

MAINTENANCE OF PANJABI LANGUAGE IN DELHI

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

RANJIT SINGH RANGILA



सत्यमेव जयते

**CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
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IN DELHI**

A Sociolinguistic Study

H. S. TATTA

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

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**CENTRAL INSTITUTE OF INDIAN LANGUAGES
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FOREWORD

Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi in India have such structural similarities that linguists have gone to suggest that they are three manifestations of a single language. L. M. Khubchandani calls the entire North-Indian region as the HUP region. There was a time when Urdu was the language of education in the entire region. Whether it was due to imperial pressure or love of Urdu, religion was not a factor against Urdu education.

The 'communal' character of languages in India led to a situation where there were no sharp boundaries between languages and dialects. Even the language boundaries were fuzzy. Variety, which became focussed because of good literature, regal or religious support was treated as language. When it faded because of the shift in focus, it was treated as dialect. The inclusive logic permeating Indian thinking which permitted co-existence of different cultural entities helped the growth and maintenance of such a situation. Thus at times Awadhi, Braj, Maithili were treated as languages, at other times they were treated as dialects. For a variety of reasons Urdu remained focussed for a long time and was treated as a separate language.

For long time separate identity of Punjabi was questioned. Even the Sikh Gurus used Bhakha in the Grantha Saheb. But once religion was made a factor for separate identity, the language of religion naturally assumed a separate sanctity for its practitioners. In the case of Punjabi, since the language of Adi Grantha is not what is known as Punjabi now, it was the script which was treated as the defining factor of the group. No wonder that in successive censuses, people of that region returned Gurumukhi as their mother tongue.

Adoption of the dominant regional language as culture language to be used in domains other than the intimate domains by minority and settlers was a natural thing. While Hindi provided a macro identity to a host of languages thus creating a loose dialect language relation, the Sindhi Hindi mother tongue label transfer, the Bengali-Assamese mother-tongue transfer in Assam and the declaration of regional languages as mother tongues by tribals and other minority groups was a natural process. The latest manifes-

(ii)

tation of this feature is in Abohar and Fazilka area, where the Wagadis once counted as Punjabis, declared themselves as Hindi speakers and upset the calculation of many political pundits.

It is in this context that maintenance studies in India have to be seen. In India where determined minorities have retained their loyalty to their language under most inhospitable conditions as Saurashtri in Tamilnadu and people are willing to sacrifice their languages on the alter of privilege as in the case of those preferring English to the exclusion of their language, maintenance must be seen as a spectrum. Documentation of various contact situations, differing attitudes of speakers towards each other's language and the change in lingo-centric socio political behaviour over period of time is bound to provide fresh insights into the study of this phenomenon.

The present study is a contribution to this aspect of Sociolinguistics which has held the interest of scholars in different parts of the world. If this adds to the existing knowledge in the field, then our efforts would have been rewarded.

I congratulate all those responsible for the publication of this monograph.

D. P. PATTANAYAK

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Work on this study started on 2nd January, 1974 under the supervision of late Prof. P. B. Pandit, former head of the department of Linguistics, University of Delhi. I wish to dedicate this work to the memory of Prof. Pandit. Though very late, I pay my humble homage to the master who led me to the path of knowledge.

I am indeed very grateful to Dr. D. P. Pattanayak, my Director, for granting the project while I was at University of Delhi. His sustaining advice and guidance during the completion of this work at Mysore have been extremely helpful.

Heartfelt thanks are due to the Principal, the faculty and the students of SGTB Khalsa College, Delhi for their co-operation and hospitality. The admirable promptness and sincerity of purpose shown by the faculty and the students during the survey of December 1974 had led to valuable data. I put my findings before them with a sense of pride.

During those days of struggle in Delhi I had Dr. S. S. Noor, Dr. Harbhajan Singh, Dr. T. S. Kanwar, Dr. Jagbir Singh, Dr. Atamjeet Singh, Dr. R. C. Garag, Dr. K. M. N. Menon, Bhuvaneshwari Nair, Aditi Mukherjee, Rama 'Pandit', Sonoo Singh to count the few among a long list of friends. Their help in overcoming the initial bewilderment cannot be appropriately acknowledged.

My teachers Prof. R. N. Srivastava and Prof. C. J. Daswami have been source of inspiration throughout the study. To thank them could be a formality. But I must beg pardon of Prof. Joshua Fishman for referring to him very inappropriately, and for not taking up any arguments with his pioneering formulations. Given the practical limitations I have been forced to postpone that part of the work which I am sure will follow this book. Parts of the 2nd Chapter are addressed to the notion of "Social Context" of my teacher Prof. W. Labov. May be he remembers the Mysore experience.

The long and in-sightful discussions with my colleagues at Mysore during the interpretation of data are gratefully acknowledged. Rekha Sharma, Jennifer Bayer, Rajesh Suchdev, Rajeshree Subbaiah and Dr. H. R. Dua were extremely kind and helpful. Dr. M. V. Sreedhar helped me with his fruitful criticism. Discussions with Dr. E. Annamalai have been equally stimulating. I thank every one of them. I also thank Dr. B. G. Misra for his help in the initial stages of the interpretations.

Sincerest thanks are due to Dr. M. S. Thirumalai who read the total manuscript and gave his valuable advice and help to improve the language and to sharpen the arguments. More so he took initiative and prompt action and saw to it that the book is published. I do not have words to express my gratitude for his kindness.

I thank Mr. Bharati for his help in production part of the book and Mr. Gopal for designing and typing diagrams. The Manager and the Staff of the Govt. of India Press, Coimbatore must be thanked for neat and efficient printing.

I am aware that some of the arguments in the book are half way through and at certain places balance is not very well maintained. This is partly due to the nature of data, i.e., language is involved purely in 'notional' sense; and partly due to various other unavoidable practical problems. I want, therefore, this study to be treated as exploratory. I purpose to continue with the problem and the arguments for better and deeper insights into the issue both at theoretical and inferential levels.

RANJIT SINGH RANGILA

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

1.1. Pilot Base and the Hypothesis

Studies specifically focusing on language maintenance were initiated in India by the late Prof. P.B. Pandit with his two important contributions. The first one (Pandit 1972) was on the Saurashtri speaking community settled in Tamilnadu. The second study (Pandit 1978) was on the self evaluative language responses of Panjabi mother tongue undergraduate female students of Lady Irwin College, one of the most prestigious colleges of the University of Delhi, Delhi.

The present study is also on Delhi, and can be considered a continuation of the series of studies on Delhi starting with Pandit (1978). Pandit's two studies have influenced the present study, especially in its formative stage. Pandit's preliminary conclusions from his Delhi study were available to me from the beginning of 1974 when the present study was planned under his supervision. In fact I took the findings of his Delhi study as my pilot base. My intention was to test on a different group of Panjabi mother tongue students from a different college of University of Delhi, his findings. Therefore, the present study was also based on the same age-group Panjabi mother tongue students from SGTB Khalsa College of Delhi. I shall say more about the college and the students later. I propose to concentrate on Pandit's findings so as to have a starting base. Pandit (1972, p. 2) observed in his Saurashtri study:

"One of the significant features of multilingualism in India is the existence of stable bilingual or multilingual communities. People in large metropolitan centres or district towns maintain their language identity for generations, despite 'minority' status. They speak their own language in their domestic settings and such other dealings where the speakers of 'minority' language come in contact with each other and they speak the majority language in other contexts."

The India that Pandit talks of is of 'large metropolitan centres or district towns'. There are stable bi/multilingual communities because there is a stable complementation between/among the languages that constitute the linguistic repertoires of the

individuals in the city centres. Pandit tried in this study to find out some reasons as to why this stability existed in these Indian urban situations. The following statement is, perhaps, the gist of his (Pandit 1972, p. 43) findings in this study:

"Why are bilingual situations stable? When a speaker of German or Spanish or Polish migrates to America, he gives up his language after second or third generation. Similarly, immigrants in other countries in Europe give up their languages after a few generations and accept the majority language. The Indian language speaker, whether it is Kannada or Panjabi, maintains his speech, no matter where (in India) he settles down or how long he has settled down. In order to settle down among other language speakers, an Indian does not have to give up his language. He is welcome despite his different language; speaking a different language does not make him alien. The underlying acceptability of any Indian in any Indian cultural setting is symptomatic of a cultural identity and homogeneity at a deeper level; it permits retention of identity markers—whether it is language or religion, food habits or dress habits. Continuous language contact in such multilingual communities results in a set of rules shared by diverse languages, at the same time retaining identity markers, namely at morphophonemic and lexical levels."

That is, the bi/multilingual communities are stable in Indian situations because people in general get accepted because there is a cultural identity and homogeneity in spite of language and other differences.

One of the significant features of Pandit's (1972) study was the treatment of the problem both from linguistic (structural) and socio-functional stand points. Pandit did a linguistic study of Saurashtri setting and tried to interpret it in the context of broader socio-linguistic context prevailing in India and tried to conceptualise and to arrive at generalisations on Indian bi/multilingual urban situations by giving a contrastive view of the situations elsewhere in the world. Pandit also touched upon many themes like 'Grammatical Convergence', 'Bilingual's Grammar', 'Linguistic Expression of Social Distance' and other matters. In the present study we take note of in particular, his views about speakers of Panjabi language, and about the nature of Indian urban situation in general.

The second study (Pandit 1978) was questionnaire based and differed significantly from the first study on Saurashtri. Pandit

did not involve linguistic structure at all; he studied purely language related self evaluative reports of women students. Among the Panjabi mother-tongue students of Delhi his students were a special class in the sense that almost all of them came from those upper middle class (or middle class) families which had a significantly high level of education, whose earning members were either in civil or military services, in business or professions such as medicine or engineering. Therefore, as Pandit wrote, 'we could describe these students as the second or third generation of English education'. The findings of this study were summarised in his 1974 draft as follows:

"Among a number of stable bilingual situations in India, there are some situations where speakers of a majority literary language give up their language; Panjabi is one of such cases and it is examined here, in a pilot study, with reference to the Panjabi language in Delhi..... The results indicate that during the last few decades, with changing identity of social groups in the north India, the role of Panjabi language has changed. Formerly a major regional language, Panjabi is now in the process of being identified with a religion, as a language of the Sikhs. Panjabi Hindus of Delhi are giving up Panjabi; second generation Panjabi Hindus are shifting to Hindi, at the same time, not so secure with their Hindi, they are further shifting to English."

Pandit put some conditions on the generalization:

"The sample which is analysed here does not represent all age groups of the speakers of Panjabi..... It may, however, show trends in certain social groups and probably general tendencies; the observations are tentative and speculative."

A comparison of Pandit's statements about Panjabi speaking people in both of his studies showed that his generalization in the first study has certain exceptions, for instance Delhi Panjabi Hindu population. But can we take his findings as applicable to the entire college going population of Delhi leave aside the entire Panjabi population of Delhi? Pandit himself was not very much sure of that. In any case, his study proposed a working hypothesis about the maintenance of Panjabi language in Delhi which could be tested for its validity on different groups of population.

The *main hypothesis* of my study is Pandit's statement that:

"Panjabi Sikhs in Delhi maintain the Panjabi language while middle class Panjabi Hindus of Delhi are giving up Panjabi; second generation Panjabi Hindus are shifting to Hindi, and at the same time, not so secure with their Hindi, they are further shifting to English."

As it stands, this hypothesis is too broad since it is a general statement on entire Delhi. In order to make the hypothesis operative I shall restrict its scope of applicability by specifying its applicability only among the college going Panjabi mother tongue students of Delhi.

1.2. The College

SGTB Khalsa college is one of the campus colleges of the University of Delhi. The medium of instruction and examination is English. This is one of the few colleges (may be three in total) which offer Panjabi as a subject of study to those students who wish to study it. This college makes attempts to promote Panjabi cultural activities by organising and participating in cultural activities at various levels of life in Delhi.² The management of the college is in the hands of the Sikh Brotherhood of Delhi. This college participates in religious celebrations especially related to the Sikh Gurus³ in Delhi.

Linguistically speaking, this is a mixed college in the sense that one can listen to Panjabi, Hindi, and English in various combinations being spoken in the college. In this sense this is different from Lady Irwin College, which was studied by Prof. Pandit where the students and the teachers are all a 'homogeneously' English-speaking community within the college campus. In Khalsa College one can easily converse in any of the three languages with any student and teacher, except the foreign students and a few others, if one wishes to.

1.3. The Sample

In total 457 students of the Khalsa College participated in my survey. They were from different language and religious backgrounds.⁴ (See Appendix.) Only 277 students reported Panjabi as their mother tongue. One of them was found reporting twice. Therefore, this study was concentrated on the responses of only 276 students. The number of subjects in Pandit's study was 139.

The students were asked to give information on various aspects of their personal and family background. Through this, I could identify some of the significant traits of the group. I give below a brief description of these traits.

1. *Religion And Sex*.—There were only Hindu and Sikh students both males and females in my sample.

	Male	Female	Total	(I)
Total	73·19	26·81	100·00	276
Sikhs	49·28	22·46	71·74	198
Hindus	23·91	4·35	28·26	78
	202	74		

That is, in terms of sex our group is male dominated, and in terms of religion Sikhs are more in number in both the sexes. Thus there were more males and more Sikhs in the sample. Pandit (1978) had only females informants. And in comparison to my sample, Hindus were the majority group (73.38%, 102 out of 139) whereas in my group Sikhs were a majority (71.74%).

2. *Education of the Students' Parents*.—Students of the study came from families which had a considerable range of variation as far as their educational background was concerned. This range was spread between no education and post-graduation.

Below matric	Matric	Graduation	Post-graduation	Total
20·65	45·93	24·28	10·14	100·00

Our category 'Below matric' covers the level between no-education and education upto middle-standard.

Pandit did not give any such numerical information about his group. But one could infer very well from his statement that these students could be described 'as the second or third generation of English education', i.e., there were no parents in his sample who could be termed as 'below matric' having had no education.

3. *Occupation of the Parents*.—The parents of my sample of 276 students were engaged in 98 different types of occupation (see Appendix). We had reduced these 98 types into four.⁶ It is important to caution the reader that it is indeed very difficult to have a satisfactory classification of these 98 types so as to reduce them to a manageable number of broad categories of

occupation. The author had tried several criteria, but failed to arrive at broad categories that would subsume all the 98 types under mutually exclusive categories.

Commoners	Business Non- elite	Business Elite	Elite	NR
21.38	41.30	10.87	19.57	6.88

That is, the students are a mixed group in terms of the economic status of their respective families. They are from low, middle and high income groups.

Here again Pandit did not give the exact numerical position of his sample. He nonetheless made a statement that they belonged to upper middle class (or middle class) families.

4. *Medium of Instruction upto Secondary Standard.*—As was evident from the educational and occupational background of the parents of the students not all the students had their school education through English medium. In the description given below we considered the reports of all the students and treated the information from elementary level to secondary level as one unit of information. Any combination of two or more languages shows that the students have had those languages at one stage or the other. Panjabi in these combinations mean either a second language, or a subject of study.

P	H	E	PH	PE	PHE	HE	NR
6.52	33.33	26.45	2.17	2.54	2.17	24.64	2.17

That is, about 13.41% of the students learnt how to read and write Panjabi from their school.

5. *Duration of Students' stay in Delhi.*—Subgrouping of 276 students is possible. Some of them were born in Delhi and were living there since then; some of them came from other places, and some of them did not stay at all in Delhi. For our practical purposes we have taken a decade as necessary and sufficient time for any individual to become a habitual speaker of a language situation.⁷ Therefore, we divided the group into following three subgroups:

0	1-9 years	10 years+
72%	10.14%	89.13%

This is different from what Pandit did. For him each slab covered five years as follows:

1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21
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In accordance with our criterion those who had not become habitual speakers of Panjabi in Delhi were 10.86% in our sample and were 45.32% in Pandit's sample.

6. *The Subjectwise Breakup of the Students.*—I made a broader classification of the students in terms of the subjects that students studied at college. The students were not asked to list the individual subjects and, therefore, is not entirely possible to group the students on this criterion. However, among broader divisions into arts subjects, science subjects, etc., could be made. The breakup was as follows:

B.A. (Pass)	B.A. (Hons.)	Commerce	B.Sc.
40.58	19.93	13.04	26.45

No corresponding information was available in Pandit's study.

7. *The Colonies and Areas of Delhi Represented by the Students.*—The subjects of my study came from 144 different colonies and areas of Delhi (see Appendix).

To sum up, my sample was a very small number to claim any thorough representation for the entire college going Panjabi mother-tongue students of Delhi. But considering the socio-economic background of the students, and the number of the colonies and the areas of Delhi that they came from, the sample was viewed adequate enough to know at least some of the general tendencies regarding Panjabi language among this age-group of the students of Delhi. A comparison of this sample with that of Pandit showed that there was every reason to believe that my sample was more representative than his, because coverage of socio-economic strata of Delhi Panjabi community was larger here as compared to Pandit's sample.

To understand and explain the patterns of language use of the group of students, it was necessary to know the background against which the patterns of their language use emerged. It was necessary, therefore, to have a reasonably clear picture of the general linguistic situation in Delhi, and it was equally important to know something about the patterns of habitual language use of the older generation, the parents. Since I was interested in knowing whether this group of the Panjabi mother tongue students maintained their language or not, it became obligatory to me to reconstruct the historical linguistic traditions of Delhi in relation to the Panjabi community. It was only against that reconstructed linguistic situation that one could know whether the present generation was maintaining their

language or not. It is, however, necessary to point out at this stage that the majority of the Panjabi population came only during and after the partition of India (see below) and therefore, the historical past in the case of this majority is not that of Delhi but of Punjab.

1.4. Pre-Partition Sociolinguistic Situation in Delhi and Punjab

During the first Census Report of 1881 Delhi was administratively a part of Punjab which was spread over a vast territory 'from Delhi in the South to Jammu in the North and from Dehra Dun in the east to Dera Ismail Khan and the North West Frontier Province in the West and North West respectively'.

The report of the Census of India 1881 by Mr. Ibbetson took great pains to record facts related to every aspect of the then life in the Punjab and went much further than giving mere statistical information. Therefore, a fairly detailed picture of the then Punjab is available. The report however, covered the British Punjab which included Delhi but excluded the States ruled by the native rulers.

Under the title 'Distribution of the Punjab Languages' Ibbetson (1881, p. 60) makes the following statement:

"305. All over the Punjab, except the strictly Bloch and Pashto speaking tracts, Urdu is the language of the more highly educated classes; while in more or less corrupt form it is the *lingua franca* of all classes at least in towns. Finally, most of the vagrant and criminal tribes have dialects of their own and intelligible only to themselves."

It follows that Urdu was the language of the elite in the towns of Punjab and even the lower strata frequently used some 'corrupt' forms of Urdu as the *lingua franca*. Panjabi at this stage must have remained confined to the rural areas. It was Urdu and not Panjabi that made entry into administration and other prestigious occupations possible and was therefore the medium of instruction at all levels of education along with English. Since Urdu in its high form, was the language of 'the more highly educated classes', Panjabi might have had its place, in some measure, among the uneducated and the less educated masses of the towns. Furthermore, since the 'corrupt form' of Urdu was the *lingua franca* of 'all the classes', Panjabi might have performed a restricted role, a complementary role together with Urdu. If we take highly educated classes as bearers of social prestige, and as the markers of social standard then use

of Panjabi certainly did not enjoy social prestige at the time of 1881 Census.

About the 'Future of the Punjab Languages' Ibbetson (ibid, p. 160) says:

"No record of language was made at the Census of 1868, and consequently there are no previous statistics, a comparison with which might indicate the progress made by the several languages. But there is little doubt that the Urdu type Hindi is gradually spreading over the Province and superceding the indigenous languages".

To substantiate his statement Ibbetson gives a list of the books published in various languages in 'six years' in Punjab and maintains that the list 'bring(s) out very strongly the indigenous vernaculars in comparison with Urdu'. The status of the important languages is given below in term of the books published:

TABLE I.—Percentage distribution of books published upto 1881

Urdu	Panjabi	Hindi	English	Total
45.10	14.00	13.30	4.20	5610

Ibbetson has given the description of the scripts in which these books were published. But we shall discuss these descriptions, along with his comments on the status of these scripts of the Punjab, later. Here I shall concentrate only on the other aspects of languages.

A mild note that Ibbetson tried to strike on the 'Future of the Punjab Languages' was given very marked weight by quoting Mr. Beames who had made the following prophesy:

"It is difficult to prophesy the future of the Indo-Aryan group of languages, so much depends upon political changes which no man can foresee. It may, however, with much probability, be surmized that the immense extension of roads, railways, and other means of communication will result in the *extinction of Panjabi* (Stress added) and the dialects of Rajputana, and the consequent general adaptation of one uniform language, the Parsianized form of Hindi....." (p. 160.)

Thus, it was believed at the time of 1881 report, given the conditions, that Panjabi and other languages like 'dialects of Rajputana' were facing extinction because Urdu was spreading fast and was superceding all the other languages.

But, as we now know, the feared extinction never took place at least as far as Panjabi was concerned. There must have been several trends of happenings in the country that were opposite to Beames' thinking and expectations; these trends did not let the said extinction to come about during the British rule in India.

The 1881 Census period marks the beginning of Hindi-Urdu language controversy elsewhere in India, for instance in the United Provinces and Bihar (Brass-1974, p. 130). Ibbetson's awareness of the controversy is clearly revealed through his quoting Beames on the problem. But as far as Punjab was concerned, this controversy started only in 1882 (Brass-ibid, p. 287), that is, after the Census of 1881 was virtually over. This language controversy led the people on to a very polemical, socio-political and linguistic activity in the Punjab, Delhi being a part of it. There are detailed descriptions of these events and how people tried to influence the census returns in almost every Census Report, starting with the Census of 1911. By the time of 1931 Census, when a separate census was undertaken for the first time for Delhi, this controversy was very much widespread. By 1941 the conflict over language issues had become so severe in Punjab, now excluding Delhi, and reliability of returns was seriously in doubt that the results of the mother tongue returns were not tabulated. A similar situation was faced in Delhi during 1951 Census.

As regards Delhi from 1931 Census, the situation was in no way different. There are revealing accounts of the situation given by Mr. Khan (1931) wherein we read that even the information was refused by certain families and that it was collected from the other people who knew them.

Taking a clue from Ibbetson's (ibid, p. 159) statement that ".....in the whole of Gurgaon, Delhi, the language is Hindi", it can be inferred that the language controversy in Delhi was mainly between Hindi and Urdu. A very insignificant population of Panjabi (for details see below) might or might not have been able to get into controversy. The speakers of Panjabi language seem to have involved in language controversy in some sense mainly after the partition of the country. This is supported by the fact that mother tongue figures for Hindi, Urdu and Pan-

jabi were not tabulated separately in the 1951 Census. One of the reasons, it is learnt, was the severe language controversy going on at that time.

The controversy reveals that languages in purely their notional sense had been vehicles of political manoeuvring during the period that followed the 1881 census; people had been identifying with those languages that suited them most of their political expressions and or for the expressions of community identity and consolidation. Therefore, while dealing with the linguistic composition of Delhi one should not lose sight of the fact that the past of Delhi had experienced language related controversies, and that the people had been owning languages not in terms of their competence in the languages but in terms of the importance of these languages for various purposes. The census reports are very much deceptive and are not helpful if one wants to know the exact number of the speakers of a language. But these reports are very valuable, especially the reports beginning with 1901, if one wants to know how many persons owned a language.

Mr. E. D. Maclagan makes an important point in his report of Census 1891. He gives a detailed list of the books published in different languages after 1881 and upto 1891. A part of the list is reproduced below.

		Percentage of books published in, each language in the Punjab	
		1881	1891
Urdu		45.10	45.30
Hindi		13.30	9.30
Panjabi		14.00	20.60
..		..	..
..		..	..
Pashtu		1.40	1.10
Sanskrit		2.00	1.50
Arabic		5.70	5.00
Persian		6.80	4.00
..		..	..

MacLagan makes the following interesting comment on this table:

"If we look at the number of books published in the several characters, we get a clear idea of the relative importance of the Punjab vernaculars from an educational point of view. From them it appears that Urdu and Panjabi are between them deriving out the exotics of the country. A decrease in Arabic, Persian, Pashtu and Sanskrit works is perhaps what we should have expected, but there is a very remarkable *decline in the quantity of Hindi literature issued, which though doubtless due particular to the encouragement given of late years by our school system to Gurmukhi, may very probably be a sign of the gradual disappearance of the Nagari form of literature.*" (stress added).

Notice that as soon as the government started encouraging Gurmukhi in the school system it (the Gurmukhi) got reflected in the decrease in the publication of the books in Hindi. It demonstrated very clearly how sensitive people were to the change in the importance of the language vis-a-vis the official value assigned to the given languages. Though the disappearance part of the suggestion did not materialise and does not interest us, the shift in the importance of Hindi literature due to official shift is interesting, because it points out the exact nature of the relation of the people to the languages known to them".

Not only in Hindi, a similar gradual shift and a downward tendency can be seen in Urdu also. In the table above there is only .20% increase in Urdu publication activity, but in Panjabi it is 6.60%. However, we find that this tendency for Panjabi is not very much permanent when we refer to the table given below. Even then it can be maintained to a degree, other things being equal, that this sort of official importance given to any language works and has been working during the developments of the total linguistic scene. Information on the books published during the various Census periods can be considered.

TABLE

Language	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Urdu . .	45.10	45.30	47.00	NR	36.00	39.80	NR
Panjabi . .	14.00	20.60	20.00	„	35.30	31.50	„
Hindi . .	13.30	9.30	4.00	„	4.20	6.70	„
English . .	4.20	4.30	7.00	„	10.40	9.10	„
Others . .	23.40	..	22.00	„	14.10	12.96	„
Total .	5610	..	..	..	17410	22996	..

The figures for the three languages, Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu if at all they show the comparative importance of the languages, as MacLagan suggests, partly confirm the suggestion made above. Though Urdu retains its dominance in each of the column, Panjabi almost reaches near to it in 1921 and is only 8.30% less than Urdu in 1931. Since this type of information is not available for the later periods, it is not possible to know what might have happened during the period between 1931 and 1951, mainly the pre-partition period.

To sum up, the sociolinguistic situation in the prepartition Punjab was very eventful both from political and linguistic points of views. Quite a sharp polarisation took place among the three main languages, namely Panjabi, Hindi and Urdu vis-a-vis a sharp polarisation among the three important communities—Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims. This three way polarisation led to strong identification of communities with the languages. Besides the people the British government too had its role to play. The following quotation from Brass (1974, 0.287-288) brings out this role to a degree:

"In contrast to the situation in Bihar and U. P., however, Muslims retained political dominance and Urdu official status in the Punjab right upto independence. *Demands were made before the Simon Commission for replacing Urdu as medium of instruction in primary schools with Panjabi and Hindi but without success.* The spread of the vernacular languages, Hindi and Panjabi, was done largely by private agencies through the educational and publishing efforts of such organisations as the Arya Samaj for Hindi and the Chief Khalsa Diwan for Panjabi. The political conflict took place primarily in the census operations." (stress added).

What were the consequences of this governmental patronage given to Urdu and the pulls and pushces operating in the total situation as moving forces Brass (ibid) again has something interesting to say:

"What began as a movement to replace Urdu by Hindi soon developed into a three-way conflict among Urdu, Hindi, and Panjabi. In this conflict, Panjabi was the primary loser as Punjabi-speaking Muslims opted for Urdu and Punjabi-speaking Hindus opted for Hindi. By 1947, when, because of the emigration of the Muslims population, the status of Urdu was no longer a major issue in the Punjab, many Punjabi-speaking Hindus had already become accustomed to what has been characterized as 'disowning' their mother tongue for Hindi."

Thus, the pre-partition Punjab, Delhi being a part of it (if we leave aside the fact that Delhi was made a separate province and a different census was conducted for it for the period of 1931 and so on, and if we believe in Delhi's traditional sharing of the past with the Punjab) gave very fresh and living memories of the community conflicts and language based polemics to those who were to live during the post-partition period of the history of the Punjab and Delhi. As already reported, the 1951 language related attitudes among the people of Delhi were, perhaps, either a reminiscence or a hangover of the pre-partition period. The life in Delhi during the partition era could have certainly not escaped remembering this part of the story and what had happened to the migrating people during the course of migration.

The knowledge of this socio-linguistic situation of pre-partition period could easily influence, and has in fact influenced, the socio-political consciousness of those who were to become the parents of the generation to which the students of our sample belong. It is the parents who set themselves as models for the acquisition of particular styles, registers and dialects of the language. It is the parents who also decided the type of schooling and the medium of instruction that their wards should adopt. Thus living in a crucial period of history and exercising their options on behalf of their wards, the parents of the period played a crucial role in shaping the language attitudes and language loyalties of future generations.

1.5. Scripts in the Pre-partition Punjab and Their Relation with the different Languages of the Time.

We get useful information on the scripts of the Punjab as well in some of the early census reports. Ibbetson (ibid, p.167) writes about these scripts under the title 'The written characters of the Punjab':

"The characters used in Punjab are Persian for Urdu, Pashto, Bilochi, the Gurmukhi for Panjabi, the Devnagari and its Thakuri modification for the Hindi languages of the hills and plains..... The Gurmukhi would appear to be little used save by the Sikhs, while they are, of all Punjab communities, the most illiterate, few but the priestly classes being able to read and write. Where Persian is not known Devnagari seems to be the favourite character, except in the hills where Thakuri takes its place; and there can be little doubt that, owing perhaps to its being the character of our Court and offices, Persian is rapidly driving all others out of the field."

Ibbetson's remarks give the relations existing between the language(s) and the script(s) on the one hand, and the relative degree of use of these scripts in the Punjab at that time. Panjabi and Hindi, the two important languages from our point of view in this study, are separately assigned two different scripts, i.e., Gurmukhi and Devanagri respectively. Another important point is the statement that '*The Gurmukhi would appear to be little used save by Sikhs*' and equally, or perhaps, more important is the last clause of his statement that 'Persian is rapidly driving all others out of the field'.

Note that here Ibbetson speaks of the scripts in the same way as he spoke of the languages in the earlier quotation. It is important to repeat here that, inspite of his assessment in 1881, Gurmukhi registered a greater use during the later years, was more at least in the field of literature, as reported in the previous pages. Though Persian script, being the script for Urdu could maintain its dominance over others, it could not drive the rest of the scripts out; rather, the other scripts, in subsequent periods, started coming up inspite of the dominance of the Persian script.

The relation of the Gurmukhi with Panjabi and its use only by Sikhs is a point which is not very much maintained by Mr. H.A. Rose in his report of 1901 Census. There are two important statements made by him (Rose—1901, p. 266) in the report:

"Thus, Gurmukhi is not necessarily the character in which Panjabi is written, nor would a person (for example an Arora woman in Bahawalpur) who writes Gurmukhi and nothing else necessarily speak Panjabi."

The same idea is put forth through an assessment of an other field of use of scripts, that is, in the publication of books in different languages in the Punjab. Rose (ibid, p. 271) writes:

".....the books published in each language..... illustrate not so much the polyglot character of the Punjab population as the diversity of the scripts to which its literate members are subject. To acquire an intimate knowledge of Panjabi literature one would have to learn to read Persian, Sanskrit, Gurmukhi, Mahajani and their variants.....we find Urdu books published in four different characters, Persian, Nagri, Roman and Gurmukhi, and Panjabi in eight, including those four, and Sindi, Mahajani, Lande and Arabic. On the other hand we have Hindi and Sindi books printed in Gurmukhi. Of the written languages Urdu is the favourite....."

How far this state of affairs might have continued is not known on the bases of the information in the later census reports. Nonetheless, the development story that is described in the previous section can help us in making some guess about the later years.

The gradual conflict and polarisation among the communities on the language issues must have evoked similar type of attitudes as regards scripts. Since the communities in question were religion-based communities and the three main scripts had their backrounds to a degree in the developments of the three main religions, there is some naturalism in their identification with these three religions and three languages. The suggestion is that a development was in the very dynamics of the socio-political and historical forces in the situation. After all, the scripts were not only a part of the technological deveopment but were also modulated by socio-political forces, and hence have to operate in the frame of reference as defined by the factual, symbolic and dialectical forces of the social praxis.

The situation in the post-partition era, is rather clearly defined. Panjabi is written in Gurmukhi in the Indian province of the Punjab. Use of Gurmukhi to write Hindi is not known. Devnagari has become the major script for writing Hindi. The point which is worth mentioning here is that of complete fixation of the scripts in relation to Panjabi and Hindi in that Panjabi is written in Gurmukhi and Hindi in Devnagari. Therefore, to qualify to be educated in Panjabi is to be able to read and write in Gurmukhi and to be educated in Hindi is to be able to read and write in Devnagari. As a consequence of this, any attitude that one may have towards these two languages will be found naturally fastened on to the scripts in which these languages are written.

1.6. Sociolinguistic Situation in Delhi

For centuries Hindustani continued to be the most dominant language of Delhi. This was so even before it was made the capital of British India in 1912. The following table gives the details of distribution of Hindustani speakers during 1881-1971.

Hindi/Hindustani/Urdu speakers in Delhi

Distribution by per 10,000 person							
1881	1901	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
9910	9803	9415	9226	9324	0	8315	8165

Panjabi was thus rather insignificant minority because there were very few speakers of Panjabi, in fact throughout the pre-partition period in Delhi. Panjabi became a significant minority only in the post-partition period. The following information from various census reports brings this point clearly:

Panjabi mother tongue speakers in Delhi

Distribution by per 10,000 persons							
1881	1901	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
25	55.8	144	369	328	0	1191	1340

From this it can be reasonably presumed that from the days of the Mughal, if there were any Panjabi speakers in Delhi they would have been (or at least a part of them would have been) bilinguals in Hindustani because this language was the majority language in numerical terms. It was also the dominant language because of official patronage it received. To live in Delhi in those days must have meant to many learning Hindustani inevitably. As the number of the Panjabi speakers was not too big a number even upto 1941, and the increase was only a nominal, this process of becoming bilingual would have continued. This should suggest that there was a long standing tradition of bilingualism among the speakers of Panjabi. This has been testified very well by the very first separate Census report of Mr. Khan (1931, p. 117) on Delhi in 1931:

"Many people with Panjabi or Rajasthani as their mother tongue speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language. This is quite natural as persons coming to metropolis have to adopt its language, which is not difficult to learn. The figures of bilingualism with Punjabi as a language subsidiary to Hindustani are naturally very small".

While this statement highlights that Panjabi speakers spoke Hindustani as a subsidiary language it also brings out an interesting fact that people started becoming bilinguals in Punjabi also, though the number of such bilinguals was very small. This shows the gradual development in the status of Panjabi. But Panjabi cannot still be taken as a significant language not only because of its small number right up to the end of the pre-partition period but also because it was, as we have shown in the previous section, not a socially important language except for the fact that it was the spoken language of the majority of the people of the rural masses in Punjab of which Delhi was a part before becoming a separate state.

After Delhi's becoming the capital of the country, there must have been some redefinition of the status, prestige of the language.

ges of it. That is, coming of the language of the imperial rule, English with its speakers into the city, the status of Hindustani as a dominant language of the scene should have had a check on it. English had gradually assumed prestige in the country as a whole. Therefore, the more natural role or status of the Hindustani could have been as a language of the majority of the masses, or the language of the numerical majority.

One can suggest that this change in the situation could have made Panjabi to operate under the conditions of double dominance, i.e., Panjabi was to put up with the traditionally dominant Hindustani as per the normal routine and with the socio-politically important English. I do not want to be misunderstood on this point. The idea is that though English was already in the scene but a sort of boost to its prestige in real sense of the term must have come due to Delhi's regaining the prestige of a capital in 1912. This necessitated another type of definition of the relationship between Panjabi and Hindustani. If English was the language of prestige for the Hindustani speakers at this stage, in spite of its big number, then it was to face English in the same way as Panjabi was to face English. In this sense Panjabi and Hindustani had come to acquire parity. The only difference was that of number along with differently defined historical backgrounds. Changed circumstances with the shifting of capital to Delhi gave rise to socio-political activity, or at least comparatively more socio-political awareness among the people of Delhi. Thus in Delhi also problems and perspectives of awareness of Panjabi had a development parallel to the one in the Punjab.

The sociolinguistic situation in Delhi after independence would have naturally made the people of Punjab as well as of Delhi equally conscious and sensitive to the language issues and community identity differences based on religion. Attitudinal differences based on religion, language and other social factors would have been quite visible. The widespread riots, etc., before and during partition which are even now fresh in the memory of the people of older generation speak volumes about the situation that had been an outcome of the gradual changes in attitudes based on language, religion and other social factors.

1.7. Panjabi Language and Panjabi Community in Delhi during Post-Independence Period

There has been a popular belief among the population of Delhi that most of the Panjabis came to Delhi during and after the partition of India. This is in a way true, because, as we have shown with the help of the information from the census reports, Panjabis were a very negligible minority before the partition. In

addition to the information put in the table in the previous section, there is a worth citing note in the Census of India, 1951 on the addition to the population of Delhi caused by the partition. For instance the following:

"Delhi has shown a tremendous increase of 90 per cent from 917939 to 1744072 as 495391 displaced persons from Punjab (Pakistan) have migrated to it". (p. 36).

There is no way out to know how many out of them were speakers of Panjabi and how many of them were willing to own Panjabi as their language, but this gives at least a rough idea about the number that might have been of the Panjabi. It also gives the exact information about those who came as refugees to Delhi upto 1951. Perhaps that is why for a long period most of the Panjabis were known as refugees in Delhi.

These Panjabis had come to a new place where the roles of the prevalent languages had been now differently defined, because of changed circumstances. That is, Hindi had been declared 'official' language of the country. The Panjabi people who had lived through long controversies on language issues would not have taken long time to realise that Hindi was going to be most important in Delhi for the times to come. This would have made even those who had been previously owning Panjabi as their language in the past to disown it and identify themselves with Hindi. It has been shown already that the tendency to disown Panjabi was mainly among the Hindus of the prepartition Punjab. So one can have reason to believe that a majority among the Hindus who migrated to Delhi must have preferred to identify themselves with Hindi. This was in a way very natural due to the socio-political reasons made evident already, and due to the religion that they shared with the Hindi speaking Hindus of Delhi. Religion was one of the unifying factors and identity symbols of the people in general in the past.

The second important reason for such a belief is to be found in the long tradition existing between the Panjabi Hindus and the Hindi speaking Hindus in the area of marital relations. The existence of such relations was noticed long back in the census reports. For instance, Rose (1901, p. 73) wrote:

"The Khattris of Delhi (the "Dilwala" Khattris) have a similar custom. They take wives from the Khattris of the North West Provinces, who are termed "Purbia" but take a pride in giving their daughters to the Khattris of the Punjab proper who are designated "Lahoria" and "Sirhindia"."

Therefore, the chances of the two groups of Hindus to come closer and desire for a common identity were there.

To begin with, thus, these Panjabi Hindus must have started with a very favourable attitude towards Hindi. As a result there must have been more loss in the number of the population that was ready to own Panjabi as its mother tongue, especially among the Hindu population among the refugees.

In the present study we are not concerned with such cases. If we involve those who have identified themselves with Hindi then there is hardly anything of interest because this has been happening for a long time even before the partition, as has been already shown in the previous section. The only point that one can investigate about such cases is how far they have assimilated themselves with Hindi in its cultural sense and how much Panjabi have they retained in its cultural sense, if we assume that there has been and are two distinct cultural traditions one representing Hindi and another Panjabi. However, if we investigate the language choices made by those who claim that Panjabi is their mother tongue, we will be able to find out the future directions for this group and it will be possible to know some of the general and/or group specific tendencies.

Before we commence investigating the language choices of those who claim Panjabi as their mother tongue it is necessary to discuss some aspects of the processes of the settlement among the refugees. This becomes necessary because as they relate to language in spite of the identity claims as Hindi speaking or Panjabi speaking, etc., during the census of 1951 and further on, one could not claim to be speaking Hindi as a mother tongue overnight in actuality. Acquisition of a language and development of an identity vis-a-vis the language one claims to be speaking as mother tongue are indeed a slow process. The speaking norms and acquisition of the cultural behaviour relating to that language would take time. But the most important factor as regards the claim is the acceptance of these claimants by the community to which the assimilation is desired by the claimants. We know, and this was common knowledge of the period soon after the partition in Delhi, that the initial reaction of the local population toward the refugees was one of nonacceptance because their (the refugees) arrival into Delhi had caused many problems to the locals. For instance, there was food scarcity there was a very severe housing problem to mention the few. As has already been shown, the increase in the population was officially 90%. How could Delhi then

manage to afford all the basic amenities to such a large number of people most of whom were strangers. Therefore, these people were not very much welcome to the city if not to the province. The religion, the language, the community feeling and such other unifying forces must have become ineffective in this reality of the situation, and the course of assimilation, integration, etc., could have not granted by the locals easily.

What resulted was a precarious state of affairs. The local Hindi Hindus became a closed group which would not like the entry of the refugee Hindus to it. The refugee Hindus aspired for Hindi identity because they had traditionally tried for it even in the pre-partition period in the Punjab. This situation drove the incoming Hindus to continue to claim/own the Hindi identity, a drive for Hindi way of life for which they started orienting themselves much earlier. At the same time because of pulls from within (based on their refugee status and geographical origin) and from without (scarcity conditions, etc.) this group of Hindus tried to maintain a separate identity. Thus, there came into existence two groups of Hindus in Delhi, both having Hindi identity, but with two separate group boundaries, mutually exclusive and with not much trust in each other.

After the initial camping and settlement, when these refugees commenced their economic pursuits, the first thing that resulted was competition between the two groups of Hindus almost in every walk of life, most importantly in business. The locals who had stereotypical attitudes towards these Panjabi people, who are now trying to catch up with Hindi, started finding it difficult by and by to compete with them in business. But these locals could constantly remind the individuals of the opposite group that they were basically Panjabis. This constant reminder had been repulsive to the Panjabi Hindus. In some cases it might have worked as a force to influence the Panjabi Hindus to continue to own Panjabi at least in the intimate contexts of life. In other cases, this might have hastened the disowning of Panjabi and adoption of Hindi in at least economic lines. Since Delhi locals did consider them only as Panjabis, in spite of their efforts at switch over to Hindi, these people must have explicitly retained Panjabi in certain cultural domains. Thus, this is one of the reasons why one can believe that Panjabi would have continued in Delhi even among those who were otherwise disowning it. What is more important, however, is to appreciate the dialectics of language use and language identity at this crucial period, since the situation then had within itself all the elements of present day shift.

The environmental pulls and pushes that had worked traditionally to produce efficient speaker of Hindi, had also worked to enforce an identity on the individuals, the groups who were basically different from the Delhi locals. These forces we can see in force in this development also. That is, when the Delhi people did not accept this new comers as a part of their ingroup even when they were ready to accept their language etc. they did behave exactly according to their tradition, i.e., anybody coming to Delhi was welcome to learn the language of the Delhi, could live in Delhi to earn a livelihood, but that did not necessarily give the right of becoming the member of the ingroup, rather this people would constantly keep the incoming individual and group informing of its separate identity. Thus, the environment as a whole was compelling for Hindi on the one hand, and repelling towards Panjabi on the other even for these refugees. But how far the forces that were trying this people to repel back to Panjabi could have succeeded is not possible to think of because it becomes very much difficult to understand when we know that most of the Hindu community in the cities of Panjab had been becoming habitual of speaking Hindi. Therefore, there are, of course, some per cent chances for the conditions that were pulling Panjabi Hindus back to an identity of Panjabi must have been weak indeed, in spite of conflicting economic interests. But any emphasis on only one of the forces should surely be a misrepresentation of the dialectical forces operating in the situation.

Along with the Panjabi Hindus, Sikhs also had migrated to Delhi. It has been already maintained that these Sikhs were for Panjabi in the Panjab of pre-partition period. Whether the incoming Sikhs were welcome to the Sikhs already in Delhi, or they too were not acceptable to the Sikhs of Delhi is not attested clearly. This might have been so because one does not find marked difference between Delhi local Sikhs and those who came to Delhi during partition. Therefore, the chances of the Sikhs to get into a wider group and be accepted as members of the local group after independence were much greater than the chances then available to the Panjabi Hindus vis-a-vis Hindi Hindus of Delhi.

From the facts presented in the previous sections it is clear that the Sikhs living in Delhi before partition must have been bilinguals, but it is not known whether they were keeping their Panjabi intact or not. The stand that the Sikhs of the Punjab had taken for Panjabi during the pre-partition period, and Delhi being a part of the Punjab for a long time, in a way gives some

reason to think that the stand of the Sikhs of Delhi on the issues of language must have been the same as that of the rest in the Punjab. However, one cannot ignore an important difference between the two, i.e., the Sikhs of Delhi were bilinguals as a general rule, but have owned only Panjabi for identity purpose in the census, in contrast to the Hindus of Punjab who claimed Hindi as their mother tongue in most of the cases without being able to know or speak it. The Sikhs claimed only Punjabi as their mother tongue even when they knew Hindi.

With the advent of the Panjabi Hindus opted for Hindi as the public code into Delhi, and with other forces operating for its promotion, the chances of Hindi to continue as public code had now increased in Delhi. Therefore, the environmental forces that used to compel the new comers who did not know Hindi to become bilinguals must have also increased. The Sikh refugees who generally did not control Hindi, therefore, must have been made to learn Hindi by the operative forces of the environment, and they could have learnt Hindi in order to have a successful life in Delhi. Keeping in view their past stands on the language issues there is every reason to believe that the Sikhs must have done this not at the cost of their loyalty towards Panjabi.

