The city is the largest software producing and exporting city in the country. Lahore has second largest stock exchange of Pakistan (MCL, Report-1999).

1.1.3 Demography of Lahore

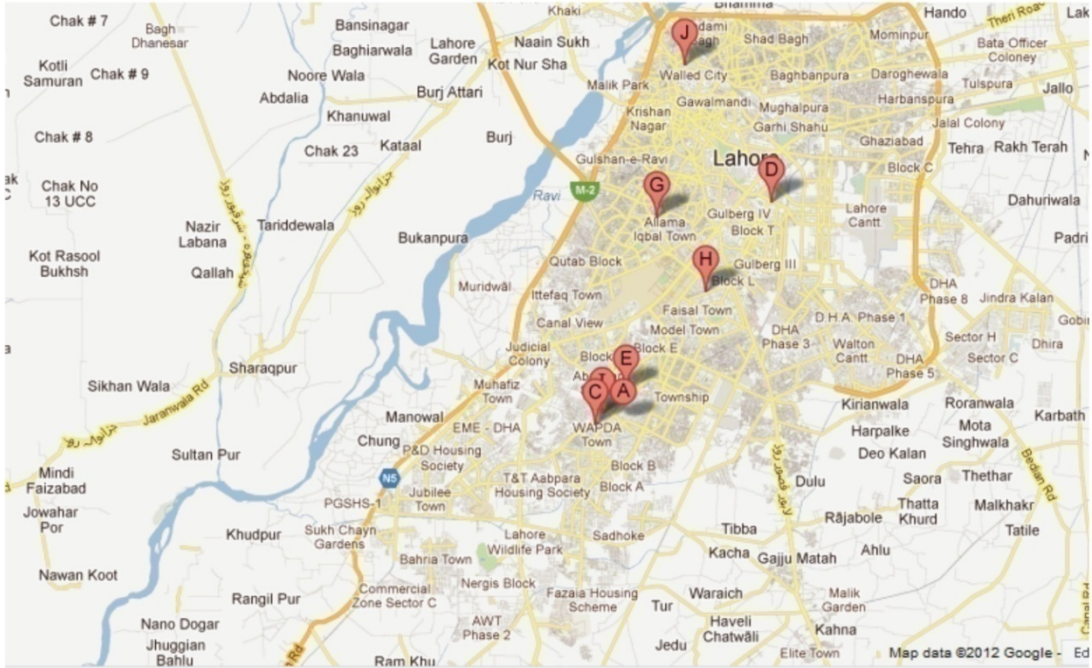
According to Census (1998) the estimated population of Lahore district was 6.94 million which increased to 7.71 million in the year 2001. Most migrants come from within the province of Punjab. (In a population of approximately 6,320,000 in Lahore, half of the more than one million migrants are from other parts of the Punjab.)According to NESPAK (2008) the urban population represents most of the total estimated population in Lahore district. According to the 1998 census of population the population of Lahore was 6,318,745 of which 81.17% was urban. The remaining 19% was non-urban area.

According to the Census (1998) Lahore's population was nearly 6.8 million. Mid 2006 government estimates now put the population at somewhere around 10 million, which makes it the second largest city in Pakistan,. It is considered to be one of the thirty largest cities of the world.

1.1.4 Language

Punjabi is the most widely spoken language of Lahoris. On the contrary, Punjabi does not enjoy official status as a result; some activists launched a movement for the recognition of Punjabi (The Nation, 2011). Punjabi spoken in Lahore is known as *Majha* dialect of Punjabi .According to the Census(1998), 86.2% or 6,896,000 of the population are Punjabis; 10.2% or 816,000 are Urdu speakers and the Seraikis, at 0.4%, number about 32,000.