Thus, one can see a relatively fixed three way language based community contrast, if we do not involve Urdu, and Muslims of Delhi in the situation. There were Hindi Hindus (the locals) forming a separate group, there were Panjabi Hindus (if at all some of the Hindus of the pre-partition days had not lost Panjabi in favour of Hindi) who were again natives; there were refugee Hindus who had shifted to Hindi and were trying strongly for a Hindi identity; there were Panjabi Hindus (if at all some of the refugee Hindus still owned Panjabi in spite of the majority's shift over to Hindi) among the refugees; and there were Sikhs, both the natives (locals) and the refugees who were bilinguals with a strong bias and attitude towards Panjabi. These distinctions can be seen constituting three relatively independent and mutually not so non-inclusive groups, i.e., the Sikhs, the Panjabi (refugee) Hindus, and the Local Hindus. This could have certainly given rise to different types of social bonds, integrative forces, separative mechanisms and fairly complex negotiational praxis on social, linguistic and political planes. These relatively contrastive social units, the groups and the possible interaction or reactions, are the most important elements of the situation in Delhi that could develop in later years.

Apart from the above elements and their role in social praxis, there was an institutional channel also that modulated the

sociolinguistic developments in Delhi. Hindi as the declared 'official' language of the country, started getting more promotional attention of the government in the independent country. This was to affect favourably the Hindi promotional activities in Delhi also. The Delhi educational system on its part, we think, played a major role. Hindi was the main language of education in the schools commonly available to the masses at the primary level of education in Delhi. The other languages like Panjabi did not have any room in the educational network during the earlier days. English was all important but it was available to only selected few who could afford the special, convent type of expensive education. During the earlier days of settlement we do not think that the majority of the refugees, the Hindus and the Sikhs alike, could have afforded to send their children to the convent schools. In the face of no other alternative most of the children born to these parents would have been sent to the Hindi medium schools. This Hindiaisation of education helped to press down some of the strong community feelings that were definable in terms of the minority languages like Panjabi etc. Therefore, a practical problem would have arisen even in the families of those who had strong Panjabi tendencies and habits. If the children were not encouraged to be proficient in Hindi then their chances of competing with the mother tongue Hindi speaking children were not every bright. Thus the compulsion for the younger generation to learn Hindi was of a different kind. The parents were forced to learn to speak some kind of Hindi, but in the case of children, they were supposed to achieve a standard also. The mother tongue in this situation acquired only a second place in terms of the comparative importance of the languages in the life of the children.

This Hindiaisation of education in Delhi was a desired course for those who were trying to have Hindi as a medium of instruction both in the Punjab and in Delhi. So in their case it took them just one step ahead towards the accomplishment of their wishes. Whether these parents were from Panjabi background or from Hindi background it could make no difference from the behavioural point of view. For the children of those Panjabi refugees who wanted to promote Hindi identity and were trying for themselves also a kind of Hindi way of life, this proved another step in the direction of losing Panjabi. Therefore, these cases, as I said earlier, are not of any interest to us because they have or had already lost Panjabi, may be to greater degree if not completely. Our interest is in those children who under the impact of their family somehow continued to preserve their mother tongue, Panjabi, and who, when they are grown up and are at the college stage of their education, still claim Panjabi

as their mother tongue. It is in this group only, we propose, the question of language maintenance or language shift is meaningful.

The continuance in Panjabi among the Panjabis in Delhi in general and among the students in particular is to be understood from the point of their own self desire to maintain Panjabi on the one hand, and from the point of the repulsive forces that we talked about in the preceding pages, on the other. These two forces are materially rooted in the reality of the background of the people, place, and the relevant span of time.

Contrary to the Hindiaisation of the education of the common masses, English education had its own share to add to the development of the sociolinguistic scene of Delhi. As we said, this education right from the beginning of the post-independence period was available to those who could afford it for a comparatively higher price. After independence also English continued to enjoy social prestige in the life of Delhi that it enjoyed during the pre-partition period. As was natural, by and by when Panjabis started becoming economically well off, and the initial emotionally charged minds got settled, English started having its roots in these people for two reasons. The first, it was gradually possible for them to meet the costs of English education, and the second, the politically important Hindi did not yet offer any good career to their children. It will not be any surprise if (based on an analysis) we find that many of the students who were sent to Hindi medium schools by their parents, or who did not have any option other than going to Hindi medium ordinary schools, wanting to have education in English. The point worth noting here is that in spite of the political, social and business importance of Hindi, demand for English education in the masses of Delhi had been constantly growing year by year. This added another dimension to the situation. That is, those who were trying to root themselves in Hindi socio-linguistically, and who found the Hindiaisation of the education as the realisation of their aim had to also see the reality of the situation in which English preceded Hindi in its importance in the area of employment and social prestige. Therefore, the initial tilt for Hindi among the Panjabi Hindus especially got faded out and now one could see an enormously growing rush among these people to educate their children in English. But this had not happened only in the case of the Panjabi Hindus, the rest of the population including the Sikhs had also faced the same. In the case of the Hindus it became important because it showed a shift not only, and merely, in the language choice for the purposes of education, but also the kind of relation the community established with the languages of the scene. The most paying language is the most

wanted. One could even argue that this sort of relation these people have developed with regard to the languages in the scene over the period of time is indicative of the general commercial character of the people, according to the standards of which anything which is commercially not viable is not desired. Whether one could do that in any serious fashion or not, the tendencies in language choice certainly indicate a more practical approach to vital decisions relating to the future of their children. On the other hand, (and this is rather more important from our point of view) it also shows how these languages had undergone changes in their values for these people and how these people had been trying to cope up with these changes.

Some of the sociolinguistic consequences of the institutional promotion of Hindi have already been alluded to, but the most important, as far as Panjabi language in Delhi was concerned, was the total neglect of the language in the school system in the early days of the post-independence era (and a very inadequate attention bestowed on it) during the recent past. This statement is based on the fact that even in 1973-74 there were only 16 schools and all these schools were run only by some private organisations, out of the total 1542 primary schools in Delhi, (see the 16th Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, p. 58). The attitude of the educational authorities, as seen by those Panjabis who were interested in the retention and uplift of the language, can be shown with the help of a few quotes from the 16th Report. Some of the statements in the Report are as follows:

1. "Representatives of Punjabi-speakers complained to the Commissioner that the heads of institutions challenged the signatures of the parents guardians demanding instruction through the mother tongue. It was complained that the teachers and headmasters of various schools dissuaded pupils from taking Punjabi in schools. The Director of Education denied these allegations....." (p. 57).
2. "The Representatives of Punjabi-speakers complained that although there were orders to start separate sections for teaching of minority languages provided 12 or more pupils made such requests, yet opening of such classes is delayed and the posts of Punjabi teachers were not filled at time. The Director of Education denied these allegations....." (p. 60).
3. "Representatives of Punjabi-speakers also complained about dearth of text-books in Punjabi and Punjabi language readers. They pointed out that language readers

contained very old information and it was not academically sound to teach those books" (p. 63).

4. "The Punjabi Language Teachers' Association complained that the Administration delayed posting of Punjabi language teachers in those schools from where the demand was received. The Principals of the schools also did not make demands for filling up of vacancy of Punjabi teachers and post-graduate teachers. This resulted in set-back to the teaching of the Punjabi language and to the promotion of Punjabi language teachers" (p. 63).
5. "The Delhi Administration have not yet reported the progress made on several complaints about delay in posting Punjabi teachers as well as non-posting Punjabi teachers" (p. 63-64).

One can deny the contention of these statements available in the Report, as the Administration is reported to have done, or one may stress the truth value of the contention, the internal logic of any such move can be easily based on and drawn from the story of the internal contradicting forces operating in the situation since long time. Therefore our interest here is mainly to point out that by the year 1974 when we started this study, Panjabi language had not obtained any sufficient institutional recognition and support to develop during the period that precedes the year 1974. And further, when we realise that the quoted complaints are made in the context of the policy decisions like the three language formula and various other decisions to safeguard the linguistic minorities at national level, two conclusions seem to follow. The first, the Panjabis (the Sikhs and the Hindus who might have continued to own Panjabi) started asserting to get their language promoted and to get a rightful place for Panjabi in the total life of Delhi. The second, though Hindi had temporarily won out of the Hindi-Panjabi controversy because it had been taken as the medium of instruction in the schools at primary level, and the entire institutional machinery was in the favour of its promotion, and consequently Panjabi was left practically with no role except its role in the spoken form, the situation could not hold it, take it off the scene permanently. This was more so because the developments on the language issues in the new Punjab were taking place very strongly for Panjabi, and were proving to be sort of feedback for the developments of these issues in Delhi. More can be said on these developments if we go into the main political issues involved. The political issues are, however, outside the scope of this study.

Looking from a common man's perspective, and taking Panjabi mother tongue individual as the *behaving subject* the following picture of the sociolinguistic situation and of the roles of the three languages in the lives of the Panjabis of Delhi can be portrayed. A relatively flexible but certainly recognisable three way complementation in the roles of Panjabi, Hindi and English seems to have developed. English operates in prestigious and high social areas of social praxis; Hindi is covering cross-community mass level social communication; and Panjabi handles the within community, known, intimate and private social space of interaction in the total behavioural network. We display this in the diagram below.

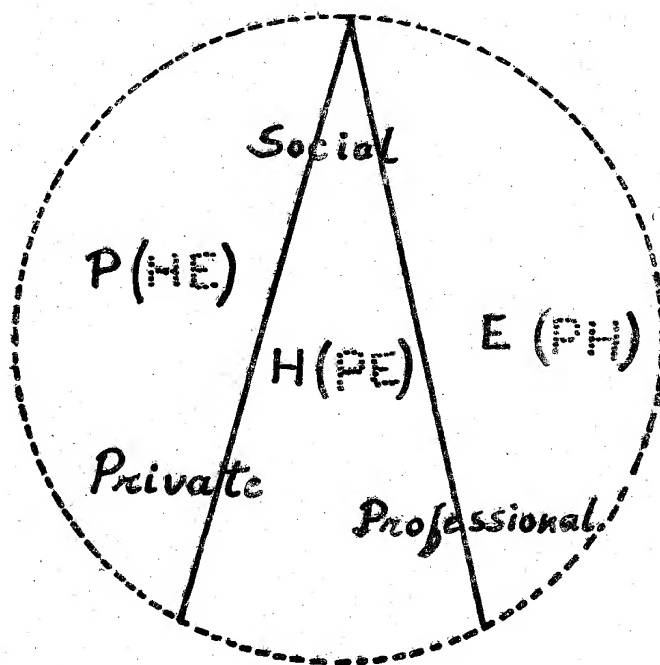


Diagram No. 1

In this diagram nothing is absolute. These three broad divisions of the circle denoting available social space to the Panjabi speakers in Delhi are broad and relatively independent but complementing areas of experience. The *Private* and *Professional*, both, overlap the *Social* which itself overlaps both the *Private* and the *Professional*. This shows how each of the divisions is flexible and is meaningful only in relation to the others. Then, P, H, E, all the three come in bold faces in the three divisions to show the strong hold of the bold-faced letters denoting language, and the modest occurrence of the dot-faced letters indicate the very modest occurrence of the given languages.

This three way complementation of *Private*, *Social* and *Professional* roles is systematically flexible and occasionally mutually uninterrupted. At its face value, the existence of flexibility and mutual uninterrupted in the roles sounds like contradiction but in actual practice it is not; rather this reveals the deep rooted processes of social role dynamism. At times these two facts operate as two opposite forces, cut across and nullify each other and make the complementation a reality. The total interplay of these two forces constitutes social dynamism and dialectics of sociolinguistic behaviour of the community. It also explains occurrence of Panjabi, Hindi and English in varying quantities and proportions in all the three broad divisions of the total behavioural social space available to the speakers of Panjabi/the Panjabi mother tongue people of Delhi.

Panjabi community, in both linguistic and cultural sense of the term, has developed into a most dominant minority (in terms of the numbers also) community in Delhi. Therefore, sort of institutional recognition is inevitable. Leaving those who have already lost their Panjabi (language), given the conditions of greater mobility among the people to and from Punjab due to geographical nearness, and of the political activation among the people one can see some reasons for the promotion of Panjabi at least in the social life if not in the education domain, etc. This is more so because there are Sikhs at least, (even if one may like to believe that the total Panjabi Hindus have disowned Panjabi, though this cannot be the case) who have not changed their stand on the language issues; their presence in the situation can always mean some sort of environment of Panjabi for the locals and non-Panjabis. It can also act as a kind of Panjabi producing source for the rest of the Panjabis to depend on it for feedback purposes. That is, in spite of the numerical dominance of Hindi and prestige value of English, there is still some place in the routine life of these people where Panjabi can be seen

produced; there are still areas of praxis where people still 'come down' to use Panjabi. But when these people come to the point of owning Panjabi for identity purposes, things happen differently. It is important to remind the reader that this is nothing new; it has been a historical tendency among the people.

Looking from this perspective and the historical background of the sociolinguistic scene in Delhi, one cannot expect from any Panjabi speaker a hundred per cent Panjabi in every domain of his speech behaviour. Given the situation the Panjabi people can be expected to speak in Panjabi where the conditions like topics of mutual concern, certainty about the attitudes towards the linguistic identity the other has, intimacy zone of communication, etc., are fulfilled. The language choices of the group of the students whose language behaviour is under investigation, have to be explained, we propose, only in this broader frame of reference.

CHAPTER 2

RULES OF THE METHOD

The Underlying Assumptions, Elicitational, Interpretative and Quantificational Conventions

We have reported in the first chapter that questionnaire was the only data collection tool that was used in the collection of data for this study. The questionnaire was neatly printed and was entitled '*Patterns of Language Use*'.¹ We describe and discuss below some of the important aspects of the methodological framework which regulate every item in the questionnaire.

We are mainly concerned here with three aspects of the framework namely: (1) the assumptions that underlie the questionnaire as such, and the individual questions, (2) the elicitation and interpretation conventions, and (3) the quantification schemes. Detailed descriptions and discussions of these three aspects are important because they form the frame of reference against which the descriptions of the data can be made intelligible and explained. The data elicitation in the questionnaire was controlled by certain conventions, we call them *elicitation rules* at this stage, and these conventions have also become binding on us in interpreting the data. Therefore, at the interpretation stage these earlier conventions are called rules of interpretation. Most of the space in this chapter is devoted to these two important aspects, and quantification is discussed very briefly. The total account in the chapter is termed as 'Rules of the Method' because our main concern in the chapter is to present these specific rule-like conventions that govern both data elicitation and their interpretation.

2.1. The General Assumptions

There are two important assumptions that underlie most of the questions in the questionnaire.

- (1) (a) Hierarchical structure of society controls language choice.
- (b) Every stratum of societal structure is a multi-layered phenomenon.
- (2) Participants in behavioural situations are of fixed and static kind.

These two assumptions are factually related to 'context of the situation'. They speak about the nature of that which constitutes the context, and about the control that is exercised by societal structure over language usage/choice of the speakers of Panjabi.

(1) (a) This assumption is based on a supposition that every society structures each and every role-relationship possible in it, and puts them on some specific hierarchical levels. In any actual life situation people enter into these role-relationships. Sometimes they may follow these relations as given to them, and sometimes the people may manipulate with these relations. There are, therefore, two types of situations: (i) in which social hierarchical structure controls behaviour, and (ii) in which the control of societal structure is nullified because of manipulation of the relations. No methodological way is available to capture these opposite possibilities together. Therefore, it is assumed that language choices of the multilingual students are controlled by the hierarchical structure of the society.

The specific relational hierarchies that are relevant to person-types in the specific domains of language use are dealt with later along with the descriptions of these domains.

(b) This is a small extension of the above assumption. It is maintained that societal structure is not merely hierarchical and stratified in terms of different strata, rather every stratum is multi-layered. These layers of each of the stratum are activatable and/or nullifiable exactly in the same fashion in which one deals with the hierarchical strata. Here again the above mentioned two possibilities are present. It is assumed again that during behaviour these layers within different strata are kept intact and no manipulation should disturb them.

(2) This assumption actually follows from the above assumption, but refers to a slightly different shade of that. This is common experience in routine life that whatever role-relations may be assumed in behaviour, over small or long span of time, one is likely to take liberty with these relations.

2.2. Lesser details but larger coverage has been the main feature of our information elicitation strategy

It was intended to cover a full day cycle of the routine life of the students in the questionnaire. Before preparing this questionnaire a study had been (see Rangila 1975), though for a different purpose, in the Khalsa College. It was found that it was

not possible to get reasonably dependable and extensively detailed information from the students on two accounts:

- (i) For the administration of the questionnaire the students could not be engaged for more than 45 minutes, one class, because that involved change in situation and the teacher,
- (ii) engaging them for more than one class might result in a kind of 'take lightly' attitude and hence the quality of the information supplied generally suffered.

For the questionnaire this meant the following: We had questions on almost every thing that seemed to be important to us, but these questions aimed at only very limited details, the minimum information that was just necessary. As a result we have data covering almost every area of experience but without very extensive details.³ Therefore, the questions that might be asked to these data have to be restricted and could be pursued to certain limits only.

2.3. Four broad categories of information were covered by the questionnaires.

The data included information on: (1) personal identity, etc., (2) language ability, (3) language usage/choice, and on (4) language attitude. Though all these four categories were given sufficient attention, nonetheless language usage/choice had been given slightly more prominence because this was the area of information which was crucial for this study. Therefore, we have gathered four further types of data in reasonable detail within this broad category, viz., language choices of the students in relation to (1) speaking, (2) reading, (3) writing, and (4) (radio) listening.⁴

More specifically, the following four detailed sets of information have been covered in the complete questionnaire:

- (i) Information on name, class, section, date of birth and place, home address, home state, religion, whether boarder or day scholar, parents' education and occupation, the student's mother tongue, duration of stay of the student and his/her parents in Delhi, frequency of the visit to Punjab and the places visited.
- (ii) Information on the student's ability to understand, speak, read and write languages; on the medium of ins-

truction that he/she had at various levels of schooling; and about the script in which the student writes Panjabi language.

- (iii) Information about the language(s) that the students speak at home with different person/relation-type; at different public places with different person/profession-types; at bus stop with people from different age groups; at bazar with different shop-keepers; and at college and university campus with different profession-types and mates. Information has also been collected about the language choices of the students for reading for various purposes, and for writing to different persons, relation-types.
- (iv) Information on the students' language choices in relation to next generation, i.e., their children; about their own career, higher education, marriage and social prospects; and about their language choices in thinking and dreaming.

The first set covers information on personal identification of the student to enable us to categorise him in terms of some socially relevant way. The other three sets give us more or less self-evaluative information about the group.

2.4. Authenticity of Data

The data collected are authentic in a special sense of the term. We observed all the customary formalities that are often done to ensure authenticity of information. For instance, the purpose of our project was never made known to the teachers and the students; the teachers took copies of the questionnaire to their classes; the students filled them within one class of 45 minutes; and they were not allowed to take the questionnaire out of the class. The teachers were requested not to give any comments of their own on the questionnaire or the intentions of the project. They were, however, free to say something like: 'The department of Linguistics of our University is conducting one survey in our college. You are requested to co-operate with them and fill up these questionnaires.' We think that the task was taken seriously by the students because there were many complimentary remarks by the students written in the body of the individual questionnaires. The information supplied is authentic in this sense of the term. This was more than our expectations. We did not also find any questionnaire showing that a student indulged in fun by reporting odd responses, etc. Out of all the filled ques-

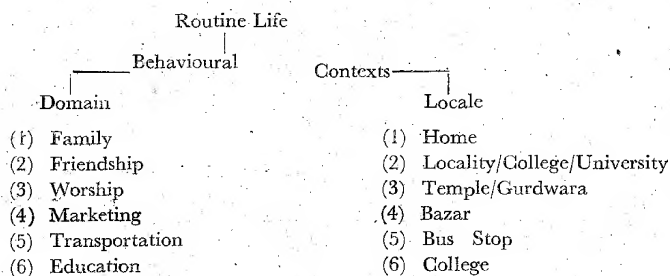
tionnaires, we discarded only one because it was a case of duplication. This gives us reason to believe that our subjects supplied authentic information as they felt.

There was also a built in checking device in the questionnaire, popularly known as 'sequencing'. The questions were arranged in such a sequence that each question, on any given stage, should operate as a checking device on the inflow of information. A question was asked at one stage and then tested with the help of another question at a much later stage. This could, we suppose, make the students think before tick marking or writing the answer to a given question. It must be admitted, however, that this testing could work only in the area of reading and writing. Such ability tests could not be given on usage/ 'choice' and 'attitudes'.

On the whole, the way the total survey was taken by the students, gives us every reason to believe the information that they supplied to us was reflective of their behaviour.

2.5. The Domains of Language Use

Our understanding of the routine life of the students of Delhi leads us to posit a set of six domains of language use realizable at different locales where language activity seems to cluster. The proposed set is given below. We shall take up the validity of this proposed matrix of the domains later in the fourth chapter where the gathered data on speaking are discussed.



Four out of these six domains are located at single corresponding locales. The temple/gurdwara distinction expresses Hindu/Sikh worshipping distinctions and hence may be looked as two separate locales if total group is not considered as such. Friendship is given three different locales to account for the fact that in routine life, at least in the city life of Delhi, the friends

and the nature of friendship vary from domain to domain, and, therefore, it becomes necessary to take note of more than one locale.

It is important to stress that these domains of language use and the locales where they are realized in actual socio-linguistic praxis are relevant strictly to the routine life of the present group of the students. We do not make any claim about their general applicability to general life in Delhi.

We describe below each of these six domains in detail and give the relational hierarchies among the considered person/profession/relation-types in each of the six domains.

2.5.1. *Family*.—This domain takes care of an individual's private being as well as of most of the obligatory relations of his inner circle communication flanked by the non-obligatory ones who visit the family. During personality development activity in this domain the growing individual (a student in our case) is constantly obedient and responsible to the elder generation relations at home under normal conditions. This obligation helps us in knowing and fixing his own status and hence it is possible to know his hierarchical status. Importantly so, this status puts certain obligations on him to choose forms of his address and language (in multilingual context) in relation to the given role-relationship. Therefore, it is very important to know for ourselves the individual's hierarchical status in family if we want to understand and explain his language choices.

Otherwise too, family stands always as the fundamental domain of learning. It modulates the behaviour, determines fundamental tones and directions during the formative stage which the individual carries over to the other domains. Family determines one's response patterns, perceptions of relations, response habituation and forms one's evaluative consciousness.

As was suggested in the general note, it is always a reasonable possibility for our students to face any number of dyadic situations at home. But for our practical purposes we have selected only a few of the relation-types to whom the students may talk to. We have included the following relation-types in our list:

- (1) parents
- (2) aunts and uncles
- (3) parents' friends

- (4) sisters and brothers
- (5) cousins
- (6) servants

2.5.1. (a). *A Three Level Hierarchy Operates Among the Relations In This Domain.*—To recapitulate our discussion on the nature of the participants in behavioural contexts, we insist once again that the relation-types involved in this, as well as in the other domains are static in nature. That is, parents, and sisters and brothers, for instance, are fixed on two different levels. There must not be any cross-over from one level, i.e., from one relation to the other during language behaviour. The diagram below maps the relation-types considered for family.

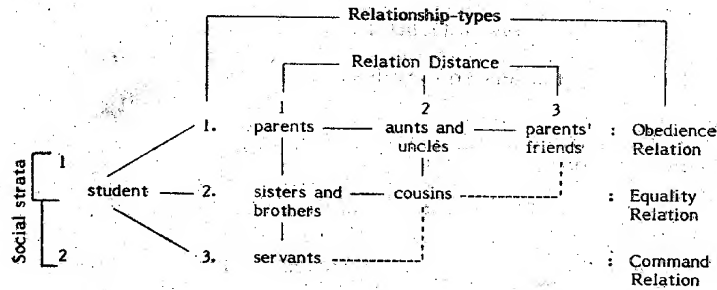


Diagram No.1

There are three different levels of hierarchy which belong to two different social strata. We have named the relationship types depending on the nature of the relationship of the student of the various relation-types at these three levels. Some of the points are explicated below.

1. At the first level of the hierarchy the prime relationship to talk to is parents. The other relationships at this level are related to our student only through/because of the parents.⁶ Since a student is, by the very nature of the relationship, supposed to be obedient to his parents, his relation with these people is termed as 'Obedience Relation'.

Next, through, parents, aunts and uncles, and parents' friends, all of them are put into similar relation,⁷ however, the closeness in the relationship in each of the cases differs. We have shown

this with the help of numbers put horizontally and with the 'Relational Distance'. In ideal conditions we know one's, parents are of a much closer relationship when compared to one's aunts and uncles, who in turn are more closer when compared to ones' parents' friends. We believe that this relation distance must effect language choices. And looking from other end of the assumed belief, this relation distance must be expressed through language choices. It will be interesting to see, therefore, whether this is true of our results or not.

2. The student's relationship with people at the second level is termed as 'Equality Relation'. The underlying idea is—unless there is unusual age gap one owes, and can claim, some sort of equality from his sisters and brothers in normal life. This is true also of, we believe, cousins of any lineage. But in normal conditions though cousins are equal in relation, nonetheless, they are not as close as to the students as his sisters and brothers may be. Therefore, in the above mapping, cousins are kept one measure distant from sisters and brothers.

3. We term the relationship of a student with a family servant as 'Command Relation' on the basis of a commonly known fact that almost every member of a family can command the servant to get certain things done for oneself. Since a servant is often, in normal conditions, a part of the family, he is not put out as distant in relation. The exact status of a servant is shown by putting him on lower level of hierarchy which maps him as different in spite of the no-distance marker, marked with the thick line.

4. *The Two Point Social Strata* refers to economic distinctions that are normally found between servant and the served. In our sense of the term these two points do not refer to the general categorization of higher, middle and low economic strata, classes. These two points classify the people in the following way:

- (i) *higher social strata* : parents aunts and uncles, parents friends, and sisters and brothers, cousins.
- (ii) *lower social strata* : servants only.

We believe that like the hierarchical levels social strata may have some bearing on the nature/quantum of our students' language choices.

2.5.1.(b). *A Clarification.*—We assigned one separate topic to each of the relation-types in the question that we asked in the family domain. The exact list is given below.

Relation-type		Topic
(1) Parents	..	family problems/personal purchases
(2) Aunts and uncles	..	a recent wedding
(3) Parent's friends	..	their health, well-being
(4) Sisters and brothers	..	College teachers
(5) Cousins	..	film stars, gossip
(6) Servants	..	household chores

This topic specification was done with a view to make the question more explicit and to reduce vagueness. Keeping our understanding of life in Delhi in view, we tried to put those topics against each of the relation-types which, we knew, occur most often among the specific possible dyads. Thus concentrating on maximum frequency of occurrence of a topic we believe that behaviour influencing power of topic *per se* could be controlled. We did not then know how far that could work; we shall see it later in our results. Though we are aware of the literature (Fishman—1968, 1972) where topic as influencing factor has been suggested. As far as this study is concerned we tried it purely as a control device, rather than as a choice influencing factor.

2.5.2. *Friendship.*—With this domain we move on to public life behaviour of an individual of a society.⁷

Friendship as a phenomenon covers almost entire social space of one's existence. Perhaps this is that aspect of our existence that keeps on negating control of social stratification on behaviour, language use being central point of this behaviour.

But the fact that friendship involves person-types that are socially always part of *the I* and *the Other*, it is natural to think of a normal role of a factor called formality as a characteristic feature of this social category.⁸ Therefore the way relation differs with different relation/person/profession-types from different domains, in the same way the friends and the degree of friendship should also vary from domain to domain.

This conception of friendship expects us to believe in variation in language use/choices realisable at so many locales in routine life. But, for this study, we have selected only the following important three locales out of a varied possibility:

- (i) locality,
- (ii) college and campus, and
- (iii) any gathering in university campus

We do not talk of any hierarchical differences in the friends from the three locales. However, it is significant to repeat that the students may observe, say, three distinct levels of formality. And this may have some bearing on the language use/choice of this group of the students.

2.5.3. *Worship*.—By worship⁹ we mean the religious activities of the Hindus and the Sikhs, the two religious groups constituting the total group, performed in their respective temples and gurdwaras. In fact we use this term for want of a proper general cover term because there is hardly anything that can be called exactly "worship" in Sikhism in the literal sense of the term, the way it is meant in Hindu way of worship.

We know from our experience that religious writings of these two religions are in different scripts (and languages). The exact ceremonial parts of the religious activities in these religions, therefore, are mostly performed in the 'language of the religion'. It is in this context that the language use/choices may tell us something significant about the status of the mother-tongue of the students.

Next, a suggestion can be made that religion and religious practices have acquired cultural shape in modern life for most individuals. That is, for most individuals worship tends to become more and more a cultural affair. Looking from this angle distance in various meanings of the term worship available in at least these two religions might be getting minimised. This should have certain behavioural consequences.

The locale of this domain has been listed in the related question as 'place of worship'. The student was supposed to pick up his own terms of reference out of it to suit his religious

identity. This term certainly implied any of the following two possibilities:

- (i) temple (in Hindus' case),
- (ii) gurdwara (in Sikhs' case).

There are only two person-types whom the student is supposed to talk to in this domain. Like other domains here again we select out of the many, so as to minimise the details. They are:

- (i) religious head, and
- (ii) fellow worshipper.

It must be made clear that our scheme does not permit any other person-type to enter into dyadic relation with our student. For instance, the parents of the students can often accompany them to a place of worship, but we do not consider them and many other such person/relation-types for dyadic contexts because language use/choice in relation to these people does not give us very significant information. This is so since they are not truly part of *the Other*.

As regards the relation among the fellow worshippers, we treat them as equals. Our assumption is that one of the main functions of the place of worship is to generate status equality by neutralizing societally relevant hierarchical stratification. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why religion has been a binding force for its adherents. On the contrary, relation between a worshipper and a religious head is supposed to command more respect in normal conditions as compared to a worshipper. Therefore two different levels of relation can be perceived operating at a place of worship. These two levels are defined in terms of the respect that an individual can command. We can treat them as two different hierarchical levels, but certainly there is no socio-economic parameter involved here in these levels. The diagram below is the description of this statement.

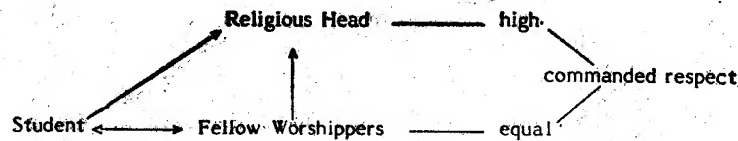


Diagram No. 2

How much role these places of worship play in reinforcing a *language of religion* is one of the points to be investigated. More

important than this are the language choices of the students because they will give us the status of their language, their mother-tongue in this domain.

2.5.4. *Marketing*.—With this domain we move on to real negotiational sector¹⁰ of routine life activity. The other aspect of each individual personality starts operating in this domain because everybody grants this on the basis of natural expectancy. This induces a greater degree of formality in most of the possible dyadic relations, and therefore, can be seen as the extreme case as far as element of formality among relations is concerned.

Locale for this domain is any bazar of Delhi.

Moving through bazar one can come across any number of people. But as we said in the beginning it is not practically possible to deal with this total possibility in this study. We have concentrated only on a few of the following profession-types:

- (i) doctor/chemist,
- (ii) barber/tailor

These two sets are further divided on the basis of religion, into Hindu and Sikh. Practically, therefore we have four dyads to get information on.

2.5.4.(a). *These profession-types are grouped on Socio-economic basis.*

A profession of doctor is grouped with that of chemist because these two profession-types are related to one/same sphere of activity and belong to a relatively higher stratum of society. Our intention in grouping a barber with a tailor is two-fold. The first we know these two professions represent two different types of activities. But we have reason, mostly economic ones, to suppose that these professions stand for only one socio-economic status a lower one as compared to that of doctor/chemist. The second, this grouping has a practical advantage. We know from the religious conventions that at least the Sikhs normally do not go for their hair cut. To know the effect of social status of the Other's low social status on students' language choices, we thought it proper to group tailor, one profession-type from low social status, with barber. It is also economical for tabulation purpose. In short, the above mentioned four profession-types represent only two different social strata.

2.5.4. (b) *Among males religious distinctions mean distinctions in visual personality also.*

In formal locales like bazar where people come in publically acceptable dress, Sikhs and non-Sikh personality distinctions are much apparent and are readily available in dress. It is very much clear among males, though one can have reasons to believe that people do develop a sense of recognising Panjabi vs. non-Panjabi and Sikh vs. non-Sikh distinctions among females also in Delhi on the basis of dress patterns and so on, one cannot say that this for certain, however.

This case in recognition renders one's task of positioning in behavioural contexts easier, because one does not have to induce tacit knowledge to take major decisions on identity fixation which is, perhaps, the prime basis for any behavioural happening. Otherwise one cannot decide upon the set of attitudes that should be displayed and the ones that should be held back, the style of language that should be employed, the cultural load that should go with the mode, and many more important decisions that are prerequisite for any behavioural happening to come about. We do not suggest that tacit knowledge is not required at all in such decision making, it is, indeed, very much required to fix the other's economic status, educational standard and cultural sophistry, especially when interaction takes place between/among strangers. The suggestion, in fact, is that tacit knowledge plays secondary role where visual personality distinctions are otherwise apparent. This should have some behavioural consequences in the form of the patterning of language use/choices that the students must make in this context.

2.5.4. (c) *Mention of religion is made as part of identity only in this domain because it is an extreme case of formality in relations.*

Had those elicitation decisions been not of any necessity for our operation we could have asked very elaborated questions by specifying religious identity of the addressed to, and by adding many other details to every question in the questionnaire. Given the decision we decided to know the effect of religion on the students' language choices only by putting religion as part of the addressee's identity in the question related to marketing domain, because, as we have said above, relations in this domain are comparatively more formal. Therefore, one can expect information from an extreme case. In this sense the entire data in this study are controlled.

The relational hierarchy in the considered relations is presented in the diagram below.

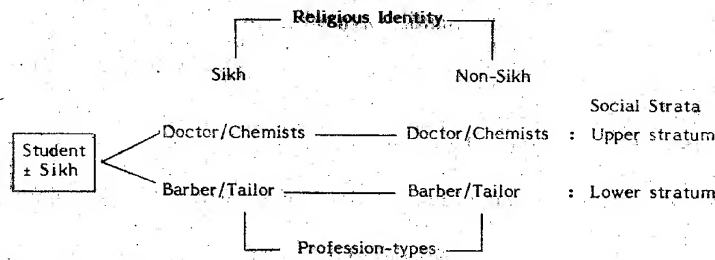


Diagram No.3

The student's socio-economic status is left uncovered by putting in the middle of the two strata because it is not possible to assign the total group to any one of the two possibilities.

2.5.5. Transportation.—Reaching a place of education was (during 1974) indeed a difficult affair in Delhi. This statement should render its full semantic load and range if one glances over the list of the areas and colonies represented in our sample (see Appendix). It will be seen that some of the students in question came to study in SGTB Khalsa College from places as far as Tilk Nagar (the distance is not less than 20-25 kms.).

As one gets into a bus in Delhi, one happens to be usually a part of the 'over load' during 'peak hours'. This leaves hardly any room for normal speaking except a few occasional shoutings. Keeping in view this common experience of Delhi transportation system we have located this domain at bus-stop, where commuters often wait to get a bus. The expected information is only on the verbal exchanges that take place as and when commuters wait for a bus.

During this occasional waiting for bus the students were asked to speak to the following fellow commuters:

- (1) a middle aged gentleman,
- (2) a middle aged lady,

- (3) a boy (stranger) of your age group,
- (4) a girl (stranger) of your age group and/or
- (5) another student of the College (not the respondent's)

We have left the religious identity of these person-types unspecified in accordance with our decision on coverage stated in the beginning and elaborated in the descriptions of the previous domain.

2.5.5.(a). *Age is the hierarchy creating factor in this domain.*

Next to religious identity, age and sex are two other visibly available distinction creating features. Out of these two, age is the factor which creates different hierarchical status for the people. This is so because in India, at least in normal conditions, people of old age, known or unknown, are supposed to be respected by the younger generation because this is a part of societal, and ethical norms that individuals are supposed to follow. However, as we have made it clear at various points, a student may show respect to elders if he obliges to follow social code of conduct. Since expectations are always there, we assume this acceptance on the part of our students. The diagram below depicts the relational hierarchy among the person-types in this domain.

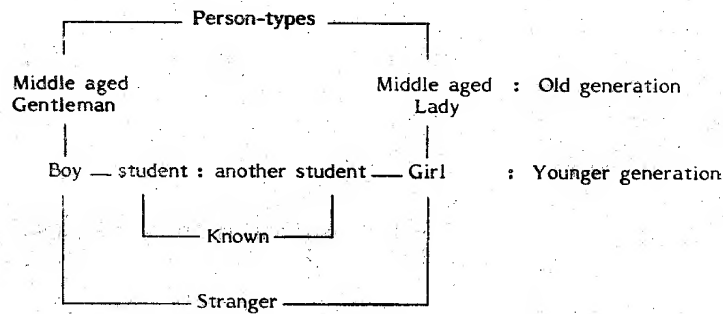


Diagram No.4

The sex of the student is left unspecified in this diagram because the group varies on this feature. Our category 'known' implies that our student is aware that the other person is another student of his/her college. It is in this sense that this person is not a stranger to our student as the rest of the person-types are.

This domain is again stretched beyond private/familial existence; whatever level of intimacy one may move on to among

strangers and the 'known' people formality in the formed dyads cannot be brought down to a neutral, ineffective level. Thus, this domain can help us in knowing the status of mother tongue in language choices of the students in a stranger vs. stranger and known vs. known dyadic contexts.

2.5.6. *Education*.—Study of language use/choices in this domain is very significant from our point of view because it is this domain where we get real compartmentalisation of languages that constitute the repertoire in terms of their functions in the routine life of the students. The study of the language choice of the students in this domain is expected to yield for us important data about the status of the mother tongue because the language of education (English) is different from the student's mother tongue. It is, therefore, interesting to see whether mother tongue gets any chance in the language choices in a context where another tongue is the language of the activity, i.e., education.

Our students were asked to report their language choices in relation to the person/profession-types that are listed below.

- (1) teachers,
- (2) laboratory assistants,
- (3) office/library staff,
- (4) classmates,
- (5) close friends, and
- (6) peons

The profession-type 'laboratory assistant' is not a general category. It is applicable only to science students. It is kept in the general list to see whether non-science students avoid it or not in supplying the answers on the given question. Thus it has a role to of a checking device in a limited sense.

Notice that the relation of the student with all those profession-types, other than 'close friends' is formal. Nonetheless, they share one common feature that they are 'known' to each other. But our decision on details is applicable to this domain without alternation.

2.5.6 (a). *A three level hierarchy operates among the relations in this domain*.—Our understanding of Khalsa College situation

leads us to believe that the students might perceive the following hierarchy among the given dyadic relations:

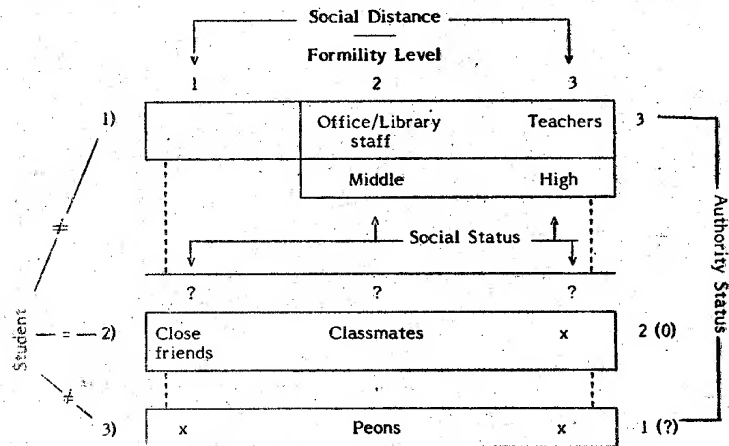


Diagram No.5

The student is put against (1), (2) and (3) levels of hierarchy. His relation with 'office/library staff', 'teacher' and 'peon' is marked with the sign (not equal), whereas he has (equal) hierarchical status with his 'close friends' and 'classmates'.

Social distance which controls different levels of formality observed by *interacting self* with *the Other* is mapped on a three-point scale. Notice that these numbers do not correspond to any kind of physical, concrete scale; these are only psychologically realizable target-points. The suggestion is that these distinctions should be read as 'relaxed', 'formal', and 'obligatory'. The vertical dotted lines connecting the three broader rows indicate the existence of distinctions cross levels.

The distinctions that are suggested by the feature 'social status' correspond to rank structure in the college, rather than the socio-economic status of the people. Nonetheless, a vague

correlation cannot be ruled out. Notice that we have not marked any social status to the category 'close friend' and 'classmates'. What matters in this domain is the kind of activity one does and what 'language face' and status is assigned by the students to that person/profession-types.

Another aspect of the mentioned identities of the involved individuals is their *authority status*. Once again the scale used involves psychologically recognisable target-points. No. 1(?) is lowest point. The authority that this level commands is mostly challengeable (marked with(?)). Viewed in relation to the point 1(?), the point 2(0) suggests a higher authority status. But if treated autonomously, it suggests that the student's relation with his 'close friends' and 'classmates' does not carry any ('(0)') authority. If read in relation to the next higher point No. 3 it attains an authority status lower than the No. 3, but higher than No. 1(?). The No. 3, as is evident, is the highest authority status.

2.6. The information on speaking, reading and writing in studied separately.

This is a major decision related to the format of the report. The decision is based on the following conditions and facts.

The speaking, reading and writing activities, through related to each other, are on many counts different in nature. For instance, we can see speaking as a domain-bound activity, whereas it may not be possible to view reading and writing as domain-bound activities. Even if the three activities could be seen as domain-bound, we need different sets of domains for these three activities and, therefore, we cannot treat them together.

Reading and writing presuppose basically different types of skills, and, therefore, are not part of every normal human being's ability. To possess this ability there are different conditions that should be fulfilled. For instance, one must ensure that there are facilities to get the technical training to acquire skills of reading and writing. Therefore, one cannot expect the knowledge of these skills unless those facilities are provided, say, through educational set up. And if one does not learn these skills, or if one is not imparted these skills to read and write, one cannot expect people to be able to read and write.

On the contrary, speaking a language demands only physical fitness and natural environment for acquiring that language.

age. Speaking is not, therefore, a 'skill' oriented activity, since one can expect people in the normal conditions to acquire speaking.

Keeping some of such reasons in view, we have decided to discuss the speaking, reading and writing activities in two different chapters. We have decided to treat reading and writing together because they are technical skills, and are naturally very much related.

2.7. Information on speaking, reading and writing will be interpreted differently because expectancies in each case are of different kind.

We have already reported that this group of students is Panjabi mother tongue group. Therefore, it is natural to expect them to speak in Panjabi in different behavioural contexts. But we are sure that these students did not get facilities in their schools to obtain reading and writing skills in Panjabi. We shall elaborate on this point in the next chapter when we study our results on reading and writing. Here it suffices to say that, given the above argument, we cannot expect any reading and writing activity from all the students unless we have information whether the students had this training or not in their schools.

In interpreting the information on speaking we shall have to find out the reason for the students not speaking Panjabi; in the case of their ability to read and write Panjabi we have to explain as to how this came about. Absence of speaking of mother tongue will be significant for us in any case, but absence of reading and writing will be meaningful only in those cases that report us knowledge of reading and writing. Presence of speaking will be normal and natural, but presence of reading and writing will be much more meaningful, especially in the cases who might have acquired reading skills through other means than regular education. To have a unified interpretation scheme in quantitative terms for presence and absence of speaking, reading and writing would basically mean going against one or the other activity and therefore misunderstanding of the situation as well as a bad interpretation. This is not, however, to deny the importance of unified scheme of interpretation.

2.8. The study of effectant variable will be restricted only to speaking.

There are some reasons for this decision. We know that Panjabi was not available to each and every student in the school. We shall substantiate this statement in the next chapter. Therefore, we cannot expect too much from data on this sector. We

might be getting some attitudinal type of information from those cases, if any, who might have learnt to read and write Panjabi of their own, which can be of course valuable information but not the total information on the total group. It is, therefore, not possible to make out, for total population, whether there were any significant factors that could cause any change in the overall language use/choices of the students. We have, therefore, decided to restrict the variable study, only to the area of speaking. Next, we have decided to deal with reading and writing first in the sequence so that whatever small or big amount of information we get out of our analysis of the data from this sector can be integrated with the information on speaking and a stronger case could be built for understanding the status of the students' mother tongue in the context of routine life. This helps us, we feel, to find answers to the major questions of this study.

2.9. Quantification of the data is restricted to drawing our percentages.

We have avoided sophisticated tools in quantifying our data and restricted our efforts purely to percentages based on hundred as common denominator. This is done in order to remain as close to the data as possible so that interpretation of the data does not have to undergo the compulsions of being adequate to statistical tools.

As decided above, the data from different sectors will be tabulated differently and separately. We shall start with 'speaking' skill with general, overall, patterns of information and then go to specific patterns. That is, first we shall work out overall general patterns to attain a base against which we can compare the results of specific variable based patterns to know whether there are any significant changes that a variable might cause.

2.10. Use of data for interpretation

As regards the use of data for interpretation, we shall use both exclusive figures and cross column counts. It is customary to say that this cross column total figures will be seen in terms of percentages though we cannot claim for them to be item derivable from a hundred as common denominator. This decision is motivated to account for the following types of facts. We find that the students report three exclusive languages, and their four combinations. If we want to make any interpretive or factual statement then a reference to exclusive data only would be accounting for a segment, or a sector of the data, because exclusive

figures do not represent the total fact. Therefore, it is obligatory to refer to the cross column total counts also. The exclusive figures and cross column total figures could be used separately to work out some tendency, etc., only, otherwise the use of cross column total is a must.

We shall have the descriptions of the data as well as their interpretations simultaneously. Therefore, there are no separate sections on descriptions and on interpretation except only in one or two sections where we may describe the basic information about the students.

CHAPTER 3

PANJABI LANGUAGE IN READING AND WRITING: A STUDY OF ATTITUDES, ABILITIES AND PRACTICES

Natural language (i.e., mother tongue) development process in social praxis starts with acquisition of speaking abilities and gets extended upto abilities of reading and writing provided necessary conditions like facilities for learning, etc., for such extensions are fulfilled. More natural order, from the stand point of first language, in this developmental activity, seems chiefly from speaking to reading and writing. However, we reverse this natural order in our presentation and take up the reading and writing practices of our students first. We have already given implicitly some of our reasons for this reversal in the previous chapter on 'Rules of The Method'. Our hope is to get information on the students' attitudes towards their mother tongue on a variety of important questions, along with information of wider magnitude. The results of our analysis of the available data will help us in preparing some reasonable ground to find explanations for various aspects of speaking activity to be studied in the next chapter.

We start with factual reports on the students' abilities to read and write. These facts are analysed and interpreted in the light of demographic information available on Delhi. And thence emerges a brief account of the students' attitudes towards their mother tongue. This is followed by a detailed study of the reading and writing practices of the students in relation to specific zones of activity and person/relation-types.

3.1. Very few students have learned to read and write from their schools in Delhi.

We have reported earlier that facilities to learn Panjabi in Delhi State's educational system have been very limited. These facilities could have been even more limited especially during the days when the present students were at their primary and secondary stage of education. As a result, only a few students had chance to learn to read and write Panjabi from their schools in Delhi.

The Table 1 below is a summary of the media of instruction that this group of the students had upto the end of their school education.

TABLE 1

P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*	Cross column totals	
6.52	2.17	2.54	2.17	24.64	33.33	26.45	2.17	Panjabi	13.41
								Hindi	62.31
								English	55.20

Note :— Read * as 'no report' in all the tables to follow.

That is, out of the total population 6.52% had exclusive Panjabi as their medium of instruction, but the rest of the columns where Panjabi occurs mean that the Panjabi had been studied by the students either as medium of instruction, or has been taken as second language at some stage.

Keeping in view the cross column totals we can conclude that 13.41% of the students learnt Panjabi reading and writing skills from their schools, but 6.88% out of this number had their early education, at least up to primary standard, *from Punjab*. Therefore, only 6.53% of the group learnt Panjabi through their schools in Delhi.

One may suggest that most of the students might not have availed the facilities and therefore the number is as small as 6.53%. But this number seems to be quite big if we refer to the reality of the situation even at the stage of 1973-74. It is known that out of the total 1542 primary schools in Delhi, Panjabi was available as second language (special subject, etc.) only in 16 schools of Delhi, and these schools were run by private agencies.¹ Naturally, during the earlier sixties, when these students were approximately in the primary school stage, the facilities might not have been better than these. However, it does not help us to conclude whether the facilities were really insufficient in the face of the need at the primary and secondary stage of the student's education. And we cannot draw any meaningful conclusions out of the 13.41% and 6.53% numbers at this stage of analysis.

3.2. The students who report the ability and prove the skill in reading and writing outnumber those who learnt Panjabi from school.

To ascertain the students' language skills we asked them the following question: "Language known to you understand,

speak, read and write." The results are given in the Table 2 below:

TABLE 2

Understand	speak	read	write
100%	100%	62.22%	55.07%

If we compare this statement of ability of the students with the medium of instruction figures (13.41%), we find that 51.81% extra students have acquired reading and 41.66% extra students have acquired writing skills.

At a later stage in the questionnaire, we gave a test to these students to check up whether the students really had these abilities. The test was in fact only on writing because it was not possible to give the students a meaningful test in reading. We asked the students to write a few lines (about five) in Panjabi using any script they liked. In total 56.16% students attempted it. Out of this number 26.09% wrote Panjabi in Gurmukhi script, and 30.07% students wrote Panjabi in Nagri script. (This number includes 2 persons who wrote Panjabi in Roman script.)

A comparison between the two results shows 1.9% increase over the ability statement figures.

It is interesting to note that these students of Delhi use Nagri letters also to write Panjabi, though during post-partition era Panjabi has been written mainly written in Gurmukhi script in India. Therefore, if we maintain that to know to read and write Panjabi is to be able to read and write in Gurmukhi script, then the students would be considered as not knowing reading and writing Panjabi. But the students had, perhaps, a different criterion. As an answer to our question, "In which script do you write Panjabi language?" out of the total 86.23% students, who answered the question, 37.68% students gave Gurmukhi and 48.55% gave Nagri. Therefore, for the students to be able to write Panjabi does not necessarily mean to write Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. It should suggest that the statement of ability by the students cannot be doubted.

What do these descriptions mean? The case of 30.07% students who write Panjabi in Nagri script is suggestive of the willingness to extend the acquired skills to another intimately known language as to make a claim, so much so the students have even attempted to write Panjabi in Roman. At a deeper level of obser-

vation, perhaps, the students are trying every possible method to claim that they know how to write Panjabi; whether we accept the claim of the students or not, they do not want to admit that they do not know how to write Panjabi. Even if we allow knowing how to read and write in Gurmukhi alone as knowing Panjabi, (though such a proposition would entail only a half truth especially in the case of places outside the Punjab (India), say, for instance, Pakistan) we find an interesting case in the test figures. Among the test figures we have 26.09% students who write Panjabi in Gurmukhi. This number is 12.68% higher than the number of those who learnt Panjabi through their school (13.41%). This is an increase of 12.68% over 13.41% who learnt Panjabi in the school. This almost twofold increase cannot be explained unless we believe that this acquisition of knowledge of reading and writing in Panjabi has been made possible somewhere outside the formal system of education. This should lead us to suppose that the community at large is doing something to boost the growth of its language. In brief, the descriptions of the information on the students are suggestive of their favourable attitude toward their mother tongue; otherwise why should they put up every effort to claim that they know to read and write Panjabi, and why should they attempt to learn Panjabi through non-formal means?

The fact that the students have learnt to read and write Panjabi through non-formal means helps us in understanding the meaning of the information left uninterpreted in the previous section. If we assume that the school system had ample learning facilities for Panjabi but the students did not avail them, then the information in this section cannot be understood at all. A very weak argument for sufficiency of the facilities could be that for educational purpose, if we maintain that the sole job of education is only to make the learner to be able to make an economic career after its completion, parents might have wanted their children to learn languages other than Panjabi. For cultural purposes they might have been managing to teach Panjabi through non-formal means because this knowledge would not be counted in the formal qualifications of the students. This argument can be true of many cases, but it does not account for the total population, i.e., 86.59% whose children did not have Panjabi in any form in their school. The argument is weak, as far as availability of facilities is concerned on practical grounds. How can we claim availability of sufficient facilities to learn, the necessary condition for known to read and write, even at the stage of 1973-74 when there were only 16 schools, out of 1542 schools, where Panjabi was available? The second reason is the frequent com-

plaints by the community to the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities³ about non-availability of the facilities and indifferent attitude of the authorities concerned towards Panjabi. But even this suggestion has its own limitations. This suggestion has its validity only for the 62.22% of the cases if we maintain that these many students really know to read Panjabi, and therefore 37.78% of the cases remained as exception to it. May be that availability or non-availability of Panjabi does not bother these 37.78% cases because, they did not put up any effort to learn Panjabi of their own. Panjabi could be their mother tongue and that is all they claimed.

Discussion so far makes us to see three categories in the total sample. The first consists of those 13.41% (forgetting where did they learn Panjabi) who managed to learn Panjabi through school even if there were very limited facilities for that; the second consists of those 48.81% who learnt Panjabi on their own, and the third category consists of those 37.78% who never learnt Panjabi. These categories might be true of Panjabi population at large. And if we take these three categories as three main tendencies among Panjabi population in Delhi, indeed, three points on attitude scale, we may have then some reasons to believe that there are people who have strong attitude towards Panjabi; there are people who have positive attitude towards Panjabi, and there are people who do not have any attitude towards Panjabi. This reading of the available information seems to be true to a greater degree of probability, even though it may not be true of the population at large to the same degree.

The suggested reading of the information takes us to the realization of an important fact, may be a fundamental fact about society, viz., we cannot have any single dimensional generalizable tendency in a society. What is available is more than one tendency and in some sense these are opposing ones which categorize a population into different zones. But if so then what is it that keeps these zones binding? This should compel us to think of some mechanism that keeps these separating tendencies intact, on the one hand, and makes these distinction creating forces to submerge into something mutually acceptable, wanted and a meta/super-force. If we look into the present sample and its three discovered categories, we find they are differently definable, but there is a super factor, a force or a fact that in spite of the different wants and approaches, the total group happens to be of Panjabis and claims Panjabi to be its mother tongue. That is, in spite of the said divergence the shared fact, a binding force, is language based common identity.

3.3. Whom should we expect to read and write Panjabi in specific zones of activity?

Ordinarily Panjabi is written, printed and read in Gurmukhi in Delhi and in Punjab. Therefore, as far as reading of newspapers, magazines and literature is concerned we can expect reading only from those 13.41% students who had Panjabi in their schools, or from the total 26.09% students who wrote Panjabi for us in Gurmukhi script. Moreover, as knowledge is seen dependent on the learning conditions, in the same fashion reading is also conditioned by the availability of reading materials. Expecting from somebody to read in Panjabi then would fulfil two conditions: (1) that the student should be able to read in Gurmukhi, and (2) reading materials of the students liking should be available. We shall take up this availability condition, the second one, at a later stage when we discuss information from specific zones of activity. But it is important at this stage that we can expect reading and writing in different zones of activity only from, at the most, 26.09% or at least from 13.41% because this 13.41% must have attained some standard in reading and writing; here we are not sure about any standard among rest of the population.

To expect reading and writing practices from this 13.41% students means, on our part, to expect a continuation of a status quo for Panjabi. That is, if the acquired knowledge is put to use of some kind by the students, given that the availability conditions are fulfilled in practical life, that should mean to us that Panjabi had gained a status among the students and that status continues. If that knowledge is not being used in any activity zones, to be discussed later, that should mean at the individual level of a student a gradual loss of the acquired skills, and at community level, loss for the language.

Therefore, when we take up data from various zones of activity in the following sections we would not be surprised if the total population of the students do not report reading and writing practices, because we do not expect these practices from each one of these individuals. But it will be certainly meaningful for us if the number whom we expect to report that it does practice Panjabi reading and writing, does not report any practices of reading and writing.

3.4. The students prefer English most for their children's education, and the desire for Panjabi also increases slightly.

We asked the students, "When you have children of your own what language would you want them to use in school as medium of instruction".

The received answers are summarised below :

TABLE 3

P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*	Cross Column Totals	
9.78	.36	2.54	1.81	4.35	7.25	64.13	9.78	Punjabi	14.49
								Hindi	13.77
								English	72.83

The study of this information will be more meaningful if we read it in comparison with the Table 1. To have a comparative look we reproduce the Table 1 below :

P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*	Cross Column Totals	
6.52	2.17	2.54	2.17	24.64	33.33	26.45	2.17	Punjabi	13.41
								Hindi	62.31
								English	55.80

Earlier when the parents of the present generation students decided the medium of instruction for their children, English as single language was chosen by 26.45%. But when the present generation of students will have the role and responsibility to decide the medium of their children's education, 64.13% of the students want only English, a big leap of 37.68% over the earlier figures. Total count for English likewise moves from 55.80% to 72.83% an increase of 17.03%.

Next, during their schooling 6.52% students had only Panjabi as their medium of instruction, but now though their preference for English has gone very high, 9.78% of those students want to educate their children through exclusive Panjabi. There is a 3.26% increase in the demand for absolute Panjabi. The Panjabi-Hindi combination that was 2.17% is now reduced to .36%, Panjabi-English combination retains 2.54%, but Panjabi-Hindi-English combination goes slightly down from 2.17% to 1.81%. Perhaps the meaning of the combinations with Hindi getting reduced lies in the choice quota for Hindi and Hindi-English combination. Earlier 33.33% students had exclusive Hindi as their medium of instruction, but now only 7.25% of the students would like their children to have it, the decrease is 26.08%. Likewise Hindi-English combination goes down from 24.64% to 4.35%, a decrease of 20.29%, and the cross column counts for Hindi goes down from 62.31% to 13.77%, a big leap of 48.54%.

Apart from the numerical differences between the two tables, and the various meanings that can be assigned to these differences, the other major difference is that Table 1 represents a fact and Table 3 represents the desire for Panjabi language. That is why Table 3 is more important from our point of view because it can tell us about the value that students themselves attach to Panjabi as medium of instruction.

There can be any number of reasons for choice of a language as medium of instruction. But the important consideration in the choice of a language as a medium of instruction is, perhaps the set of economic career opportunities it can offer the learner. The 72.83% total count preference for English proves beyond any doubt that no other language which constitutes the linguistic repertoire of these students stands anywhere in the picture. The 64.13% exclusive English is also indicative of the same tendency, because 9.78% of exclusive Panjabi and 7.25% of exclusive Hindi stand nowhere near to English. The differences are respectively 54.35% (Panjabi), and 56.88% (Hindi). Nevertheless, there are some important points that concern us, here. In the context of a high demand for English, in both total count as well as exclusive number, demand for Panjabi as medium of instruction has increased, however small this increase may be and this increase is both in total count (1.09%) and in exclusive number (3.26%). If our belief that a language is selected as medium of instruction based on the economic career than their parents did. Or if in the selection of Panjabi as medium of instruction the prospects for economic career are not very much associated with the choice of medium of instruction at the early stage of schooling, parents simply want the children to be well versed in their mother tongue for emotional and/or cultural reasons only, then again, this small increase has to be given some weightage in interpretation. That is, the very small increase in demand for Panjabi should be symptomatic of a comparatively greater willingness among this generation to let their children have a formal learning in Panjabi may be motivated by and this increase in willingness for emotional and/or cultural reasons only.

Note, however, that these claims that we make out on the basis of a very small increase in preference for Panjabi are the carriers of a very weak tendency going against a very powerful tendency that wants only English. Keeping both the tendencies in view, we cannot make any generalized statement about the total group in favour of Panjabi, because if we argue that since 72.83% wants English and therefore they have negative attitude for the other languages, then we must also admit that 14.49% students

who want Panjabi and 13.77% students who want Hindi have also negative attitude towards English. But surely one thing is clear that enormous increase in demand for English is not at the cost of Panjabi. Had this been so we must have concluded that Panjabi is losing favour and giving way to other languages. In spite of the importance for English shown by the group the slight increase in Panjabi blocks that interpretation.

Restructuring of demands for languages is bound to take place as we move from one generation to another, because the conditions that make a people to think about importance of one language over the other are never constant. Our information confirms that the 13.41% students of the total group has a slight addition to it and hence now there are 14.49% students who want to accept Panjabi as medium of instruction. This is understandable and becomes clear if we refer back to pre-sixties and post-sixties socio-political conditions and status of this language which often effected people's linguistic decisions, particularly their language choice for medium of instruction. We know during pre- and post-sixties period, when the decisions regarding medium of instruction for these students had already been taken, Panjabi was being asked to be declared as state language of Punjab which gave rise to more language and politics-related activity in Delhi. How much that could have effected a student or student community or public at large we are not very much sure of. And why should these language and politic activities have thus effected the students of the Khalsa College students in particular? Whether these students were affected or not we do not exactly know; but there are some reasons to believe that these activities had some kind of effect because the Khalsa College is, as we said in the first chapter, more or less a seat of Panjabi language among the academic world of Delhi. Some kind of relation, an effect, can be established especially at this stage i.e., at 1980, when we know that Panjabi has already been recognised as one of the second languages in Delhi now, though this happened after 1974-75. The point is that the parents might have seen a gradual emergence of Panjabi as something more than a cultural fact in the life of Delhi, as a language which was able to afford some economic career also to its speakers. So some of them selected Panjabi as medium of education for their children once Panjabi became state language of Panjab, in 1974. That is why there is some justification relating the minor increase of 1.09% in preference for Panjabi as medium of instructions to this socio-political change in its status in Delhi as well as elsewhere. Hopefully, perhaps, we can interpret

Before we open up discussion on this data presented in Table-4, we must make it clear that when we talk of career prospects of the students we talk about them only in relation to the situation in Delhi. This is obligatory. The career prospects that each of the involved language can afford a person elsewhere are different. Though in practice any one of the students can try for a career anywhere in India, it is not possible to work out the value judgement that the students make about the languages if we allow multiple situational contexts. Moreover, the same information cannot be true of every situation. Therefore, we interpret the data purely against the background of the situation in Delhi, and would like to be understood purely in that background.

The most useful language for the students is English in this area. Exclusive English is as high as 73.19% and total count for this language reaches 78.62%. These two figures are highest so far. This is very natural if we remember the trend discussed in earlier sections. These results confirm most of our statements that we have made so far in this study. The students attest that English is the high career potential language. Therefore, it is but natural for the students to care for English more and spend more energies in acquiring it, and in improving efficiency in this language. It also explains why the parents of the students, and then in their turn the students, reported their preference for English, as revealed in the high English percentages. This is so because the situation in Delhi has been, and perhaps is, that one cannot think of high career opportunities without English. Any educational decisions must keep in view and reflect over this hard reality of the situation.

The other two languages, Panjabi and Hindi, stand nowhere in relation to English. The most inversely placed language is Hindi. It was exclusive language of education of 33.33% of the students and its total occurrence was 62.31%, but now it has come down to 6.52% exclusive and 10.87% total count. The market conditions for Hindi as seen by the students are clearly visible. Though 33.33% of the population had their education exclusively in Hindi, majority of them do not find any career in Hindi.

But Panjabi's case is different from Hindi. We remember that 6.52% of the students had their schooling in exclusive Panjabi, but now exclusive panjabi for career prospects is 8.33%. Total cross column count for Panjabi is 13.04%, whereas 13.41% was the total count for Panjabi at the end of school education. If we ignore the negligible decrease of .36% in the total count, we

can say that Panjabi retains the original number. The high preference for English is, therefore, not at the cost of Panjabi.

We can look at this information from another angle, namely, from the point of view of eligibility conditions for career on the basis of knowledge of Panjabi. We know that in most employment situations a formal qualification, a certifiable qualification is needed. In such cases it is only the 13.41% who had some formal qualification in Panjabi can fulfill the condition of employment which requires knowledge of Panjabi. We cannot expect others to make a valid claim for a career in Panjabi. Therefore, any increase in the number of Panjabi career prospects is ruled out.

The point of some significance from our view, however, is that though there is decrease in preference for Hindi and increase in preference for English in relation to the preferences discussed earlier, preference for Panjabi continues to be constant. That is, those students whom we expect to prefer Panjabi really do claim that Panjabi is useful for them. We can conclude that Panjabi maintains a status quo in this area of personal importance for the students. However, while making this statement it will be equally important to recognize that there are strong English and weak Hindi tendencies among the total group.

3.5.2. *English is the language of higher education and Panjabi and Hindi are given a very minor role.*

The information that students supplied to us on this area is displayed in Table 5 below.

TABLE 5

P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*	Cross Column Totals	
4.35	*	1.45	*	1.45	5.43	82.79	4.35	P	5.80
								H	6.88
								E	85.87

That is, English is given as *the* choice for higher education because 82.79% of the students want exclusive English, and total count goes even higher, upto 85.87%. On the contrary exclusive Panjabi and Hindi are left with very minor numbers, 4.35% and 5.43% respectively. Preference for these two languages is extremely low even when we consider cross column counts, i.e., the counts are 5.80% and 6.88%, respectively. Explanation for this distribution of the three languages, perhaps can be found from the 1974-75 educational conditions in Delhi. We know that all these students of the Khalsa College were taking all the subjects,

except languages, if any, through the medium of English. If the higher education means going for Masters, etc. in all the subjects, then it is natural to find English as the useful language, because the students know that in the present educational conditions it is not possible to take up higher studies in any of the subjects without English. Next we know from our common experience that there is not much demand for higher studies in Panjabi or Hindi. Even small figures for Panjabi and Hindi are surprising because these figures show that there were students at College level willing to do their higher studies in Panjabi subject some ten years back.

Therefore, when we read these small figures for Panjabi we do not have any reason to believe that at some point of time in the past there was a very big demand for Panjabi in higher studies and now it has gone down and is left with only 5.80%. On the contrary the fact is that this development must have been from a even smaller number to 5.80%. Hence this small number becomes significant because it shows that there is at least 4.80% of students who demand for Panjabi in the high studies sector at this stage. The point that we want to make is that the low figures for Panjabi do not indicate loss in preference, because we do not have any reason to believe that there was a higher preference for Panjabi at some earlier stage.

3.5.3. *English is most useful for social status and Panjabi exceeds the school figures.*

Social status from the stand point of a student is the kind of future that he desires. It is intimately related with one's educational achievements, because educational achievements are supposed to lead to some professional career, and this professional career is a key to socio-economic status of an individual. But some social status is not synonymous to economic career. There are those cultural layers in every society which operate above socio-economic strata and therefore belonging to a specific socio-economic stratum, say upper one, does not necessarily mean being in the upper layer of the society in its cultural sense. Particularly in situations like Delhi where people are more than monolinguals and where the known languages stand in complementary relations of various kinds, and share loads of social life of the individuals in different ways, a language which is very important in one area, or sector of life need not be equally important in rest of the areas/sectors too.

We have reported our results about career prospects and higher education and noticed that English was considered most

useful language by the students in these two areas. But it is not necessary, as we have proposed in the preceding para, that English should be reported in the same measure in the social plane as well because social status is not exactly a career and a standard of education. Probably this fact is reflected in the students' answers. Look into Table 6 below.

TABLE 6

P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*	Cross Column Totals	
12.32	2.17	4.35	1.81	7.76	18.12	46.74	6.88	P	20.65
								H	29.86
								E	60.60

Exclusive English was 73.19% for career prospects and 82.79% for education, whereas here it is left with 46.74% only, the decrease is respectively 26.45% and 36.05%. But total count preference for Panjabi goes up by 7.61% in relation to career, and by 14.85% in relation to higher education. That is, career, higher education and social status are three different things for the students. If the extremely high measure of English is desired for career prospects and tendencies among the population, and if we include the combination figures also, then one can see how there are moves and counter-moves within the group, i.e., there are exclusive groups; there are groups who believe in combination of two/three languages; and there is a group represented by 1.81% persons who believe in all the three languages. But as we said earlier the fact that they are all Panjabis will keep them in some fashion tied to each other.

However, if we refer to school figures, meanings of these language choices may become clearer. When these students started their education, internal value differences must have been there at that time within the parents' generation. So we find that 6.52% students had their education up to end of their school in Panjabi, 33.33% in exclusive Hindi, and 26.45% in English. But when these students themselves think of their social status 12.32% of them find it in exclusive Panjabi, 18.12% in exclusive Hindi and 46.74% in exclusive English. And 31.52% students got their education in more than one language upto end of school, whereas now only 16.09% students find more than one language suited for their social status. Or if we refer to the total counts of the three languages, we find at the beginning Panjabi was 13.41% Hindi was 62.31% and English was 55.80%. On the contrary, now Panjabi is 20.65%, Hindi is 29.86%, and English is 60.60%. Let us assume that approximately every student has spent at

least 12 to 13 years in education, though this would be a bit risky because we have students of B.A., B.Sc. III years also, but since we are not doing a very accurate counting, therefore, one or two years will not make a big difference. We may suggest that usefulness of every language has differed within these 12-13 years because with the change of time a generation has also changed. Difference in exclusive distributions are as follows: Panjabi has gone up by 5.80%, English has gone up by 20.29%, and Hindi has gone down by 15.21%. Similar changes have taken place in cross column totals also. Panjabi has gone up by 7.24%, English has gone up by 4.80%, and Hindi has gone down by 32.45%. That is, though total count preference for English is very much higher the actual increase in it is 2.44% less than the increase that has taken place in Panjabi over these 12-13 years. Hindi, on the other hand, has again gone down. It seems that to begin with the people had good hopes on Hindi as a language with career prospects, social status etc., but during these 12-13 years of time these people have not been able to sustain the idea. As a result there has been a bi-directional shift for language preference. Some of the Hindi cases shift to English and the other to Panjabi.

3.5.4. *Panjabi is the most useful language for marriage though Hindi and English are also considered.*

One thing should be quite evident by now that we cannot expect any language, mother tongue or other tongue as hundred percent preferred for any purpose from our students. Since multilingualism is a fact of life for the students, we find the three languages and their four combinations preferred by the students in various measures. The available information on this area of personal concern testifies the same tendency. We give the results in Table 7.

TABLE 7

									Cross Column Totals	
P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*		P	
59.42	2.17	3.99	.72	4.71	14.13	11.23	3.62	E	H	21.73
									E	20.56

As soon as we have come out of those areas where instrumental value of a language matters most, we find the quantum of choices for Panjabi and English gets reversed, i.e., English surrenders its extremely high position to Panjabi and takes to a lower level role that Panjabi has in the areas discussed above.

59.42% of exclusive Panjabi and the 66.30% cross column counts for this language show how stronghold this language is having among this group as far as social and personal relations are concerned. Though a majority of the students do believe that Panjabi language cannot offer them good economic careers, cannot help in higher education, etc., but still a majority of them would like to marry a Panjabi speaking person.

On the contrary, 14.13% exclusive Hindi and 11.23% exclusive English, and likewise the total counts of these two languages, are indicative of an opposite tendency. No doubt that a majority of the students want to have Panjabi speaking spouses, however, there is a minority group who likes to have Hindi/English spouses. May be that the process of cultural integration and fusion that should have started with the Panjabi people's settlement in Delhi has resulted in the give and take in terms of familial relations also. This relational give and take at least in the case of Hindi speaking Khatri of Delhi (the "Dilwala" Khatri) with "Lahoria" and "sirhindia" Khatri of the Panjab in marital relations, have already been reported in the first chapter with the help of a quotation from the census of India, 1901 report. But what do exactly the preferences for English mean we cannot say for certain. One of the meanings could be that a student wants a spouse who can speak English, or that the student stands better chances of getting a good spouse if the student knows English and so on.

We shall not go here into details of who wants Hindi and who wants English in selecting spouses, because we have reserved that for a detailed study under speaking. However, a section of the Hindus of the Panjab have been having marital relations with Hindi speaking Hindus of Delhi. Therefore, it is nothing new, and is only a continuation of the tradition. We do not know for sure the frequency of the establishment of this relation. The tradition might have been strengthened due to the living together, or it might have been weakened: any of the possibilities can be expected. For our practical purposes, therefore, this continuation of the tradition can be interpreted as continuation of the historical tendencies among Panjabi people.

The 11.59% preferences that go to four combination of the three languages can be seen as an outcome of cultural settlement or the process of acculturation through which mutual differences in cultural tradition of different people start interacting with each other and give rise to an integrated whole. Though these numbers are very insignificant, they are important in the sense that

they represent a tendency, however small it is, among the Panjabis of Delhi. Out of the 11.59% preferences, Panjabi is present in 6.88%. That is, the students want their spouses to have other languages background too, but the background in their mother tongue Panjabi is compulsory. This is like becoming multilingual without losing one's mother tongue.

The total group can be, therefore, divided into three sections: (1) those who want to marry only Panjabi speaking persons, (2) those who want Hindi, English or Hindi-English along with Panjabi, and (3) those who do not want Panjabi at all. The second group can be seen as a bridge between the other two. That is, even though there are language preferences which differential people; there are also forces that bridge these gap-creating differences and act as binding and mediatory forces.

Had the knowledge of the tradition of establishing marital relations been not available to us we would have concluded that shift from Panjabi is taking place among women sections of the group. On the contrary in the face of strong tendency for Panjabi and availability of the tradition we interpret the non-Panjabi figures as part of the traditional give and take.

A part of the information in this section No. 5 is not exactly related to reading and writing skills: for instance, the data related to 'social status' and 'marriage' is in a sense outside the jurisdiction of reading and writing. But we discuss this data here because we get useful insights into the attitude of the students towards their mother tongue. It also becomes clear to know the values that these students assign to their mother tongue. The data under discussion in the immediately following sections are also of this kind, of indirect importance.

3.6. Panjabi has a strong hold on the conscious and unconscious being of the students.

We asked the students two separate questions. The questions followed each other. The first question was "which language do you use for thinking?" And the second question in sequence was "If you can recall, what language do you generally dream in?".

As is evident from the language of the two questions, we are not asking any direct information on any of the aspects of reading and writing abilities and/or practices. Our aim is to identify the place of Panjabi in the conscious and unconscious worlds of

the students; that is, we aim at identifying the extent of involvement of the students in their mother tongue. The data supplied by the students are given in the Table below.

TABLE 8

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*	Gross Column Totals	(1)	(2)
(1) Thinking	43.48	6.16	3.99	2.90	7.61	19.57	13.41	2.90	P 56.53	61.60	
(2) Dreaming	44.93	9.78	2.90	3.99	4.33	16.57	8.33	9.06	H 36.24	34.69	
									E 27.91	19.57	
(1) Thinking											(2) Dreaming

3.6.1. Thinking

The exclusive language choices are 43.48% for Panjabi, 19.57% for Hindi and 13.41% for English. Likewise the cross column totals are 56.53% for Panjabi, 36.24% for Hindi and 27.91% for English.

Notice that the most wanted and useful language English is left with only 13.41 % or 27.91% total counts. If we read this information in comparison with the career figures, we find that there is a decrease of 59.78% in exclusive figures and 50.71% in total count. And if we read the 'thinking' figures in comparison with higher education, the decrease is the maximum, i.e., 69.38% in exclusive preference, and 57.96% in cross column count.

Likewise a comparison of Panjabi and Hindi figures with the figures for career and higher education shows definite changes in preferences. For instance, exclusive Panjabi and Hindi have increased by 35.15% and 13.05% respectively in comparison to career figures, and increase in comparison with higher education is 39.13% and 14.14%.

One thing is very much clear about these figures for the three languages and about the reported decrease and increase in the figures, that we can read these figures only in relative terms. An absolute reading can lead us to conclusion like, for instance 69.38% students can have their higher education in English without 'thinking' in this language, and that 63.05%, if not more, can think of their present education without thinking in English, though their medium of instruction at college is English.

Since all these students are English medium students at present, none of them can escape thinking in English. Secondly, as we have already reported in section No. 2 all the Students understand and speak Panjabi; hence, the students cannot avoid thinking in Panjabi during their routine life. It seems, then, that those students who report exclusive Panjabi, Hindi and English are reporting to us by ignoring a part of thinking activity that they involve themselves in. It may be just a matter of reporting. Or it can be a matter of association in feelings, i.e., the students may feel that they think the way they report, and therefore, the reported figures could be just a matter of attitude. We do not have any other way of explaining the figures in the context of the reality of the situation. And if these figures reflect the students' attitudes towards the three languages, then, once again we have the same different tendencies that we have talked about in almost every section till now.

3.6.2. *Dreaming*

Does one really talk in dreams and, if one does, is it possible to recall the language part of a dream? These two questions can have a variety of answers. But in practice we have examples like 'Kubla Khan' and the like, on the one hand, and on the other, we also have people who claim that they do not dream at all. The 9.06% students who do not report can be taken as those who either do not dream, or are unable to recall. The 29.29% people who dream in a language other than Panjabi reveal a weak tendency opposite to Panjabi. Once again we are in the familiar situation—exclusive Panjabi being tied up with X and this combination in turn being tied with Hindi as one knot and with English as the other one.

Here we do not have any basis for comparison with any information from any other area because the present area of experience is totally of a different kind. And therefore, at the most we can claim a dominant role for Panjabi, and a minor role for Hindi and English.

In this part of the chapter we are concerned with data from various practice areas in reading and writing. It is, perhaps, worth repeating that the reader must refer back to the expectations and the availability conditions that we talked about in earlier sections. We shall introduce certain new information to elaborate on availability conditions, but shall not repeat in full what we have already said.

3.7. Reading: Newspapers, Magazines, Novels and Short Stories.

We asked the students to report to us in which language do they read (i) newspapers, (ii) magazines, and (iii) novels and short stories. And on the basis of their answers we will identify the place of Panjabi in the reading practices of the students in this area. The reported facts are given in the Table 9.

TABLE 9

P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*		Cross Column Totals
									(1) (2) (3)
1.09	1.09	1.81	12.32	39.13	5.43	39.13	*	(1)	P 16.04 57.97 92.39
1.45	1.81	1.45	16.67	42.39	6.52	29.71	*	(2)	H 21.38 52.54 90.22
2.54	6.16	.72	15.22	35.14	15.94	21.38	2.90	(3)	E 24.64 72.46 72.46

The figures in this Table would not be meaningful until we know whether the said materials were available in Delhi or not.

(i) *Newspapers*.—It must be admitted that we do not have any well documented information on the situation up to the end of the year 1974, *the year of this study*. Nonetheless we have some understanding of the then situation. There was no daily or weekly newspapers in Panjabi being published from Delhi those days. The newspapers 'Ajeet', 'Navan Jamana', 'Akali Patrika' and a few others, were all being published from Jullundar (Punjab) and brought to Delhi. The coverage in these papers was regional in orientation, though these papers had the standard price of the day. These papers were in no way capable of competing with the English and Hindi Dailies being published in Delhi. We are not sure whether the English Daily 'The Tribune', published from Chandigarh have had a competitive circulation in Delhi, despite its good standard as a newspaper. Moreover, we are not sure as to whether the said Panjabi newspapers had any well functioning distribution system or not. Therefore, we cannot say for certain whether those Jullundar based newspapers were easily available to those who wanted to read Panjabi newspapers.

Habitual paper reading and selection of a newspaper for family use in day-to-day life, we know, depends on many factors like easy availability, the news coverage in the newspaper, the price to be paid and the like. Only those who are interested in getting information on Panjab can be expected to put up extra efforts in getting a Punjabi Daily from Jullundar. So in

reading the figures related to newspapers the information at hand has to be viewed with all these things in mind along with the other expectancies.

(ii) *Magazines*.—There have been, however, some magazines worth the name coming out in Panjabi in Delhi. For instance, 'Aarsi' a monthly magazine run by Nav Yug Publishers, Delhi has been quite popular even in Punjab. Another quite popular monthly, popular especially among literary circles, 'Nagmani' published from Delhi by Amrita Pritam, the famous Panjabi literary personality. Very late entries like 'Akas' and 'Qaumi Ekta' have now gathered public interest, but those days during 1974 these two monthlies were not so much part of the scene. The situation up to the end of 1974, as far as magazines are concerned, was not as good as it is today, but it was certainly better than the newspapers.

(iii) As regards *novels and short stories*, we are aware that there has been lot of Panjabi publishing activity in Delhi. The leading Panjabi publishing concerns like 'Nav Yug Publishing House' has been in business for a long time in Delhi. But whether these publishing concerns have had good sale of their products in the local market of Delhi is not known. And also we do not know whether Panjabi books were available on the loan to these students in particular and to the general population in general from libraries other than the library of University of Delhi and the library of Khalsa College.

A more important point in this context is that all these said materials are available *only* in Gurmukhi script these days. This is important in the sense that Panjabi was used to be written in Nagri, the Perso-Arabic and Gurmukhi scripts during the pre-partition days.

(1) *Newspaper reading in Panjabi*.—In the context of very low availability conditions of reading materials in Punjabi equally low reading practices can be expected. The exclusive Panjabi figures are as low as 1.09%, and the total count number are only 16.04%. These numbers look even more smaller in the face of the fact that 83.96% of the students do not read Panjabi newspapers at all. The number 1.09% and 16.07% can lead to totally opposite inference, than the one drawn so far, if they are not read in relation to the availability conditions. It could be, for instance, suggested that 83.96% students have lost the habit of reading Panjabi newspapers. Punjabi is going out of the habits of the people because only 1.09%

16.04% people are continuing with the habit. But such an inference is necessarily out of question because there are no data to support that 83.96% students or/and their parallels in the life of Delhi, had ever read Panjabi newspapers. How can they read when they never had them? and how can they loose the habit when they never read to form such a habit?

Further, the figures can be seen as indication of one important consideration in the results discussed so far. That is, if 83.96% students do not read Panjabi materials, how can 63.22% students discussed earlier, claim that they *can* read Panjabi. This contradiction is ruled out by the fact that 26.09% students had actually written, when asked, Punjabi in Gurmukhi script. Normally it is the case that those who can read a language always outnumber those who can write it, because writing is a more of a technical skill oriented practice. At least this is the case with the Punjabis of Delhi as far as the first hand experience goes. How can it be the case that out of 26.09% who had actually written Panjabi, only 1.09%/16.04% can/do read Panjabi? A link of actual reading practices with the availability conditions is apparent here.

Two conclusions can, therefore, follow. The first is that students were over ambitious in making ability statement and therefore were purely expressing a positive attitude towards their mother tongue.

One small point that slipped our attention while discussing availability conditions is that the non-availability does not strictly mean that only the physical non-availability of the newspapers in the market, but also a possible reason that even when the newspapers were available, the students could not buy them for want of funds.

(2) *Magazine reading in Panjabi.*—Once again the exclusive figures for Panjabi are almost negligible. But if we refer to the cross column counts we find the figures to be a bit impressive at least in comparison with newspaper reading. There is a 5.34% increase over for newspaper reading cross column total figures. The figures read as if our description of the availability conditions is being reflected. We reported that more magazines are possibly available in Delhi because they are being published from Delhi itself. But if we refer to those who know how to read Panjabi, namely, 26.09%, then we cannot explain why only 21.38% students and not 26.09% read

Punjabi magazines when these magazines were available more than the newspapers. We can perhaps assume that some of the students would not buy them for want of funds. But this explanation would not work because nobody reported that he did not read magazine at all. The same should be true of newspapers also because every student has reported of his/her newspaper reading. The other explanation could be that all of the 26.09% students were not able to form habit in reading in Punjabi in this area. Again this explanation did also not hold good because we find under the heading 'Novels etc. reading' 24.64% of the students reported that they read these in Punjabi.

However, the fact that 21.38% students read magazines in Punjabi which is 5.34% more than newspaper reading in Punjabi, stands out in the face of various explanations. Of course, there are other dimensions available to us, i.e., as we have been noticing in every section, the students who reported reading Punjabi newspapers and magazines outnumber those who had learnt Punjabi from school. The point is further discussed in the next section below.

(3) *Reading of novels and short stories in Punjabi.*—The exclusive figures are once again very marginal for Punjabi though there is 1.10% increase over the previous area. We find that this number is higher so far (1.09%, 1.45%, and now 2.54%). The most important language combinations are Punjabi-Hindi (6.16%) and Punjabi-Hindi English (15.22%). Because Punjabi is more preferred in combinations with Hindi and English, the cross column total is quite significant for Punjabi, 24.64%. Once again, if we study these figures in the context of the availability conditions, some of the points that we have made in our discussion of the first two areas can be confirmed.

There is one additional point to be made here. The discrepancy between 24.45%, those who report that they read Punjabi novels, etc., and 26.09% those who wrote Punjabi for us in Gurmukhi, must be explained. There are again multiple explanations possible. One of the interpretations could be that some of these students may not have been able to develop a habit of reading in Punjabi novels and short stories, because reading in these areas is to a degree, a matter of habit also.

Now, if we read exclusive figures for Punjabi in comparison with English figures in the three areas we find that Punjabi does not stand anywhere in the comparison. Punjabi is 38.04%

less in the first area, 28.26% in the second area, and 18.84% less in the third area when compared with favourable responses as regards English which as reported, stood at 39.13%, 29.71% and 21.38% respectively. But a comparison of the exclusive figures for Panjabi and Hindi for the three areas does not show much discrepancy. The discrepancy is a bit more in the first area, 5.07% less in the second area and it is 13.40% column totals reveal very significant differences. Panjabi is 76.35% less than English total counts in the first area, 68.84% less in the second area, and 47.82% less in the third area. These differences show a very telling difference in preferences for the two languages. A comparison among the Panjabi and Hindi cross column totals show that Panjabi is 41.93% less than Hindi in the first area (i.e. newspapers), 31.16% less in the second area (i.e., magazines), and 47.82% less in the third area (i.e. novels etc.)

A comparison among the figures of Hindi and English can make the comparative position of the three languages clear. We find that exclusive use of Hindi for newspapers is 33.70% less than English in the first area, 23.19% in the second area for magazines, and 5.44% less in the third area for novels etc. Again the figures for Hindi is 34.43% less than English in the cross column totals for the first area, 37.68% in the second area, and there is no difference at all in the third area. That is, except in novels and short stories, Hindi too does not fare well as compared with English, though it has a slight edge over Panjabi. The fact that cross column totals for Hindi and English equalise in the case of novels and short stories is understandable because we have 'Gulshan Nanda' and 'James Hadley Chase' two equally popular names in Hindi and English. Incidentally these two names are given to us by a majority of the students.

Having noticed this state of affairs, we can now come to the status of Panjabi in the reading practices of the students in this area of novels and short stories. The data discussed above clearly demonstrate that Panjabi has the third place in the choice matrix; the first place goes to English and the second to Hindi. A statement from maintenance point of view can be made if we read once again these figures in comparison with the school figures.

We know that the students able to read Panjabi newspapers, magazines and short stories, etc. should normally fall within the

13.4% of the total count who have reported knowing Panjabi, but here we have 16.04%, 21.32, and 24.64% total count number, respectively, who report reading practices in Panjabi. These respective 2.63%, 7.97%, and 11.23% increases in preferences in Punjabi are significant because these increases have come about over the last 12-13 years of time. And therefore, the increases do not let us to read any loss in preferences for Panjabi, despite of the fact that the cross column totals for Panjabi are very low in comparison with English, and are relatively low as compared to Hindi figures.

3.7.2. *Panjabi maintains a status-quo in readings for relaxation.*

The other area that we covered in our study was habitual reading, i.e., reading for relaxation. The question asked was, "When you are reading for relaxation which language do you prefer? Specify in order of preference (if more than one)". The gathered information is presented in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*		Cross P	Columns H	Totals E
(i)	17.39	.72	.36	*	.36	40.58	38.77	1.81	(i)	18.47	41.66	39.49
(ii)	12.68	.36	*	*	.36	38.77	27.90	19.93	(ii)	13.04	39.49	28.26
(iii)	22.46	.36	*	.36	*	6.52	18.84	55.07	(iii)	23.18	7.24	19.20
	Average									18.23	29.46	28.98

Notice that 1.81% students in the first preference, 19.93% students in the second preference, and 55.07% students in the third preference do not report. The second worth noticing fact is that for the first time we find the students reporting no interest in language combinations; .72% maximum and 36% minimum figures for language combinations are practically no information. Therefore, there is hardly any significant difference between exclusive and cross column totals for the languages.

However, there is one problem. The reported information is spread over three preferences. Though these preferences have their own meaning that we can infer from the data, our problem is as to which preference should we base our understanding of the status of Panjabi. It is clear that whatever preference percentage we choose to base

our understanding on, we may not be giving full representation to every language. For instance, Panjabi is 17.39% exclusive and 18.47% total at first preference and 22.46% exclusive and 23.18% total at third preference. On the contrary, Hindi and English are maximum at the first preference but minimum at third preference. To avoid this unfair representation we have decided to get averages for the three languages. Though this may involve some kind of technical problems, we shall base our understanding on these averages only.

Before touching these average figures, even if we consider the figures for each language preference wise, we find that there is strong polarization among the three languages just as we found in 'career' figures, 'higher education' figures and the 'reading' figures (in the immediately preceding section). At the first preference level Hindi scores slightly more than English in cross column totals. Notice that there was a wide gap between Hindi and English almost in every area, except 'novels, etc.'. And English especially was very much higher than Panjabi, 76.35% in one of the areas. On the contrary, the difference is now 23.19% with Hindi and 21.02% with English. Once again we have reason to believe that the strong tendency for English is due purely to its instrumental value. If we consider reading newspapers, magazines, and novel-short stories as a part of general readings which aim at improving educational capacity as opposed to the reading for relaxation, the strong tendency in favour of English becomes clearer, and the wider gap among the figures related to these two types of reading can be fully explained.

The other two preferences can add some further shades to the point made above, but the information is not very much revealing because 19.93% students in the second and 55.07% students in the third preferences do not report at all. Therefore, the information does not cover the total population.

As regards the average cross column total figures, we find that the differences among the scores of the three languages become further closer. Panjabi is only 11.23% less than Hindi, and is 10.75% less than English. Once again the preference figure for Hindi is slightly more than the preference figures for English. Notice that though the figures for Hindi were all the time lower than the figures for English in the first part of this chapter, Hindi has taken over from English in reading practices for relaxation. But this increase in Hindi is not at the cost of Panjabi. Even if we base our understanding on the

second preference where cross column figures for Panjabi are lowest, Panjabi still preserves the status-quo. We know the average figures do not represent the total group of the students because at two stages quite a big chunk of the population did not state the preferences in all the second/third slots. Even then the response is clear enough to say something about the total group because of the fact that the cross column average figures for Panjabi are 4.82% more than the school figures. Almost like performing a ritual we are led to make the familiar statement on the status of Panjabi that in the reading practices of the students for relaxation, over the past few years reading in Panjabi have relatively grown among this group.