The map of Lahore indicates the geographical site of the city with all key places. If Lahore is divided into following three broad divisions(A)Left canal areas(Garden Town,Model Town, etc) (B) Right of canal and left of Multan Road areas(Samanabad,A.I Town, etc)(C) Right of Multan Road and above the Mall areas (Bund Road,Sanda,Walled City, Misri Shah,Shahdra, etc.)(Detail in Ch 4), situation would be easy for the researcher to select his desired subjects, representing all groups.



Map of Lahore extracted from Google earth maps

1.1.5 The language culture of Lahore

According to Sullivan (2011) Punjabi is flourishing in Lahore in spite of the domination of foreign language. Punjabi was spoken for centuries in Lahore. Majority of the Lahories use simple and unadulterated Punjabi for communication. Sullivan further elaborates that the languages in use in Lahore, Punjabi is considered with the L of Ferguson's Diglossia. Punjabi is used in all walks of life except government affairs. It is labeled with Ferguson's specifications of L while Urdu with H. The upper class ladies speak a limited Punjabi, usually to servants and their friends. As Faruqi (2006) is of the view that girls are more concerned to differentiate themselves from the stigmatic connotations of Punjabi vocabulary and dialects. As for as, boys are concerned, they freely use even stigmatized vocabulary and dialects with their friends. By judging the dialect, even a layman can guess the background of the concerned person.

Lahori people have their own specific accent. The careful observation of the phonetic variants of /n/, the absence and presence of /n/ and /J/ hypothesized that there is a certain social significance in the way of producing these sounds. It results that there is a certain social difference in the social atmosphere of the people with or without /J/. According to this observation, people with the same value of /J/ would be placed in the same social group. The social group on the top would pronounce /n/ on maximum occasion while the lowest group would manifest the least.

So far in the investigation of the speech of Lahore City, the researcher has been taking a very close view of the linguistic behavior of individuals. As a preliminary to extending this method to large numbers of speakers, it will be useful to consider a survey of the speech of Lahore City, conducted in the September of 2011. This survey was

designed to test two ideas that arose from the exploratory interviews: first, that the variable (n) is a social differentiator in all levels of Lahore City speech; and second, to know the generalizability of Labovian sociolinguistics.

This distribution of variants /n/ and /J/ is different in the target speech community which is exactly the same phenomenon has been observed by Labov (1977) in analyzing a sociolinguistic variable (r) in New York City. The distribution of the variable may be examined in a way, whether a speaker pronounces /n/ or /J/ in final or post-vocalic or pre-consonantal positions for example in “Paan”(Beatle),”Panee”(water).The usage of the respective variants can be compared with speaker A and B. The numerical values can be assigned with these two groups. The incidence of these two is correlated statistically with social characteristics, such as class, age and gender of their speakers. In Labovian paradigm, the score was calculated by observing the presence or absence of the respective variable, he preferred the methodological importance of the principle of accountability.

The present study intends to explore the distinction between /n/ and /J/ for comprehending demarcating boundaries between two strata of speech community. This is mainly in our local context, this sociolinguistic phenomenon has not yet been researched in Punjabi context and consequently we are not in a position to observe linguistics change as it is taking place. This present study is a step to trace changes along many dimensions of the linguistic structure of speech community, and some of the most central problems of the mechanism of linguistic evolution.

1.2.1 Historical Background

Information regarding the /J/ variant is scant but from the literature available, provided mainly by Grierson (1919) and Masica(1991) about different dialects of

Punjabi, provide information that nasal variants including /J/ were in active use in many dialects of Punjabi. We can clearly see that within this space of time major linguistic changes took place in dialects of Punjabi with the growing number of rural people displaced by agricultural modernization and mechanization, have contributed to the substantial increase in the levels of urbanization in Lahore. We may speculate that linguistic change is connected with increasing significance of education which appeared in Punjab after the creation of Pakistan.

As Lahore is called “a city of colleges”. In other words, education brought a significant change in the form of increased exposure to the standard Punjabi script which was influenced by Hindi and Sanskrit before the creation of Pakistan which dominated /n/ by /J/ which is an identity marker of Arabic and Urdu in newspapers, and many other academic works. A strong possibility is that this increased and constant exposure to the script influenced the educated people so that they started missing /J/ in their normal conversation but in Indian Punjab still /J/is in active use.