3.8. Writing

Use of Panjabi is quite common in letter writing addressed to different relation-types. In the first part of this chapter our interest was more in knowing the skill part of writing in the life of the students. We got their statements on their ability to write in Panjabi. And we discussed the validity of that information with the help of information from an uncontextualized skill test. Now we turn to the contextualized writing practices among the students to know the status of Panjabi in their writing practices.

However, before we turn to the data we would like to make some points clear. The first point is of the identity of the person in terms of mother tongue and reading writing abilities, etc. We did not discuss this point in 'The Rules of Method' because this point is specifically related to this section. We are aware of the fact that in routine life letter writing always pre-supposes the knowledge of the other person at the other end of relationship, that is, the knowledge of the other's education standard the languages known to that person, the reading and writing abilities of this individual, etc., play a major role in the language choices of any one who writes a letter. But we did not ask for this total information for the students in our question. The reasons for this are derivable from the elicitation strategy that we reported in the 2nd chapter. When we concentrate purely on language part of the details and recognize only three languages as part of the identity we have 8 possible combinations. These 8 and there are, if not more, at least eight column education possibilities, namely, Panjabi, Hindi, English, PH, HE, PE and PHE. The 8×8 possibilities have to go for the four relation-types namely, father, mother, sister and brothers, and friends considered in the question. We

found that that was practically impossible. So we decided to keep the four relation-types and let the students imagine the identity of the persons the way they know them and give us their responses. (We have, of course, the educational standards of the parents with us, but we shall not use that information here because we do not have similar information of the other relation-types.) Therefore, we shall assume that the students know the considered relation-types well and they supply us reliable data. In this sense the information is controlled, to a degree.

We asked the students to answer the following question for us: "When you are away from your home, in which language do you write to.....?" The responses of the students are shown against the concerned relation-types in Table 11 below:

TABLE 11

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*	Cross P	Column totals H E
Father	31.16	1.45	1.81	2.54	2.17	14.13	44.57	2.17	36.87	20.29 51.09
Mother	44.20	4.71	.36	.72	2.54	28.26	17.03	2.77	49.99	36.23 29.65
Sisters Brothers	19.93	3.62	2.90	3.99	7.25	15.94	44.93	1.45	30.44	30.80 59.07
Friends	7.61	1.81	2.45	3.99	10.87	12.68	58.42	1.09	15.95	29.35 75.82

The considered relation-types belong basically to two generations, namely old generation and young generation (the generation to which the students belong). There is another feature operating among these four relation-types. The first three types are members of the in-group familial circle while the type 'friends' is an out group relation. Whatever the distinctive features we may think of this relation-type is factually different from the other types for the students. As we have seen in all our information discussed so far, even a slight difference affects the nature of the choices. Therefore, it is but natural that the quantum of language choices varies from one relation-type to the other.

(1) Letter Writing to father

The preference for Panjabi language with this relation-type is second only to English. 'Exclusive Panjabi' is 31.16% and English is 44.57%. There is a 13.41% difference. Again in cross column totals Panjabi is 14.22% less than English. But

the preference for Panjabi is more than the preference for Hindi. Exclusive Panjabi figures are 17.03% more than Hindi, and cross column totals are 16.58% more than Hindi.

If we read these figures for the three languages in relation to the school figures, then we find that Panjabi is gone up by 24.64% in exclusive figures, and in cross column totals by 23.46%. And English is gone up in exclusive number by 18.12% and has come down by 4.71% in total counts. But Hindi has gone tremendously down both in exclusive (by 19.20%) and in cross column (by 42.02%). A point has already been made in relation to the school figures is that there has been a gradual shift from Hindi. Once again we see the same point demonstrated here. But it should be again emphasised that this shift has not been in any sense absolute.

A similar comparison can be made with the information from various other areas discussed so far and many points of significance can be revealed. Perhaps the most striking point could be that the choice of a language or any combination of more than one language is always in relation to a particular sphere of activity and the specific person/relation-types in that sphere. Secondly there are different sphere specific factors that control the choices. For instance, a cursory look at the figures in Table-11 can confirm the relation specific different distributions. A comparison with figures from 'social status' can make the sphere to sphere differences evident. Exclusive Panjabi is 18.84% higher here, and the cross column total again is 16.22% higher than 'social status' figures. The differences in choices of Panjabi in 'social status' figures reveal that the students were trying to see the usefulness of Panjabi in their own lives, whereas in the sphere of writing letters to parents they have to maintain a very obligatory familial relation.

We shall come back to discuss the meaning of the quantum of the language choices with this relation-types after covering all the four relation-types.

(2) *Letter Writing to Mother*

Choice for Panjabi is maximum both in exclusive and cross column totals in this relation-type as compared to responses for the other three types. The second important feature is that, though Hindi is 15.94% less than Panjabi in exclusive sense and is 13.76% less in cross column totals, the choice in favour of Panjabi is higher than English.

These figures can be understood only if we refer to the history of women's education in the undivided Panjab; a part of it has been discussed in the first chapter, especially the point that traditionally the knowledge of Gurmukhi script was more among the women. But this point may not be very helpful because the students were giving their language choices, not script choices. Secondly, these figures are not recoverable either from the 37.68% of students who reported that they write Panjabi in Gurmukhi script. Certainly we have to believe that more than one script is used if we go by the responses of the students. May be that the educated mothers have learnt Nagri script and, because their children cannot write Panjabi in Gurmukhi, they accept Panjabi in Nagari script. From the students' point of view it is understandable because 30.07% students write Panjabi for us in Nagri script. We do not have any comparative data to confirm our assumption of educated mothers position vis-a-vis Panjabi in Nagri script.

(3) *Letter Writing to Brothers and Sisters*

Panjabi has come down both in exclusive and cross column totals as compared to the figures for the two relation-types of the old generation. Though exclusive Hindi is 3.99% less than Panjabi, it is .36% more than Panjabi in cross column totals. Once again the losing grip of Hindi among the students is seen, because if we compare these figure with the school figures we find glaring changes. The figures for Hindi were 33.33% and 62.31% in school education. Notice that exclusive and cross column total Hindi is more than the figure for 'father' relation-type and less than the figure for 'mother' relation-type. Another worth noticing point is that there is practically no difference (only .36%) between 'father' and 'brothers and sisters' categories in exclusive language choice, though the second category is 7.98% higher than the 'father' one.

The English choices for 'father' and 'brothers and sisters' show the high degree permissibility in its use among the father-child and brother/sister-brother/sister dyads. That is, both the dyads allow a greater preference of English over the mother tongue and Hindi. The all dominant English is willingly granted by the people. Notice how career conscious the parents and their children are, i.e., that 44.57% of the fathers accept letters from the students in English speaks a lot, a strong tendency that we have been noticing. We shall come to Panjabi later.

(4) *Letter Writing to Friends*

Both exclusive and cross column total preferences for Panjabi and Hindi are lowest in this relation-type. And the preference for English, on the contrary, is the highest, 58.42% exclusive and 75.82% cross totals. If we do not touch the identity of the other person in this category, and concentrate only on the fact that this category is from the out-family circle, then we discover very interesting facts. That is, Panjabi and Hindi both, though preferred in different quantities, have their maximum currency in familiar, more intimate contexts.

The data discussed in all the four relation categories add a new dimension to the status of Panjabi in the life of the students. The Hindi and English choices do not give any new tendency, but the students reporting greater preferences for Panjabi, prove that not only those students but also *the others* of the younger generation also know more Panjabi than one would expect. Should we decide to disbelieve the students? If we disbelieve the students, then which part of their responses and the data should we believe? Since we do not question the correctness of the information supplied, given the reasons stated earlier (see section No. 2.4), despite the gap noticed between the students writing practices in relation to the two generations, we see very clearly a slow rising preference for Panjabi among the younger generation if not for instrumental purposes, at least for cultural reasons of various kind. Yet, as we have been repeatedly observing, we should not forget that there are two other tendencies of English and of Hindi among this group and therefore, the trend for Panjabi cannot be generalised. A more stable statement could be that there is a tendency for Panjabi, a favourable attitude at least among a major section of the students amidst a stronger tendency for English and a weaker tendency for Hindi.

CHAPTER 4

PANJABI LANGUAGE IN NORMAL SPEAKING PRACTICES OF STUDENTS

We have touched upon various aspects of the student life in the previous chapters. In this chapter we describe and discuss the reports by students on their normal speaking practices in life. While discussing the data on 'speaking' in this chapter we attempt to arrive at certain ground conditions that should be fulfilled for the choice of a language or a combination of more than one language for speaking practices in normal life. Since most of the background frame work for the ground conditions is laid down in the first two chapters, a back and forth reference will be resorted to. Interpretations of the available facts and the inferences we make on the status of Panjabi would be subject to the said ground conditions and the background framework. Note, however, that, though the interpretations and the inferences about the reported facts are made in the context of the discussions in the previous chapters, (and this may suggest that we are trying to build an overall statement on the status of Panjabi language in the life of the students) we are concerned with only the speaking practices of the students in this chapter. An overall statement is postponed to the next chapter.

Most of the vital statistics about the students' identity has already been presented in the first chapter (section No. 3). We open this chapter with descriptive statements on those important aspects of the group that were not reported there.

The presentation of the data in the main body of the chapter is in the form of small tables since such tables are easier to handle. The detailed tables are given in Appendix No. 7, so that the reader can have a comparative look at the cross domain or cross variable facts.

4.1. All the students are multilinguals.

Every student in the group reports that he/she can 'understand' and 'speak' Hindi and English along with his/her mother tongue, Panjabi. But there are 83 students out of the total of 276, who claim a knowledge of languages other than these ones also. 35 students claim that they know Urdu apart from

the above three languages; 17 students claim a knowledge of Urdu together with a knowledge of other Indian and foreign languages; 12 students report that they know Sanskrit also; and the remaining 19 students claim knowledge of other Indian and foreign languages (see Appendix No. 2 for details). But as we take these students to specific contextualized life situations and ask them to report their (possible) language practices, the claimed diversity gets reduced mainly to the knowledge of Panjabi, Hindi and English, and the four possible combinations of these three languages. Only two students report that they speak Urdu, and only one student reports that he speaks Gujarati at home along with the other three languages mentioned above. These three students too do not report usage of these two languages anywhere else in their routine life. So, practically we have only Panjabi, Hindi and English, and their four combinations as languages of the group of these students. We shall, therefore, assume that only Panjabi, Hindi, English and their four combinations constitute the linguistic repertoire of this group. And we shall assume for all our practical purposes that these students have productive and receptive competence only in these languages, because the other languages are not commonly attested in the group. Since we do not deal with languages specific to individuals in this study, our assumption, on the basis of available facts is valid indeed. Also since these students speak more than two languages, we call them constituting a group of multilinguals.

4.2. The results confirm the proposed set of six domains of language use.

We have discussed in great detail a set of six domains of language use in chapter 2. There we proposed the set of six domains of language use on the basis of our understanding of the life in Delhi, especially the possible life situations that the students often pass through.

Now, the analysis of data collected and presented in this chapter on normal speaking practices provides us with empirical evidence for the proposal that was made earlier on the basis of the feel of the situation. For instance, let us refer to the exclusive Panjabi figures in Table-1, General Patterns, Appendix No. 7. The information displayed within the 'family' column has 66.30% as the maximum response, and 13.41% as the minimum response for Panjabi. The gap between these two figures is 52.89%. All the figures are considerably higher than 13.41%.

But a significant point to be noted is that there is a systematic decrease from one point to the other, i.e., all the numbers are in a constance descending order.

On the contrary, the information recorded in the column 'friendship' has the maximum figure for Panjabi is 36.23% and the minimum figure is 14.86%. The gap between these two is 21.37%. The third figure 17.75% standing as response for friend in locality, does not bring out the pattern of information distribution in any sense closer to the pattern observed in the 'family' column. Neither the gap between the maximum number and the minimum figures, nor the patterns of information distribution can be compared.

The two figures for Panjabi in the column 'worship' are extremely high and present in fact an extreme case as far as the preference for Panjabi is concerned. The two figures are 73.17% and 65.22% with a very little gap of 7.95% between them. This pattern of information, quantity distribution is uniquely different from the two columns, namely, family and friendship that we discussed above.

The column 'Transportation' presents a case of an extremely low choice for Panjabi. The maximum figure is 10.51% and the minimum is a mere 3.26%. The other three figures for in the Table are also in the very close vicinity of these two figures. The gap between the maximum and the minimum figures is 7.25%, which is, of course, very much nearer to the observed gap in the 'worship' column. But the quantum of the choice for Panjabi presents totally opposite tendencies.

The information listed in the 'Marketing' column brings in another contrastive case. The maximum and minimum figures, 64.13% and 3.62% respectively, do not bear comparison when we consider the 60.27% gap between them, the widest gap so far. The total information is very uniquely distributed, i.e., either the chosen quantity is very high, or extremely low. There are big leaps only, but no systematic decrease like the one we noticed in the 'family' column, for instance.

And finally, the column 'Education' bears some partial similarities to the column 'Friendship', though total pattern of information distribution is different in this column. The point of similarity is that maximum figures in both the columns are very close to each other: 39.86% in 'Education' and 36.23% in 'Friendship'. But the striking difference is in the gap between

the maximum and minimum figures. The 3.62% minimum figure in 'Education' is 36.24% lesser than the maximum, whereas the gap in the 'Friendship' case was only 7.25%.

It is amply evident that the six different columns have six different patterns of information distribution. We can propose easily the existence of six zones where Panjabi language is available in various proportions to the other two languages. These are the zones of interaction concentration that are theoretically called domains of language use (Fishman—1972, 441). It is natural to conclude, therefore, that the set of six domains that we proposed, is 'really' valid in the case of these students.

4.3. Panjabi, Hindi, English and their four combinations are present in almost all the domains and the Dyads.

We propose to continue with the same Table-1. We find that there are quantitative variations running throughout the table whether we read it vertically, that is across the domains and dyads, or we read horizontally, i.e., within a single dyad. The students report the three languages and their four combinations for every dyad and every domain. What differentiates one dyad or a domain of language use from the other are mainly the varying quantities preferred for each language and each combination of languages. For instance, in Family domain the students choose, with their parents, 66.30% Panjabi, 11.59% Panjabi-Hindi, 5.07% Panjabi-English, 9.78% Panjabi-Hindi-English, 1.45% Hindi-English, 2.90% Hindi and 2.90% English. Take another dyad, say Aunts and Uncles, in the same domain. The students report again the three languages and their four combinations, but this dyad differs in quantitative terms from the 'parents' at every point. Similarly if we move from the domain 'family' to 'friendship' and choose a dyad, say 'a friend from the same locality' we find that all the seven language categories are represented; but, as it happened earlier, here again a thorough change in the quantum of choice at each point is visible if we compare this with any of the two considered above.

However, there is a deviation from this major tendency of information distribution at four points as in Table-1. That is, as against the tendency of using all the seven language categories in varying quantities in different dyads, the students do not speak 'exclusive English' at all with servants of the family. They do not speak Panjabi-English combination with

a 'Religious Head' at a place of worship; they do not choose Panjabi-Hindi-English combination to talk to a 'stranger boy' at a 'bus stop'; and finally they do not talk to a 'non-Sikh barber/tailor' at his shop in Panjabi-English combination. There can be any number of reasons for this deviation at these four points. We shall come to some of the possible reasons for this deviation when we discuss our results in greater details at a later stage.

4.4. Every student reports Panjabi in one dyad/domain, or the other.

While the information displayed in Table-1 (see Appendix No. 6) tells us in quantitative terms how the seven language categories are preferred in a dyad/domain by the students, it is not clear from this information whether the students who prefer a language category in one dyad/domain, prefer the same language category in another dyad/domain also. We believe that it is necessary to have this knowledge about the language choice of this group to have a better explanatory understanding of the speaking practices of the students.

Below we pick up those students from 'family' domain who do not report speaking in Panjabi with their parents, and check whether they speak in Panjabi in other dyads of the same domain and in other domains. There are nine students who do not report speaking in Panjabi with their parents in home. But four out of these nine students speak in Panjabi with other dyadic relation-types. The individual details are as follows:

TABLE 1

- Individual (1) speaks in Punjabi with sisters and brothers.
- Individual (2) speaks in Panjabi with cousins, and parents' friends.
- Individual (3) speaks in Panjabi with cousins, aunts and uncles and servants.
- Individual (4) speaks in Panjabi with sisters and brothers, cousins, aunts and uncles and parents' friends.

That is, though the students do not speak in Panjabi with their parents they speak in Panjabi to other relation-types in this domain. We shall discuss this information later and try to understand as to why these students do not speak in Panjabi with their parents.

None of the other five students reports speaking in Panjabi at home. We give a chart of their language choices below:

TABLE 2

Relation-type	Students				
	1	2	3	4	5
(1) Parents	H	H	H	H	H
(2) Aunts and uncles	H	H	E	E	H
(3) Parents' friends	H	H	E	E	HE
(4) Sisters and others	H	E	E	E	H
(5) Cousins	H	H	E	E	HE
(6) Servants	H	H	H	H	H

And yet these five students speak in Panjabi to the people somewhere or the other in their routine life. Why is this so is not the question at this stage. Our interest is in revealing contrastive data. We describe below where the five students of the above chart speak in Panjabi.

TABLE 3

- Individual (1) speaks in Panjabi with Sikh Doctor/Chemist.
- Individual (2) speaks in Punjabi, English with Sikh barber/tailor at market.
- Individual (3) speaks in Panjabi-Hindi with Sikh office/library staff at College campus.
- Individual (4) speaks in Panjabi -Hindi-English with Sikh friend of locality at a shopping centre speaks in Panjabi-Hindi with Sikh Religious Heads at a place of worship.
- Individual (5) speaks in Panjabi with
- (a) Religious Head, fellow worshipper at a place of worship,
 - (b) Sikh Doctor/chemist, Barber/Tailor at market,
 - (c) Office/library staff, close friends, Peon at college campus,
 - (d) 'Friends at college' at University gathering.

Though these five students differ from each other in some way or the other, they share one thing in common. That is the fact that they speak Panjabi outside their homes.

This discovery is perhaps most interesting as far as our knowledge of the students' language behaviour is concerned. What type of new questions it may raise for us and what kind of questions does it raise against our findings and arguments in the third chapter, are the concerns that we can come to later.

But at this point it is significant to confirm that each and every student in our group speaks Panjabi in some sector of his routine life or the other.

4.5. Panjabi language in the six domains of language use.

Before we take up a detailed domain-wise study of the students' speaking practice, let us recapitulate very briefly some of the main points that we have made in the first chapter. We suggested, on the basis of Census of India reports and our experience of life in Delhi, that the parents' generation of these students has been bilingual. This has been particularly true of the parents of those students who have been born and brought up in Delhi. And when we look at the socio-linguistic network that the total Panjabi community of Delhi has been living in even before partition, there remains very little doubt that Panjabi community has been a bilingual community by tradition.

The speaking practices of the students can be viewed on two levels of observation. The first, the language choices of the students, should be viewed as a part of the sociolinguistic behaviour of the Panjabi community; and second, the student's speaking practices should be seen realised within the context of the language behaviour of the people of Delhi who are in majority Hindi/Urdu(-English) speakers. These conditions make it clear why one cannot think of a speaker of a minority language to speak totally in his own language in public and in private. Thus hundred per cent mother tongue speaking could be an absurd expectation because the communication, the speaking activity that we are talking about, is among bilinguals.

The natural and social forces that trigger use of one language and halt the use of another are not directly relevant here. It is, however, a habitual language behaviour to let the known languages to come into any interactional happenings, given the controlling and mobilizing forces, simply because these languages are part of the shared knowledge of the community; these languages have grown as aspects of life of these people though the individuals may not claim these languages as mother tongue(s). The language selection controlling modalities can be of several kinds because each language in the repertoire has its definite place in the social common sense milieu, it stands to function in the total deed networks for the community. Therefore, these speakers cannot avoid speaking these languages.

The historical force necessitated learning of languages other than the mother tongue and this has resulted in extension of

language skills in the older generation. We know from our experience with modern education in India that, as we grow in educational standards, the role of our own language gets restricted in number of ways because of functional allocations of the languages learnt. In the same fashion in Delhi, as elsewhere in Punjab, languages had the same functionally allocated roles among the educated people. The continuation of the same allocations of roles of languages can be seen among the Panjabis also after partition. For the educated immigrant, it meant only minor readjustments, only a matter of style shift. And, as is natural, due to operative necessitating forces and the uneducated migrants must have learned the new language(s) Hindi/Urdu, just like those who were settled in Delhi. In their case usage restrictions on their mother tongue, thus, became a necessary consequence.

The major point that we must decide upon is this: should we infer loss in the mother tongue from the role restrictions that result from the skill extension, or not. If we restrict our assessment only to these students, or Panjabi community in Delhi, perhaps, we cannot reach a balanced statement. Consider, for instance, other communities in Delhi. The speakers of Hindi, though they are not as coherent a community as the Panjabis, are not free of skill extension (if we refer to English). They too have been having the said role restrictions on Hindi. The same is true of any other situation in the context of modern education, and social living. So, what has happened over the past developments is a concomitant existence of languages in communities and their members. That is why people speak more than one language. The line of argument that we are, therefore, going to follow in this study is that these role restrictions on the usage of the languages known to the communities should not be interpreted as cases of loss for the mother tongues in India, because languages get only restricted in their usage; they do not go out of the environment. That is, the said skill extension in the case of educated and uneducated is not a necessary consequence of loss at some level. This skill extension is logically rooted in the social needs of the living, and is built in the very process of socialization. Contrary to this situation, loss conditions are those where a language identified with a community upto a specific point in the history of the community gets knocked out of routine life. This is a case of taking over by other languages completely.

The expected language Behaviour of the students should be something like this. The students should be speaking in Panjabi where ground conditions for choosing this code could be

fulfilled. (We shall work out the ground conditions of every significant situation as we proceed). But they cannot be expected to speak all the time Panjabi in all the six domains because every domain involves different types of dyadic contexts and different types of sociolinguistic task that should be performed by the students. Therefore, the expected language choices could be any of the seven language categories, depending always on the contextual forces.

A word about the received information. We have been talking about the languages spoken by the students in terms of seven categories since the 3rd chapter. There are two possible readings of the combinations like Panjabi-Hindi, Panjabi-Hindi-English and Hindi-English. The first is that the languages forming the combination can be switched to one after the other, and therefore, two distinct codes are identifiable. The second reading is that there is code mixing among these languages. Or even a third reading of existence of both code switching and code mixing is also possible. Choosing one or the other of these readings does not make any recognizable difference for us here in this study because we deal with only the notional aspect of this information.

4.5.1. Language choices in family domain

We reproduce below the information given by the students on their language choice in the family domain from Table 1 of the Appendix No. 7 in Table 4.

TABLE 4

	P	PH	PE	PHE	EH	H	E	*	Cross Column Totals		
									P	H	E
Parents	66.67	11.59	5.07	9.78	1.09	3.26	2.54	*	93.11	25.72	18.48
Aunts and Uncles	52.17	8.33	7.97	7.25	6.16	9.06	7.97	1.09	75.72	30.80	29.35
Parents' Friends	28.99	11.23	9.42	10.14	9.42	14.49	14.49	1.81	59.78	45.28	43.47
Sisters and Brothers	38.41	6.52	12.32	8.33	9.06	8.70	14.13	10.14	65.58	32.24	43.84
Cousins	28.99	8.33	9.06	10.14	10.87	15.58	16.30	.72	56.52	44.92	46.37
Servants	13.41	17.03	.36	1.09	1.09	61.59	*	5.43	31.89	80.90	2.54

Let us refer to the exclusive figures in Table 4 first. We find the figures for Panjabi, Hindi and English vary from one dyadic relation to the other. If Hindi and English equalize in the 3rd dyad (14.49% each), they differ in rest of the dyads. Similarly if Panjabi is given equal quantitative treatment in the 3rd and fifth dyads (28.99% each), it varies in rest of the dyads. The variation among the given choices becomes even more pronounced when we refer to the language combinations.

To understand the meaning and implications of this variation in the life of the group of the students, we refer to the relational hierarchy that was set for this domain in the second chapter.

4.5.1.1. *Language choices in obedience relation.*—To begin with parents, we find that 6.89% of the students do not report Panjabi at all. Out of this 6.89%, exclusive Hindi and English are preferred by 3.26% and 2.54%, Hindi-English combination is preferred by 1.09%.

Earlier in our discussions in section No. 4., we have described in Tables 1, 2, and 3, how 1.09% out of this 6.89% students have reported Panjabi with other relations, but the rest of the 5.44% reported Hindi and/or English only in their families.

If we read all the exclusive figures for the three dyads that constitute 'Obedience Relation' we find that Panjabi goes on decreasing throughout the three dyads. The first dyad is given the highest number 66.67%, the second dyad is 14.50% less than this. The third dyad is 37.68% less than the first one and 23.18% less than the second. On the contrary, Hindi and English increase from the first dyad to the second and the third. Hindi is 3.26% for the first dyad and it increases by 5.80% in the second dyad. The third dyad is 11.23% more than the first, and 5.43% more than the second one. English increases by 5.43% from the 2.54% first dyad. And the third dyad English is 11.92% higher than the first dyad and 6.52% higher than the second one.

Now, if we ignore the fact that Panjabi decreases from the first dyad to the second and the third, the decrease is sizeable, but when Hindi and English increase from the first dyad to the second and the third, the increase is comparatively a minor one. We reach an interesting rule-like reading of the information in Table 7.

R1

- (a) More the social distance, lesser is Panjabi use. and lesser the social distance, more is Panjabi use.
- (b) More the social distance more Hindi/English is used. Lesser the social distance, lesser Hindi/English is used.

That is, Panjabi is inversely related to the social distance between the dyadic relations, whereas Hindi and English are directly related to social distance.

There are, however, exceptions to rules (a) and (b). If we refer only to Table 1 (see section No. 4), we find that out of the four students (the 1.09% who speak Panjabi with other relations) one student reports Panjabi with 'parents' friends', another student reports Panjabi with 'aunts and uncles' and the third reports both with 'parents' friends' and 'aunts and uncles'. We shall take notice of rest of the relation-types recorded in Table 1 later. To concentrate only on the few relevant here, we know that 'aunts and uncles' are one degree more distant from the student as against his parents, but the students speak in Panjabi to them whereas they do not speak in Panjabi to the parents. There is another student who speaks in Panjabi to 'parents' friends', but he does not speak in Panjabi to closer relatives such as parents, and 'aunts and uncles'. The third student talks in Panjabi both to 'aunts and uncles' and parents' friends; whatever small number these three students are (1.09%), they present an exception to the (a) part of the above rule.

But the real exception to the rule is the set of the five students whose speaking practices in family are reported in Table 2 (see section 4). We have noticed that none of the students speak in Panjabi to any of the six relation types considered relevant for this domain. They constitute 1.81% of the total data.

While we must find out why the first set of four students (Table 1) do not speak in Panjabi to their parents, they can be all the same easily taken as Panjabi speakers because they report speaking in Panjabi with one relation-type or the other at home. But the other set of five students (Table 2) is a real problem here.

The important question here is : how is it that the students do not speak their mother tongue at home and why is it that they speak it outside the home.

The language behaviour as revealed by the choices of these five students, if taken to be a statement of fact, can be explained only if we believe that there is no sanction for 'choosing' Panjabi in the families of these students to speak to the relations. That is, none of the relation-types in these homes grants the students to speak in Panjabi, nor does the student himself open up any talk with any of these relation-types in Panjabi. Hence the result is that there is no usage of Panjabi in these 1.81% homes.

Perhaps the same could be partly true of the behaviour of the other four students. These students do not talk to their parents in Panjabi, perhaps, because the parents do not want to talk to them in Panjabi.

If our suggestion has some validity in the back ground of actual facts of life in Delhi, then these two small groups of students reveal a very interesting scenario of language behaviour of the people in Delhi. Since nobody in these two small groups speaks Panjabi at home, one can think that there might not have been any Panjabi used in these homes since the very childhood of these students, otherwise, however small may be the use of Panjabi, it cannot lose its trace from routine interactions in a situation as prevailed in Delhi. If so, then one can conclude that these 9 students might not have learnt Panjabi from their own homes. One can treat these homes as those where Panjabi had already lost its feet. But from this we cannot conclude that these five students have lost Panjabi, because they report that they speak Panjabi, though not in their homes.

There can be two possible explanations as to where from these students could learn Panjabi. The first, the parents of these 1.81% students might have been talking among themselves in Panjabi, but they wanted their children to speak in Hindi. This possibility can be traced from the 33.33% exclusive Hindi medium school education discussed at length in the 3rd chapter. That is, the parents might have been encouraging their children to speak only in Hindi so that they can compete with the others in their education in Hindi. Since the parents themselves talked to each other in Panjabi on occasions, it might have given the children some exposure to Panjabi. The students might have acquired passive knowledge of Panjabi

during their earlier childhood. The passive knowledge might have been pushed to an active one due to out-door social mobility.

Or, the second explanation could be that the parents never talked even among themselves. And Panjabi was not available at all at home. The students have learnt Panjabi only through their out-door contacts. In such cases acquisition of Panjabi should have been very delayed.

These two explanations have one thing in common, that is, Panjabi starts coming in an active manner only either during peer-group interaction or after that. In one group, only active productive control had to be gained from out-door contexts, while in the other, total exposure had to come from the out-door contexts. Whether there could be any difference at behavioural level in the productive control of language among these two (possible) groups, is another empirical question that we do not want to touch. One thing is very clear. When we look from an end product point of view, the students from any of these two groups develop very sophisticated complementation among the languages. They assign different languages with different contexts. That is why they do not speak Panjabi at home, whereas they speak it elsewhere.

We are not sure as to which of the two possibilities do these five students fit into, but one thing is certain that the productive control of Panjabi that they report could be assigned to only out-door behavioural contexts, the social sphere outside the home.

If so, then one should think, at least in the case of these five students, (if not of the Panjabi community of Delhi in general), that Panjabi is prevalent in the social scene to such a degree that it can provide sufficient exposure even to those children who do not have Panjabi in their homes. This seems to be a reasonable assessment especially when one finds even Hindi speakers in certain situations speaking in Panjabi. This is also supported by the historical facts discussed in the first chapter.

What was the motivation for these students to learn Panjabi? Answer to this question can be possibly found out from the social environment around the students and from their community background. That these students are born to Panjabi parents is known in the general social environment around.

The linguistic scene of Delhi is not open to these students only so far as the linguistic sense. In a cultural milieu one's own identity distinctions get revealed as one grows: The forces that create identity differences start becoming visible to the individual as he grows. He starts getting classified as belonging to an identity at the beginning of peer group interactions. And as the individual grows, the classificatory forces impose an identity on him. Two things follow from this. On the one hand, these forces link a growing individual to a community, and try to perpetuate that identity by inducing in the individual a language consciousness and in several cases an acquisition of the language of the community. This is so because one's identity at the one end is founded in cultural distinctions, and at the other end in linguistic distinctions. The parents of the child may not like it to learn to speak Panjabi, and yet how can they shut out the environment around the child from forcing a linguistic identity on the child. This shutting out process in the home would have already made him conscious that he actually belongs to Panjabi community. This explains why a Panjabi child would learn the Panjabi language, even at a later childhood or adolescent stage from the out-door contexts where he has to negotiate and put on a face assigned to him by the people.

So much so far those who report Hindi with their parents. There is another group of seven students who report English with their parents at home.

This group is again breakable into two-sub-groups (i) those who report English with all the relation-types except servants, and (ii) those who report English only with parents, but other languages/language combinations, including Panjabi, at home. There are three students in the first group and four in the second group.

The first group shows behaviour exactly like those five students who reported only Hindi in their family. These three students also report use of Panjabi only in out-door contexts. Their language choices of Panjabi are summarised in the Table 5 below:

TABLE 5

Student (1)	speaks in Panjabi with
(a)	Religious Head, fellow worshipper at a place of worship.
(b)	'friends at college' at University gathering, and at college campu., classmates at college campus.
(c)	Sikh Barber/Tailor at market place.

Student (2) speaks in Panjabi with

- (a) Religious Head, fellow worshipper at a place of worship.
- (b) Sikh Doctor/Chemist at market

Student (3) speaks in Panjabi with

- (a) Sikh Doctor/Chemist and Sikh Barber/Tailor at a market Place
- (b) Office/library staff at college campus

The description of the choices shows that each of the three students speaks Panjabi at different out-door contexts. The only difference among these three students and the other students whose language choices were discussed earlier is the use of English instead of Hindi.

Against these three students, the second group consisting of four students does talk to some of the relation-types at home in Panjabi. The complete description of their language choice is as follows:

TABLE 6

Relation-type	Students			
	1	2	3	4
(1) Parents	E	E	E	E
(2) Aunts and Uncles . . .	P	E	PH	E
(3) Parents' Friends . . .	E	P	PHE	E
(4) Sisters and Brothers . .	E	E	E	E
(5) Cousins	H	H	E	P
(6) Servants	'Kamaoni'	H	HE	H

Notice once again that there are similar exceptions here also to the rule that we stated earlier, namely, the students speak in Panjabi to those who are distant in relation to them rather than to their parents.

This subgroup behaves in a fashion similar to the behaviour of the sub-group of the Hindi group who did not speak in Panjabi with their parents at home. Though the younger and older generations are covered, there is more restricted use of Panjabi in the present group. The group differs from the Hindi parallel only in the matter of the details of coverage, but on the whole there is place for Panjabi at home among these students.

There are three more students, other than the 16 whose language choices we have covered already. These three students report that they speak in Hindi-English with their parents.

One of these three students reports that he speaks in Panjabi with his cousins at home. According to the convention developed in the preceding sections we can easily declare this student as a student speaking Panjabi at home. We discover that the other two students speak Panjabi in different out-door contexts. The details of the choices of these two are given below in Table 7.

TABLE 7

Student (1)	speaks in Panjabi with Sikh	(a) Doctor/Chemist at market place; (b) Office/library staff, peons at college campus.
Student (2)	speaks in Panjabi with (Peons) at college campus, and speaks in Panjabi/Hindi/English with 'A Boy' (stranger) at bus-stop.	

Practically, then, all the three students speak Panjabi in one situational context or the other. And in this sense they do not differ from those who speak Hindi and English at home. They are different from the others only in that they speak Hindi English with their parents.

A very close study of the language choices of these 19 students gives very interesting information about the status of their mother tongue in the life of the total group of 276 students. Parents are such a relation-type among the types in 'Obedience Relation' with whom one can expect maximum number of students to speak in Panjabi. A simple conclusion could have been that those students who do not speak in Panjabi to this relation-type cannot be expected to speak in Panjabi anywhere else. Professor Pandit's (Pandit 1978) conclusions were on these lines. However, we have demonstrated on the basis of detailed information that such students who do not speak in Panjabi with their parents do speak in Panjabi either with other relation-types at home or in different out-door contexts. It is clear from the information discussed in all these subsections that we cannot conclude a loss of Panjabi simply because students do not speak in this language with their parents or with other relation-types. Such a conclusion is blocked by the fact that they speak in Panjabi elsewhere. This is particularly so if we have to believe that some of these students might have learnt Panjabi from out-door contexts. This situation is similar to the one in 3rd chapter where we saw the cases of many

students who learnt reading and writing skills in Panjabi by non-formal means.

If we focus on families, 10 out of 19 families are of the type where the students do not speak Panjabi at home at all. (We may find many such families in Delhi where Panjabi people might not be speaking Panjabi at all at home.) When we argue from the general expectation point of view these families should be seen as those in which Panjabi has lost its currency. But when we focus on the students who come from such families and who use Panjabi outside their homes, then we must conclude that Panjabi is there *potentially* in all these families. This potential existence will be found even more extensive if we extend the reasoning we did in the case of these students to the other members of the families. That is, if normal linguistic environment make the present students learn and speak Panjabi outside their homes, the other members of the family would have been subjected to the same process. These other members could not move through normal linguistic environment without getting affected by it, and therefore, these members would also be competent to speak Panjabi, whether they speak Panjabi at all in their homes. Panjabi therefore was potentially available at home for everybody through their knowledge of it demonstrated elsewhere. May be that these families have developed a convention over a period of time, of not to speak in Panjabi.

The group of 19 students whose language choices have been discussed above are a very small section of the total sample of this study. We studied their language choice in relation to their use of language in their interactions with their parents only. Parent-child inter-action is an essential feature of a family. Language choice in this context would reveal the underlying currents. If we can understand why the students if any, do not speak in Panjabi with their parents, then most of their language choices can easily be explained.

Let us now deal with the language choices of the total 276 students for their parents and for the other two relation-types.

To take exclusive languages first, Panjabi is given 66.67% for parents, 52.17% for Aunts and Uncles, and 28.99% for parents' friends. That is, choice for Panjabi goes on reducing as the relation of the student goes on becoming more distant with the person-type concerned.

Contrary to Panjabi, choices for exclusive Hindi and English move in the opposite direction, as has already been made known with the help of the Rule (1). Hindi is selected by 3.26% students for their parents, by 9.06% for aunts and uncles, and by 14.49% for parents' friends, English is chosen by 2.54% students for parents, by 7.97% for aunts and uncles, and by 14.49% for parents' friends.

One can see here how socially relevant distinctions are preserved in language choices. The students choose the three languages, namely Panjabi, Hindi and English in three different quantities for three relation-types. But the interesting thing is that they do choose all the three languages. This is just like monolinguals' style choices, i.e. a monolingual chooses various styles, for instance, formal viz. non-formal, depending on the relation-type and context; he does not speak all the time in every context only in one and the same style. There are always chances for every style mastered. To specify exactly when and where this style or the other will be used, the situations in which they will be used, one has to study operative mechanisms of speech behaviour in greater details, which we do not attempt in this study. We only point out to the interesting similarities between the two situations.

The three socially relevant distinctions namely, parents, aunts and uncles, and parents' friends are also available in the language combination choices of the students, though the four language combinations, namely, Panjabi-Hindi, Panjabi-English, Panjabi-Hindi-English, and Hindi-English have a much more complex patterns to exhibit. If we begin from maximum to minimum number of choices for the above mentioned three relation-types, we find that, for the parents, Panjabi-Hindi is chosen by 11.59% students, Panjabi-Hindi-English is chosen by 9.78%, Panjabi-English is chosen by 5.07%, and it is followed by the choice of 1.09% of Hindi-English combination. For aunts and uncles again Panjabi-Hindi combination comes first with 8.33%, the second is Panjabi-English with 7.97%, the third is Panjabi-Hindi-English with 7.25%, and the fourth number is given to 6.26% of Hindi-English. And finally, the first preference is for 11.23% Panjabi-Hindi, the second is 10.14% Panjabi-Hindi-English, and the combinations, Panjabi-Hindi and Panjabi-English equalize at 9.42% of choices.

There are three types of distinctions operating in the choices listed above. The first distinction is that the first, second, third

and fourth choices differ from one another differently in the three dyads. We summarise these variations in Table 8 below.

TABLE 8

	<i>Comparative choice variation.</i>		
	1:2	2:3	3:4
(1) Parents	1.81%	4.71%	3.98%
(2) Aunts and Uncles	.36%	.72%	1.09%
(3) Parents' Friends	1.09%	.72%	*

The second distinction is the order in which the four combinations come for the three dyadic contexts. These different orders are summarised in Table 9 below:

TABLE 9

Language combination choices in descending order

	1	2	3	4
(1) Parents	PH	PHE	PE	HE
(2) Aunts and Uncles	PH	PE	PHE	HE
(3) Parents' friends	PH	PHE	PH	HE

Notice that Panjabi-Hindi combination gets first preference in all the three cases, but we know that this combination comes in different numbers. The Hindi-English combinations is given only the last preference in all the three cases, but its quantity goes on increasing in such a way that in the third dyad it equalizes Panjabi-English combination. And finally, the third distinction is in the total quantities of all the four language combinations for the three relation-types. For instance, the students chose 27.80% total count language combinations out of the possible 100.00% for parents; they choose 29.71% for Aunts and Uncles; and they choose 40.21% for parents' friends.

We can frame another rule for the choice of total language combinations for the three relation-types at home on the basis of the last distinction. That is :

R2

Closer the Relation lesser are the total language-combinations and More distant the relations, greater are the total language-combinations.

Notice that this rule is applicable only in relation to the older generation.

The implications of the data discussed in section for the status of the students' mother tongue in their life, will be presented after we complete our discussion on the other two relations.

4.5.1.2. *Language choices in equality relation.*—With this relation we move on to the younger generation, the students' own generation.

There are only two dyadic-relations in this relation-category. It is important to notice that 10.14% students do not report at all in the case of sisters and brothers. This number is comparatively rather big. It can be interpreted in two ways: (i) the students do not like to report, or (ii) the students do not have sisters and brothers of their own. The second possibility, however, seems to be more strong because failure to respond to questions raised in the questionnaire so far has been between 1.09% and 1.81% only.

Consider the distribution of exclusive languages for these two dyads first. For sisters and brothers exclusive Panjabi is 38.41%, exclusive Hindi is 8.70%, and exclusive English is 14.13%, whereas for cousins Panjabi is 28.99%, Hindi is 15.58% and English is 16.30%. Notice that choices for Panjabi decrease by 9.42%, choices for Hindi increase by 6.88%, and choices of English increase by 2.17%, if we move from a close relation like sisters and brothers to a comparatively distant relation like cousins. If we recall our findings from the (first) 'Obedience Relation', we know that this is a continuation of the tendency discovered in that Relation. Further, we can see that the rule R1 is applicable to this data also. If we refer to the data in Table-2 we may find some exceptions to the rule, i.e., we find that some students do not speak to their sisters and brothers in Panjabi but they speak to their cousins in Panjabi. Nevertheless, we find that in majority of the cases social distance among the relations plays significant role in determining the nature of the choices and the quantum of the languages in question.

Consider the choices of language-combinations of the group for the two dyads. We discover that 12.32% students prefer Panjabi-English, 9.06% students prefer Hindi-English, 8.33% students prefer Panjabi-Hindi-English, and 6.52% students prefer Panjabi-Hindi for their sisters and brothers. But the group is differently distributed as far as selection of language-combinations for cousins is concerned. 10.87% students report Hindi-

English, 10.14% students report Panjabi-Hindi-English, 9.06% students report Panjabi-English, and 8.33% students report Panjabi-Hindi. The variations among the choices of different combinations are summarised below in Table 10.

TABLE 10
Variation in the choices of language combinations

	1:2	2:3	3:4
(1) sisters & brothers	3.62	.72	1.81
(2) cousins	.72	1.00	.72

That is, the first choice is 3.62% more than the second and the second choice is .72% more than the third and so on.

We arrange the language-combinations preferred by the students in a decreasing quantitative order in Table 11 below.

TABLE 11
Language-combinations-choices in decreasing order

	1	2	3	4
(1) sisters and brothers	PE	HE	PHE	PE
(2) cousins	PE	PHE	PE	PH

If we add up the total quantities that the students choices of all the four language-combinations for the two dyadic relations, we get 36.23% total for sisters and brothers, and 38.40% total for cousins.

Here again we can see that the rule R2 is applicable to the choice of quantity of total language-combinations, though we stated at the end of the discussion on the rule that was applicable only to the old generation. But it should be noted that though the students show common tendencies for the two generations in the total quantities chosen for the four language-combinations, they differ in the order in which each of the combinations is chosen for the two generations as well as the relation-types in these two relations. Compare for instance the patterns in Table-9 with those in the Table 11: Panjabi-Hindi combination is in the first position in Table 9, but it is in the last position in Table 11. Hindi-English combination is given last position in Table 9, but it is given first position in Table 11. In fact, the distribution of the language-combinations having Panjabi are differently placed in the two tables.

The second important difference between the two generations is in the four combinations. In the case of the older generation the figures are 27.71%, whereas in the case of younger generation the figures are 36.23% and 38.40%. Parents' friends category gets 40.21% choices, despite its belonging to the older generation. Otherwise the other two relation-types are given comparatively less quantities of language-combinations. Even though we do not refer to the exclusive language figures here, we find that two generations are distinctively traceable from the quantitative choices expressed.

The argument made so far can be better understood with a reference to the relational hierarchy position in the chapter 2. We give only figures in the three languages in their exclusive form in place of the relationships, etc.

P.	66.67	—	52.17	—	28.99
H.	3.26	—	9.06	—	14.49
E.	2.54	—	7.97	—	14.49
P.	38.41	—	28.99	-----	
H.	8.70	—	15.58		
E.	14.13	—	16.30		
P.	13.41	-----			
H.	61.69				
E.	*				

Diagram No.1

The three levels of relational hierarchy are distinctly available from the diagrammatic presentation of the exclusive figures of the three languages. Every relation-type can be easily identified.

That is, the hierarchical structure of the society is linguistically manifested.

One of the most significant facts is that the three languages are used in different quantitative measures to express the hierarchical levels, and to differentiate different relation-types at each level.

On the basis of the figures related to language-combinations chosen by the students for the first two relations, we have shown how the students exhibit common tendencies but choose different quantitative measures.

We tried to argue for the first two levels that it was the element of social distance which was causing the figures for each of the relation-types to differ. But a cross level comparison shows that the relation-type 'parents friends' equalizes in Panjabi with the figures for 'cousins', and the figures of Hindi and English are also very near to each other in the two cases. If it was social distance which mattered, then how is it that two different relation-types, though different in social distance, are assigned the same language quantities? We also tried to show how the gap between the two generations was responsible for different quantitative selections at the two levels. But again we find that that does not help us, because the 'parents' friends' and 'cousins' get the same/similar quantitative treatment in spite of the fact that they belong to two different generations. This similarity is further perpetuated when we recall that in language-combinations too the totals in the two cases were 40.21% and 38.40%, respectively, pretty near to each other.

One explanation can be that generation distance does not matter much for the students where a relation falls outside the purview of close-circuit relational-net-work. The other explanation could be that the generation distance matters because of the element of respectfulness and obedience that the students are supposed to show, but the language choices do not let us capture the difference because all the 'parents' friends' cannot be assumed to be Panjabi speakers only. It is quite possible that the parents have non-Panjabi friends also. And the students speak to these non-Panjabi friends of their families in the language of these people on their occasional visits to the families. This is possible from the students' end also because they can handle proficiently Panjabi, Hindi and English along with their four combinations. The possibilities in their behaviour range from exclusive Panjabi to Panjabi + X and no-Panjabi. And the third explanation could be that the students do not want to talk in Panjabi with the people other than their parents, etc., even if they happen to be Panjabi speakers. But which of these

three explanations is most suited can be decided in the context of the reality of the situation.

While discussing reading and writing practices of this group we discovered that there were very strong tendencies among some of the parents towards Hindi and English when these students started going to their schools. Had that situation been continued we could have received very limited choices for Panjabi even in the homes. That situation can be easily traced out from the one that followed the partition of the country, especially when we learn from Census of India report 1951 that the separate figures for Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu, etc., were not presented separately because of language related feelings and controversies that flared up during that time. By and by the situation settled only to a degree. This can be grasped very easily from the information given by the students on their present day reading, and writing skills and practices. We find a definite growth of Panjabi among the students because we found students who must have learnt Panjabi outside formal education. And again in this chapter also we have discovered students who do not speak Panjabi at all at their homes but who speak it in out-door contexts. These facts speak of a direction in which Panjabis have been moving, especially if we refer to the period from 1947 to 1974. Though we cannot say anything for sure about the total Panjabi community of Delhi, as far as this group of the students we have investigated is concerned we do not see any case of loss for Panjabi upto this point of our discussion of the date.

It should be confessed that there are families in Delhi who are Panjabis purely in the cultural sense of the term. We may find hardly any Panjabi being spoken in these families. We have some such families in our data also. It is interesting to note that the students who come from such families, all of them in our data atleast, speak in Panjabi though in out-door contexts. There can be such Panjabi families also in Delhi who have completely identified themselves with Hindi (see the first chapter as regards the reasons for such a change) during this period. The individuals from these families might not be speaking Panjabi anywhere. However, existence of such Panjabi families with zero Panjabi language in their life is not within our scope, as was indicated in the first chapter. The statements that we are making are not in any way concerned with that kind of families, and therefore, are not general statements valid for the total Panjabi community of Delhi. But the gradual increase of Panjabi mother tongue population and existence of Hindi

mother tongue bilinguals in Panjabi should also be considered while viewing the status of Panjabi in Delhi.

What happens in the case of these students, we feel, is this. Every relation-type that these students are supposed to talk to has its history of habitual language behaviour in relation to these students. We know from our experience with multilingual situations that situational contexts get identified with one language or the other, and different individuals also get identified with different languages. Each relation-type is a language face for the students. What language a student in such dyadic contexts can speak does not depend purely on the student's desire to speak in a language. His choice of a language is conditioned by the language face that *the other* in dyadic context has either assumed for himself, or has been assigned by the student during the history of their relation. It is often difficult to change that language (in notional sense of the term) and the language face because these are always rooted in the long process of habit formation. These cannot be changed because the mechanisms that are involved in granting language selection in a dyad cannot be altered so easily in most of the cases. The complexity of the situation becomes even more telling here. The behaviour that we talk about is always among those dyadic relations where each of the two behaviourants is bi/multilingual. If we keep these behaviour regulating forces (factors) into account, a gradual growth of Panjabi and some of the students' no-talking in Panjabi to the given relation-types at home do not remain contradictory to each other. One represents an onward move in the group, the other represents a continuation of the conventionally settled habitual behaviour.

4.5.1.3. *Language choices in Command Relation.*—The best example of face assignment can be found in the relation-type 'servants'. We find that maximum number of the students (61.69%) speak in Hindi to this category. There are only 13.41% students who report the use of exclusive Panjabi with servants. It will be too simplistic if we conclude that Panjabi has been lost in this case. As far as our understanding of the situation in Delhi goes, we do not think one can get Panjabi mother tongue servants in Delhi. Most of the people who work as family servants are mostly from those areas where 'dialects' of Hindi are being spoken. For instance, we have already quoted one student who reported specifically 'Komaoni' language (a 'dialect' of Hindi). On the other hand, we do know people who learn Panjabi in order to prove themselves to be better servants. It cannot be very farfetching if we suggest that this 13.41% number refers mainly to such servants. The stu-

dents speak in Panjabi to them because these servants are capable of speaking in Panjabi. It will be really absurd if we suggest that since majority of the students do not speak in Panjabi, Panjabi is losing in this dyadic context.

It seems that the question whether Panjabi is maintaining or losing in Delhi is not intimately connected with whether the students speak this language in family or in other domains, because speaking in Panjabi depends on various other conditions that have been made explicit during our discussions so far. Most of our statements made on the basis of the data from family domain will become clearer as we check them up against the data from the other five domains. Therefore, most of the statements should stand as provisional, until this is done.

4.5.2. *Language choices in Friendship Domain*

The language choices reported by the group of students for this domain are put in Table 12 below.

TABLE 12

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
(1) locality friends at a shopping centre	17.75	10.14	3.62	10.87	11.23	22.83	23.55	*
(2) close friends in college	36.23	12.68	7.61	7.97	6.52	12.32	13.41	3.26
(3) college friends at university gatherings	14.86	5.44	7.97	13.04	15.94	12.68	30.07	*

In the previous domain we tried to demonstrate that the reported choice figures for languages and language-combinations express socially relevant distinctions. We shall not take up that point here because even a cursory look at Table 12 can confirm that point. On the contrary, we work out some other possible differences among the above mentioned three dyadic relations on the basis of Table 12. For instance, look into Table 13.

TABLE 13

	+P	-P.	T. combinations
(1) locality friends at a shopping centre	42.38	57.62	35.86
(2) close friends in college	64.49	35.51	34.78
(3) college friends at university gatherings	41.31	58.69	42.39

The numbers (1)', (2)', and (3)' represent the similar numbers and their descriptions in the Table 12. The first column describes the total number of those choices in Table 12 in which Panjabi is present either as single code, or as a combination. The second column describes that part of the choice distributions in Table 12 where Panjabi is absent. And the third column gives the total quantitative choices of all the four language combinations for the three types of friendship.

Let us concentrate first on the last two dyads located on two different situations. We must recall that the individuals in question are the same in both the situations. Keeping this fact in view if we compare the choices, a very interesting finding follows. Compare first the exclusive language choices. The Hindi speakers in both the situations are almost constant because Hindi increases only by .36% in 'university gatherings' over college campus. But Panjabi and English both get their choices affected if we move from one situation to the other. 36.23% students speak exclusively in Panjabi in college but when the same students move from college campus to university gathering only 14.86% speak in Panjabi. English is spoken by 13.41% in college campus but when these students move to university gatherings the number of English speakers increases upto 30.07%. This difference in the language choices due to the change in the locale is available in the other figures also. For instance, Panjabi is present in the choices of 64.49% students in college campus but it remains only in the choices of 41.31% students at university gatherings. Again, the students who report minus Panjabi language choices are 35.51% at college campus, but the number of such students increases upto 58.69% in 'university gatherings. Similarly the four language-combinations are reported by 34.78% students at college campus, but 58.69% students speak in these four combinations at university gatherings. It follows from these descriptions, we believe, that the language choices of the same individuals differ when these individuals speak at two different locations. This confirms most of our statements that we made in our discussions on the data related to previous chapter, especially our suggestions that various situations get variously assigned to different languages. If it were not true as to why the same individuals report different quantities of choices does not become clear.

The available results help us to take further our argument that we started about the link of maintenance and loss and speaking of Panjabi. If we do not take total group into account

here just for the argument's sake, and focus only on those who report Panjabi and English, should we then say that when 36.23% Panjabi reporting students move from their college to university gatherings only 14.86% of them maintain Panjabi and 21.37% of them lose it? Similarly, shall we say that out of 30.07% students who speak English at university gatherings only 13.41% of them maintain it in their college campus? And finally, should we think that this is a question of maintaining or losing at all? The point is, how can a person lose and maintain a language at one and the same time? It is evident from the results that whether one speaks a language in a situation or not is not in any sense related to maintenance or loss of it among this group. We want to argue that this is all dependent on the pulls and pushes operating at all the relevant contexts which control the choices of languages. But what are exactly all these forces we cannot say precisely at this stage of the analysis. However, one thing is certainly evident. Since we have already proved that each of these students speaks in Panjabi, we must suggest that these students speak in Panjabi whenever conditions for speaking Panjabi are fulfilled, otherwise they do not.

The suggested line of argument in the preceding paragraph should lead us to accept that the students who report exclusive Hindi do not find the ground conditions fulfilled for speaking in Panjabi. One of the conditions could be that the interaction should be with *the other* who knows Panjabi and is willing to speak in it also. It could be the case that these 12.32%/12.68% students do not have Panjabi speaking close friends. In the absence of exact information on *the other* in these dyads we cannot pin point what exactly the reason is. It could be that the students just do not speak in Panjabi, which is quite unlikely, given reasons suggested so far. This point will be taken up further at a later stage.

Let us consider 'locality' figures. 17.75% students speak exclusive Panjabi, 22.83% students speak exclusive Hindi, and 23.55% speak exclusive English in this location. Notice that all the students do not speak in Panjabi with their friends from their localities. Exclusive Panjabi gets the third position in the choices, and the number is only 17.75%. The position of Panjabi becomes comparatively clearer and better only when we take into account the figures for all locales in which Panjabi is present. For example we get 42.38% students who speak Panjabi in some form or the other in their locality markets. If we compare these results with the results from the other two locations in this domain some significant points emerge. Earlier

we discovered that when the same students, who constitute a dyad, move from one domain to the other their choices of the seven language categories, namely, Panjabi, Hindi, English, Panjabi-Hindi, Panjabi-English, and Panjabi-Hindi-English undergo a thorough change. But now, we discover that when the students move from one location to another, even within the same domain, and enter into dyadic relation with a different friendship category, their choices of the languages known to them get readjusted. The comparison, therefore, shows that the language choices of these students are controlled by different locations as well as by those individuals who constitute these locations. Note also that when we compare the results from the three locations namely, locality, market and college campus we find that the figures for Panjabi use are more than the figures for use of other languages in the college campus. It is evident that the environment of the college is more conducive for Panjabi use than the other two locations. We want to remind the reader of our description of the environment in the SGTB Khalsa College, which tends to promote Panjabi.

Since it is clear by now that the students' language choices are controlled by the behavioural networks, the way these contexts are linguistically defined for the students, it would be better, therefore, to avoid saying anything about maintenance or loss of Panjabi any further at this point. We should study the total data available on the domains and their locales. Perhaps at the end of such a study a clearer picture will emerge. We shall raise further questions on maintenance and loss during this study only if we find some new dimensions to the facts already discovered.

4.5.3. *Language choices in the Worship Domain*

We describe the students' language choices in Table 14 given below:

TABLE 14

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
(1) Religious head	73.19	3.99	*	1.81	1.09	16.30	.36	3.26
(2) Fellow worshipper	65.22	5.07	.72	3.26	1.45	18.12	.72	5.

There are three striking things in this table. Choice of exclusive Panjabi in the case of 'Religious head' is 73.19% which is highest among the dyads studied so far. Choices of

exclusive English in both the dyads are reduced to zero. The responses, 36% and 72%, suggest hardly any representation. The margin of absence of information is 3.26% and 5.43% in the first and second dyads, respectively.

To take the absence of information first, there can be two explanations for this. The first is that the students who did not give the information did not visit the places of worship.¹ In this sense we may have to suggest that there are only 3.26% students who did not go to the places of worship, and 2.17% students out of 5.43% went to these Mandirs/Gurdwaras, etc., but they did not talk to 'fellow worshippers' at all. Or, the second explanation is that the students visited these places of worship but 3.26% students did not talk to 'religious head' and 5.43% students did not talk to 'fellow worshippers'. Whichever the way we interpret these figures, we learn only about the students' involvement in religious practices. No additional information as regards our problem is revealed by these figures.

The very negligible choices of English, and even Hindi-English combination are understandable. A simple reason is that English does not have any place in religious practices/life of this population. But in the context of the information discussed in the third chapter this is very significant. We have seen in that chapter how English is the most desirable language for these students in most of the walks of their lives. For instance, 82.79% students preferred exclusive English for their 'career prospects'. It can be easily inferred from this cross-reference that the students' relation with the languages that they know is of a functional type. English is all important in higher education but the moment we come out of that zone of students' personal concern we find that English jumps out from that exclusively commanding position to a no-representation. We can say only that use of English represents the continuation of a traditional value. That is, English continues to be important for carrier, etc., and it does not have any role in religious practices because it never was part of religious practices. The point is that each language has specific purposes to serve in the life of these students. If a language does not occur at all in some domain or location, such an absence should not be taken as a necessary case of loss for that language, for the simple reason that the particular domain or locale might not have been assigned to that language. It is this function specification for the language that leads to complementation among the languages. This is also an important reason as to why bi/multilingualism is a possibility.

To carry the argument further, let us take the Panjabi figures under interaction with 'Religious head'. Exclusive Panjabi figures are 73.19% in this case. This number is the highest for Panjabi in all the six domains. The reason for this highest choice is traceable to the fact that Panjabi is the language of the religion for most (i.e. 71.74%) of the students in this group. It is quite natural to expect from a worshipper at a place of worship to converse in the language of the religion. For example, Panjabi is the 'language of the religion' for Sikhs and, therefore, it is natural for them to converse in Panjabi when they go to their Gurdwara, say, at Chandni Chowk in Delhi. But the same Sikh population may speak only in Hindi to a confectioner in the same Chandni Chowk because they know that the person does not *understand* their Panjabi. That is, the Sikhs would not talk in Panjabi because they know that *the Other* does not know their language. Therefore, knowledge as to whether *the Other* knows the student's language or not is one of the ground conditions which enables the students to choose to speak in Panjabi. Contrary to the Sikhs, 'the Hindus have most of their religious writings in Hindi', or rather in a language other than Panjabi. Therefore, this fact induces Hindus to speak in Hindi. Though it will be confirmed only later when we take up our findings as regards the variable of religion, here it can be suggested that the figures for Hindi perhaps represent the Hindu students of our group.

Now, consider these 73.19% exclusive choices of Panjabi in comparison to 65.22% exclusive choices of this language for 'fellow worshipper'. We find a difference of 7.97%. The difference in the choices is an expression of the role relations that these two person-types represent. Notice that role-relation between the two individuals constituting a dyad affects the quantity of language use for a language. Incidentally, it is important to point out our assumption that the other variables like social distance, etc., are also operative here. We mention here only the role-relation as an additional and new variable, not as *the* variable.

Since the place of 'Religious head' is fixed at a level demanding higher respect, conventions, which include and are guided by linguistic conventions operating in the religion, give the Head not only a social/religious place, but a sociolinguistic face also. Therefore, 73.19% students speak in Panjabi with him. Recall from the first chapter that 71.24% students of the group are Sikhs. In the face of this fact this number for Panjabi speaking becomes quite expected. However, we are not

suggesting that all these 73.19% Panjabi speaking students from this dyad are Sikhs only. This point will be discussed later when we take up the variable of religion.

4.5.4. *Language choices in the Transportation Domain*

The language choices of the students for the person-types in this domain are stated in Table 15.

TABLE 15

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
(1) Middle-aged gentleman	7.25	7.97	1.09	3.62	9.06	40.94	29.71	.36
(2) Middle-aged lady	10.51	11.96	.72	3.99	9.06	41.31	21.01	1.45
(3) A stranger boy	6.16	2.54	1.81	2.17	10.14	21.38	54.35	1.45
(4) A stranger girl	4.71	1.81	1.09	2.54	10.14	14.86	62.32	2.54
(5) Another student of your college not friend	3.26	1.81	1.81	1.45	11.23	14.13	65.94	.36

Notice that only 3.26% students report the choice of exclusive Panjabi in the case of 'another student of your college (not friend)'. The choice is all the time lowest. We recall from the second chapter that this person-type is 'known' to the students in the sense that this student is also a student of their college.

Contrary to exclusive Panjabi figures, English as exclusive language has been preferred by 65.94% of the students in the same dyadic context. This interchange of the positions between Panjabi and English in 'worship' and 'transportation' domains is not unexpected when we keep the arguments in 'worship' domain in view. However, we have some additional points to offer here to explain the choices expressed especially for this domain.

Let us compare these results with our results from 'family' domain. As regards the exclusive use of different languages, we find that a reversal has taken place with some changes in the pattern of language choice in this domain. In the family domain choices of Panjabi were at the top; now the choices of English are at the top; in the family domain, distance between Panjabi and English was maximum in the older genera-

tion, now a greater distance between these languages is found in the younger generation; in the family domain, use of Hindi was comparatively lower; its maximum choice was 15.58%, leaving servants aside, and the minimum choice was 3.26%, whereas now maximum choice of Hindi is 41.31% and minimum 14.13%. There is another difference between the two domains as far as the choice of Hindi is concerned — in the family domain, Hindi was used maximally among the younger generation, whereas Hindi is maximally used here in the case of the older generation. This change in the patterns of language choice due to the change in the domains can be predicted on the basis of the knowledge of the factors that we have brought to light during our discussions in the last three domains. Of course, the exact quantities cannot be predicted because of numerous other unknown facts. A further analysis can help us predict better.

Hindi and Panjabi are chosen by 41.31% and 10.51% students, respectively. On the contrary, English is chosen by 21.01% students which is the lowest figure for exclusive English in this domain. But when the dyad changes, the group expresses its language choices different from 'middle-aged gentleman', a person-type belonging to the older generation. Most important point here is this: though generation, age, etc., remained constant, it was sex which gave/different, changed responses. Therefore, we have to assign this change in choice pattern to sex of *the Other* also. (This could have been easily noticed in our results on 'family' domain itself, but we did not take up this point there because we were interested in establishing the relevance of other factors). The quantitative change in choices of the languages form a definite pattern when we read figures for 'middle-aged gentleman' in comparison to figures for 'middle-aged lady'. We find that the exclusive Panjabi figure for middle-aged gentleman goes down, though very insignificantly, by .36%, but English goes up by 8.70%. We can form a rule-like statement on this:

R3

Use of Panjabi, and Hindi decreases, and use of English increases among the students if they shift from talking to a middle-aged lady to talking to a middle-aged male.

But the situation is the reverse of the one specified by this rule for the younger generation. We have 4.71% students reporting Panjabi when they talk to a stranger girl at a bus stop 'to find out the time', but 6.61% students report Panjabi to talk to a stranger boy, i.e., Panjabi increases by 1.45%. This increase is significant if read in the context of the very low figures

like 4.71% returned for 'a stranger girl' and so on. Similarly the use of exclusive Hindi also increases in younger generation. 14.86% students report that they speak in Hindi with girl, and 21.38% students say that they speak in Hindi with stranger boy, an increase of 6.52%.

As opposite to these two languages, use of exclusive English decreases from 62.32% to 54.35%, given the respective person-types. The decrease is by 7.97%. If we keep the 'another student of your college' aside since it is from a 'known' category, we can again propose another rule, namely,

R4

Use of Panjabi and Hindi increases, and use of English decreases among the students if they shift talking stranger girl to a stranger boy.

This rules R3 and R4 can be collapsed into a single rule with (a) and (b) parts; we can add the generation as a conditioning factor to the rule; and the rule can be given a suitable nomenclature as well; but our interest here is purely in formalizing the differences between the two generations, and not in the nature of the rules.

So far the person-types were from two different generations; they were the four all unknown to the students; and their sexes were specified. But when we specify only the age category of the person without specifying the sex, and when the person in dyadic opposition is *known* to the student the language choices operate on the pattern of rule-R3 whatever be the starting point. As a result we find that exclusive Panjabi is reported merely by 3.26% students only, one of the lowest scores for Panjabi. Though exclusive Hindi score is 14.13%, a bit impressive as compared to Panjabi, it is also the lowest in the domain. English is of course reported by 65.94% student, only .72% less than the score of Panjabi at home with parents. Therefore, though the information shares the quantitative pattern with the rule R3, this person-type is significantly different from the type 'older generation people' for these students.

When we try to explain quantitative and qualitative differences among the five person-types along the lines made familiar in our preceding discussions, we note that the differences in choices of the languages for these five categories of the person-types are because of the fact that they belong to two-age groups and to known viz. unknown categories. But underneath these

evident variation causing factors lies the conception of *the various Other(s)* that the students reveal by their responses. That is, it is not only the question of who speaks to whom and what, but also who recognises whom as what linguistic face that regulates language choices. These two questions lead us in two different directions. The first, as we have said already, leads us to find out the actual use of the said languages, and the second leads us to the possibilities of use of these languages.

The first of these two directions has been well described; therefore, let us consider the second one. During our discussions earlier we made a suggestion that everyone in behavioural networks is assigned a face and this face assignment is rooted in the conventions, etc., of many kinds. This suggestion, if followed faithfully, would lead us to believe, in the case of 'another student of your college', that majority of the students conceive such a relation only in terms of English, though there are minority groups who think of the same situation in Panjabi, Hindi and the four combinations of the three too. This is realistic on many grounds. Basically the reason lies in the implicit convention already in existence and in operation among the college-educated to speak in English to the other person, especially when it is known that the other person is a student. However, all the same when we refer to the non-English data we discover that the said convention is a weak convention to some extent, since there are students who chose to speak in languages other than English.

In the other four categories, the students are required to make decisions as regards the linguistic identity of the other, then and there. That is, the student must decide which one of the seven language categories known to him can get him through the dyadic conversation. That is why we are trying to take the point further down from the too evident distinctions like sex, etc. But the act of talking cannot be assigned to one's view of *the Other* only, i.e., the capacity to construct 'background understanding' of *the Other* alone does not guide the language in speaking to *the Other*. The real decision of choosing a language ('style') is equally dependent on one's expectancies of the other (Garfinkel 1972)². If these choices are the result of the said choice determining factors, then we have to admit that each of the said person-types is differently available to the group of these students. It will be also difficult to say in very definite terms that the students who do not choose Panjabi do not want to speak it. We cannot also say for sure that these students might have chosen Panjabi because they could

speak it, but they did not choose it because they were sure of *the Other* of not being able to speak in Panjabi. Further, we cannot relate the total language choices to the students' intentions; otherwise, we could have concluded that they actually do not want to speak in Panjabi, and this would have given us reason to infer language loss, etc. An inference to that effect can in fact be made here very conveniently but it is very difficult to block an opposite of the inference not to be true. At the most we can make statements about the comparative position of the three languages in the choices of the students by calculating the cross column counts for each language in the given domain. Table 16, for instance presents a summary of such positions:

TABLE 16

	P	H	E
(1) Middle-aged gentleman	19.93	61.59	43.48
(2) Middle-aged lady	27.18	66.32	34.78
(3) A stranger boy	12.68	36.23	68.47
(4) A stranger girl	10.15	29.35	76.09
(5) Another student of your college (not friend)	8.33	28.62	80.43

But can we conclude from these figures that any one of the three languages has been lost to the other two, or any of the two languages have been lost to the third? On the basis of the line of argument that we have developed, such a question will be totally irrelevant, languages because the choices of the languages do not simply reveal the loss of the languages, the choices do obey many behaviour controlling factors operating under the behavioural net-works which could make a language or languages appear lost. To be a multilingual is not to be able to lose a language or gain the other, but it is to be able to fix one's linguistic choices under the controls of environmental forces without losing one's chances of manipulation and negotiation in the concerned languages.

4.5.5. Language choices in the Marketing Domain

We reproduce the information on the language choices expressed by the students for this domain from the Table 1 (speaking 1, Appendix 7) Table 17 below.

TABLE 17

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist	Sikh	62.68	2.54	2.25	2.17	2.90	4.71	14.49	13.26
	Non-Sikh	3.62	3.62	.36	2.17	13.04	39.13	24.64	13.41
Barber/Tailor	Sikh	64.13	6.52	1.09	.72	.36	18.84	2.54	5.80
	Non-Sikh	9.42	5.80	*	.36	2.17	63.04	2.90	16.30

The results of this domain are most significant for us because, as we said in the 2nd chapter, we have put the religious identity of the person addressed to in this situation. But before the data are taken up one point of significance must be presented here because we did not present it in our descriptions related to this domain in the second chapter. That is, the religious identity of the person in this case is practically a guide to his linguistic identity. It is clearly known to the people living in Delhi that the Sikhs are basically Panjabi-speaking people. On the contrary, among the non-Sikhs it is not very easy for the student to find out as to who is a Panjabi speaking person and who is not, unless that person is in constant contact with the student, or unless a sort of trail and error is resorted to by the student on the basis of the intuitive judgement of the facial features and other indicators that most often people develop a tendency to recognise. Therefore, the religious identity in the case of 'Sikh' makes the language identity known but it is not so in the case of non-Sikhs.

The point is demonstrated very well by our results. Take for instance, the absence of information in certain filled in questionnaires. Among the 1st 'social status' dyads, 3.26% students make no report on their choices. We can suggest that these 3.26% students do not visit a Sikh doctor/chemist at all. But we cannot say the same thing about the 13.41% students who do not report their language choices for non-Sikh doctor/chemist. Similarly, we can say that the 5.80% students do not express their choices for Sikh barber/tailor because they do not go to the shops of these people. But it is very difficult

to say that 16.80% students do not go to the shops of barber/tailor. What happens, perhaps, is this. Though there can be some cases among these students who do not go to the shops, the majority, however, seems to be the case of the students who could not imagine any linguistic identity for the non-Sikhs category especially; this made them not to express their language choices.⁸ This point can be taken as a continuation of the points that we made while discussing the data from the domain 'Transportation'. In the domain of 'Transportation' as well we found that the students took 'then and there' decisions on the linguistic identity of the person addressed to. In case such a decision was not possible to make, then the students were unable to decide the language they should use. Ability to derive and decide on the language identity of *the Other* is, therefore, a necessary ground condition for one to be able to speak in the appropriate language/languages in this multilingual situation.

Let us now consider the expressed choices. Within the first 'Social Status' group, the students express their language choices differently because the people of the first social status group belong to two different religious-linguistic categories. Exclusive Panjabi is preferred by 62.68% students for the Sikh doctor/chemist, but only 3.26% students prefer it for non-Sikh category. Note that the decrease is of the order of 59.06%. There are only 4.71% students who speak in exclusive Hindi with the Sikh category, but, for the non-Sikh category 39.13% of the students report exclusive Hindi. Note here that the increase is 37.42%. As regards exclusive English, 14.49% students report it for the Sikh category, but, for the non-Sikh category it is reported by 24.64% students, an increase of 10.15%.

Notice that in the Transportation domain the educational standard of the person addressed to, especially in the case of the older generation, was not very explicit. The students reported 29.71% and 21.01% use of English for Old-aged gentleman and Middle-aged lady respectively. But here, in the domain of Marketing, when the educational standard of the interactants is clearly evident, the students report 14.49% English for the Sikh category and 24.64% English for the non-Sikh category. A comparison of the Sikh category with the 'middle-aged gentleman' category and the 'middle-aged lady' category is really interesting as far as English is concerned. It seems that the reported choices for non-Sikh doctor/chemist are more or less on the patterns of the choices expressed for the, 'middle-aged gentleman' and the 'middle-aged lady', especially in the area of

the exclusive use of the languages. The choices of Hindi and English are more or less the same, but choice of Panjabi is slightly less. We have reasons to believe, on the basis of this comparison, that the students might have reported similar, if not the same, language choices had they been given the religious-linguistic identity of the 'middle-aged gentleman' and the 'middle-aged lady'. Preference for Panjabi might have been given then a very high percentage for the Sikh categories. Hindi, and may be, even English, might have been given, then, a low preference.

To concentrate on Marketing again, we find that even in the 2nd 'Social Status' Sikh vs. non-Sikh categories, the language choices are more or less on the pattern of the 1st Social Status categories. Exclusive Panjabi is reported by 64.13% students for Sikh barber/tailors but only 9.42% students report it for non-Sikh barber/tailors. Exclusive Hindi is reported by 18.84% students for Sikh category and by 63.04% for non-Sikh category. Exclusive English is reported by 2.54% students for Sikh category and by 2.90% students for non-Sikh category. That is, there are quantitative differences among the various choices made, in spite of the pattern similarities.

The results from this Marketing domain clearly demonstrate that the choices among the known languages are based on many controlling factors. The choice of Panjabi especially is conditioned by the fact as to whether the student is able to identify the other as a Panjabi speaker or not. When the students face some 'bewilderment', (Garfinkel-1972, p. 14) it is very likely that quite a number of them may not be able to express their choices at all. The extreme low or extreme high figures for Panjabi or the four dyads in this domain speak a lot about the status of Panjabi in the public by the students. As we have suggested in our discussions so far on almost every domain, the use of any of the three known languages or the absence of any of these languages in any of the dyads is not a sufficient proof for loss, gain, or maintenance of any of these languages. It is irrelevant to infer loss of any of these languages because the use is conditioned. For instance, we can say that use of Panjabi would be high if a doctor/chemist is a Sikh and it would be low if a doctor/chemist is non-Sikh. Similarly, rule-like statements can be made about the occurrence of Hindi and English also. The point is that if we infer loss of Panjabi on the basis of 3.26% students who reported use of Panjabi for non-Sikh doctor/chemist category and 9.42% students who reported use of Panjabi for non-Sikh barber/tailors, we could

not then explain the occurrence of 62.68% and 64.13% choices for Panjabi within the same domain and at the same point of time. On the contrary, the fact, perhaps, is that these students have been speaking Panjabi and Hindi right after the end of their infancy, and that English has come in quite strongly during or after the school stage, because they are wanted by the educational forces to possess a good standard of English. They will speak more in English with persons of their age and background, as we found in the Transportation and Marketing domains, but this cannot affect their performing capacity in either Panjabi or in Hindi because the total routine life is constituted of the *Other* person-types which are responsible for the perpetuation of the use of Panjabi and Hindi alike.

4.5.6. Language choices in the Education Domain

We present the students' language choices expressed for the six dyads in this domain in Table 18 below. Notice that the person-type 'close friend' is repeated here. In fact, originally we included this category only in this domain, but later on purely for the sake of comparison among friends from different locations we include it in the domain of 'friendship' also.

TABLE 18

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
(1) Teacher	3.62	1.81	3.99	6.88	14.13	7.61	61.59	.36
(2) Lab-assistants	19.20	7.61	2.17	1.09	4.71	30.07	17.39	17.75
(3) Office-library staff	30.07	9.42	4.71	2.90	7.25	27.90	17.03	.72
(4) Class mates	19.57	9.42	7.25	13.40	10.87	18.12	20.65	1.09
(5) Close friends	36.23	12.68	7.61	7.97	6.52	12.32	13.41	3.26
(6) Peons	39.86	13.77	.72	.36	.36	44.57	.36	*

The profession-type 'lab-assistants' is not a general category for the total group in the sense that there are only 26.45% B.Sc. students and this category is directly relevant for them only. This category, if taken as a general category, can mean that this profession-type is also available to rest of the students in the college. There are only 17.55% students who do not report talking to this profession-type. The other 82.55% students, including the 26.45% of students who are from science classes might have reported on the assumption as to what they

would do 'if they have to' talk to this profession-type in the college. Note that 3.26% students do not report their language choices for 'close friends'.

To concentrate on the total results, let us repeat here what we stated in the second chapter that the profession-types 'teacher', 'lab-assistant' and 'office-library staff' are differently distant from the students in terms of 'social distance' and 'formality level', but they all belong to a common, higher 'authority status' in relation to the students. And 'classmates' and 'peons' are equally distant from the student though the 'classmates' are on the same students 'authority status', and peons are on lower 'authority status'.

Let us consider first the profession-types from the higher authority status. Exclusive Panjabi is reported by 3.26% students for teachers, by 19.20% students for lab-assistants, and by 30.07% students for office-library staff. Exclusive Hindi is reported by 7.61% students for teachers, by 30.07% students for lab assistants, and 17.03% for office-library staff. That is, each of the profession-type is available distinctly in the choices for the three languages.

We do not know the exact quantum of students among the groups taking Panjabi and Hindi as language subjects, because that data were not available. But on the basis of our results we can certainly say that there are teachers with whom students could talk exclusively in Panjabi, Hindi, or English. A suggestion, therefore, could be made that the Panjabi reporting students might be Panjabi subject students who talk to Panjabi-subject teachers, and Hindi reporting students could be likewise Hindi-subject students who speak in Hindi with their Hindi-subject teachers. However, we are not very much certain on this point because we do not have any data on this. Nonetheless, we feel there is some possibility for the suggested interpretation, especially when we know that Panjabi is offered as a subject in the college, although this college is basically an English medium college. But note that, 'teachers' as a general category is given English choices by majority of the students. It fits well here to recall from the third chapter that English is claimed useful for career prospects by 73.19% students and for higher education by 82.79% students. Thus the results obtained here under the profession-type 'teachers' go very well with the results obtained for English as a promoter of career prospects. But if we compare the choices for this category (category of teachers) with those that were given for 'another stu-

dent of your college (not-friend)' at bus stops in the Transportation domain, we find that the choices for English are expressed by 4.35% more students in the case of 'another student of your college (not friend)'. This difference could be due to change in the context of the situation.

In our discussions in the second chapter we explained the high preference for English as motivated by students' educational needs, etc. If this were true, then we should expect more use of English from the students at college than anywhere else. Further, our conclusion in the discussions on the data from the Transportation domain was that the students choose quite high quantities of English to speak to different person-types of their own age-group. But when we come to the results obtained in the college campus, both these points do not stand. We have already shown that students less by 4.35% speak English to a profession-type, namely, the teachers, with whom the choice for English could have been the highest. And when we focus on 'classmates' where the students are well aware of their own language capabilities and the language capabilities of the other only 20.65% of the students choose English. Notice that exclusive Panjabi is only 1.09% less than this exclusive use of English and exclusive Hindi is 2.53% less than the use of exclusive English. The situation in the case of 'close friends' is even more different. We find that only 13.14% students report exclusive English, whereas 36.23% students report exclusive Panjabi and 12.32% students report exclusive Hindi. How is it, then that the same students report more English at public places like bus stop with *known* person-types like 'another student' of their own college, but they do not speak that much English in their own college? Earlier we found in 'friendship' domain that exclusive English was reported by minimum number of students for 'close friends' at college as compared to the friends from other locations.

As compared to English, Panjabi is preferred by more students for every dyad other than teachers. Minimum level of choices of Panjabi for these four dyads, namely Teachers, lab-assistants, office-library staff, classmates, close-friends and peons is 19.20% for 'lab-assistants' category, whereas in some of the cases the lowest number of Panjabi is a mere 3.62%. We can conclude from this that this preference for Panjabi for every dyad other than the teachers is due to the linguistic scene in this college and on the other hand, is caused by the apperception of students as regards the sociolinguistic face of these dyads. We must conclude from the comparatively lower figures

than expected for English, that the specific college environment does contribute towards a greater use of Panjabi. To put it in the idiom developed earlier, more students speak in Panjabi at Khalsa College campus because one is mostly welcome to speak in Panjabi; more students speak in Panjabi because it is known to the students that most of them know Panjabi, and therefore, the basic requirement to speak Panjabi is met with. Had this not been the case, i.e., had the linguistic scene in the college been not conducive to Panjabi, we would have results more polarised in favour of English than even the high figures we obtained for in the Transportation domain. The results obtained in the college confirm most of our points made earlier, especially the ground condition that knowledge as to whether the person in the dyadic context knows Panjabi or not contributes to its use in the particular domain.

The most significant codes for interaction by students with 'peons' are both Panjabi and Hindi and their combinations. The use of Panjabi by 39.86% students in the case of peons makes our statement about the linguistic scene in Khalsa College more valid. But we cannot explain the choice of Hindi by 30.07% students in their interaction with 'lab assistants' and the choice of Hindi by 44.57% students for interaction with peons, because these choices do not fit into the pattern observed. Maybe we can explain them during our variable-based study of the language choices of the students. We shall not take up this any further at this point. Nonetheless, it is clear, again from the figures on this domain that the choices of Panjabi, Hindi and English depend on the way the students are able to see the linguistic faces of the people around. How far the students could be free to exercise their choices is concrete life behavioural contexts is not within the purview of this study, and it cannot also be decidedly known unless we study the problem in greater details and in a more sophisticated way. But it should be definitely said at this stage that our results from this domain do not lead us to reject most of the statements that we made during our discussions on the data from the other five domains. We also want to reiterate our position that the data discussed from these six domains do not lead us to conclude that there is any loss in the use of Panjabi among these students. Along with this concluding statement we must once again caution the reader to read the choices of the students in terms of the conditions that regulate language selection. These conditions can have many more added to them if we elaborate our analysis further. One will be tempted to argue against our inferences if the existence and relevance of these conditions are not appreciated.

But it would not be possible for such counter arguments to explain as to how multilingualism comes into existence and remains as a reality at the behavioural level.

4.6. Variable-based Study of the Language Choices in all the Six Domains of Language Behaviour

So far the thrust of the analysis was to look into those environmental forces that affect the language choices of the total group of the students. Now we move on to know what happens when the students themselves are divided in terms of various variables that were proposed in the second chapter. More specifically our interest here is to work out whether there comes any significant quantitative and qualitative changes in the patterns of language choices under the impact of different variables. The implications of these variable-based language choices will help us assessing the statements that were made on the basis of the findings in the 'General Pattern' discussed in the various sub-sections of the section 5.

We consider the variables one by one in the same order as followed in section 5, i.e., each of the six domains shall be dealt with separately. However, our discussions are very brief as compared to that section since several of the points have already been made and substantiated with the help of data there. We shall give our attention mainly to pattern deviations, if any, and to their implications. The question of maintenance or loss of Panjabi language is raised in most places here.

4.6.1. Variable-based language choices in family domain

The following order is followed in the presentation of the variable-based data in this section:

- (i) religion,
- (ii) sex,
- (iii) parents' education,
- (iv) parents' occupation,
- (v) duration of the students' stay in Delhi,
- (vi) the claimed home states,
- (vii) the subjects opted in the college.

A general note on the presentation of information in the tables is necessary. We reproduce only portions of the relevant

tables, the complete tables are given in the Appendix. References to the specific tables of the Appendix are cited at relevant places. Therefore, for consolidated information the reader should consult the Appendix.

4.6.1.1. *Language choices in family in terms of the religion of the students.*—It was reported in the first chapter that this group of students belongs to only two religions: 71.74% of the students are Sikhs and 28.26% are Hindus. The language choices of these two religious groups are presented separately in Tables 19 A and B. (Appendix 7, Tables 2, 3 respectively, domain 1.)

TABLE 19 A: *Sikhs*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	73.23	9.60	6.57	6.57	.51	1.52	2.02	*
Aunts-uncles	58.08	5.56	10.61	6.57	3.54	6.06	9.09	.51
Parents' friends	32.32	11.62	12.12	9.60	7.07	12.68	13.13	1.52
Sisters-brothers	42.42	6.57	14.65	9.60	5.05	6.06	15.15	.51
Cousins	31.31	7.07	10.61	9.60	7.58	16.16	17.17	.51
Servants	15.15	18.18	.51	1.52	1.01	58.59	*	5.05

TABLE 19 B: *Hindus*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	48.72	16.67	1.28	17.95	3.85	6.41	5.13	*
Aunts-uncles	37.18	15.38	1.28	8.97	12.82	16.67	5.13	2.56
Parents' friends	20.51	10.26	2.56	11.54	15.38	19.23	17.95	2.56
Sisters-brothers	28.21	6.41	6.41	11.54	19.23	15.38	11.54	1.28
Cousins	23.08	11.54	5.13	11.54	19.23	14.10	14.10	1.28
Servants	8.97	14.10	*	*	1.28	69.23	*	6.41

Consider the distribution of exclusive Hindi and English in Tables 19 A and B. As per 19A 1.52% Sikhs students speak only in Hindi, and another 2.02% Sikhs speak only in English with their parents at home. And as per 19B 6.41% Hindu students speak exclusively in Hindi and another 5.93% Hindu students speak exclusively in English with their parents at home. The exclusive Hindi speaking Sikhs are 1.09% of the total group.

and exclusive Hindi speaking Hindu students are 1.81%. That is, the 3.26% students of the total group are both Hindus and Sikhs. Likewise exclusive English speaking Sikhs and Hindus are 1.45% in the total group.

Both the religious groups vary in the quantities of their choices. When compared with the Sikhs 4.89% more Hindu students speak exclusive Hindi and 3.11% more Hindu students speak exclusive English. The Sikhs' choices, both for Hindi and English, are less than the choices expressed by the total group. 1.38% less Sikhs, if compared to the total group, speak Hindi and .88% less Sikhs speak English. Whereas 3.51% more Hindus speak Hindi, and 2.23% more Hindus speak English than the figures for total group.

Differences in the Hindi/English choices between these two groups are also available in 'aunts-uncles' dyad, but with a difference in the choice patterns as compared to the parents' dyad. 10.61% more Hindus than the Sikhs choose Hindi, but 3.96% more Sikhs choose English than the Hindus. Further, we find that the Sikhs' Hindi choices are 3.00% less than the choices expressed by the total group, but 7.61% more Hindus choose Hindi than the total group.

The two groups choose Hindi/English differently again for 'Parents' Friends' dyad. This time the number of the Sikhs is less than the Hindus in the choices for Hindi as well as for English. Not only that, the Sikhs show lesser preferences for Hindi/English as compared to the total group also. The Hindus express their choices more than the total group. For instance, the Sikhs are 1.86% less than the figures for the total group in their Hindi choices and 1.36% less in their English choices. But the Hindus are 4.74% more than the figures for the total group in their Hindi choices, and 3.46% more in their English choices.

The choices of Hindi/English between these two groups vary again for 'sisters-brothers' dyad also. 9.32% more Hindus than the Sikhs choose Hindi, but 3.61% more Sikhs choose English than the Hindus.

The Hindus are more for Hindi and the Sikhs are more for English: the Sikhs are less by 2.64% but the Hindus are 6.68% more than the figures for total group in their Hindi choices. And the Sikhs are more by 1.02%, but the Hindus are 2.59% less than the figures as for total group in their choices for English.

The Hindus and the Sikhs are divided in their Hindi/English choices for 'cousins' dyad as well. What is interesting is that Hindi is for the first time less by 1.48% among the Hindus as compared to the figures for total group, and less by 2.06% as compared to the Sikhs. And Hindi is preferred by .58% more Sikhs as compared to the figures for total group. The Sikhs' 87% more choices for English (as compared to the figures for total group) are not so unknown because in the other dyads we have witnessed a greater preference by them for English. The Hindus choose 2.20% less English in comparison to the figures for total group in this dyadic context.

Consider both A and B parts of this table from top to bottom. We find that Hindi and English equalise in the first row and then English dominates in the other rows upto the fifth in part A, but in part B, on the contrary, Hindi and English equalise in the fifth row and Hindi dominates in the rest upto the first row. Therefore, one can easily see that in both the parts of Table-19 the patterns of information distribution are different and the two groups are different in their total Hindi/English choices.

These differences in Hindi/English choices between the two groups are sufficient to show the effect of religion on the choices of languages made by students.

The two groups are distinctly marked in their choices for Panjabi for all the six dyadic context. It is almost a rule that the Sikh students report more Panjabi than the total group, and the Hindus report less Panjabi than the total group. We do not go into the individual details because the differences are too evident to grasp from the two parts of Table 19 even when a cursory glance is made. Apart from those differences we must notice a similarity between the two groups in relation to the total group that they constitute together. We find a qualitative similar but quantitatively different pattern of information distribution. And this pattern is familiar to us because we discussed it in greater detail in Section 2 of this chapter.

Choice differences between these two groups can be shown on the basis of the choices of four language-combinations. We do not take up a detailed study of the combination choices because even a cursory look shows that the choices do not show any significant point of difference in what has been already said.

The exclusive Panjabi and Hindi choices when considered together can be understood very easily in the background of the

discussions in the first chapter. But the Hindi and English choices make an interesting case for further closer investigation. The choices for these two languages for the six dyadic contexts in this domain present a very complex type of differences in the two religious groups even when we look at the choices purely in a quantitative fashion. For instance, the information given in the preceding seven to eight paragraphs, when stated in qualitative terms can bring this complexity to light very clearly. Read the five statements below on each of the dyadic contexts in the order in which they are discussed in the paras:

- (1) The Hindus' H/E choices are more than the Sikhs' choices and the choices of the total group.
- (2) The Hindus' H choices are more than the choices of the Sikhs and the total group.
And the Sikhs' E choices are more than the choices of the Hindus and the total group.
- (3) The Sikhs' H/E choices are less than the choices of the Hindus and of the total group.
And the Hindus' H/E choices are more than even the total group.
- (4) The Hindus' Hindi choices are more than the choices of the Sikhs and of the total group.
And the Sikhs' E choices are more than the choices of the Hindus and the total group.
- (5) The Hindus' H/E choices are less than the choices of the Sikhs and the choices of the total group.