According to Nayyara. K (2002) religious backgrounds, is another reason of this phenomenon in which Punjabi spoken in Eastern Punjab is more influenced by Sanskrit whereas Punjabi spoken in Western Punjab is influenced by Persian and Arabic. This difference causes some changes in the phonemic inventory of dialects spoken in Western Punjab. As a result, the areas (especially Villages) under the influence of Hindi and Sanskrit demonstrated the active use of /J /, while on the contrary, the areas (especially Urban) under the influence of education showed deletion of /J/variant (Mosica.1991, p.103)

1.2.2 Retroflex Nasal Flap/J/and Majhi dialect

According to Masica(1991) there are numerous dialects of Punjabi in Pakistan. Some of them have great resemblance with each other while some differ greatly and seem to be closer to Sindhi and Saraiki languages. As Dr. Sidhi,(1992) describes that main dialects are Pothohari, Dhanni, Chachi, Jangli and Majhi. Majhi is considered the standard dialect and is found in Lahore and its surroundings

The presence of phoneme /J/ is not a regular feature in all dialects of Punjabi however it is strongly present in Punjabi of some areas (Naseem, 2003). So the focus of this study is to know the existence as a part of the language as well as a relative frequency of this phoneme among various groups of people in Lahore city.

According to Ladefoged (1996) /J/ is a nasalized retroflexed flap, Retroflex are those consonants that are produced with our tongue tip curled back towards the hard palate, it is flap because presence of break in formants shows that there is a brief moment of closure during its articulation, but as the velum is lowered air escapes through nasal tract and that's why all formants are present though in a damped state.

Furthermore, Maddison (1996) describes that in retroflexed flap, tongue is curled back and on its way back to normal position it touches the palatoalveolar region. And during the articulation velopharyngeal port is open that is the consonant is nasalized. Not only Eastern but also many West African languages have a nasal flap [ɲ̥] (or [n̥]) as an allophone of /ɲ/ before a nasal vowel; Pashto, however, has a phonemic nasal retroflex lateral flap. The symbol “~” is called tilde, shows nasality.

According to Naseem (2003) in Punjabi this phoneme does not exist word initially and it is also found in other regional languages of Pakistan like Saraiki, Pashto, and Sindhi.

As long as /J/ is concerned it is present in all dialects of Punjabi except in areas of Lahore and Gujranwala where it is slowly merging with /n/. It is also found in other regional languages of Pakistan like Saraiki, Pashto, and Sindhi. (Naseem, 2003).

1.2.3 Comparison between /J/ and /n/

According to Naseem (2010) /n/ and /J/ both are nasal and therefore bear some resemblance with each other. Both of them are context nasalized, that is the higher formants of their context vowels are damped. This damping is relatively clearer in /n/. Duration of /n/ is much longer than that of /J/. Moreover there is no sharp formants transition in /n/. Although the lower formants remain unchanged for both /n/ and /J/.

1.2.4 Labovian linguistic variable and the present research

As this study is Labovian methodological replica in various ways. The linguistic variable /n/ from the hypothesis “the variants /n/ and /J/ are social differentiators in the speech community” is like Labov’s rhoticity concept (Social Stratification of “r” in New York City Department Stores 1972). There is a certain social significance in the ways of producing these sounds. It may be pointed out that there is a distinct difference in the social environment of the people with or without deletion of retroflex nasal flap /J/. By following Labov's (1966) principle of accountability ‘social stratification’ in language is usually represented by means of variants, which shows the relative frequency with which one of the variants of a variable is used by the different social classes, as a proportion of all the cases in which it could have been used. In other words, variant /J/ becomes social differentiator in Lahori speech community.