Various types of inferences can be made out of this set of five statements, but the central point that one should not lose sight of is the fact that the differences in the choices are conditioned by many factors along with the type of the relation the student has with the person concerned in the dyadic context. This nature will explain why there is no fixed, static relationship between a religious group and a language. This fluidity in the relationship of a language and a religious group is what is important here from our point of view. It is on the basis of this fluidity that we can show a categorical difference between Professor Pandit's (Pandit 1978) population and our students. He concluded (in the Summary of the 1974 draft) that his population, especially Hindus among them, were shifting to Hindi, and since they were not very much secure with it, they were further shifting to English. But, on the basis of the statements given above, especially the fifth one which is on the choices in relation to

'cousins' category, we cannot support his conclusions. We have already given our reasons for not concluding language loss from the language behaviour of these students. Even if we try to conclude that their language behaviour indicates loss of Panjabi, such a statement cannot be very categorical. A clue to this is to be found in the language behaviour of the students as regards English. If we go by the results obtained for English and interpret the same a la Professor Pandit (1978) we have to conclude that the Sikhs are shifting to English in their homes since they choose more English than of Hindi in most of the dyadic contexts when compared to the Hindus.

4.6.1.2. *Language choices in family in terms of the sex of the students.*—The language choices of the sex groups are described in Table 20 A and B below. (Appendix 7, Tables 4, 5, respectively, domain 1.)

TABLE 20-A : Males

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	62.37	10.40	6.44	11.88	1.48	3.96	3.46	*
2 Aunts-uncles	53.46	7.42	9.90	5.94	4.46	8.42	9.41	.99
3 Parents' Friends	27.72	10.89	10.40	9.41	10.40	11.39	17.82	1.48
4 Sisters-brothers	40.09	4.95	12.78	8.91	7.42	7.92	17.32	.49
5 Cousins	30.69	8.42	10.40	7.92	10.40	13.86	17.82	.49
6 Servants	12.38	17.32	*	.99	1.48	61.39	*	6.44

TABLE 20-B : Females

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	78.37	14.86	1.35	4.05	*	*	1.35	*
2 Aunts-uncles	48.65	10.81	2.70	10.81	10.81	10.81	4.05	1.35
3 Parents' Friends	32.43	12.16	5.41	12.16	6.76	22.97	5.41	2.70
4 Sisters-brothers	33.78	10.81	10.81	13.51	13.51	10.81	5.41	1.35
5 Cousins	24.32	8.11	5.41	16.22	12.16	20.27	12.16	1.35
6 Servants	16.22	16.22	1.35	1.35	*	62.16	*	2.70

The first difference among these males and females that we noticed in the first chapter was that the males were 73.19% of the total group whereas the females were only 26.81%. This difference in the overall strength of the sex groups should cause the percentages to vary to a degree in specific areas of experience. Whatever the effect of this difference could be on the results, we do talk of the result only in terms of the apparent differences in the percentages.

To begin once again with the choices of Hindi/English, we find that the females do not talk to their parents in exclusive Hindi at all. Therefore, the 3.26% exclusive Hindi of the total group consists only of males, and because the same number has to be more if the total absolute number decreases, we get 3.96% males reporting Hindi with their parents. However, it is significant to note that the females do not talk to their parents in Hindi. There are 1.35% females who talk to their parents in exclusive English, but this number is 1.19% less than the total group choices for exclusive English. The males are 3.46% in this group of exclusive English and they are more than the exclusive English for the total group. It is also more than the exclusive English figure given by the females.

As far as the rest of the four dyadic contexts are concerned there are two different tendencies operating in the choices of these two groups. If we keep the choices of the total group as the normative set of the choices (see the General Patterns—Family), then we find that the males prefer lesser Hindi to talk to the given dyadic contexts and they prefer more English than the figure for exclusive English given by the total group. It is also more than the exclusive English figure given by females. On the contrary the females prefer more Hindi and less English when they talk to any of the given dyadic contexts as compared to the exclusive Hindi figure for the total group as well as to the exclusive Hindi figure given by the males.

Let us compare the choices of the two groups for Panjabi. 62.37% males talk to their parents in Panjabi which is 4.30% less than the standard number. 78.37% females report exclusive Panjabi for this dyad. Their number is 11.70% more than the figures for total group choices. One may like to conclude based on this data that the females are more preservers of Panjabi at home than the males. But this conclusion is blocked in parts by the information on 'Sisters-brothers' and 'cousins'. We find that 40.09% of the males report Panjabi for their sisters and brothers, and this is 1.68% more than the figures for total group

choices as regards exclusive Panjabi, and again is 6.31% more than the choices expressed by the females. The choices of exclusive Panjabi for 'cousins' expressed by the males are again 1.70% more than the standard and 6.37% more than the choices of the females for exclusive Panjabi. Even the males' choices for Panjabi for 'Aunts-uncles' are 1.29% more than the total group choices, and are 4.81% more than the choices of the females. However, the females choose 2.81% more Panjabi for their family servants than the males. Their exclusive Panjabi choices for servants are 1.36% more than the total group choices of exclusive Panjabi for servants, and are 3.84% more than the choices of the males for this dyad.

The sex groups are clearly distinguishable in their total quantitative choices for the three exclusive languages. It is almost a rule that, between English and Hindi, the males are more for English and less for Hindi, and the females are more for Hindi and less for English. But in the case of Panjabi the distinction is quite flat, though the males and females differ in their choices: the males go in for more Panjabi for younger generation whereas females prefer more Panjabi for older generation relation-types and for the family servants. But notice, as is clear from the comparison with the total group information that sex does not come up as a strong variable of behaviour/choices determination and differentiation as the first variable, religion.

A comparison of the language-combination choices can also highlight more differences between these two groups. But what is interesting in this case is that the differences are not very regular. If one group chooses, say, more Hindi, English or Panjabi-Hindi-English combination for one dyadic group, the other way may not necessarily show an opposite tendency. Therefore, no rule like statement is possible for these two groups. The only statement one can make on these choices is that the two groups share some pattern of information distribution and this pattern of information distribution is more or less similar to the one in the total group. No doubt there are quantitative deviations, when compared with the figures for total group, but there is hardly anything which cannot be explained in terms of the discussions and arguments carried out by us earlier on the total group choices.

It should be of some interest to compare these findings from this variable with those of Pandit's family domain. The first important difference is that Panjabi is chosen more than any

other language and/or language combination in our group of students, whereas English was preferred over-whelmingly more than any other language and/or language-combinations in Professor Pandit's group of students for the relation-types like 'Parents' friends', 'Siblings', 'Cousins'. The reasons for this difference are to be found in the fact that the group of students of Pandit study was mainly an English based/dominant one. We have given sufficient reasons as to why this leads to a greater preference for English than their own mother tongue. The second important distinction is the choice of Panjabi for interaction with family servants. In Pandit's case it was almost negligible. But in our group the male students report 12.38% of Panjabi to talk to their family servants, and the females report 16.22% Panjabi. A comparison between our female group and his total group (Pandit's total group consisted only of female students) brings this differences more clearly. In his group only 1.44% students report Panjabi whereas our female students report 16.22% Panjabi for the dyad. The Hindi choices of our sex groups are less than the figures for Panjabi and the four language-combinations, in his group 79.86% students report Hindi and in our case the males and females report 61.39% and 62.16% Hindi respectively. The total group of our students reports 61.69% Hindi.

4.6.1.3. *Language choices in family in terms of the education of the parents of the students.*—There are four groups in this variable based grouping: (1) below matric, (2) matric, (3) graduates and (4) post-graduates. We describe below the respective language choices of these four groups in Table-21A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 6, 7, 8, 9, respectively, domain 1.).

TABLE 21-A5 : Below Matric (20.65%)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	68.42	21.05	*	3.51	1.75	5.26	*	*
2 Aunts-uncles	61.40	7.02	*	3.51	8.77	12.28	5.26	*
3 Parents' friends	40.35	15.79	1.75	5.26	8.77	19.30	7.02	1.75
4 Sisters-brothers	47.37	8.77	8.77	12.28	3.51	7.02	10.53	1.75
5 Cousins	40.35	12.28	3.51	7.02	12.28	17.54	5.26	1.75
6 Servants	19.30	10.53	*	*	*	64.91	*	5.26

TABLE 21-B : *Matric* (44.93%)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	75.00	8.06	4.03	11.29	*	1.61	*	*
2 Aunts-uncles	54.03	9.68	8.06	7.26	6.45	10.48	4.03	*
3 Parents' friends	25.81	11.29	12.10	11.29	9.68	20.97	8.06	.81
4 Sisters-brothers	45.97	5.65	11.29	8.06	8.87	9.68	10.48	*
5 Cousins	21.77	9.68	13.71	11.29	8.87	18.55	16.13	*
6 Servants	14.52	22.58	.81	.81	.81	57.26	*	3.23

TABLE 21-C : *Graduate* (24.28 %)

1 Parents	59.90	7.46	7.46	11.94	2.99	2.99	7.46	*
2 Aunts-uncles	50.74	4.48	11.94	8.96	4.48	5.97	10.45	2.99
3 Parents' friends	26.87	5.97	13.43	13.43	5.97	4.48	25.37	4.48
4 Sisters-brothers	43.28	4.48	8.96	10.45	10.45	4.48	16.42	1.49
5 Cousins	37.31	5.97	5.97	10.45	8.96	10.45	19.40	1.49
6 Servants	13.43	13.43	*	2.99	1.49	58.21	*	10.45

TABLE 21-D : *Post-graduate* (10.14%)

1 Parents	42.86	14.29	17.86	10.71	*	3.57	10.71	*
2 Aunts-uncles	28.57	14.29	14.29	10.71	3.57	3.57	25.00	*
3 Parents' friends	25.00	14.29	3.57	7.14	17.86	*	32.14	*
4 Sisters-brothers	17.86	3.57	14.29	10.71	10.71	14.29	28.57	*
5 Cousins	17.86	*	7.41	10.71	21.43	10.71	32.14	*
6 Servants	7.14	14.29	*	*	3.57	71.43	*	3.57

It is likely that the 'below matric group' and the 'matric group' do not speak in English with their parents. So 2.54% exclusive total English is shared by both Graduate and Post-graduate groups. The exact nature of the differences between these two exclusive English groups can be better understood if

we refer to the total group information in the respective cases. We find that 5.97% Graduate group represent 1.09% of the total group.

The first two groups have minimum differences with each other as far as their choices of Hindi/English are concerned. They speak exclusively in Hindi; but with a difference in the choices. The choices of Hindi and English are distributed among the rest of the three dyadic contexts on similar patterns, i.e., Hindi is comparatively more than English, in the 2nd and 3rd dyads; English is found more in the 4th dyad. But they differ in the 5th dyad because the 16.13% English choices are not less than the 18.55% Hindi choices. The differences are not marked much. On the contrary, the Graduate and Post-Graduate groups are quite different in their choices for Hindi and English. The most marked differences are in their choices for English. The choices for Hindi are more or less equal though differences are there. These two groups are different from groups A and B (below matric and matric group). And comparatively high use of English with 3rd, 4th and 5th dyads is their striking feature.

Incidentally, if we refer back to our discussion in Section 5 where we talked of language choices in terms of face fixation, convention and tradition, then this high use of exclusive English in these Graduate and Post-graduate families (C and D group) is readily understood. Since we can study these exclusive English choices only in relation to the other choices of these C and D groups we cannot conclude that the high choices for English portray loss of Panjabi, because we have proved that each of these students speaks in Panjabi.

To take up the choices of Panjabi among these four groups, we find that the groups A (below matric), B (matric) and C (graduate) are more or less similar to one another. The first two groups (A and B) choose Panjabi more than the standard choices in almost every dyad. Though the choices of Panjabi are less than the standard choices in the 3rd group (C group), the choices for the 4th and 5th dyad are more than the standard. That is, though choices of Panjabi are less than the standard in the case of older generation and 'Obedience Relation', the choices are more than the standard in the case of the students' own generation. This confirms some of the statements that we made on the favourable tendencies for Panjabi among the total group.

However, the group D (Postgraduate) presents an opposite tendency. We find that the choices for Panjabi are quite deviant from the standard. But the distribution of the information is almost on the analogy of the pattern of information distribution in the total group. It will be interesting to know whether these students preserve the similar choice differences as compared to the other domains. A complete view of their language choices in family will be presented only later. It is clear, however, from our experience with the total group information that these students do speak Panjabi in the domains other than family.

4.6.1.4. *Language choices in family in terms of the occupation of the parents of the students.*—There are five groups under this variable: (i) commoners (21.38%), (ii) business (non-elites) (41.30%), (iii) business (elites) (10.87%), (iv) elites (19.57%), and (v) no report (6.88%). We describe the language choices of these groups in Table-22 A, B, C, D and E. (Appendix 7, Tables 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, respectively, domain 1.)

TABLE 22-A : Commoners

	P	PH	PE	PHĒ	HĒ	H	E	*
1 Parents	61.02	8.47	3.37	18.64	*	5.08	3.39	*
2 Aunts-uncles	49.15	6.78	8.47	11.86	3.39	11.86	6.78	1.69
3 Parents' friends	23.73	6.78	6.78	13.56	11.86	20.34	13.56	3.39
4 Sisters-brothers	32.20	1.69	11.86	15.25	10.17	11.86	16.95	*
5 Cousins	23.73	8.47	8.47	13.56	10.17	23.73	11.86	*
6 Servants	6.78	22.03	*	1.69	*	66.10	*	3.39

TABLE 22-B : Business (non elites)

	P	PH	PE	PHĒ	HĒ	H	E	*
1 Parents	75.44	13.16	1.75	5.26	.88	3.51	*	*
2 Aunts-uncles	59.65	7.89	5.26	5.26	7.02	11.40	3.51	*
3 Parents' friends	32.46	14.91	7.89	7.89	9.65	18.42	8.77	*
4 Sisters-brothers	42.98	7.02	13.16	8.77	9.65	8.77	9.65	*
5 Cousins	29.82	8.77	11.40	7.02	12.28	17.54	13.16	*
6 Servants	18.42	14.91	.88	*	*	63.16	*	2.63

TABLE 22-C : *Business (elites)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	56.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	3.33	10.00	3.33
2 Aunts-uncles	46.67	3.33	16.67	10.00	6.67	3.33	13.33	*
3 Parents' friends	30.00	6.67	13.33	20.00	10.00	3.33	16.67	*
4 Sisters-brothers	36.67	3.33	13.33	13.33	10.00		* 23.33	*
5 Cousins	33.33	3.33	3.33	3.33	10.00	10.00	26.67	*
6 Servants	13.33	16.67	*	3.33	3.33	60.00	*	3.33

TABLE 22-D : *Elites*

1 Parents	61.11	12.96	12.96	7.41	*	*	5.56	*
2 Aunts-uncles	38.89	11.11	11.11	5.56	7.41	7.41	16.67	1.85
3 Parents' friends	27.78	12.96	9.26	7.41	5.56	9.26	25.93	1.85
4 Sisters-brothers	38.89	11.11	11.11	7.41	3.70	9.26	16.67	1.85
5 Cousins	29.63	9.26	7.41	12.96	9.26	5.56	24.07	1.85
6 Servants	7.41	9.26	*	1.85	1.85	72.22	*	7.41

TABLE 22-E : *No Report*

1 Parents	63.16	5.26	5.26	15.79	10.53	*	*	*
2 Aunts-uncles	42.11	21.05	10.53	10.53	5.26	5.26	*	5.26
3 Parents' friends	31.58	5.26	21.05	5.26	10.53	5.26	15.79	5.26
4 Sisters-brothers	31.58	10.53	10.53	5.26	15.79	10.53	10.53	5.26
5 Cousins	31.58	5.26	10.53	5.26	15.79	15.79	10.53	5.26
6 Servants	10.53	15.59	*	*	5.26	57.89	*	10.53

Consider the distribution of the choices for English in all these five groups. The low level education based 'commoner' occupation group reports 1.69% of exclusive English with their parents; but low level education based 'business (non-elites)' groups does not report English; the high level education based 'business (elites)' groups reports 10.00% English; the high education based 'elites' group reports 5.56% of English; and finally

the 'no report' group does not speak in English with their parents. The group C (business elites) and D (elites) are similar in the information distribution because there is comparatively a higher concentration of English in these two groups in the 2nd to 4th domains. The group A (commoners) and B (Business non-elites) share some features with each other, because in both these groups the use of English is comparatively low. If we leave the first two dyads of the last group, then we can see it almost similar to groups A (commoners) and B (business) (non-elites).

The choices of Hindi are similar in both of the groups A (commoners) and B (Business) (non-elites) except small quantitative differences. There is near pattern similarity between these two groups. The group E (No report) shows choices somewhat similar to these two, but the differences in the choices of English are still available. The group is, however, not so different from the groups C (Business) (elites) and D (Elites). The first two groups are particularly different from the other three groups for comparatively high choices of Hindi. One thing is particularly common to all these five groups that they deviate from the standard choices of the total group in various measures in all the six domains.

Another thing that comes to the fore from these choices made by the five groups is the finding that the level of education does not prove to be a strong variable in the choices for English when it is combined with occupation, as it does alone. We have seen in the Group D of the Table-21 that Post-graduate parents families had as high as 32.14% English choices, whereas here we get maximum 25.93%.

The effect of this variable on the choices of Panjabi among the five groups is of a mixed nature. There are quantitative deviations from the standard almost in every dyadic context of every group. The first group chooses less Panjabi than the standard in every dyadic context. The second group chooses Panjabi more than the standard in every dyadic context. Though, the third group chooses less Panjabi than the standard for the first, second and fourth dyads, it chooses more Panjabi for third and fifth dyads. Panjabi is chosen less than the standard for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd dyads by the fourth group, but it is more than the choice in the 4th and 5th dyads. The first group shows less choices of Panjabi than the standard again in 1st, 2nd and 4th dyads, but more Panjabi than the choice in 3rd and 5th dyads. That is, if Panjabi is chosen less than the standard by

the fifth group, then it is chosen more than the standard by the 2nd group in every dyad. If we were to interpret the information of these two groups in the light of our main question we have to make two relatively opposite interpretations. That is, in one case the students are maintaining Panjabi and in the other case losing it. Similarly we will be compelled to make two relatively opposite statements for every group in the case of the last three groups. It will make the unidirectional conclusions of loss, etc., highly impossible if we argue from the point of view of the total group of the students. However, it is indeed interesting when we note some opposite, or relatively opposite tendencies among the five sub-groups of the total group.

4.6.1.5. *Language choices in family in terms of the duration of the stay of the students in Delhi.*—This variable divides the total population into two groups only: (1) those who have stayed in Delhi for less than ten years (10.87%), and (2) those who have stayed in Delhi for more than ten years (89.13%). We describe the language choices of these two groups in Table-23 A and B below. (Appendix 7, Tables 15, 16 respectively, domain 1.)

TABLE 23-A (10.87%)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	70.00	10.00	16.67	6.67	*	3.33	3.33	*
2 Aunts-uncles	56.67	3.33	13.33	3.33	10.00	6.67	6.67	*
3 Parents' friends	13.33	16.67	13.33	6.67	16.67	16.67	16.67	*
4 Sisters-brothers	30.00	6.67	10.00	10.00	10.00	13.33	16.67	*
5 Cousins	26.67	10.00	6.67	3.33	13.33	23.33	16.67	*
6 Servants	10.00	6.67	*	*	*	80.00	*	3.33

TABLE 23-B (89.13%)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	65.85	11.79	4.88	10.16	1.22	3.25	2.85	*
2 Aunts-uncles	51.63	8.94	7.32	7.72	5.69	9.35	8.13	1.22
3 Parents' friends	30.89	10.57	8.94	10.57	8.54	14.23	14.23	2.03
4 Sisters-brothers	39.43	6.50	12.20	10.16	8.94	8.13	13.82	.81
5 Cousins	29.27	8.13	9.35	10.98	10.57	14.63	16.26	.81
6 Servants	13.82	18.29	.41	1.22	1.22	59.35	*	5.69

Both the groups choose Hindi and English as exclusive codes to talk to their parents, but Hindi and English are equalized in the first group and their choices vary in the second group. Moreover, Hindi/English choices of the first group are slightly more than the second group. The first group chooses equal quantities of Hindi and English for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd dyadic contexts, whereas Hindi and English choices equalize in the second group only in the 3rd dyad. The choices of Hindi are less and of English more in the 4th dyad in both the groups but the chosen quantities vary. The two groups are different in the choices in the 5th dyad; the first group prefers more Hindi, but the second group chooses more English to talk to their cousins.

A comparison with the standard choices shows that the second group is much nearer to the standard choices than the first. Both the groups vary from the standard but variations in the first group are too evident. The information distribution patterns in the second group are more similar to the standard than the first group. This shows how the language choices of those who have stayed in Delhi for less than ten years, or those who do not stay (there are two of them) are not very much settled. This uncertainty is found even in their choices of Panjabi. For instance, for parents and aunts-uncles the first group chooses 8.33% and 4.49% more Panjabi than the standard, respectively. But in rest of the four dyadic contexts their choices of Panjabi are less than the standard. On the contrary, the second group chooses .41% and .54% less Panjabi than the standard for its parents and aunts-uncles, respectively, but its choices are 1.90%, 1.02%, .28% and .41% more than the standard for the rest of the four dyadic contexts respectively.

The students who have stayed in Delhi for longer period are more or less settled in their language choices. Though we cannot think of totally similar language backgrounds in the case of these students because there are Hindi dominated and Panjabi dominated colonies and areas in Delhi, we can nonetheless think of a more or less common experience for those who have lived in Delhi for quite a long period.

It is not possible to say the same about the students of shorter duration of stay because we are not sure of their language backgrounds, the exact linguistic situations against which their habitual behaviour has developed. It is not possible for us to go back to the individual students and get more information to explain why these students choose more Panjabi for their parents

and aunts-uncles, that is, for the older generation, and less Panjabi than the standard for the younger generation. The differences can be due, as we argued in the case of the total group, to the different linguistic scene in which these students grew during their habit formation stage. Since the old generation had stronger base in Panjabi and they were (in majority of the cases, in spite of the disowning of Panjabi among Hindus that we talked about in the first chapter) having and representing Panjabi values for their children, the younger generation chooses more Panjabi while talking to this group of the person-types at home.

4.6.1.6. *Language choices in terms of the claimed Home State.*—There are four groups based on this variable: (1) Delhi (65.94%), (2) Punjab (17.75%), (3) Non-Delhi/Punjab (3.26%), and (4) No Report (13.04%).

If we compare information from this variable with the information from the duration of the stay, we find that the 89.13% students who have lived in Delhi more than ten years (and in majority of the cases since their birth) are not all those who claim Delhi as their 'home state'. Instead there are only 65.94% students who claim Delhi as their home state. It is interesting to note that some of these students claim Punjab as their state. But most interesting information is the 'No Report' group which is quite a big number (13.04%). That is, quite a big chunk of this population is not emotionally sure to identify itself with Delhi, nor with any other state, they are still in a state of flux. This shows how the Panjabi population could be still unstable and unsettled even after three decades of its resettlement in Delhi.

We describe below the language choices of these four groups of students in Table-24 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 17, 18, 19, 20, respectively, domain 1.)

TABLE 24-A : Delhi

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	62.64	12.09	4.95	12.64	1.10	2.75	3.85	*
2 Aunts-uncles	52.75	9.89	6.59	8.79	6.04	8.24	6.59	1.10
3 Parents' friends	30.77	13.74	9.34	9.89	7.69	14.29	13.19	1.10
4 Sisters-brothers	41.76	7.69	10.44	11.54	7.69	7.69	12.64	.55
5 Cousins	27.47	9.34	7.69	10.99	12.09	15.38	16.48	.55
6 Servants	12.64	18.68	.55	1.10	1.10	61.54	*	4.40

TABLE 24-B : *Punjab*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	73.47	10.20	4.08	4.08	2.04	4.08	2.04	*
2 Aunts-uncles	44.90	4.08	12.24	6.12	6.12	8.16	16.33	2.04
3 Parents' friends	18.37	6.12	10.20	14.29	14.29	12.24	20.41	4.08
4 Sisters-brothers	40.82	2.04	12.24	8.16	12.24	8.16	14.29	2.04
5 Cousins	26.53	10.20	10.20	6.12	12.24	16.33	16.33	2.04
6 Servants	16.33	16.33	*	2.04	*	55.10	*	10.20

TABLE 24-C : *Non-Delhi/Punjab*

1 Parents	66.67	22.22	11.11	*	*	*	*	*
2 Aunts-uncles	33.33	22.22	11.11	*	11.11	22.22	*	*
3 Parents' friends	11.11	11.11	11.11	*	22.22	22.22	22.22	*
4 Sisters-brothers	*	*	11.11	11.11	22.22	33.33	22.22	*
5 Cousins	33.33	22.22	11.11	*	11.11	22.22	*	*
6 Servants	11.11	*	*	*	*	89.89	*	*

TABLE 24-D : *No Report*

1 Parents	75.00	8.33	5.56	5.56	2.78	2.78	*	*
2 Aunts-uncles	63.89	2.78	8.33	2.78	5.56	11.11	5.56	*
3 Parents' friends	38.89	5.56	8.33	8.33	8.33	16.67	11.11	2.78
4 Sisters-brothers	27.78	8.33	22.22	5.56	8.33	8.33	19.44	*
5 Cousins	19.44	8.33	11.11	11.11	2.78	25.00	22.22	*
6 Servants	13.89	13.89	*	*	2.78	63.89	*	5.56

The group (Non-Delhi/Punjab) consists of only 9 students. As a result the percentages could be either very high or zero. (For instance, one person will represent 11.11%). Therefore, it is difficult to consider the information in this part of Table-24 in comparison to the other three parts. However, there are some things to note in this part as far as the choices of Panjabi are concerned. We find that these 9 students do not talk to

their sisters-brothers at all in Panjabi. Only two students choose Panjabi and that too in combination with Hindi and English. We cannot explain why 33.33% of these students speak to their cousins instead of their sisters-brothers in Panjabi. If we try to explain 56.67% of Panjabi choices for parents and 33.33% choices of Panjabi for aunts-uncles in terms of relational distance, then we cannot explain why the same distance does not effect the 2nd generation. We do not have a way to explain why these 9 students speak in Hindi/English with their sisters-brothers but not with their cousins. This is certainly an anomaly which cannot be explained on the basis of arguments so far given for the choices of the total group. We assign this to insufficient information, and therefore, would not touch it again.

Panjabi is preferred by 62.64% 'Delhi home state' students for their parents in part A. This is less than the standard. But in rest of the dyadic contexts, except 'cousins' and 'servants', they choose more Panjabi than the standard. Their choice of Panjabi is exactly like the choice of those who have stayed in Delhi for a longer period. This information is a sufficient proof to support our statements in Section 5 which stated that there could be some families in Delhi where the parents developed a sort of convention, an implication, not to talk to their children in Panjabi, but the children started sharing Panjabi among themselves.

The Delhi home state students vary from the group who stayed in Delhi for longer period in 'cousins and servants' because they choose less Panjabi than the standard, whereas that group choose slightly more of it. There are, of course, some deviations from the standard in this group (Group A), but there is hardly anything which cannot be interpreted in the light of the arguments suggested in Section 5.

The students who claim Punjab as their home state show a different type of choice patterns as compared to the Delhi ones, and the total group. Panjabi is reported by 73.47% of these group B students for their parents. This is 6.80% more than the standard. They also report 2.41% more preference for their sisters-brothers. Similarly they choose 2.92% more Panjabi for their family servants. But for 'aunts-uncles', 'parents' friends' and 'cousins' their choices of Panjabi are less than the standard. It is interesting to note that they choose more English than Hindi for every dyad other than the parents, and their Hindi/English choices equalise for cousins. Note that their Hindi choices are less than the Delhi group in all the dyads other than parents

and cousins. This Punjab home state group is distinct from the Delhi-home state group in Hindi/English/Panjabi choices.

The group D (No-Report) is different from the groups A and B because it reports Panjabi choices more than the standard for the three relation-types belonging to the older generation, though the servants are given a slight edge over the standard. It is interesting to note that they go either for more exclusive English, or for more Panjabi-English combination to talk to their sisters and brothers. But, for cousins, exclusive Hindi and English are given preference, Hindi being 2.78% more than English. That is, this group shows two different tendencies for the two groups of relation-types.

The choice differences in the table bring out clearly that because of longer stay in Delhi the students identify themselves with Delhi differently. The results, therefore, prove that 'the claimed home state' is an important variable in the language behaviour of these students.

4.6.1.7. *Language choices in Family in terms of the subjects opted in college for studies.*—Do the subjects opted by students for their studies in the college have any impact on the language choices of the students is the question here.

There are four divisions of the total group under this variable: (1) B.A.(Pass) (40.58%), (2) B.A. (Hons.) (19.93%), B.Sc. (26.45%), and (4) Commerce (13.04%). The language choices of these four groups are described in Table-25 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 21, 22, 23, 24 respectively, domain 1.)

TABLE 25-A: B.A. (Pass)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	66.07	9.82	4.46	10.71	1.79	4.46	2.68	*
2 Aunts-uncles	58.93	6.25	5.36	5.36	4.46	12.50	6.25	.89
3 Parents' friends	28.57	15.18	8.04	8.04	6.25	20.54	11.61	1.79
4 Sisters-brothers	43.75	7.14	10.71	6.25	8.04	11.61	11.61	.89
5 Cousins	33.93	9.82	7.14	10.71	8.93	20.54	8.04	.89
6 Servants	13.39	17.86	*	.89	*	60.71	*	7.14

TABLE 25-B: *B.A. (Hons)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	65.45	10.91	5.45	7.27	1.82	1.82	7.27	*
2 Aunts-uncles	52.73	7.27	7.27	10.91	9.09	5.45	5.45	1.82
3 Parents' friends	27.27	5.45	10.91	12.73	16.36	7.27	18.18	1.82
4 Sisters-brothers	30.91	5.45	7.27	9.09	18.18	3.64	23.64	1.82
5 Cousins	25.45	3.64	9.09	10.91	16.36	12.73	20.00	1.82
6 Servants	9.09	5.45	*	3.64	3.64	72.73	*	5.45

TABLE 25-C: *B.Sc.*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	75.34	6.85	4.11	9.59	*	2.74	1.37	*
2 Aunts-uncles	52.03	6.85	6.85	9.59	5.48	6.85	10.96	1.37
3 Parents, friends	34.25	5.48	6.85	9.59	9.59	13.70	17.81	2.74
4 Sisters-brothers	43.84	2.74	16.44	13.70	5.48	8.22	9.59	*
5 Cousins	26.03	8.22	12.33	8.22	6.85	13.70	24.66	*
6 Servants	13.70	13.70	1.37	*	*	65.75	*	5.48

TABLE 25-D: *Commerce*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Parents	50.00	27.78	8.33	11.11	*	2.78	*	*
2 Aunts-uncles	30.56	19.44	19.44	2.78	8.33	8.33	11.11	*
3 Parents' friends	22.22	19.44	16.67	13.89	8.33	8.33	11.11	*
4 Sisters-brothers	22.22	13.89	16.69	16.67	5.56	8.33	16.67	*
5 Cousins	25.00	11.11	8.33	11.11	16.67	8.33	19.44	*
6 Servants	19.44	38.89	*	*	2.78	38.69	*	*

Part D (Commerce) of this table presents more interesting cases than the ones discussed so far. Notice that the Commerce students choose only 50.00% of Panjabi for their parents, 30.56% for aunt and uncles, 22.22% for parents' friends and sisters-brothers, 25.00% for cousins and 19.44% for the servants. The choices of Panjabi in these categories are less than the standard except for the servant dyad. But it does not result in extremely

high choices of Hindi/English either. No doubt the choices of **Hindi** are a bit higher in three dyads as compared to the standard, but these choices are not so deviant. Hindi is less than the standard in rest of the dyadic contexts. These students, on the contrary choose language-combinations more in which Panjabi is present. Notice that even in 'cousins' the total of the combinations in which Panjabi is present is 30.55% as compared to the 16.67% in which it is absent.

The rest of the three parts of the table present almost a familiar picture of the facts. The B.A. (Pass) group reports 60% less choices for Panjabi than the standard for parents, and 1.42% less for parents' friends, but in the other 3 dyads the choices for Panjabi are significantly more than the standard. But this increase in Panjabi among the three dyads results in an increase in the choices for Hindi and also in comparatively low choices for English. Though these changes are important (they show the choice determining power of this variable), they are in no way a special case. No new fact emerges here.

The Hon's group is basically a pro-English group. The language choices of this group for Panjabi in the first dyadic context are less than the standard, but more than those in the 2nd dyad, and in the 6th dyad. Their choices for exclusive English are quite high in the 3rd, 4th and 5th dyadic contexts. It is quite understandable. On the other contrary, they express comparatively low exclusive Hindi choices. This group also fits within the scheme of interpretation referred to before. Of course it demonstrates that the students choose languages differently because the study of different subjects has made them to form different language habits in the college.

The B.Sc. group is different from the other three groups in the sense that choices of exclusive Panjabi are more than the standard in five out of the six dyads. They choose less quantity of Panjabi in cousins and this is passed on to the choices of English. Otherwise this group is almost like the B.A. (Pass) Group.

Out of the four possible groups under this variable we find the B.A. (Hons) and the commerce groups present two different sets of language choices. These two groups are more different from the other two which are, though different from each other in some details, similar to each other. Therefore, we get three different types of the language choices within this variable. These choices are indicators of, as we have said

different sets of language habits that these students have developed in the college. The development of these different language habits has been possible because the subject differences, among other things, modulate the total behaviour of the students differently. Therefore, 'the subjects opted for studies in the college' seems to be a quite powerful variable.

To sum up, the language choices of these students in the family domain show religion of the students and the subjects that they study in their college as two most important choices determining variables. The other five variables are comparatively less powerful choice-determining forces in family. This is understandable. The religious differences were shown having their long standing history in the first chapter. The possible family traditions in terms of religious differences were also talked about. Therefore, it is natural for religion to be a powerful choice-determining factor in family. As regards the subjects that the students study, it is again understandable in family because family is also responsible for not only choosing the types of the subjects, or helping a student to look for a career through the selection of some particular subjects, but for promoting directly or allowing the student to promote the habits that fit the requirements of his subjects also.

4.6.2. *Language Choices and Friendship in Terms of the Religion of the Student.*—Tables 26-A and B present a summary of the language choices of the Sikh and the Hindu students of the total group in this domain. (Appendix 7, Table 2 and 3 respectively, domain 2.)

TABLE 26-A: *Sikhs*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	18.18	10.10	4.04	12.63	7.58	22.73	24.75	*
2 In college	38.89	14.65	8.08	7.58	4.55	8.59	14.14	3.54
3 In university gatherings	15.66	6.57	10.10	11.62	11.11	12.12	32.83	*

TABLE 26-B: *Hindus*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	16.67	10.26	2.56	6.41	20.51	23.08	20.51	*
2 In college	29.49	7.69	6.41	8.97	11.54	21.79	11.54	2.56
3 In university gatherings	12.82	2.56	2.56	16.67	28.21	14.10	23.08	*

The Hindu-Sikh differences are there in this information but in quantitatively very weak terms. The Sikhs choose, say,

one percent more Panjabi, whereas the Hindus choose one percent less Panjabi than the standard; the Sikhs choose one percent more exclusive English, the Hindus choose it some to percent less than the standard; but the 6.99% decrease in the use of English in university gatherings in the case of the Hindus is worth noticing. Equally noticeable is the coverage of this decrease by Panjabi-Hindi-English and Hindi-English combinations.

This data can be once again seen in comparison with the conclusions arrived at by Professor Pandit (Pandit 1978). If we were to conclude on the basis of the choices of English between these two groups, other things being the same, here the Sikhs are for more English than the Hindus, and the Hindus are more for Hindi than the Sikhs. The choices of English by the two groups is decisively different from the choices of Hindi. His conclusions should hold good if we conclude from 1.51%, 9.40%, and 2.84%, less choices of Panjabi by Hindus than the Sikhs in the three locals namely, (i) locality (ii) college and (iii) university gatherings. That is, one can conclude that the Hindus are shifting from Panjabi. However, we shall not do that because of the reasons discussed earlier. Similarly one can also conclude that the Hindus are moving towards Hindi if one were to base one's observations on the slightly more choices of Hindi by the Hindus. But it would not be possible to conclude so, or even support his findings that the Hindus are further shifting towards English because the situation in reality is rather the other way. It is the Sikhs not the Hindus who can be said shifting towards English if one were to believe that such a shift is taking place. We have given enough background information in the first chapter that helps us to see the meaning of such differences in the total population of Delhi.

4.6.2.2. *Language Choices in Friendship in Terms of the Sex.*—The language choices in friendship of the two sex groups are described in Tables 27-A and B below. (Appendix 7, Tables 4 and 5 respectively, domain 2.)

TABLE 27-A: *Males*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	21.28	8.42	3.96	12.87	10.40	18.32	24.75	*
2 In college	33.66	11.88	9.90	8.91	6.44	11.88	14.85	2.47
3 In university gatherings	16.34	4.95	9.90	14.36	14.36	10.40	29.70	*

TABLE 27-B. *Females*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	8.11	14.86	2.70	5.41	13.51	35.13	20.27	*
2 In college	43.24	14.86	1.35	5.41	6.76	13.51	9.46	5.41
3 In university gatherings	10.81	6.76	2.70	9.46	20.27	18.92	31.08	*

The male-female distinctions are rather more marked here as compared to the religion based Hindu-Sikh distinctions in the earlier variable. A localewise comparison brings out the real differences more clearly. The males choose 13.17% more Panjabi than the females in locality; they choose 9.58% less Panjabi than the females in the college; and they choose 5.53% more Panjabi than the females in the university gatherings. The females choose 16.81% more Hindi (almost double) than the males in locality; they choose 1.63% more Hindi in the college; and, they choose 8.52% more Hindi than the males in university gatherings. Differences are there in the choices of exclusive English also: the males choose 4.48% more English than the females in locality; they choose 5.39% more English than the females in college; but, the females choose 1.38% more English than the males in the university gatherings. Notice once again the choice-determining role that different locales of behaviour play in the language choices of the students. Or, to put it differently, it is worth noticing here how the students of two different sex groups perceive different locales differently. These choice/perception differences can also be seen in the quantities of the chosen language-combinations.

When studied in comparison to the findings from the previous variable, the data in this variable show something interesting that goes in accordance with what we observe in day-to-day life elsewhere also. That is, religion is not a strong factor of control in choosing language in this multilingual group living in a multilingual language area; rather it is the sex of the student which plays the leading role here.

4.6.2.3. Language Choices and Friendship in Terms of the Parents' Educational Background.—The language choices of the four

groups under this variable are put in Tables 28 A, B, C, and D (Appendix 7, Tables 6, 7, 8, 9 respectively, domain 2.)

TABLE 28-A: *Below Matric*

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	17.54	17.54	1.75	14.04	7.02	29.82	12.28	*
2	In college	40.35	7.02	3.51	8.77	12.28	12.28	14.04	1.75
3	In university gatherings	14.04	12.28	1.75	12.28	19.30	21.05	19.30	*

TABLE 28-B: *Matric*

1	In locality	20.16	10.48	4.48	18.71	11.29	20.97	18.55	*
2	In college	45.97	16.13	5.65	4.84	4.84	10.48	7.26	4.84
3	In university gatherings	17.74	4.84	8.06	11.29	16.13	12.10	29.84	*

TABLE 28-C: *Graduate*

1	In locality	20.90	5.97	2.99	4.48	8.96	22.39	34.33	*
2	In college	26.87	13.43	13.43	10.45	2.99	14.93	14.93	1.49
3	In university gatherings	13.43	2.99	11.94	22.39	8.96	8.96	31.34	*

TABLE 28-D: *Post-graduate*

1	In locality	*	3.57	3.57	7.14	25.00	17.86	42.86	*
2	In college	7.14	7.14	10.71	14.29	7.24	14.29	35.71	3.57
3	In university gatherings	7.14	*	10.71	*	25.00	7.14	50.00	*

The group D of the students (Post graduate parents) presents a totally contrastive picture of the language choices as compared to the first three groups and the standard. This group does not speak at all in exclusive Panjabi with their friends in their respective localities; Panjabi is present only in 14.28% language-combination choices. Their maximum preferences are for exclusive English, followed by Hindi-English combination, in turn by Hindi exclusive. But notice how Panjabi environment in college is playing its role in making these students who choose to speak in English and Hindi exclusive of one another or in various combinations, to speak in Punjabi. 7.41% of

this group report exclusive Panjabi. The language combination choices in which Panjabi is present are gone up to 32.14%. As a result the choices of both Hindi and English have gone down, though they are still higher than the standard. But as these students move out of the college and slip into university gatherings, where English is the language of the scene, 50.00% of them report exclusive English. But 7.14% exclusive Panjabi still survives despite a marked decrease from 32.14% to 10.71% in the aggregate language-combination choices. Hindi too is finished with 7.14% only. The position of Panjabi language in this group is that of passive bilingualism, especially in the homes, but in outdoor behavioural networks these students speak the language, where they have to. Or, to repeat our formulation, these students from the post-graduate parents' background speak Panjabi wherever the ground conditions for speaking Panjabi are to be necessarily fulfilled. Suchdeva (1980, pp. 29-30) terms such speakers of a language as 'exchangers of a code' as against 'producers of a code'. In his characterization the exchangers of a code are not owners of the code, but in our treatment our students express their wondrousness of the code by claiming it as their mother tongue. Without repeating what we have said more than once in many sub-sections of Section 5, we do not interpret these figures as loss for Panjabi because these students are claiming ownership of Panjabi basically on the basis of their outdoor use of Panjabi, though such a use is only limited.

The other three groups show differences of very limited nature and significance among themselves. Therefore, these three groups do not present any significant information on the language choices of the students unless we see the choices of these three groups in contrast with the information given by group D. We get two groups emerging out of the contrast: (a) the three groups starting with no-education to graduation (with minor variations among themselves) forming the first group, and (b) the group D of the post-graduate parents' background. These two groups, when thus seen, prove their importance as one of the language choice-influencing factors. Most of the discussions in the first chapter can explain as to why these students born to the parents who had their education upto post-graduation choose more English and less Panjabi and Hindi.

4.6.2.4. Language Choices and Friendship in Terms of the Occupation of the Parents.—The language choices of the five groups under this variable are described in Table-29 A, B, C, D and E. (Appendix 7, Tables 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 respectively, domain 2.)

TABLE 29-A: *Commoners*

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	15.25	8.47	1.69	8.47	13.56	25.42	27.12	*
2	In college	44.07	5.08	3.39	13.56	6.78	11.86	10.17	5.08
3	In university gatherings	16.95	6.78	1.69	15.25	18.64	8.47	32.20	*

TABLE 29-B: *Business (non-elite)*

1	In locality	21.93	10.53	4.39	7.89	10.53	24.56	20.18	*
2	In college	38.60	14.91	5.26	4.39	7.02	14.91	11.40	3.51
3	In university gatherings	13.16	7.02	7.02	8.77	14.99	18.42	30.70	*

TABLE 29-C: *Business (elites)*

1	In locality	23.33	3.33	*	13.33	10.00	16.67	33.33	*
2	In college	23.33	13.33	10.00	16.67	6.67	3.33	26.67	*
3	In university gatherings	23.33	*	10.00	16.67	6.67	3.33	40.00	*

TABLE 29-D: *Elites*

1	In locality	12.96	9.26	3.70	3.70	14.81	20.37	35.19	*
2	In college	35.19	7.41	14.81	7.41	7.41	11.11	16.67	*
3	In university gatherings	12.96	5.56	12.96	7.41	14.81	9.26	37.04	*

TABLE 29-E: *No Report*

1	In locality	10.53	5.26	10.53	26.32	10.53	26.32	10.53	*
2	In college	26.32	5.26	10.53	5.26	10.53	21.05	15.79	5.26
3	In university gatherings	21.05	*	15.79	10.53	26.32	10.53	15.79	*

We have repeatedly reported on the basis of the data from many areas that the students choose language quantities differently in the three locales. Therefore, this is not of any interest to us here, even though it is very clear from the choices of all the five groups. What is important here is that all the five groups are recognisably different from one another in their choices of Panjabi; the groups A, B and D have almost similar choices of

Hindi, while the groups C and E present two different sets of choices for Hindi; the choices for exclusive English are nearer to each other in the groups A and B and C and D, but the group E differs from the rest of the four groups. The similarities/nearness that we talk of in the choices of exclusive Hindi and English should not conceal the quantitative differences. The five groups are different from one another in spite of the similarities at some of the points in the patterns of information distribution. This should lead us to the relatively high status of this variable as a choice-influencing factor. That is, it is possible to suggest that the occupational backgrounds of the parents of the students do play a significant role in the language choices of the students because this gives them their economic class status. That is, religion does not matter very much in friendship, what matters is the economic background (mainly) of the student which determines the cultivation of friendship at this level.

If we compare the choices of all the five groups for the three locales, the point that we made about the role of the college environment in the promotion of Panjabi is once again supported. Earlier in the Section 5 we suggested that the comparatively greater language choices for Panjabi in college were due to the conducive college environment for speaking in Panjabi. Here again the results lead us to a similar conclusion.