The people from upper class would pronounce /n/ in most occurrences rather than /J/ while the lower class people would show highest score of /J/. In this way, /n/ is a

frequent sound, it fits the needs of gaining data by short time structured interviews(closed question pattern) with different speakers of Lahore city.

1.2.5 Majhi/Lahori-the standard dialect of Punjabi

Grierson (1928) is of the view that the various dialects till then called "Western Punjabi", in active use in North, West, and South of Lahore which is Punjab of Pakistan, it was not a distinct language from Punjabi. The local dialect of Lahore is the Majhi dialect of Punjabi, Punjabi's prestige dialect, which has long been the basis of standard literary Punjabi. Lahori is another name for this standard Punjabi language, is spoken, most of the Punjabi population lives in Lahore, the heart of Punjab, and the dialect of the historical region of Majha. In this context, dialect of many Punjabi speakers in Lahore is known as *Majha* dialect Of Punjabi.

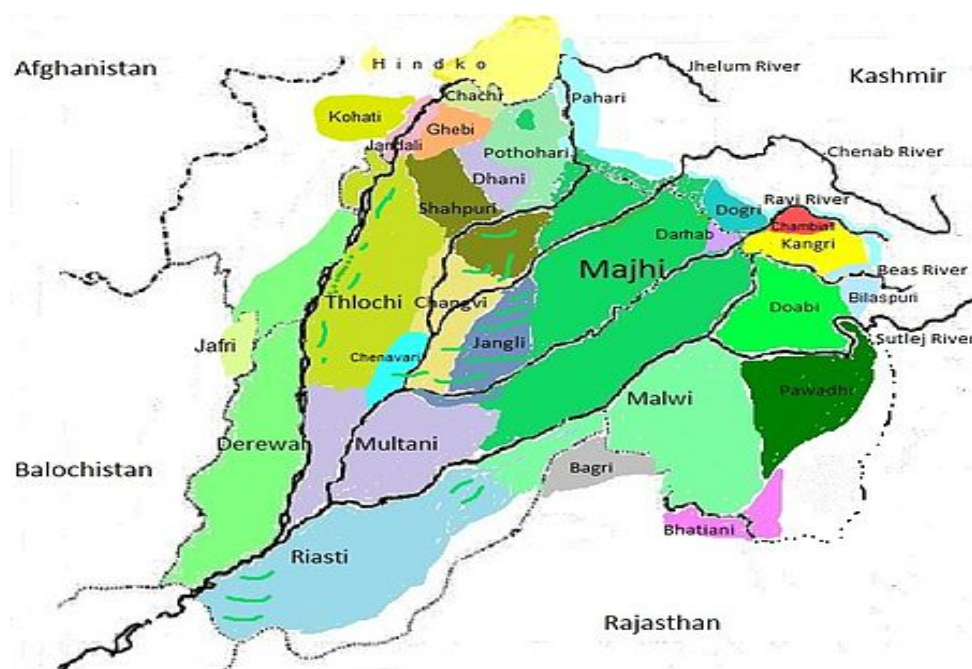


Fig. 1 Bifurcation of Local Dialects of Punjabi in province of Punjab

From this we may speculate that [J] deletion in Lahori speech communities may be an indication of educated, urban and upper class speech while addition of [J] may be

characteristic of speech of rural areas, lower class and uneducated people and that it has a higher occurrence in villages of Punjab which is more linguistically conservative than cities.

For the purposes of this thesis, and for reasons explained more fully in the body of this work, participants were all from Lahore (aged 15 to 60 years). They were divided into age, gender, education, region and social groups. They belong to different areas of Lahore city. There are many participants who have recently shifted from non-urban neighboring areas of Lahore. There are many others who settled themselves in Lahore many years ago. In order to study if there is any difference in the sociolinguistic choices for the communication of identity made by these people and to the phenomenon of social stratification by the use of language and if the degree to which language variation is displayed can be considered significant when contrasting speakers belonging to these groups.

Of course, the complicated social, political, economic and historical context of Lahore means that the distinction made between urban and non-urban, literate and illiterate, young and old, male and female, is only one of a small number of possible variables that affect language use and identity of the participants. Very significant factors that are keenly examined in this thesis are social class, age, region, education and gender. For example, subjects are recorded for recognizing their place of origin whether participants come from urban or rural backgrounds. Social variables like these will almost certainly play a large part in the sociolinguistic choices of speakers, but due to time and space limitations, it was impossible to study all factors which may affect the

language choices and the degree of language disloyalty displayed by speakers from different strata of society.

2. Aims and Objectives of the Study

This survey investigates sociolinguistic data. The data used in this thesis is from the analysis of sociolinguistic interviews. The objectives of the study are listed below:

- 1) This research investigates and examines the stratification of nasal variants /n/ and /J / among rural and urban speakers in Lahore, relating social parameters of age, geographical background, education, gender and social class.
- 2) The study is concerned with presence or absence of /J/a retroflex nasal flap in words like; panee, nianee, sianee,paan ,naan etc. can be pronounced that frequently occur in the speech communities of various parts of rural and urban Punjab.
- 3) This survey was designed to test two ideas that arose from the exploratory interviews: first, that the variable (J) is a social differentiator in all levels of Lahore City speech; and second, to know the generalizability of Labovian sociolinguistics.
- 4) The focus of this thesis is to know the objective pattern of a retroflex nasal flap in Lahori speech community.
- 5) This study examines the relationship between language and social stratification among Lahoris, and how the members of different social classes distinguish themselves from one another in a whole range of social behaviors including the type of language they use.
- 6) This research aims to examine how the variation is constrained by both linguistic and social factors and the relationship between linguistic form and social category.
- 7) This study is to view linguistic variation as indexing social meaning so that individuals can use the variation to express their social category memberships. This

variation represents a pattern of behavior learned by speakers through the experience of using language in social interaction.

3. Problem Statement

In this research, the researcher has tried to explore the pattern of the usage of variant /J/ among the social classes, genders, among the people with different backgrounds with regard to education, age and place of origin.

The hypothesis of this study is:

4. Research Hypothesis

The present study attempted to answer the following research hypothesis:

The main hypothesis was:

The variants /n/ and /J/ are social differentiators in the speech community.

Contributory Hypotheses

Keeping in focus, the researcher has framed the following research hypotheses. He considers that the answers to these research hypotheses will contribute the overall understanding of the problem.

The contributory hypotheses were:

1. The differentiation between the use of /n/ and /J/ marks the social identity of the speakers – lower class, middle class, and upper class.
2. The majority of the educated people will pronounce / n / rather than /J/.
3. The people from villages have the highest value of /J/, whereas the people from cities have the lowest value of /J/.
- 4- The young people have the lowest value of /J/, whereas the old people have the highest value of /J/.

5- The females use the standard variant / n/ more than the males.

5. Research Methodology

There were 19 questions divided into two parts (section A-6 & section B-13), in this way, 6 questions representing independent variables were the profile questions about the subjects. While the remaining questions dependent variable were formulated to collect data with regard to research question. The main research hypothesis is (the variants /n/ and /J/ are social differentiators in the speech community) and on the basis of this, researcher has formulated the contributory hypotheses, the results of which will help in finding the answers to the research hypotheses.

Keeping in view the research hypotheses and the type of data, quantitative approach was considered relevant to the present research study. This approach would help the researcher by providing the phonetic data of respondents belonging to different strata of society for the identification of social stratification and to take a very close view of the linguistic behavior of individuals. Since the purpose of the study was to find out how many number and percentages of respondents use variants /n/ and /J/ in Lahore. The quantitative approach of research was used to get the answers to the research hypotheses.

In order to examine this issue in depth, the researcher has been concerned that people would be selected randomly for obtaining a representative sample. In this process, those sounds were recognized related with variants/n/ & /J /. Later on, their presence and absence with other modifications, were detected by simply using ear training. The data was obtained from the native speakers of Punjabi residing in Lahore city.