4.6.2.5. Language Choices and Friendship in terms of the Duration of the stay of the students in Delhi.—The parts A and B of Table-30 below represent the descriptions of language choices of two groups of students based on the variables 'Duration of stay in Delhi'. (Appendix 7, Tables, 15, 16 and domain 2.)

TABLE 30-A: Stay Below Ten Years

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	13.33	*	3.33	6.67	20.00	28.67	30.00	*
2	In college	26.67	6.67	16.67	3.33	13.33	10.00	13.33	10.00
3	In university gatherings	6.67	6.67	13.33	13.33	10.00	16.67	33.33	*

TABLE 30-B: Stay Above Ten Years

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	18.29	11.38	3.66	11.38	10.16	22.36	22.76	*
2	In college	37.40	13.41	6.51	8.54	5.69	12.60	13.41	2.44
3	In university gatherings	15.85	5.28	7.32	13.01	16.67	12.20	27.67	*

The A group (stay below ten years) was discovered in our discussion on the findings in family domain to be in a state of flux. It was shown that the language choices of these students were not very much settled in favour of Panjabi. That explanation can account for the below standard choices of Panjabi and the choices of English above the standard in the 1st and 3rd locales among the students of this group. Consequently we find that the second group chooses English less than the standard, but they choose Panjabi more than the standard. It is interesting to note that the patterns of information distribution in both the parts of the Table are on the lines of the Total group: General Patterns of information distribution patterns. But the choice differences in both the stay groups are very clear and therefore, exhibit the comparatively higher choice-influencing power of this variable in this domain.

4.6.2.6. Language Choices and Friendship in Terms of the Claimed Home States.—The language choices of the four groups under this variable are described in Tables-31 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 17, 18, 19 and 20 respectively, domain 2.)

TABLE 31-A: *Delhi*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	19.23	11.54	4.40	10.44	10.44	23.08	20.88	*
2 In college	36.81	14.29	6.59	7.69	6.59	14.29	10.99	2.75
3 In university gatherings	18.13	4.94	7.69	13.19	19.23	9.34	27.47	*

TABLE 31-B: *Punjab*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	14.29	10.20	*	16.33	16.33	14.29	28.57	*
2 In college	38.77	12.44	14.29	6.12	2.04	10.20	12.24	4.08
3 In university gatherings	8.16	6.12	12.24	18.37	8.16	8.16	30.78	*

TABLE 31-C: *Non-Delhi/Punjab*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	33.33	*	*	*	11.11	22.22	33.33	*
2 In college	11.11	*	*	*	22.22	11.11	44.44	11.11
3 In university gatherings	*	11.11	*	*	22.22	22.22	44.44	*

TABLE 31-D: *No Report*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 In locality	11.11	5.56	5.56	8.33	8.33	33.33	27.78	*
2 In college	36.11	8.33	5.56	13.89	8.33	5.56	19.44	*
3 In university gatherings	11.11	5.56	5.56	8.33	8.33	33.33	27.78	*

The group C (Non-Delhi/Punjab) once again presents an irregular type of information display, because of the very limited (9 in total) number of students in this group. We cannot explain why 33.33% of them speak in Panjabi in locality but only 11.11% of them in college. This is totally a reversal of the familiar patterns of language use in this domain. We cannot also explain why none of them speaks in Panjabi in university gatherings.

As regards the other three parts of Table-31, these three parts present similar patterns of information distribution but varying quantities of choices for the three languages and so on. The Delhi group prefers comparatively more exclusive Panjabi, less English and more Hindi in the first two locales and less Hindi in the last locale than the standard choices. The Punjab and No-Report groups choose more and equal Panjabi in college respectively but in the other two locales their choices of Panjabi are less than the standard. These two groups are mainly different from each other in the choices of exclusive Hindi. These two groups are relatively different from the Delhi one in their choices of Panjabi, Hindi and also, to a lesser degree, of English. These relatively different tendencies among the groups, and can be used as demonstration of the choice-influencing power of this variable, but notice that these groups are not so categorically different from one another. Therefore, this variable cannot be taken as a strong one in this domain, especially when we study the choices of the groups made for Panjabi. The choices of Hindi and English, exclusive prove a comparatively stronger impact of this variable mainly in locality. The choices of English are more or less on the patterns of the choices of Panjabi.

4.6.2.7. Language Choices and Friendship in Terms of the Subjects Opted in College for Studies.—The language choices of the four groups under this variable are described in Table-32 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 21, 22, 23, 24 respectively, domain 2.)

TABLE 32-A: B.A. (Pass)

		P	PH	HE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	18.75	10.71	3.57	13.39	8.04	25.00	20.54	*
2	In college	41.96	18.75	4.46	7.14	2.68	15.18	5.36	4.46
3	In university gatherings	15.18	5.36	9.82	15.18	12.50	16.96	25.00	*

TABLE 32-B: *B.A. (Hons)*

		P	PH	HE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	14.55	3.64	3.64	10.91	12.73	18.18	36.36	*
2	In college	16.36	5.45	7.27	9.09	10.91	7.27	41.82	1.82
3	In university gatherings	10.91	3.64	1.82	9.09	20.00	5.45	49.09	*

TABLE 32-C: *B.Sc.*

		P	PH	HE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	21.93	10.96	4.11	1.37	17.81	24.66	19.18	*
2	In college	50.68	9.59	8.22	4.11	9.59	9.59	5.48	2.74
3	In university gatherings	20.55	6.85	12.33	8.22	16.44	13.70	21.93	*

TABLE 32-D: *Commerce*

		P	PH	HE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	In locality	11.11	16.67	2.28	22.22	5.56	19.44	22.22	*
2	In college	19.44	11.11	16.67	16.67	5.56	16.67	11.11	2.78
3	In university gatherings	8.33	5.56	2.78	22.22	19.44	8.33	33.33	*

All the four groups present the same patterns that they did under family domain. Though the commerce group chooses Panjabi less than the standard, the choices are not passed on to Hindi or English because the choices of Hindi and English are barely near standard. This group, as it did in family chooses more of those language-combinations in which Panjabi is present.

The B.Sc. group again chooses Panjabi more than the standard. Their English is less than the standard, and Hindi is slightly more than the standard only in 1st and the 3rd locales. However, their 50.68% exclusive Panjabi in the college is worth noting.

The other two groups present the familiar information distribution patterns. But notice that this time the B.A. (Pass) group chooses exclusive Panjabi more than the standard choices, whereas the B.A. (Hons) groups is characterized by a choice of Panjabi less than the standard exclusive Panjabi and more than the standard exclusive English.

If we take the exclusive use choices for the three languages, and treat either the locales individually, or take the three

locales as one unit, the group differences in quantative terms become obvious. The same is true of most of the language combinations in all the four groups. These group differences are, therefore, indicators of the strong choice-influencing power of the opted subjects in the college as a variable. This is exactly like the choices that they reported in the family domain. The strength of this variable is once again established. And, therefore, our arguments in the discussions on the General Patterns and later in the family are further supported.

4.6.3.1. *Language Choices and Worshipping in Terms of the Religion of the Students.*—The language choices of the Sikhs students and the Hindus students are put in Table-33 A and B below. (Appendix 7, Tables 2 and 3 respectively, domain 3).

TABLE 33-A: *Sikhs*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	94.44	2.53	*	1.52	*	1.01	*	0.51
2 Fellow worshippers	84.34	3.54	.51	3.54	*	5.56	.51	2.02

TABLE 33-B: *Hindus*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	19.23	7.69	*	2.56	3.85	55.13	1.28	10.26
2 Fellow worshippers	16.67	8.97	1.28	2.56	5.13	50.00	1.28	14.10

Notice that 10.26% students among the Hindus and .51% students among the Sikhs do not go to their places of worship, the temples and the gurdwaras, respectively.

We found out earlier in Section 5, almost all Sikhs speak in Panjabi at a place of religion, but the Hindus are not so categorical in their Hindi choices; choices of Panjabi by Hindus here also are almost like the data from locality, discussed in the previous domain.

We find from the information in the two parts of this table that in this group as well as in the Panjabi population of Delhi religion-based practices and religion-based areas of experience control the choice of languages. We have, in the first chapter, located the roots of such controls in the historical developments of this community. So religion of the students is certainly an important variable in this domain as in the family domain.

4.6.3.2. *Language Choices and Worshipping in Terms of Sex Distinctions.*—The language choices of both the sex groups are put in Table-34 A and B. (Appendix 7, Tables 4 and 5 respectively, domain 3.)

TABLE 34-A: *Males*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	70.79	4.46	*	1.98	.49	17.82	.49	3.96
2 Fellow worshippers	60.40	5.94	.99	3.96	1.48	18.18	.99	7.42

TABLE 34-B: *Females*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	79.73	2.70	*	1.35	2.70	12.16	*	1.35
2 Fellow worshippers	78.38	2.70	*	1.35	1.35	16.22	*	*

The sex distinctions in the total group are reflected in the choices displayed in the two parts of this Table, but these differences are not as strong as the religion-based distinctions seen in the first variable, namely, religion in this domain. Whether we take the exclusive language use or the language combinations and even the absence of information, the sex groups express their language choices differently.

The quantitative choice differences can be believed to show comparatively minor behaviour-influencing potential in this variable in this domain.

As compared to the Friendship domain, data from this variable show a reversal of the picture, i.e., in Friendship sex of the students was the most important language choice-determining factor, whereas here it is the religion. This seems to be convincing also because we know that, in matters related to religion, sex distinctions are not as important as religious distinctions; this is true at least for the two religions that our total group belongs to.

4.6.3.3. *Language Choices and Worshipping in terms of Parents' Education.*—The language choices of the four groups under this variable are put in Table-35 A, B, C and D below. (Appendix 7, Tables 6, 7, 8, 9 respectively, domain 3.)

TABLE 35-A: *Below Matric*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	66.67	5.26	*	*	3.51	24.57	*	*
2 Fellow worshippers	52.63	10.53	1.75	1.75	1.75	28.07	*	3.51

TABLE 35-B: *Matric*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	77.42	3.23	*	1.61	*	12.90	*	4.84
2 Fellow worshippers	70.97	.81	*	3.23	*	16.94	.81	7.26

TABLE 35-C: *Graduate*

1 Religious Head	68.66	5.97	*	4.48	1.49	14.93	1.49	2.99
2 Fellow worshippers	67.16	5.97	*	5.97	1.49	13.43	1.49	4.48

TABLE 35-D: *Post-Graduate*

1 Religious Head	78.57	*	*	*	*	17.86	*	3.57
2 Fellow worshippers	60.71	3.57	3.57	*	7.14	14.29	3.57	7.14

The four of these groups present four clear cut quantitative distinctions in the exclusive use of language as well as in language combinations. And, therefore, one may suggest that this variable has some language choice determining power in the behaviour of the total group. There is, however, a more important finding. Compare, for instance, the language choices of the group 'Post-graduate' with its choices from the family domain and also from the three locales in the friendship domain.

In the previous two domains their choices of Panjabi were nowhere near the standard choices of Panjabi, but now they speak 5.38% more Panjabi than the standard with Religious Head. Their preferences for Panjabi with their fellow worshippers are also not too bad because they are only 4.51% short of the standard target. On the contrary in the earlier cases they did not choose Panjabi at all in their locality. Even their choices of Panjabi with their parents were also 23.81% less than the said standard.

These comparisons confirm most of our statements that we made about them in family domain, friendship domain and in our discussions on the language choices of the total group. The point was that these students are not losing Panjabi because, even if implicit family speaking conventions, etc., do not grant an optimum usage of Panjabi at home, etc., their use of Panjabi is getting reinforced through such areas of experience as the religious institutions. Panjabi could be seen losing its ground, had there been any general decrease in the number of the religious

institutions in Delhi in the recent history of Delhi. This is the main point that Fishman (1963, 1966) used for his conclusions on different languages in USA. The direction in the case of Panjabi has been in the opposite direction. A culmination point for this direction has been, or can be seen in, the recent official recognition of this language in Delhi.

4.6.3.4. *Language Choices and Worshipping in terms of the Occupations of Parents.*—The five parts of Table-36 (A, B, C, D and E) are the descriptions of the language choices of five sub-groups of the students under this variable. (Appendix 7, Tables 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 respectively, domain 3.)

TABLE 36-A: *Commoners*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	62.71	6.78	*	*	1.69	20.34	1.69	6.78
2 Fellow worshippers	59.32	6.78	*	*	3.39	22.03	1.69	6.78

TABLE 36-B: *Business (Non-elite)*

1 Religious Head	78.07	3.51	*	1.75	.88	13.16	*	2.63
2 Fellow worshippers	70.18	4.39	.88	3.51	.88	16.67	*	3.51

TABLE 36-C: *Business (Elite)*

Religious Head	80.00	3.33	*	6.67	*	10.00	*	*
2 Fellow worshippers	73.33	3.33	3.33	10.00	*	10.00	*	*

TABLE 36-D: *Elite*

Religious Head	72.22	1.85	*	1.85	1.85	20.37	*	1.85
Fellow worshippers	53.70	7.41	*	*	3.70	12.96	18.52	3.70

TABLE 36-E : *No Report*

Religious Head *	68.42	10.53	*	*	*	15.79	*	5.29
2 Fellow worshippers	52.63	5.26	*	5.26	5.26	15.79	*	15.79

We started with the assumption that, at least in so far as Panjabi population is concerned, places of religious importance are those areas of experience where socio-economic differences are generally neutralised, or as the places which help

in achieving this. But our results here do not support that proposal, because the distinctions that are due to the occupational (socio-economic) background of the parents are reflected in the language choices of the students. Even if one suggests that these distinctions are not as strong as we saw in the case of religion variable one cannot ignore the fact that, however small, at some points the distinctions are clearly seen. Therefore, one must agree that the occupations of the parents of the students do matter as a variable in their language choices.

4.6.3.5. *Language Choices in terms of the Duration of Students Stay in Delhi.*—The parts A, B of Table-37 below present the language choices of the two groups under this variable. (Appendix 7, Tables 15 and 16 respectively, domain 3.)

TABLE 37-A: *Stay Below ten years*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	76.67	3.33	*	*	*	13.33	*	6.67
2 Fellow worshippers	63.33	10.00	3.33	*	3.33	10.00	*	10.00

TABLE 37-B: *Stay above ten years*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	72.76	4.06	*	2.03	1.22	16.67	.41	2.85
2 Fellow worshippers	65.45	4.47	.41	3.66	1.22	19.11	.81	4.88

The group A (Stay below ten years) has reported 3.47% more Panjabi than the standard with religious head, although the choices of this group for fellow worshippers are 1.89% less than the target choices. This is significant because this is the same group whose Panjabi language choices were markedly less than the standard in the friendship domain.

Another important thing to be noted here is that the quantities of the choices are the similar in the two groups. We have been concluding in our discussion so far on the power of a variable if it makes the sub-groups possible under it to differ in the quantities of language choices. In that case this variable is very weak in its effective power. But a more interesting thing is the role of the domain in the expressed choices, i.e., though otherwise these two groups in other domains choose Panjabi quite differently this is a domain where both of the groups come closer to each other. This should be one of the important findings against the arguments developed earlier, mainly in the first chapter, and occasionally in the later portions

of this study, where religion was taken as a distinction-creating force only. These findings demonstrate how religion, when mediated through the places of religious importance like the ones we referred to, can make/cause the otherwise two separate groups to come closer to each other. Religion, in this sense, may be seen as one of the binding forces also, and this force, in this sense, becomes operative through the places of religious importance which are in turn connected with the community's value/attitude/feeling structure.

4.6.3.6. *Language Choices and Worshipping in terms of the Claimed Home States.*—Table 38 below is a description of the choices of the students, and the parts A, B, C and D of the table present the four groups under this variable. (Appendix 7, Tables 17, 18, 19, 20 respectively, domain 3.)

TABLE 38-A: *Delhi*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	71.98	4.95	*	2.75	1.10	14.84	.55	3.85
2 Fellow worshippers	65.38	3.85	.55	3.85	1.65	17.58	1.10	6.04

TABLE 38-B : *Punjab*

1 Religious Head	83.67	*	*	*	2.04	14.29	*	*
2 Fellow worshippers	69.39	10.20	*	4.08	2.04	12.24	*	2.04

TABLE 38-C : *Non-Delhi/Punjab*

1 Religious Head	33.33	*	*	*	*	44.44	*	22.22
2 Fellow worshippers	33.33	11.11	*	*	*	33.33	*	22.22

TABLE 38-D : *No Report*

1 Religious Head	75.00	5.56	*	*	*	19.44	*	*
2 Fellow Worshippers	66.67	2.78	2.78	*	*	25.00	*	2.78

The group C shows a precarious language behaviour once again, though with a slight difference, i.e., this time 33.33% language choices are in favour of Panjabi to speak to both the person-types (Religious Head and Fellow Worshipper) and in the domain.

The Delhi group shows 1.21% less choices for Panjabi than the standard, but that does not get passed on to Hindi. It is covered by the other language categories, mainly by the Panjabi-Hindi and Panjabi-Hindi-English combinations. Therefore, these students maintain a sort of status quo for the total choices of Panjabi language as compared to the standard.

The Punjab group shows markedly higher choices for Panjabi and that is why their choices of Hindi are less than the standard.

The group D (no report) whose state loyalties are not very certain to its individuals, choose Panjabi higher than the standard, and Hindi too higher than the standard in the first dyadic context. But Hindi increases by 6.88%, and Panjabi is more than the standard only by 1.45% in the second dyadic context.

These choice differences among the four groups prove that the students' home state loyalties do affect their language choices.

4.6.3.7. *Language Choices and Friendship in terms of subjects Opted in the College.*—There are four groups under this variable and the language choices of these four groups are put in Table-39 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 21, 22, 23, 24 respectively, domain 3.)

TABLE 39-A : B. A. (Pass)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Religious Head	76.79	6.25	*	3.57	.89	9.82	*	2.68
2 Fellow worshippers	69.54	6.25	*	4.46	.88	13.39	*	5.36

TABLE 39-B : B.A. (Hons)

1 Religious Head	69.49	3.64	*	*	1.82	20.00	*	5.45
2 Fellow worshippers	60.00	5.45	1.82	*	3.64	21.82	1.82	5.45

TABLE 39-C : B.Sc.

1 Religious Head	63.01	*	*	1.37	1.37	28.77	1.37	4.11
2 Fellow worshippers	54.79	2.74	*	5.48	1.37	28.77	1.37	5.48

TABLE 39-D : Commerce

1 Religious Head	88.89	5.56	*	*	*	5.56	*	*
2 Fellow worshippers	80.56	5.56	2.78	*	*	5.56	*	5.56

The groups B.A. (Pass) and B.A. (Hons) do not show any new tendencies in their choices, and are, therefore, not of much interest and meaning to us. But the B.Sc. and the Commerce group presents two most valuable contrasts when compared to the information supplied by these two groups for the earlier two domains.

The B.Sc. group reported 50.00% choices for Panjabi in college locale of the Friendship domain, and these choices were highest as compared to the other three groups. But here we find the same group reporting less choices for Panjabi than the other three groups. On the contrary, this group reports 10.65% to 12.47% more choices for exclusive Hindi than the standard. May be the Hindi students are more in number in this group, and since Hindi is the language of the religion for the Hindi students, the exclusive Hindi choices go up in this group. This should confirm some of our suggestions that we made in section 5. That is, these students speak a language as and when some of the ground conditions for choosing the language are met — place of religious importance ensures this and the choices of Panjabi/Hindi are more if not totally exclusive.

The Commerce group is of prime importance to us in this domain because this is the group which did not choose exclusive Panjabi equal to the standard ever in the earlier two domains. This group used to go for language combinations consisting of Panjabi. But in this domain the group has crossed every limit in choosing exclusive Panjabi. The group chooses 15.70% more Panjabi in the 1st dyadic context and 15.34% more Panjabi in the second. We have only one explanation to offer, in consonance with what we said in Section 5, i.e., the students of the group are very much context sensitive, and because the context is defined by the religious distinctions, the result is the high quantity of the choices for Panjabi. Note that this explanation can help us in predicting the religious identity of the students who constitute the group.

The quantitative choice distinctions that show the four groups to be different from one another also are the indicator of the comparative choice-influencing power of this variable. But it should be maintained that this variable is like the most of the others discussed previously, is not as strong a choice-influencing variable as the variable religion is in this domain.

The findings from this variable and the other variables in this domain confirm our assertions that we made on the status of Panjabi language, especially those where we said that there was no loss of Panjabi among these students because the students were context sensitive and therefore given the knowledge of the affecting variable(s), most of their choices could be predicted.

4.6.4.1. *Language Choices during Transportation in terms of Religion of the Student.*—The language choices of the two religion-groups are put in Table 40 A and B below. (Appendix 7, Tables 2 and 3 respectively, domain 4.)

TABLE 40-A : *Sikhs*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	9.09	9.09	1.52	3.54	10.10	35.86	30.30	.51
2 Middle-aged lady	12.12	13.64	1.01	3.54	9.60	37.88	20.71	1.52
3 Stranger boy	6.57	3.03	1.52	1.52	10.61	20.20	55.05	1.52
4 Stranger girl	6.06	2.53	.51	3.03	9.60	16.16	59.60	2.53
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.54	2.53	2.02	1.52	11.11	12.12	66.68	.51

TABLE 40-B : *Hindus*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	2.56	5.13	*	3.85	6.41	53.85	28.21	*
2 Middle-aged lady	6.41	7.69	*	5.13	7.69	60.00	21.79	1.28
3 Stranger boy	5.13	1.28	2.56	3.85	8.97	24.36	52.56	1.28
4 Strager girl	1.28	*	2.56	1.28	11.54	11.54	69.23	2.56
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	2.56	*	1.28	1.28	11.54	19.23	64.10	*

The Hindu-Sikh distinctions are present in the choices only to a degree. We find that the Sikhs choose more Panjabi in every dyadic context than the Hindus, and their choices are more than the standard choices. The Hindus are markedly different from the Sikhs in their Hindi choices for middle-aged gentleman and middle-aged lady dyads. They also choose more exclusive Hindi than the standard choices. The Hindus are also different in their exclusive Hindi choices in the other three dyads. But notice that the Sikhs choose more Hindi than the Hindus for the stranger girl. In exclusive English choices too

the Hindus and the Sikhs differ from each other. However, in most of the domain they are not so different from one another except the stranger girl dyad because the Hindus choose 9.63% more English than the Sikhs, and these choices are 6.91% more than the standard. In the 1st, 3rd and 5th dyads the Sikhs choose more of exclusive English than the Hindus.

Above these subtle quantitative choice distinctions among the Hindus and the Sikhs, there is an overall similarity in the patterns of information distribution. The patterns of information distribution are also on the lines of the standard choice patterns. This shows how the two religion based groups behave alike in this domain. The choices of the two groups are not as markedly different as they were in the worshipping domain. It should be a quite balanced conclusion if we propose that religion of the students plays only a marginal role in the creation of the distinctions, especially in this domain.

4.6.4.2. *Language Choices during Transportation in terms of the Sex.*—The language choices of both the sex-groups under this variable are stated in Table 41 A and B. (Appendix 7, Tables 4 and 5 respectively, domain 4.)

TABLE 41-A : Males

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	5.94	6.44	1.48	3.96	10.89	35.64	35.64	*
2 Middle-aged lady	9.90	9.90	.99	4.46	12.38	34.65	26.24	1.48
3 Stranger boy	8.42	1.98	2.47	2.47	11.39	19.89	53.47	*
4 Stranger girl	5.45	1.48	1.48	2.97	10.89	9.90	65.35	2.47
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.47	1.98	2.47	1.48	13.37	11.88	65.35	*

TABLE 41-B : Females

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	10.81	12.16	*	2.70	4.05	55.41	13.51	1.35
2 Middle-aged lady	12.16	17.57	*	2.70	*	59.45	6.76	1.35
3 Stranger boy	*	4.05	*	1.35	6.76	25.68	56.76	5.41
4 Stranger Girl	2.70	2.70	*	1.35	8.11	28.38	54.04	2.70
5 Another Student of your College (not friend)	2.70	1.35	*	1.35	5.41	20.27	67.57	1.35

The females speak more in Panjabi and Hindi with the strangers of old generation than the males, whereas the males speak more in English than the females. As we move on to the younger generation, we find that use of Hindi decreases in both the sex groups and English is given a more preference. But now the use of Panjabi exceeds among the males than the females. Hindi is still more among the females, and English, of course very high, runs parallel in both the groups. It is interesting to note that the females do not talk to the 'boys of their age' in Panjabi and that this number is passed on to English. Therefore, the females choose more English to talk to stranger boys. On the contrary, the males choose more English than the females to talk to stranger girls of their own age, although they choose 5.45% Panjabi as compared to zero Panjabi among the females. Notice that they also express slight differences in choosing exclusive Panjabi and English to talk to 'another student of your college not friend'. But the Hindi choices of these two groups keep them different even in all the three young generation dyads. To sum up, the students from the two sex groups are practically different from each other in their language behaviour during the Transportation. This establishes the relevance of the sex distinctions of the total group as a variable in their language choices more clearly.

At this juncture it is important, from our point of view, to suggest that the reader refer back to the relevant portions of Section 5, especially where we discussed the information on responses under 'another student' in comparison to the 'Friendship in college' category.

4.6.4.3. *Language Choices during Transportation in terms of Parents' Education.*—The language choices of the four groups under this variable are stated in Table 42 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 6, 7, 8, 9, respectively, domain 4.)

TABLE 42-A : *Below Matric*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	10.53	15.79	*	5.26	5.26	35.09	28.07	*
2 Middle-aged lady	15.79	19.30	*	5.26	5.26	36.84	17.54	*
3 Stranger boy	8.77	5.26	1.75	3.51	10.53	38.60	29.82	1.75
4 Stranger girl	10.53	5.26	*	5.26	10.53	28.07	35.09	5.26
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	1.75	5.26	3.51	1.75	14.04	22.81	50.88	*

the Hindus and the Sikhs differ from each other. However, in most of the domain they are not so different from one another except the stranger girl dyad because the Hindus choose 9.63% more English than the Sikhs, and these choices are 6.91% more than the standard. In the 1st, 3rd and 5th dyads the Sikhs choose more of exclusive English than the Hindus.

Above these subtle quantitative choice distinctions among the Hindus and the Sikhs, there is an overall similarity in the patterns of information distribution. The patterns of information distribution are also on the lines of the standard choice patterns. This shows how the two religion based groups behave alike in this domain. The choices of the two groups are not as markedly different as they were in the worshipping domain. It should be a quite balanced conclusion if we propose that religion of the students plays only a marginal role in the creation of the distinctions, especially in this domain.

4.6.4.2. *Language Choices during Transportation in terms of the Sex.*—The language choices of both the sex-groups under this variable are stated in Table 41 A and B. (Appendix 7, Tables 4 and 5 respectively, domain 4.)

TABLE 41-A : *Males*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	5.94	6.44	1.48	3.96	10.89	35.64	35.64	*
2 Middle-aged lady	9.90	9.90	.99	4.46	12.38	34.65	26.24	1.48
3 Stranger boy	8.42	1.98	2.47	2.47	11.39	19.89	53.47	*
4 Stranger girl	5.45	1.48	1.48	2.97	10.89	9.90	65.35	2.47
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.47	1.98	2.47	1.48	13.37	11.88	65.35	*

TABLE 41-B : *Females*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	10.81	12.16	*	2.70	4.05	55.41	13.51	1.35
2 Middle-aged lady	12.16	17.57	*	2.70	*	59.45	6.76	1.35
3 Stranger boy	*	4.05	*	1.35	6.76	25.68	56.76	5.41
4 Stranger Girl	2.70	2.70	*	1.35	8.11	28.38	54.04	2.70
5 Another Student of your College (not friend)	2.70	1.35	*	1.35	5.41	20.27	67.57	1.35

TABLE 42-B : *Matric*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman .	8.06	7.26	2.42	2.42	8.87	51.61	18.55	.81
2 Middle-aged lady .	9.68	13.71	.81	2.42	4.84	52.42	13.71	2.42
3 Stranger boy .	8.87	2.42	1.61	.81	12.10	19.35	52.42	2.42
4 Stranger girl .	4.84	1.61	.81	2.42	12.10	15.32	60.48	2.42
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	5.65	1.61	1.61	.81	12.10	12.90	64.52	.81

TABLE 42-C : *Graduate*

1 Middle-aged gentleman .	4.48	4.48	*	4.48	10.45	31.34	44.78	*
2 Middle-aged lady .	10.45	5.97	1.49	5.97	17.91	29.85	26.87	1.49
3 Stranger boy .	2.99	1.49	1.49	4.48	7.46	16.42	65.67	*
4 Stranger girl .	1.49	*	2.99	1.49	8.96	5.97	77.61	1.49
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	2.99	*	*	2.99	8.96	13.43	71.64	*

TABLE 42-D : *Post-graduate*

1 Middle-aged gentleman .	3.57	3.57	*	3.57	14.29	28.57	46.43	*
2 Middle-aged lady .	3.57	3.57	*	3.57	14.29	28.57	46.43	*
3 Stranger boy .	*	*	3.57	*	7.14	7.14	82.14	*
4 Stranger girl .	*	*	*	*	3.57	7.14	89.29	*
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	*	*	3.57	*	7.14	3.57	85.71	*

Once again the background differences in education have become significant choice-influencing factors. We in 'Worship' domain that these differences got neutralized to the minimum said insignificant level.

Notice the same Post-graduate group which chose (Middle-aged gentleman, and Middle-aged lady) 78.57% exclusive Panjabi to talk to Religious Head in worship domain, chooses now merely 3.57% Panjabi to talk to the two person-types (Middle-aged gentleman, and Middle-aged lady) of the older generation, and they do not talk to the boys and girls of their own age group.

known and unknown, in Panjabi. Their Hindi choices are less than the standard in all the dyadic contexts, though their choices of Hindi for the younger generation are very insignificant. Their main language is English. It will be interesting here to refer to the first chapter where we discussed the existence of the three way contrast among Panjabi, Hindi and English, especially our statement about the role of English among affluent families of Delhi. That explains the present data, and the data support our earlier statements as well.

The other three groups do not present any new information on the language behaviour of the students, and on the status of their mother tongue in Delhi. Therefore, these data do not demand any fresh explanation. Of course, these groups further perpetuate the relevance of the background difference in education in the language choices of the students. And this variable comes up as a choice-influencing factor. But these differences can be easily understood in terms of the explanations suggested in Section 5.

4.6.4.4. *Language Choices during Transportation in terms of Parents Occupation.*—The parts A to E of Tables 43 below carry the descriptions of the language choices of five groups of the students under this variable. (Appendix 7, Tables 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, respectively, domain 4.)

TABLE 43-A : *Commoners*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	H	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	6.78	1.69	3.39	5.08	10.17	35.59	37.29	*
2 Middle-aged lady	11.86	6.78	*	6.78	6.78	44.07	23.73	*
3 Stranger boy	1.69	1.69	3.39	1.69	11.86	25.42	54.24	*
4 Stranger girl	3.39	*	1.69	5.08	6.78	15.25	66.10	1.69
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.39	1.69	1.69	1.69	11.86	10.17	69.49	*

TABLE 43-B : *Business (Non-elites)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	H	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	8.77	13.16	.88	2.63	7.89	42.98	22.81	.81
2 Middle-aged lady	8.77	17.54	.88	2.63	5.26	45.61	16.67	2.63
3 Stranger boy	10.53	3.51	2.63	.88	11.40	23.68	43.86	3.51
4 Stranger girl	7.02	4.39	1.75	.88	12.28	17.54	51.75	4.39
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.51	2.63	3.51	.88	12.28	16.67	59.65	.88

TABLE 43-C : *Business (Elites)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	3.33	6.67	*	3.33	10.00	40.00	36.67	*
2 Middle-aged lady	10.00	6.67	3.33	3.33	20.00	30.00	23.33	3.33
3 Stranger boy	3.33	3.33	*	6.67	10.00	13.33	63.33	*
4 Stranger girl	3.33	*	3.33	*	10.00	10.00	73.33	*
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.33	*	*	3.33	6.67	16.67	70.00	*

TABLE 43-D : *Elites*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	7.14	7.14	*	3.70	9.26	38.89	33.33	*
2 Middle-aged lady	11.11	9.26	*	3.70	12.96	37.04	25.93	*
3 Stranger boy	3.70	*	*	3.70	7.41	18.52	66.67	*
4 Stranger girl	*	*	*	3.70	9.26	7.41	77.78	1.85
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	1.85	*	*	1.85	5.56	18.52	72.22	*

TABLE 43-E : *No Report*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	5.26	*	*	5.26	10.53	52.63	26.32	*
2 Middle-aged lady	15.79	10.53	*	5.26	10.53	36.84	21.05	*
3 Stranger boy	5.26	5.26	*	*	5.26	15.79	68.42	*
4 Stranger girl	10.53	*	*	52.26	10.53	15.79	57.89	*
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	5.26	5.26	*	*	10.53	10.53	68.42	*

The group D (Elites) expresses choices for Panjabi just as the standard choices for the first two dyads (Middle-aged gentleman and Middle-aged lady). It expresses quite low choices for Panjabi in the 3rd and 5th dyads (Stranger boy, and Another student of your college (not friend)), but just like the post-graduate parents group in the previous variable, Panjabi is not chosen at all in the stranger girl dyad. There is, however, a significant difference between the choices of exclusive Hindi in the two groups. The English choices in the said two groups are similar in the sense that the figures in both the cases are maximum numbers in the respective variable choices. The choices can be identical because even the 'elites' category students come from the high education based professional families. The Hindi choices of this

group are less than the standard in the 1st, to 4th dyads but more than that in the 5th one. Since they choose more of exclusive Hindi for a known person category as compared to the unknown ones it can be suggested that even the usage of Hindi is controlled to a degree by the fact of face fixation that we have talked about at length earlier.

If we consider the choices of Panjabi among all the five parts of Table 43, there is no single pattern of information distribution. If the parts A, C, D and E show less quantities in the first dyadic context and more quantities in the 2nd, then the part B shows equal quantities for both the dyadic contexts. Similarly there are differences in the choices of Panjabi among all these five groups in the other three domains. There are differences in the exclusive Hindi choices also: the first two groups show the pattern of the standard choices, but the other three groups are different from these two in information distribution.

It is not possible to take up each point of variation in this variable table in detail and give explanation for these variations. However, it must also be admitted that no such general explanation can be given which would account for all these points of variation. This is so because the groups are showing such tendencies that can neither be taken as strong oppositions, nor as real similarities. Therefore, these variations are indicative of the indeterminacy prevailing under the impact of this variable. This is certainly not a clear situation.

4.6.4.5. *Language Choices during Transportation in terms of the Duration of Stay of Students in Delhi.*—The language choices of the two groups under this variable are produced in Table 44-A and B below: (Appendix 7, Tables 15 and 16 respectively, domain 4.)

TABLE 44-A : Stay below ten years

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	*	6·67	*	*	16·67	40·00	36·67	*
2 Middle-aged lady	3·33	3·33	*	3·33	30·00	30·00	26·67	3·33
3 Stranger boy	6·67	3·33	*	*	13·33	20·00	56·67	*
4 Stranger girl	*	*	3·33	*	13·33	16·67	63·33	3·33
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3·33	3·33	*	*	13·33	16·67	63·33	*

TABLE 44-B : Stay above ten years

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman .	8.13	8.13	1.22	4.06	8.13	41.06	28.86	.41
2 Middle-aged lady .	11.38	13.01	.81	4.06	6.50	42.68	20.33	1.22
3 Stranger boy .	6.10	2.44	2.03	2.44	9.76	21.54	54.07	1.63
4 Stranger girl .	5.28	2.03	.81	2.85	9.76	14.63	62.20	2.44
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.25	1.63	2.03	1.63	10.98	13.82	66.26	.41

The group B (Stay above ten years) is as stable as usual. The choices expressed by this group for the three languages, namely, Panjabi, Hindi and English are pretty near to the standard choices. And it shares the patterns of information distribution with the total group. Therefore, this group hardly needs any new interpretation, and does not present any fresh information on the language behaviour of the students.

The group A (Stay below ten years) shows the real impact of the duration differences in stay in Delhi as far as the choices of exclusive Panjabi are concerned. To compare this group with the total group, this group does not speak in exclusive Panjabi with middle-aged gentleman and a stranger girl. The group choses Panjabi to talk to middle-aged lady but the choices are 7.18% less than the standard. The choices of Panjabi for the 'stranger boy' and 'another student' are equal to the standard. Notice that this group equalised the other group in Panjabi choices in Worship domain. The absence of Panjabi from the stranger girl dyad can be seen as a strategic action on the part of this group to put up a formal and a prestigious face before the person of opposite sex. Since Panjabi may not serve that purpose for the group, they do not choose it. It can be, perhaps, a case of non-Panjabi face for the students of this group as far as a middle-aged gentleman is concerned. But we do not find any single reason as to why exactly they do not talk to this person-type in Panjabi. There can be a set of multiple factors operating and this requires a separate study. The choice differences in the two groups, therefore, establish this variable as a powerful choice-influencing factor in this domain of language behaviour of the students.

4.6.4.6. *Language Choices during Transportation in terms of Claimed Home States.*—The four parts (A, B, C and D) of Table 45 constitute the descriptions of the language choices of the students under this variable. (Appendix 7, Tables 17, 18, 19, 20 respectively, domain 4.)

TABLE 45-A : *Delhi*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	9.34	8.24	1.10	4.40	7.14	45.60	23.63	.55
2 Middle-aged lady	12.64	13.74	1.10	4.95	7.69	42.86	15.38	1.65
3 Stranger boy	6.59	3.30	1.10	3.30	9.34	26.37	48.90	1.10
4 Stranger girl	5.49	2.20	.55	3.30	11.54	15.93	58.24	2.75
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	3.85	2.75	1.65	2.20	12.64	14.29	62.09	.55

TABLE 45-B : *Punjab*

1 Middle-aged gentleman	4.08	10.20	*	*	20.41	22.45	42.86	*
2 Middle-aged lady	6.12	10.20	*	*	18.37	30.61	32.65	2.04
3 Stranger boy	6.12	*	4.08	*	14.29	8.16	63.27	4.08
4 Stranger girl	2.04	2.04	2.04	*	10.20	10.20	69.39	4.08
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	*	*	4.08	*	12.24	16.33	67.35	*

TABLE 45-C : *Non-Delhi/Punjab*

1 Middle-aged gentleman	*	*	*	*	11.11	66.67	22.22	*
2 Middle-aged lady	11.11	*	*	*	11.11	55.56	22.22	*
3 Stranger boy	*	*	*	*	11.11	22.22	66.67	*
4 Stranger girl	*	*	*	*	11.11	22.22	66.67	*
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	11.11	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	66.67	*

TABLE 45-D : *No Report*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Middle-aged gentleman	2.78	5.56	2.78	5.56	2.78	36.11	44.44	*
2 Middle-aged lady	5.56	8.33	*	5.56	2.78	44.44	33.33	*
3 Stranger boy	5.56	2.78	2.78	*	8.33	13.89	66.67	*
4 Stranger girl	5.56	*	2.78	2.78	2.78	13.89	72.22	*
5 Another student of your college (not friend)	2.78	*	*	*	2.78	11.11	83.33	*

The group C (Non-Delhi/Punjab) is again present with its usual unsystematic choices and we shall not consider this group for the reasons given earlier.

The Delhi group is the most stable one in its choices of Panjabi, Hindi and English in their exclusive form. It presents an almost equal pattern of choices of the three languages in comparison to the standard choices. The group chooses comparatively more Panjabi in every dyadic context, more Hindi in the first four dyads, but less English in every dyadic context as compared to the total group choices.

The groups 'Punjab' and 'No Report' show more or less parallel choices with some differences. The 'Punjab' group has been in most of the cases showing more preferences for English and less preferences for Panjabi and Hindi. This is reflected in these choices as well. However, a new addition to our knowledge about this group is that it does not speak in Panjabi to a *known person-type*. This can be understood by taking an analogy from the friendship domain. The friends with whom the students would speak in Panjabi in the college campus may not speak to them in Panjabi in university gatherings. Or another reason can be in the attempt to maintain purely a formal relation with that 'not friend' student of their college, and this formal relation might be signalled through English. This seems to have some grain of truth in it, especially when we recall that the students were found reserving Panjabi more for non-formal relation-types.

The 'No Report' group, on the contrary, chooses Panjabi for every dyadic context, though the choices fall short of the standard in four out of the five dyadic contexts. This can be explained if we keep in view the high English choices of this group.

The Hons. group is once again of some interest because it does not choose exclusive Panjabi at all to talk to a stranger girl and 'another student of your college (not friend)' person-types. We have tried to explain absence of Panjabi earlier in terms of putting up a formal face for these two person-types by avoiding Panjabi and by choosing more exclusive English. The same explanation seems to hold good for the choices here also, because the group chooses highest choices of English under this variable only for these two dyadic contexts.

The other three groups do not show any significant differences except minor quantitative differences that cannot be taken as indicative of choice influencing power of the variable. But if we consider these three groups as one group and take the Hons. as another then we may argue that the variable has some choice-influencing power. In any case this does not seem to be a clearly powerful variable.

The most powerful choice-influencing variables in this domain are the sex of the student, the educational background of the student and the duration of the stay of the student in Delhi. The rest of the variables relegate to the secondary importance with relatively low choice determining effects.

4.6.5.1. *Language Choices of the students in Marketing and Their Religion.*—The language choices of the Sikhs and of the Hindus are described in Table 47 A and B. (Appendix 7, Tables 2, 3 respectively, domain 5.)

TABLE 47-A : *Sikhs*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	64.65	1.01	6.06	3.03	2.53	4.45	16.16	2.02
Non-Sikh	4.55	3.03	.51	1.01	11.62	36.36	24.75	18.18
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	70.20	5.05	1.01	1.01	*	15.66	3.03	4.04
Non-Sikh	10.10	5.05	*	*	2.53	57.58	3.54	21.21

TABLE 47-B : *Hindus*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	57.69	6.41	10.25	*	3.85	5.13	10.26	6.41
Non-Sikh	1.28	5.13	*	5.13	16.67	46.15	24.36	1.28
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	48.72	10.26	1.28	*	1.28	26.92	1.28	10.26
Non-Sikh	7.69	7.69	*	1.28	1.28	76.92	1.28	3.85

The religion-based distinctions in the language choices that we saw in some of the domains earlier are very clearly present in this Table. These distinctions are clearer in the choices of exclusive Panjabi and of Hindi, rather than the same for English.

In Section 5 we found that the religious identity of the person addressed to had a clearcut influence on the language choices of the total group of these students in the marketing domain. But, now, we find that the religious identity of the students themselves causes their language choices to differ. The students, like the way they did in the General Patterns, keep the two socio-economic strata separate here also. This confirms most of our statements that we made in the Section 5 regarding the students' language behaviour, because the relations that are hierarchically organized in terms of socio-economic factor in the society are available in the language choices of the students here again. What is significant especially from the point of view of this domain and this variable is that the students can be seen as two separate groups because they are from two different religions.

There is another interesting finding in this Table. Notice the way the absence of information varies in the column '*'. It follows from this absence of information that the Sikhs prefer comparatively more to talk to Sikh person-type in market situations, and the Hindus like to talk comparatively more to Non-Sikh person-types. It should be reminded here that the category Non-Sikh need not necessarily be a Hindu, although most of the students might have meant it to be a Hindu category only.

Religion of the students, therefore, comes up as one of the most influential language choices determining variable in the marketing domain in Delhi.

4.6.5.2. *Language choices in Marketing and Sex of Students.*—The two sex groups are represented by the Parts A, B in Table 48 below. (Appendix 7, Tables 4, 5 respectively, domain 5.)

TABLE 48-A : Males

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	60.89	3.47	6.44	2.47	2.97	3.96	16.34	3.47
Non-Sikh	4.46	4.46	.49	2.47	9.90	34.65	29.22	14.36
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	61.88	8.42	.99	.99	.49	17.33	3.47	6.44
Non-Sikh	9.46	2.70	*	1.35	*	74.32	*	12.16

TABLE 48-B : Females

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	67.57	*	9.46	1.35	2.70	6.76	9.46	2.70
Non-Sikh	1.35	1.35	*	1.35	21.62	51.35	12.16	10.81
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	70.27	1.35	1.35	*	*	22.97	*	4.05
Non-Sikh	9.46	2.70	*	1.35	*	74.32	*	12.16

The religious distinctions are cut across by sex distinctions among the students but the sex distinctions are not as markedly effective in the choices of Panjabi as the religious distinctions are. Nonetheless, sex distinctions do have some share in determining the language choices of the students, because the two groups are clearly visible in their language choices. The minimum and maximum differences in the choices of Panjabi in these two variables bring the comparative strength of sex distinctions to the fore. For instance, in the religion groups the minimum differences for choices of Panjabi in the two groups were 6.96% and maximum for choices of Panjabi in the two groups were 21.48%, whereas in the sex groups these differences are 6.68% and 8.39%, respectively.

The choices of Hindi and English among the males are much closer to quantum of choice made by the Sikhs as a group, and, among the females these choices are much closer to the quantum of choice by the Hindus. But the language choices of both the groups are distributed almost on the lines of the total group choices, except the absence of English among the females for the two non-Sikh dyadic contexts. This is quite expected because in the earlier domains also we found the females reporting comparatively less choices of English. Therefore, the choices of the two sex groups under this variable do not give us any new information on the language behaviour of the students. Of course, the choices expressed by the students are indicative of choice determining power of the sex distinctions in these students.