Another factor that was considered important was that the design dealt primarily with purposes and plans within practical constraints of location, time, money and availability of other resources.

6. Delimitation of the Study

This research aims to examine how the variation is constrained by both linguistic and social factors and the relationship between linguistic form and social category in different ways. However, this study is limited only to find social stratification in urban area of Lahore. Moreover this study is confined to Lahore that is mainly due to lack of financial resources and the limited time frame within which this study has to be completed.

7. Significance of the Study

Since the goal of this research is to clarify how closely related the linguistic and social factors and how the individuals linguistic variation to express their personalities and social category membership, the analysis could be applied to determine how this variation represents a pattern of behavior learned by speakers through language in social setting. This research could answer research hypotheses that how the differentiation between the use of /n/ and /J/ marks the social identity of the speakers – lower class, middle class, and upper class along with other related topics .It is expected that other sociolinguistic researchers would make further researches on other areas of Punjabi sociolinguistic aspects. It is hoped that this research will encourage the Punjabi people to value their language more when they see that their language is of interest to outsiders especially Western Linguistic institutes.e.g. Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC)

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Stratification

According to Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary the Stratification is the division of something into different layers or groups. The concept of social stratification came in existence in the 1940. According to Macionis, and Gerber (2010) "stratification" derives from the geological concept of strata - rock layers created by natural processes. The term stratification was borrowed from the earth science, the science of geology. The earth scientists say that earth is made up of a number of layers, one placed upon other. Each of these layers has its own composition and can be distinguish from the other. In technical terms, each layer is known as stratum, the plural of which is strata, and the system of the composition of earth is called stratification.

Similar to the structure of earth, the sociologists also think that the human society is divided into layers, one placed upon the other. Social stratification, therefore, may be defined as the division of society into strata. But there is an important distinction between the geological and sociological use of the term stratification. For geologists, all the strata that constitute each earth are of equal value. There is no question of on being more privileged than the other. By comparison, in human society, there is an unequal distribution of privileges across the strata. In other words, the layers of a society are ranked. Those occupying higher positions are more privileged than those who occupy lower positions.

Social stratification is defined by sociologists as a system by which society ranks categories of people in a hierarchy. In this context, Bernard Barber (1957) is of the view that social stratification is the product of social differentiation and social evaluation. The use of this term does not imply any specific type of class or caste, but simply that the normal workings of society have produced systematic differences between certain institutions or people, and that these differentiated forms have been ranked in status or prestige by general agreement.

As in the words of Saunders P. (1990) the term most commonly relates to the socio-economic concept of class, involving the "classification of persons into groups based on shared socio-economic conditions, a relational set of inequalities with economic, social, political and ideological dimensions." Members of different social classes distinguish themselves from one another in a whole range of social behaviors including the type of language they use. The researcher observes in the present study area can also be divided into different classes being more privileged than the other. By comparison, in Lahori society, there is also an unequal distribution of privileges across the strata. In other words, the different layers of a society are ranked in to three major groups, the upper, the middle and the lower.

The group membership may be voluntary or without choice, but often carries connotations of pride and loyalty e.g. members of established families on the Massachusetts island of Martha's Vineyard heightened their usage of certain unusual vowel sounds in order to distinguish themselves from tourists(Labov,1966).The people in Lahore, show their group membership by the specific use of language. The rich class use a formal, the middle class use bit formal style and the lower class use very casual speech

in common conversation. The members of different social classes distinguish themselves from one another in a whole range of social behaviors including the type of language they use. They can be ranked by their specific dialect usage of Punjabi as the 85% Lahori population use Punjabi.(Naseem 2003).

In other words, stratification is a system by which society ranks its members in a hierarchy, is the norm throughout the world. All societies stratify their members. A stratified society is one in which there is an unequal distribution of society's rewards and in which people are arranged hierarchically into layers according to how much of society's rewards they possess

Four principles are identified which help explain why social stratification exists. First, social stratification is a characteristic of society and not merely of individuals. Second, social stratification is universal but variable. Third, it persists over generations. And, fourth, it is supported by patterns of belief (Macionis, Gerber, John, Linda (2010)

2.2 The functions of social stratification

Weber (1924) highlighted three unique aspects of stratification, Class, status, and power. He argued that social standing consists of three parts or directions: class, which he regarded as identified mainly by economic standing or wealth; party, which was equal to political power; and status, or social prestige and honor. The researcher observes the same Weberian three categories of class, status and power, where the social consists of three parts or directions, class as identified mainly by economic standing or wealth; party which is equal to political power and status or social prestige and honour.

By following Weber, the researcher uses the term socioeconomic status: a composite ranking based on social dimensions particularly various dimensions of social

inequality in the city. These include education, occupation, income and the place of residence, etc. (Warner,1960)

2.3 Social Stratification of Language

Ross (1954), like other sociolinguists like Wolfram, is of the view that differences in language are tied to social class. Language is obviously a social phenomenon. The researcher observes the same phenomenon among Lahori population where people can be classified as Upper, Middle or Lower class on the grounds that certain lexical and phonological differences among the people of different localities of Lahore city.

For analyzing this phenomenon, in USA, regional dialect surveys recognized the significance of social status in geographical variation, and highlighted three groups of subjects: Group1-little formal education and less social contacts; Group2-better formal education and wider social contacts; and Group3-superior education, sophisticated background and extensive social contacts. These groups belong to social status. Similarly, the researcher, divided the population into three groups with certain methodology (described in detail in Ch. 4)

2.4 Relationship between Society and Language

The role of social dialectology in quantitative sociolinguistics research on urban speech varieties is very pivotal, initiated by William Labov's (1966) work in New York City. He was the pioneer in introducing a systematic methodology for investigating social dialects by using tape recorded interviews with 103 people chosen by random sample as being representative of the various social classes, ages, ethnic groups, etc, in New York City. This technique solved the problem of how any one person's speech could be thought

of as representing a large urban area. The researcher adopted the same technique by selecting 72 subjects for eliciting desired data in Lahore city.

According to previous sociolinguistics investigations, the speech of New Yorkers appeared to vary in a random and unpredictable manner. Sometimes, they pronounced post-vocalic /r/ (i.e., *r* following a vowel) in words such as *car*, while at other times they did not. This fluctuation was termed 'free variation' because there was not any satisfactory explanation for this dichotomy. Labov solved this riddle by explaining this phenomenon that it was not free, but rather conditioned by social factors such as social class, age, sex, and style in predictable ways. According to Labov the idiolects in isolation seem random, the speech community as a whole behaved regularly. These methods of sociolinguistics research could predict that a person of a particular social class, age, sex, etc., would pronounce post-vocalic /r/ a certain percent of the time in certain situations.

These new methods paved grounds for investigating social dialects by correlating sociolinguistic variables with social factors. Studies like these studies have since been replicated in other parts of the world. On the contrary, the researcher observes, this practice could not be initiated in Pakistan with different dialects of different languages.

2.5 Methods of Analyzing Social Stratification of Language

A regular relationship between social and linguistic factors can be demonstrated by a reliable methodology by following many sociolinguists like William Labov. In this respect, sociolinguists have been concerned with (e.g., social class, age, sex, style, and network). The most researched area is social class. Patterns of social class differentiation are often assumed to be fundamental and other so-called sociolinguistic patterns of

variation, e.g., stylistic and gender variation, are regarded as derivative of them (Labov1972).

The researcher followed the general accepted sociological practice by many sociolinguists was to rely on indicators of social status, such as education, region, gender, age, , etc., grouped individuals into social classes on the basis of these factors, and then looked to see how certain linguistic features were used by each group .The same method used in New York City to study the linguistic features in selecting items which could be easily quantified; in particular, phonological variables such as post-vocalic /r/, which was either present or absent while in the present study the variants /n/ and / J / have been researched.

Similar, sociolinguistic distributions of English variables were observed such as those studied by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, modeled after the New York research. These studies show the percentage of nonstandard forms used by different class groups. According to this the lower a person's social status, the more likely he/she is to use a higher percentage of alveolar/n/ rather than velar nasal/ ŋ/ endings. The variable (ing) refers to alternation between alveolar /n/ and a velar nasal / ŋ/ in words with *-ing* endings such as *reading, singing*, etc. "This is generally pointed out as a well-known marker of social status in the English speaking world. By following Trudgill, the researcher tried to present probing work on linguistic variants correlated with social factors like, region, etc. In this regard, the relative usage of nonstandard form/ J / by different class groups, have been observed. As a result the use of /J/is very common among non-urban and lower class as well as uneducated subjects.

The variant /J/ refers to the use of retroflex nasal flap as in words “paneer” (water). Most speakers from non-urban areas use this non-standard variant of /n/. Similarly the variable (t) refers to the use of glottal stops instead of /t/, as in words such as bottle. Most speakers of English glottalize final /t/ in words such as *pat*, and no social significance is attached to it. On the other hand, glottal stops are more widely used in many urban dialects of British English, particularly by younger working class speakers in London, Glasgow, etc. The variable (h) also demonstrates finding like these mentioned above.

According to Trudgill (1974) the comparison of these variables for the use of glottal stops in Norwich creates interesting conclusions that the way language and social class is related. The middle class in Norwich uses glottal stops very frequently, i.e., almost 50 percent of the time, but this isn't true of (h). Some variables will serve to stratify the population more finely than others.

Furthermore, the use of a grammatical variable in Detroit (Wolfram 1974) and Norwich (Trudgill 1974) concerns the use of nonstandard third person singular present tense verb forms without -s, e.g., he go. It has been observed that working class speakers use these forms with any great frequency and this is more so in Norwich than in Detroit. The gap between the middle and working class norms is also greater in Norwich than in Detroit, reflecting the greater social mobility of the American social system. In the present research the phonological variants /J/ and /n/ have been studied for determining the social significance attached to these variants in Lahore city.

2.6 Social Class Differentiation in Relation to Other Sociolinguistic Patterns

Quantitative sociolinguistics studies gave a significant finding if a feature occurs more frequently in working class speech, then it will occur more frequently in the

informal speech of all speakers. According to classic findings (Labov (1966), Macaulay (1977) Trudgill P (1974), Wolfram (1974), there are strong correlations between patterns of social stratification and gender. One of these sociolinguistic patterns is that women, regardless of other social characteristics such as class, age, etc., tend to use more standard forms than men. The researcher noticed that in all groups females had higher scores of the /n/ variant. In this respect, this followed the sexual differentiation pattern, which is commonly observed in the west that sees that women are more sensitive than men to prestige patterns, having greater consciousness of social status but on the contrary in Lahore the results are opposite.

Another very interesting study conducted by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich of the variable (ing), i.e., alternation between alveolar /n/ and a velar nasal /ŋ/ in words with -ing endings such as reading, singing, etc. in relation to the variables of social class, style, and sex. It shows the percent of nonstandard forms used by different speakers. Trudgill's men and women in each social group in four contextual styles, i.e., when reading a word list, reading a short text, formal speech, and casual speech. The present research has been confined only on possibly natural speech of the subjects.

By keeping in view above mentioned works, these sociolinguistic patterns involving social class, gender, and style, sociolinguists would reply to the question of who is likely to speak most nonstandardly in a community: working-class men speaking in casual conversation. On the contrary, middleclass women speaking in more formal conversation are closest to the standard. However, that the differences between men and women are not equal throughout the social hierarchy. There are many other social and linguistic factors in any speech community cause linguistic variation among different