4.6.5.3. Language Choices in Marketing and the Educational Standards of the Parents of Student.—The language choices of the four groups of the students under this variable are described in

Table 49 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 6, 7, 8, 9 respectively, domain 5.)

TABLE 49-A : *Below Matric*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	63.16	3.51	8.77	3.51	*	5.26	8.77	7.02
Non-Sikh	3.51	3.51	*	3.51	12.28	42.11	19.30	15.79
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	61.40	7.02	1.75	1.75	*	17.54	*	10.53
Non-Sikh	5.26	8.77	*	1.75	3.51	59.65	*	21.05

TABLE 49-B : *Matric*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	69.35	.81	4.03	2.42	4.84	4.84	11.29	2.42
Non-Sikh	1.61	4.03	*	*	17.74	42.74	24.19	9.68
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	69.35	4.03	*	.81	.81	19.35	1.61	4.03
Non-Sikh	12.10	2.42	*	*	1.61	70.16	1.61	12.10

TABLE 49-C : *Graduate*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	52.26	5.97	10.45	1.49	2.99	2.99	20.90	2.99
Non-Sikh	10.45	4.48	*	4.48	5.97	32.84	20.90	20.90
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	62.69	7.46	2.99	*	*	20.90	1.49	4.48
Non-Sikh	11.94	7.46	*	*	1.49	56.72	1.49	20.90

TABLE 49-D : *Post-graduates*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	57.14	*	10.71	*	*	7.14	25.00	*
Non-Sikh	*	*	*	3.57	10.71	32.14	46.43	7.14
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	50.00	14.29	*	*	*	14.29	14.29	7.14
Non-Sikh	*	10.71	*	*	3.57	53.57	17.86	14.29

There are two important things in this table. The first is the absence of exclusive English in the group A for the last two dyadic contexts (Barber and Tailor). We saw in the study of the set variable that the females expressed similar choices. Therefore, we can conclude that those females who did not report exclusive English are from below matric parental background. It is a common experience everywhere in India that, in such families English cannot be habitually used and thus may not have a habitual status in the language matrix of such a family. It is quite understandable if the students coming from

such families do not choose English to talk to the low education-based profession-types.

The second important thing is the complete absence of Panjabi among the post-graduate parents group. This proves our point that we made earlier while characterising these students. We said then that they were *the English group*. These choices can be understood only if we refer to the Delhi markets that stand on various layers of socio-economic hierarchy. For instance, places like Connaught Place, Karol Bagh and King's Way Camp could be seen in a descending order. And this descending order of socio-economic hierarchy is also related to and marked by dominant language choices; in the present case the order is one of English, in Connaught Place, Panjabi-Hindi in Karol Bagh and Panjabi in King's Way Camp.

The language choices of these four groups in themselves are distinct at each point of comparison, be it exclusive languages or the language-combinations, the four groups are difference. Therefore, we may conclude that this variable has some choice-determining power in the language behaviour of the students.

4.6.5.4. *Language Choices in Marketing and Parents' Occupations.*—The parts A, B, C, D and E of Table 50 constitute the language choices of the five groups of the students under this variable. (Appendix 7, Tables 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 respectively, domain 5.)

TABLE 50-A : *Commoners*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	62.71	3.39	3.39	3.39	1.69	5.08	13.86	6.78
Non-Sikh	6.78	5.08	*	1.69	13.56	38.98	25.42	8.47
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	62.71	11.86	*	1.69	*	15.25	1.69	6.78
Non-Sikh	11.86	5.08	*	*	*	71.19	1.69	10.71

TABLE 50-B : *Business (Non-elite)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	69.30	1.75	9.65	2.63	1.75	7.02	7.02	.88
Non-Sikh	3.51	3.51	*	2.63	18.42	44.74	15.79	11.40
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	70.18	4.39	1.75	*	*	19.30	*	4.39
Non-Sikh	9.65	4.39	*	*	2.63	68.42	*	14.91

TABLE 50-G : *Business (elite)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	53.33	3.33	10.00	3.33	3.33	3.33	23.33	*
Non-Sikh	3.33	3.33	*	3.33	6.67	33.33	33.33	16.67
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	56.67	6.67	*	*	*	26.67	10.00	*
Non-Sikh	6.67	6.67	*	*	6.67	53.33	10.00	16.67

TABLE 50-D : *Elite*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	50.00	3.70	7.41	*	7.41	1.85	25.94	3.70
Non-Sikh	*	1.85	*	1.85	5.56	35.19	38.89	16.67
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	64.81	12.96	*	*	*	12.96	3.70	5.56
Non-Sikh	11.11	5.56	*	*	*	57.41	5.56	20.37

TABLE 50-E : *No Report*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	47.37	*	10.53	*	5.26	5.26	21.05	10.53
Non-Sikh	5.26	*	5.26	5.26	5.26	42.11	26.32	10.53
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	47.37	10.53	*	*	*	21.05	5.26	15.79
Non-Sikh	*	10.53	*	5.26	*	57.89	5.26	21.05

The differences in Parents' occupation prove to be a choice-affecting variable in this domain also. The effect of this variable in this domain is the usual one that we have been observing in the domains like Friendship Transportation etc. This is, perhaps, so because these three domains fall within the vicinity of the out-door life contexts. The respective language choices in this domain do not present any thing significantly different from those domains in the sense that the five groups here vary from one another on similar lines found in the domains discussed above. The quantum of the choices of the three languages namely, Panjabi, Hindi and English vary from domain to domain, but the differences in the occupational background of the parents of the students are persistently carried on. Therefore, the occupation of the parents gets established as a determinant variable. The choice differences in this domain can be easily explained in terms of the explanations proposed earlier in Section 5 and later in our brief discussions on the impact of this variable in Friendship and Transportation.

4.6.5.5. *Language Choices in Marketing and the Duration of Stay of the Students in Delhi.*—There are only two groups under

this variable. The language choices of these two groups are presented in Table 51A and B. (Appendix 7, Tables 15, 16 respectively, domain 5.)

TABLE 51-A : *Stay below ten years*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	56.67	*	10.00	3.33	3.33	6.67	16.67	3.33
Non-Sikh	3.33	3.33	*	3.33	10.00	23.33	30.00	26.67
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	56.67	13.33	3.33	3.33	*	13.33	3.33	6.67
Non-Sikh	6.67	6.67	*	*	3.33	46.67	6.67	30.00

TABLE 51-B : *Stay above ten years*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	63.41	2.85	6.91	2.03	2.85	4.47	14.23	3.25
Non-Sikh	3.66	3.66	.41	2.03	13.41	41.06	23.98	11.79
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	65.04	5.69	.81	.41	.41	19.51	2.44	5.69
Non-Sikh	9.76	5.69	*	.41	2.03	65.04	2.44	4.63

The context governed variation in different domains was studied in greater detail in section 5. This Table also presents like other tables the context sensitivity in the quantities of the language chosen. The context here is defined in terms of religion and the socio-economic status of the person addressed to; of course, the physical context is the market situation(s) of Delhi. The variable per se causes some variation in the expressed choices for Panjabi, Hindi and English. The single important finding we have from the information in the Table is that the group A (Duration of stay below ten years) students choose less Panjabi and more Hindi and English as compared to Group B (Duration of stay above ten years). This finding has been persistently coming to our notice in the every domain. Therefore, it does not add to our knowledge about the language behaviour of these students. We have explained such variation under this variable more than once.

4.6.5.6. *Language Choices in Marketing and the Claimed Home States.*—This variable divides the total group into four sub-

groups and the language choices of each of the groups are presented in the Table 52-A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 17, 18, 19, 20 respectively, domain 5.)

TABLE 52-A : *Delhi*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	67.03	1.65	8.24	1.65	2.20	3.30	13.74	2.20
Non-Sikh	4.94	3.30	.55	2.20	13.19	40.11	24.73	10.99
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	67.58	7.14	1.10	*	.55	15.93	2.20	5.49
Non-Sikh	11.54	6.04	*	*	2.75	62.64	2.20	14.84

TABLE 52-B : *Punjab*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	53.06	2.04	8.16	2.04	4.08	6.12	18.37	6.12
Non-Sikh	*	8.16	*	4.08	14.29	32.65	20.41	20.41
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	59.18	8.16	2.04	2.04	*	18.37	2.04	8.16
Non-Sikh	4.04	10.20	*	2.04	2.04	55.10	4.08	22.45

TABLE 52-C : *Non-Delhi/Punjab*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	77.78	*	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	*
Non-Sikh	11.11	*	*	*	*	44.44	44.44	*
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	66.67	*	*	*	*	22.22	11.11	*
Non-Sikh	11.11	*	*	*	*	77.78	11.11	*

TABLE 52-D : *No Report*

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	50.00	8.33	2.78	5.56	5.56	8.33	13.89	5.56
Non-Sikh	*	*	*	*	13.89	41.67	25.00	19.44
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	52.78	2.78	*	2.78	*	33.33	2.78	5.56
Non-Sikh	5.56	*	*	*	*	72.22	2.78	19.44

For the first time the 'Non-Delhi/Punjab' group shows a definite pattern in its total language choices. The choices of this group are patterned around the choices of the total group but with certain differences. For instance, in the total group, the choices for Panjabi are more for the 2nd category dyads namely, Barber/Tailor. But here the first category dyads namely, Doctor/Chemist are given more preference for Panjabi than the 2nd, the choices of Hindi and English are on the patterns of the standard choices. Important thing from our point of view is that Panjabi is given not only a clear and definite

treatment by this group in this variable, but also the choices are more than the standard. This finding is significant because it supports our statements about the total group, especially in those areas where we interpreted very low Panjabi figures as instances of no loss on the plea that those low language choices were indicative of high choices of Panjabi somewhere else.

The Punjab group does not speak in Panjabi at all with the non-Sikh Doctor/Chemist. A part of the reason lies in the fact that 20.41% of the students in this group do not talk to this profession-type at all. The other reason could be that the profession-types are given these language faces by the students and therefore, to talk to them means, for the students, only to talk either in language-combinations containing Panjabi or to talk only in Hindi or English or their combinations.

A complete absence of Panjabi from the 'No Report' group is the most interesting finding which cannot be explained unless we bring once again religion. That is, these students assign this language mainly to the Sikhs. This is also true of the 2nd category profession-types because they choose only 5.56% exclusive Panjabi for that category in its Non-Sikh dyad. This shows once again how important the religious identities of the interlocutors are in the market situations in the choice of Panjabi for use.

The clear cut choice differences in all the four parts of the table demonstrate the comparative strength of the 'claimed home state' as a variable. The wide differences in the choices of the groups show that this variable is a quite powerful choice-influencing factor in the language behaviour of the total students in the marketing domain.

4.6.5.7. *Language Choices in Marketing and the Subjects Opted in the College for Studies.*—There are four groups again under this variable again. We describe the language choices of these groups in Table-53 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 21, 22, 23, 24 respectively domain 5.)

TABLE 53-A : B.A. (Pass)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	73.21	.89	4.46	.89	5.36	8.04	6.25	.89
Non-Sikh	4.46	2.68	*	1.79	14.22	50.00	13.39	13.39
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	71.43	2.68	*	.89	.89	18.75	.89	4.46
Non-Sikh	10.71	1.79	*	*	1.79	67.86	*	17.86

TABLE 53-B : B.A. (Hons.)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	50.91	*	7.27	3.64	*	1.82	29.09	7.27
Non-Sikh	*	1.82	*	1.82	12.73	21.82	47.27	14.55
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	49.09	9.09	1.82	*	*	21.82	5.45	12.73
Non-Sikh	5.45	1.82	*	1.82	1.82	65.45	5.45	18.18

TABLE 53-C : B.Sc.

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	52.05	5.48	12.33	*	5.48	4.11	19.18	1.37
Non-Sikh	4.11	4.11	*	4.11	15.07	32.88	28.77	10.96
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	64.38	9.59	2.74	*	*	20.55	1.37	1.37
Non-Sikh	12.33	13.70	*	*	1.37	58.90	4.11	9.59

TABLE 53-D : Commerce

Doctor/Chemist—Sikh	69.44	5.56	5.56	8.33	*	*	8.33	2.78
Non-Sikh	5.56	8.33	2.78	*	5.56	44.44	16.67	16.67
Barber/Tailor—Sikh	63.89	8.33	*	2.78	*	11.11	5.56	8.33
Non-Sikh	5.56	8.33	*	*	5.56	52.78	5.56	22.22

The commerce group started showing upward direction in the choices of Panjabi in the Worship domain. We find this group once again reporting more than the standard. The B.A. (Pass) group does not present any new information. The B.Sc. group chooses less Panjabi than the standard in the first dyad but makes it up in language combinations. The Hons. group is again present with its English which is almost an expected behaviour because we know that they speak Panjabi where they have to in order to defend/retain their Panjabi identity, where they attempt to identify themselves with the total group, with the community at large. This table, therefore, presents a continuation of the known facts about this total group of the students.

However, the clear differences in choices in all the four parts of the Table bring forth how the subjects of study at college are important as a factor of choice variation. Earlier we suggested that this is so because the subjects opted for studies make the students to develop specific types of language habits and, therefore it is natural for students of various subjects to choose language differently. It seems that the point is well taken even in this domain.

To sum up, The English vs. non-English, and Panjabi vs. non-Panjabi grouping becomes too evident in this domain. One of the most important finding in this domain is the relevance of the context in choices of the languages known to the students. Any difference in the context (i.e., if the context is differently defined), the students show a high degree of sensitivity to that difference. Moreover, this domain, also this variable confirm our statements about the choices of languages and about the status of the languages of the students, namely, Panjabi, Hindi and English. The Hons. group demonstrates very clearly what we said about English. Further, the findings in this group also confirm the interpolation that we talked about in the first chapter among the three languages and hence the context becomes rather more powerful in determining the choices as compared to the subjects of the students.

4.6.6.1. Language Choices in Educational Domain and the Religions of the Students.—With this variable we come to the first variable of the last domain of the language use of the students, namely Education.

The language choices of the Sikhs and the Hindus are described in Table-54 A and B. (Appendix 7, Tables 2 and 3 respectively, domain 6.)

TABLE 54-A : *Sikhs*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers	4.04	2.53	5.05	7.58	12.63	5.56	62.12	.51
2 Lab assistants	20.20	5.05	3.03	1.01	5.56	26.26	19.19	10.70
3 Office-library staff	33.33	6.06	6.06	3.54	8.59	23.23	18.18	1.01
4 Class mates	22.22	11.11	8.59	12.12	9.60	16.67	18.18	1.52
5 Close friends	38.89	14.65	8.08	7.68	4.55	8.59	14.14	3.54
6 Peons	46.97	13.64	*	.51	.51	38.38	*	*

TABLE 54-B : *Hindus*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers	2.56	*	1.28	5.13	17.95	12.82	60.26	*
2 Lab assistants	16.67	14.10	*	1.28	2.56	39.74	12.82	12.82
3 Office-library staff	21.79	17.95	1.28	1.28	3.85	39.74	14.10	*
4 Class mates	12.82	5.13	3.85	15.38	14.10	21.79	26.92	*
5 Close friends	29.49	7.69	6.41	8.97	11.54	21.79	11.54	2.56
6 Peons	21.79	14.10	2.56	*	*	60.26	1.28	*

Religion emerges as a strong choice-determining factor in this domain also. We find the Hindu-Sikh distinctions are clearly visible in the choices of Panjabi, Hindi, and English. If we concentrate on the exclusive language choices we find that both the groups choose all the three languages for all the six dyadic contexts, and the differences are signalled by choice quantities and not by presence or absence of the languages. The comparative value of the languages is like this: the Sikhs choose more Panjabi and English in most of the dyadic contexts as compared to the Hindus and the total group. The Hindus choose more English than the Sikhs only for their classmates, otherwise they choose more Hindi than the Sikhs. This establishes the choice-influencing power of the variable in this domain. However, the patterns of information distribution in these two parts of the table are on the lines of the standard choices. And therefore, neither the choices add any new dimension to our knowledge of the students' language behaviour, nor any new interpretation is needed.

4.6.6.2. *Language Choices in Educational Domain based on Sex Distinctions in the Students.*—The language choices of the males and the females are described in Table-55 A and B below. (Appendix 7, Tables 4 and 5, respectively, domain 6.)

TABLE 55-A : Males

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1. Teachers	2.47	2.47	5.45	6.44	10.89	6.44	65.84	*
2. Lab assistants	21.28	8.42	2.97	.99	3.96	23.27	18.81	20.97
3. Office-library staff	32.67	11.39	5.94	3.47	3.47	22.77	19.80	.49
4. Class mates	22.28	7.92	8.91	12.38	9.90	14.36	23.27	.99
5. Close friends	33.66	11.88	9.90	8.91	6.44	11.88	14.85	2.47
6. Peons	42.57	14.36	.99	.49	.49	40.59	.49	*

TABLE-55 B: Females

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1. Teachers	6.76	*	*	8.11	22.97	10.81	50.00	1.35
2. Lab assistants	13.51	5.41	*	1.35	6.76	48.65	13.51	10.81
3. Office-library staff	22.97	4.05	1.35	1.35	17.57	41.89	9.46	1.35
4. Class mates	12.16	13.51	2.70	14.86	13.51	28.38	13.51	1.35
5. Close friends	43.24	14.86	1.35	5.41	6.76	13.51	9.46	5.41
6. Peons	32.43	12.16	*	*	*	55.41	*	*

The sex distinctions among the students play an equally important role in influencing the language choices of the students in this domain. The females choose 4.29% more Panjabi than the males to talk to their teachers. This number is 3.14% more than the standard choices. When viewed in the context of the 2.47% choices of Panjabi among the males and the 3.62% standard choices this number is very high. This number cannot be explained in any general frame of explanation, because in the other five dyadic contexts the males choose more Panjabi except in the case of 'close friends'. There can be two different reasons for these two instances of more Panjabi in the choices of the females. The first, these students might be having Panjabi subject teachers among them who talk to their Panjabi subject teachers in Panjabi and hence the choices of this language are more than the males in this context. The second reason may be that the female students are more sensitive to the *Other* who comes into dyadic relation with them. This is clearer from the choices that they express for the 'close friend' and 'peon' person categories in this domain, because their Panjabi choices are almost a complete reversal of the choices expressed by the males for these two person categories.

The two groups are otherwise very different from each other at every point of comparison and in all the exclusive language choices and in the choices of language-combinations. The females' tendency towards more exclusive Hindi and the males' greater preferences for English are more noteworthy differences among the two groups. All these differences are indicative of a strong choice influencing power of this variable in the language behaviour of these students in this domain.

4.6.6.3. Language Choices in Educational Domain in terms of Parents' Education.—There are four groups under this variable. We describe their language choices in Table-56 A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 6, 7, 8, 9 respectively, domain -6.)

TABLE 56-A: Below Matric

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers	3.51	5.26	5.26	5.26	15.79	10.53	54.39	*
2 Lab assistants	19.30	7.02	3.51	1.75	3.51	28.07	17.54	19.30
3 Office-library staff	31.58	15.79	5.31	3.51	3.51	26.32	14.04	1.75
4 Class mates	26.32	7.02	1.75	14.04	8.77	28.07	14.04	*
5 Close friends	40.35	7.02	3.51	8.77	12.28	12.28	14.04	1.75
6 Peons	38.60	17.54	*	*	*	43.86	*	*

TABLE 56-B : *Matric*

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	Teachers	2.42	.81	4.03	8.06	19.35	7.26	58.00	*
2	Lab assistants	19.35	6.45	3.23	1.61	6.45	30.65	15.32	16.94
3	Office library staff	26.61	6.45	4.84	4.03	9.68	31.45	16.13	.81
4	Class mates	20.97	8.87	7.26	12.10	16.13	19.35	14.52	.81
5	Close friends	45.97	16.13	5.65	4.84	4.84	10.48	7.26	4.84
6	Peons	39.52	13.71	*	.81	*	45.97	*	*

TABLE 56-C: *Graduate*

1	Teachers	5.97	1.49	1.49	5.97	7.48	5.97	70.15	1.49
2	Lab assistants	17.91	11.94	*	*	4.48	29.85	20.90	14.93
3	Office-library staff	32.84	11.94	4.48	1.49	7.46	23.88	17.91	*
4	Class mates	19.40	11.94	13.43	13.43	5.97	10.45	23.88	1.49
5	Close friends	26.87	13.43	13.43	10.45	4.48	14.93	14.93	1.49
6	Peons	38.81	14.93	1.49	*	1.49	41.79	1.49	*

TABLE 56-D: *Post Graduate*

1	Teachers	3.57	*	7.14	7.14	3.57	7.14	71.43	*
2	Lab assistants	21.43	3.57	*	*	*	32.14	17.86	25.00
3	Office-library staff	35.71	3.57	7.14	*	3.57	25.00	25.00	*
4	Class mates	*	10.71	3.57	14.29	3.57	10.71	53.57	3.57
5	Close friends	7.14	7.14	10.71	14.29	7.14	14.29	35.71	3.57
6	Peons	46.43	3.57	3.57	*	*	46.43	*	*

This variable does not seem to have any overall strong impact over the language choices of the students for Panjabi, Hindi and English. It has some effect only in some parts of the total context. See for instance the post-graduate group. Based on its performance in the domains other than Worship, it should not have reported Panjabi at all with the teachers, and its choices of Panjabi should have been less than the standard in the other dyadic contexts. On the contrary, this group reports Panjabi almost equal to the standard for teachers, and except 'classmates' and 'close friends', the choices of Panjabi are more than the standard in every dyadic context. Of course this group chooses more English to talk to the teachers as compared to the other groups but it is not as exclusive as it was in the other domain, like Transportation, for instance. Compare the

choices of English' of this group with its 'classmates' and 'close friends' categories with the category 'another student of your college (not friend)' of that domain. We find that the choices of this group are 32.14% and 50.00% less than that domain, respectively. A comparison with the 'stranger boy' category will speak of even wider choice differences.

4.6.6.4. *Language Choices in Educational Domain based in Parents' Occupation.*—The language choices of the five occupational background groups are described in Table-57 A, B, C, D and E. (Appendix 7, Tables 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 respectively, domain 6.)

TABLE 57-A: *Commoners*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers	6.78	*	1.69	6.78	13.56	8.47	62.71	*
2 Lab assistants	23.72	6.78	3.39	1.69	3.39	37.29	11.86	11.86
3 Office-library staff	38.98	11.86	1.69	6.78	3.39	28.31	8.47	*
4 Class mates	27.12	5.08	6.78	15.25	10.17	16.95	16.95	1.69
5 Close friends	44.07	5.08	3.39	13.56	6.78	11.86	10.17	5.08
6 Peons	33.90	10.17	*	1.69	*	52.54	1.69	*

TABLE 57-B: *Business (Non-Elites)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers	3.51	1.75	6.14	4.39	17.54	7.89	24.28	*
2 Lab assistants	14.91	7.89	2.63	.88	5.26	29.82	19.30	19.30
3 Office-library staff	27.19	10.53	2.63	1.75	7.89	30.70	17.54	1.75
4 Class mates	21.05	10.53	3.51	11.40	12.28	28.07	13.16	*
5 Close friends	38.60	14.91	5.26	4.39	7.02	14.91	11.40	3.51
6 Peons	38.60	14.91	*	*	*	49.49	*	*

TABLE 57-C: *Business (Elites)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers	*	*	*	10.00	6.67	3.33	80.00	*
2 Lab assistants	10.00	6.67	*	*	6.67	13.33	33.33	30.00
3 Office-library staff	20.00	3.33	10.00	3.33	10.00	23.33	30.00	*
4 Class mates	16.67	13.33	10.00	13.33	3.33	3.33	36.67	3.33
5 Close friends	23.33	13.33	10.00	16.67	6.67	3.33	27.67	*
6 Peons	40.00	13.33	6.67	*	3.33	36.67	*	*

TABLE 57-D: *Elites*

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	Teachers	1.85	1.85	9.26	7.41	7.41	7.41	62.96	1.85
2	Lab assistants	25.93	7.41	*	*	3.70	37.04	12.96	12.96
3	Office-library staff	37.04	9.26	5.56	*	3.70	27.78	16.67	*
4	Class mates	11.11	12.96	14.81	14.81	11.11	9.26	25.93	*
5	Close friends	35.19	7.41	14.81	7.41	7.41	11.11	16.67	*
6	Peons	48.15	14.81	*	*	*	37.04	*	*

TABLE 57-E: *No Report*

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1	Teachers	10.53	5.26	*	10.53	10.53	10.53	52.63	*
2	Lab assistants	26.32	10.53	5.26	5.26	5.26	15.79	10.53	21.05
3	Office-library staff	31.58	*	21.05	5.26	5.26	15.79	21.05	*
4	Class mates	15.79	*	*	10.53	21.05	10.53	36.84	5.26
5	Close friends	26.32	5.26	10.53	5.26	10.53	21.05	15.79	5.26
6	Peons	42.11	15.79	*	*	*	42.11	*	*

Once again there are no significant overall effects of the parental occupational background as a choice effecting variable in this domain. Some scattered choice differences like zero Panjabi in the group C (Business (non-elite)) for teachers dyad, 1.85% Panjabi in the group D (Elite) for classmates, 80.00% and 24.28% English for teachers in the group C and B (Business (Non-elites)) do not suggest any pattern change. Except the group C we do not see comparatively higher quantities of English even in the Elites group. The 10.53% of exclusive Panjabi in the group E (No Report) for the Teachers look like an odd exception that cannot be explained within the given explanations so far. But the rest of the group dyads are in no way different from the total group choices; therefore, this choice cannot be taken, despite its being unexplainable, as indicative of the strength of the variable.

4.6.6.5. *Language Choices in Educational Domain based on the Duration of Stay of Students in Delhi.*—The parts A, B of Table 58 present descriptions of the choices of the two groups of students under this variable. (Appendix 7, Tables 15, 16 respectively, domain 6.)

TABLE 58-A: *Stay Below ten years*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers . .	*	3.33	3.33	3.33	13.33	10.00	63.33	*
2 Lab assistants . .	20.00	13.33	*	3.33	*	33.33	10.00	20.00
3 Office-library staff . .	30.00	20.00	3.33	*	6.67	23.33	16.67	*
4 Class mates . .	16.67	16.67	13.33	10.00	10.00	10.00	20.00	3.33
5 Close friends . .	26.67	6.67	16.67	3.33	13.33	10.00	13.33	10.00
6 Peons . .	46.17	16.67	3.33	*	*	33.33	*	*

TABLE 58-B: *Stay above ten years*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers . .	4.07	1.63	4.06	7.32	13.82	7.32	61.38	.41
2 Lab assistants . .	19.11	6.91	2.44	.81	5.28	29.67	18.29	17.48
3 Office-library staff . .	30.08	8.13	4.06	3.25	7.32	28.46	17.07	.81
4 Class mates . .	19.92	8.54	6.51	13.41	10.98	19.11	20.78	.81
5 Close friends . .	37.40	13.41	6.51	8.54	5.69	12.60	13.41	2.44
6 Peons . .	39.02	13.41	.41	.41	.41	45.93	.41	*

There are some marginal differences in the choices of the two groups under this variable. To concentrate on exclusive Panjabi first, the two groups differ from each other clearly in the first, fourth, fifth and sixth dyads, and the differences in the 2nd and 3rd dyads are only marginal. The choices of the two groups for exclusive Hindi are different at every point of comparison, and the group distinctions are very evident. The choices of exclusive English show only small quantitative differences and that too in the 1st, 2nd and the 3rd dyads. But the differences become very marked when we involve the choices of language-combinations. Therefore, the overall effect of this variable becomes countable, more than marginal as is stated by the first line. And one has to maintain that this variable has a comparatively strong choice-influencing power, if not as strong as the religion and sex variables.

4.6.6.6. *Language Choices in Educational Domain based on Claimed Home States.*—There are four groups under this variable.

We describe the language choices of these groups in Table 59-A, B, C, and D (Appendix 7, Tables 17, 18, 19, 20 respectively, domain 6.)

TABLE 59-A: *Delhi*

		P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	
1	Teachers	4.95	2.20	3.30	6.59	17.03	7.14	58.24	.55
2	Lab assistants	18.68	7.69	2.20	.55	4.95	28.57	16.48	20.88
3	Office-library staff	29.67	9.89	5.49	2.20	8.79	26.37	17.03	.55
4	Class mates	20.33	9.89	7.69	12.64	8.79	21.43	19.23	*
5	Closefriends	36.81	14.29	6.59	7.69	6.59	14.29	10.99	2.75
6	Peons	41.21	14.29	1.10	.55	.55	41.76	.55	*

TABLE 59-B: *Punjab*

1 Teachers	*	2.04	10.20	8.16	10.20	6.12	63.27	*
2 Lab assistants	26.53	10.20	4.08	2.04	4.08	26.53	18.37	8.16
3 Office library staff	36.73	8.16	4.08	4.08	4.08	22.45	18.37	2.04
4 Class mates	24.49	10.20	12.24	14.29	12.24	6.12	18.37	2.04
5 Close friends	38.77	12.24	14.29	6.12	2.04	10.20	12.24	4.08
6 Peons	44.90	*	14.29	*	*	40.82	*	*

TABLE 59-C: *Non-Delhi/Punjab*

1 Teachers	*	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	77.78	*
2 Lab assistants	11.11	*	*	11.11	*	44.44	*	33.33
3 Office library staff	11.11	22.22	*	*	*	55.56	11.11	*
4 Class mates	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	22.22	44.44	11.11
5 Close friends	11.11	*	*	*	22.22	11.11	44.44	11.11
6 Peons	22.22	11.11	*	*	*	66.67	*	*

TABLE 59-D: *No Report*

1 Teachers	2.78	*	*	8.33	5.56	11.11	72.22	*
2 Lab assistants	13.89	5.56	*	*	5.56	38.89	25.00	11.11
3 Office library staff	27.78	5.56	2.78	5.56	5.56	36.11	16.67	*
4 Class mates	13.89	8.33	*	13.89	19.44	16.67	25.00	2.78
5 Close friends	36.11	8.33	5.56	13.89	8.33	5.56	19.44	2.78
6 Peons	30.56	11.11	*	*	*	58.33	*	*

There is some pattern again in group C. Except the Teachers and the Classmates, the students choose Panjabi for every other dyad; since the absolute number is 9, we get only 11.11% or 22.22%, i.e., one person and two persons respectively. The choices of Hindi are comparatively more than the choice by the other groups and the standard. The choices of English are more than the choices by all the other three groups and the standard except in lab-assistants and the office-library staff dyads.

When compared to the other groups this group presents a unique type of choice patterns. And all the three groups themselves are different from one another in their choices of the three exclusive languages as well as the language-combinations. That is, the choices of exclusive Panjabi among the groups A, B and D vary at each point of comparison; similarly the choices of exclusive Hindi and of English also vary; and this variation is at times very sharp and at times very nominal, but the variation among these groups is recognisable. Therefore, though this variation among the groups does not add any thing to our understanding of the language behaviour of the students it certainly shows the comparative strength of the variable as a choice determining factor in the language behaviour of the students.

4.6.6.7. *Language Choices in Educational Domain based on Subjects Opted in the College for Studies.*—This is the last variable of this study in this domain. There are four groups under this variable. We describe the language choices of these groups in Table 60-A, B, C and D. (Appendix 7, Tables 21, 22, 23, 24 respectively, domain 6.)

TABLE 60-A: B. A. (Pass)

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers .	5.36	2.68	2.68	8.04	15.18	8.04	58.04	3.57
2 Lab assistants .	12.50	4.46	.89	.89	7.14	33.93	16.96	23.21
3 Office library staff	25.89	4.46	3.57	2.68	10.71	36.61	14.29	1.79
4 Class mates.	21.43	17.86	5.36	12.50	7.14	26.79	8.04	.89
5 Close friends	41.96	18.75	4.46	7.14	2.68	15.18	5.36	4.46
6 Peons	36.61	13.39	*	*	*	50.00	*	*

TABLE 60-B: *B. A. (Hons)*

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
1 Teachers	1.82	*	*	1.82	3.64	7.27	85.45	*
2 Lab assistants	5.45	5.45	*	1.82	5.45	27.27	38.18	16.36
3 Office-library staff	34.55	5.45	3.64	1.82	7.27	18.18	29.09	*
4 Class mates	9.09	*	3.64	6.36	9.09	7.27	54.55	*
5 Close friends	16.36	5.45	7.27	9.09	10.91	7.27	41.82	1.82
6 Peons	38.18	12.73	1.82	*	1.82	45.45	*	*

TABLE 60-C: *B. Sc.*

1 Teachers	4.11	2.74	9.59	4.11	20.55	9.59	47.95	1.37
2 Lab assistants	43.84	16.44	6.85	*	*	28.77	4.11	*
3 Office-library staff	34.25	17.81	6.85	1.37	4.11	24.66	10.96	*
4 Class mates	28.77	8.22	10.96	6.85	16.44	13.70	13.70	1.37
5 Close friends	50.68	9.59	8.22	4.11	9.59	9.59	5.48	2.74
6 Peons	45.21	16.44	1.37	*	*	34.25	10.37	*

TABLE 60-D: *Commerce*

1 Teachers	*	*	2.78	16.67	13.89	2.78	63.89	*
2 Lab assistants	11.11	2.78	*	2.78	5.56	25.00	13.89	38.86
3 Office-library staff	27.78	13.89	5.56	8.33	2.78	22.22	19.44	*
4 Class mates	11.11	*	11.11	22.22	13.89	16.67	22.22	2.78
5 Close friends	19.44	11.11	16.67	16.67	5.56	16.67	11.11	2.78
6 Peons	41.67	11.11	*	2.78	*	44.44	*	*

If we compare the choices of the students for exclusive Panjabi we find that the four groups are different in their choices of Panjabi at every point of comparison. The choices of exclusive Hindi are again markedly different in all the four groups in all the six dyadic contexts. The real polarising contrasts are shown by the students in their choices of exclusive English. The Hons. group is present with its usual high choices of English in most of its dyadic contexts, especially in the 'teachers' and in the 'classmates'. The B.Sc. group shows the pro-Panjabi tendency again with its greater preference for Panjabi than Hindi and English in every dyad except the 'teachers'. The 50.68% Panjabi chosen by this group for the 'close friend' is the

real difference signaling marker. The choices of exclusive English of this group are lower than all the other groups in every dyadic context. The group Commerce, of course, shows comparatively low choices of exclusive Panjabi, but this group selects comparatively more of language-combinations, which share Panjabi in the dyads other than the 'teachers' and the 'lab-assistants'. We have been seeing this tendency among the commerce group very frequently in most of the domains discussed earlier. The clear cut choice differences among the four groups, therefore, can be easily seen as indicative of the strong choice determining power of the subjects opted for studies at college as a significant variable.

The data discussed in this domain brings out some important facts about the language behaviour of the students if we compare these data with the data from the other domains in this variable. One of the significant findings is that the choices of exclusive Panjabi are more in this domain than anywhere else under this variable. Of course Family domain is an exception to this and we have given reasons to make it clear why it is so. The next exception to the said tendency is that of Worship domain. In comparison to rest of the out-door life contexts, especially Transportation, the students show quite a preference for Panjabi. In contrast the choices of exclusive Hindi and English are not as high as in Transportation.

These findings present a linguistic situation, to a great degree, opposite to the one reported by Professor Pandit (Pandit 1978). Starting with Professor Pandit's findings,—almost zero Panjabi in his college—we must expect very high degree of exclusive English; not only that, the amount of English preferred should be more than the choices found in any other domain under the variable. But we find that this simply does not happen.

Incidentally, this is true of this domain almost in every variable discussed in the many sections on the variable-based data. The level of quantitative preferences for exclusive Panjabi is quite high in this domain as compared to the rest of the out-door life contexts, except Worship, etc., in all the variables. This is very much so at least in comparison to Transportation. Similarly the choices for exclusive English and Hindi are generally lower than their choice in the Transportation in this domain under every variable.

If we refer back to the statement that was made on the general environment in the college while discussing our information on Friendship in the General Patterns that 'the environment of the college is more conducive for Panjabi than in the other locations', we find that our statement is confirmed here.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Conclusions

The first important point this study has demonstrated with some degree of success is that all the three languages, namely, Panjabi, Hindi and English, together with their four possible combinations that constitute the linguistic repertoire of the Panjabi mother tongue students in Delhi are strategically important for them to be able to live their social relations in the total hierarchical structuration of the Delhi society. Knowing/learning languages other than their mother tongue (Punjabi, in the case of our students) is not a situation that should necessarily end up in shift from the mother tongue in favour of other tongues (in the case of our study, these languages are Hindi and English). The other tongues are learnt because the total socio-linguistic situation has assigned various roles, functions and behavioural situations to these languages. If this 'additional' learning does not take place, the said minority students would fail to acquire full participatory roles in the life of Delhi. Therefore, it was argued that if these minority students do not talk to *the Other* even within their own minority group in their mother tongue, in any of the given domains of their language use, that should not be taken as an instance of loss of their mother tongue in that domain, and as an instance of a shift to any of the other tongues. It was shown with the help of data that even the complete absence of the mother tongue and/or of the other tongue in one domain of language use, is compensated with extremely high choices of that language in another domain. This is because the three languages are functionally complementing one another in the routine life of these students. It was suggested that this functional complementation among these three languages is responsible for the existence of the very phenomenon of bi/multilingualism. It was further argued that to talk of loss and shift in this case is to suggest a development in the situation towards monolingual conditions which cannot be supported given the historical information on the situation in Delhi as well as the situation prevailing in the neighbouring state of Punjab.

Therefore, the hypothesis that, "Panjabi Sikhs in Delhi maintain the Panjabi language while middle class Panjabi Hindus of Delhi are giving up Panjabi; second generation Panjabi

Hindus are shifting to Hindi, and at the same time, not so secure with their Hindi, they are further shifting to English," is rejected in the context of situation in SGTS Khalsa College, which formed the focus of our study.

Our no-loss and no-shift proposal is supported with the help of the information on the past of the Panjabi community of Delhi. We have shown that there was nowhere in the history of the Panjabi language, of the Punjab specially of the pre-partition days, and of its people over the last hundred years or so when this language was alone spoken by these people in their entire routine life in the towns and the cities of the Punjab. There fore no point of time can be fixed or obtained in the history where one can find/show Panjabi mother tongue speakers speaking only in Panjabi in their total life space. That is the reason why we interpret even total absence of the mother tongue from a domain only as a continuation of the status quo of the tradition, and it is also on these grounds that the idea of loss-shift is rejected.

We have further maintained that our interpretation of the language responses of the Panjabi mother tongue students cannot be generalised as accounting for the status of Panjabi language in the entire Panjabi Community of Delhi as such. If at all our statements could be generalised as accounting for the status of Panjabi in Delhi that should be done only in the case of those members of this community who are Panjabis linguistically, i.e., those who own Panjabi as their mother tongue. Those members who are Panjabis purely in a cultural sense do not come under the scope of the statements we have made. We have maintained in the first chapter that language behaviour of such cultural Panjabis is not of any interest to us, and is not within the scope of this study. Reasons for this position have been stated clearly in that chapter.

After rejecting the loss-shift argument we have tried to find out as to what makes the students to choose one language, say, the mother tongue, in one locale of a domain of language use and drop it and go in for another tongue in another locale of the same domain and/or in another locale of a different domain. We have made explicit some of the ground conditions the fulfilment of which is a precondition for the choices of the mother tongue (Punjabi) by the students in any of the behavioural contexts realisable either in private or public life space of their concern. Further, we have indicated very briefly how in certain cases more subtle understanding of these ground conditions

can be worked out. Some of these ground conditions are listed below.

The ground conditions for the choice of Panjabi to talk to known relation/person/profession-types:

- (i) *The Other* should carry a Panjabi language face that the student(s) assigned to it during the history of their speaking contact.
- (ii) Given the context and the topic, and also the hierarchical level of the social relation, if the initiator of the conversation is not *the other* individual, then the student with Panjabi mother tongue will begin the conversation in Panjabi.
- (iii) The student should be able to make out that if conversation is opened up in Panjabi it will not be further manipulated to switch over to another tongue by *the Other* individual when he takes up his turn in the conversational cycle.

The ground conditions for the choices of Panjabi to talk to unknown relation/person/profession-types:

- (i) The tacit knowledge of the student should be sufficient to make out whether *the Other* is a speaker of Panjabi or not.
- (ii) The tacit knowledge of the possible transitory social relations should make the student to decide easily upon the level of the social relational hierarchy in his transactions with *the Other*.
- (iii) After fixing the language face of *the Other* and the level of the social relational hierarchy to be assumed in transactions with *the Other*, it should be possible for the student to make out whether *the Other* is willing to converse in Panjabi.
- (iv) Given the locale and topic, etc., it should be clear for the student that the choice of Panjabi will secure him his normal social face and that he does not have to resort to any explicit or implicit face saving or image boosting devices.

Limitations of This Study

The main limitation of this study, or perhaps also the strongest positive point about it, is that language is involved in

this study purely in a 'notional sense'. That is, we view that the students take the languages known to them as different notions with no active references towards them. No doubt this helps in achieving easy quantification of the language behaviour but it does not let us know what actually is happening linguistically in the social praxis of life in Delhi.

Since the only source of information is the self-evaluative responses of the students, we have to depend only on what the students report about their language behaviour. No doubt there were inbuilt check devices employed in the questionnaire to control the authenticity of the information, even then the chance of doubt is very much there, especially when we do not have any supplementary device to have a different set of data for purposes of comparison.

These limitations together with some less important ones that are not mentioned here should not lead the reader to think of this study as a futile exercise. It is important to bear in mind, in this connection, the ongoing and open dialogue in social sciences in general (see Giddens, 1976, pp. 11—22) as to what should be considered the real data, in the life be studied by social scientists. Should it be what the behaving members of a society (in our case the students) say and believe to be the data, etc., or should it be what any practising social scientists construct/discover to be the data? It must also be said that the arguments supporting each of the direction are not conclusive. Therefore, all those arguments that have come in the support of the beliefs-data will stand to support this study as well.

Some Remarks for Future Research

It should be clear from our statements in the above section on limitations that we need to have a more indepth understanding of the linguistic situation in Delhi, specially from the point of view of the minority languages, if we wish to investigate what happens in actual speaking. One of the steps could be to involve language as structure. Observing people of this minority community talking, recording their language samples will be very rewarding, because this will help us to know better the situation the way it is. Though the data that shall be gathered for the purpose of studying the situation in this manner will be structural in nature, this would also bring with it numerous problems. One of the problems is now better known and can be considered a classical one. When we go for observing/recording, the *naturalness* of the situation gets 'checked' up with our

presence. The situation tries to account for our presence in it, and as a result, the situation gets reconstituted in response to our personality traits, the language face that we are assigned to by the situation, and the social distance that the behaving individuals of the situation will try to keep. Despite the classical argument no one can claim *naturalness* for any data recorded, at the most one can talk of naturalness in terms of a scale. Therefore, though in terms of the source of information and the manner of conveying the information one may talk of two different types of data, looking at them from the end product point of view, the information on the situation cannot come without getting filtered. Therefore, while hoping to get much information from actual observation of the situation, from *the real* language interplay, one has to be extremely careful, especially when making claims on the basis of the gathered information.

The second problem may be equally, or may be even more important than the first, is about the methodology of interpretation. Actually while observing/recording what we get is language discourse of varied length and of varying nature—we may get speech events taking place in the hands of many people taking their turns, we may have a running discourse of various other kinds and so on. But here it is not the nature of the discourse, rather the analysis of it is the problem. That is, how should the collected samples from real life situations be analysed so as to have inferences on the situation? The usual 'discourse analysis' that is being developed can be of some help, but the thrust in this area has been in different direction and for a different purpose so far; therefore, the kind of inferences we shall need on the situation for our understanding of the status of the mother tongue and/or of the other tongues in this or any other multilingual situation will have to come from a methodology which does not exist at present, though we cannot but have it if we want to involve languages as structure also in doing studies in the area of language maintenance.

The third problem will come up only when we get information from the said two different types of data, namely, notional and structural. The problem that we will now face is how to integrate the information from the two sources to have general inferences on the situation. If one would like to avoid this problem, then one has to go either for one of the types of the information, the way we have based this study purely on notional data, and has to show which information is more fruitful for arriving at better insights. We cannot do this in our case in this study because this presupposes the existence of a study on structural lines as well.

What seems to me most important at this stage is to develop a technology to do discourse analysis so as to have inferences on the situation(s). I propose to call this still not existing type of analysis as an Inferential Discourse Analysis. The usual problems of representativeness of a sample, the size of the sample and so on can only be decided if it is possible to develop the technology for this type of analysis first. I think, this can, if we have such a technology, put the field of Language Maintenance as an area of enquiry on a much more solid basis than it is now.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. The first study is presented as Gune Memorial Lectures delivered at Poona in 1968 by Professor Pandit. It was published in 1972. The second study was completed in mid 1974, much earlier than its publishing date, 1978. Sadly it was a posthumous publication. It is important to inform the reader that in spite of the published version of this 2nd study I refer to the 1974 mimeographed version because I find that some of the important statements of Professor Pandit, important at least from my point appear to have been edited by the editors.

In another posthumous publication (Pandit : 1977), Professor Pandit touched on the question of Panjabi maintenance and shift, and he seemed to be talking about the survey on which the present study is based. His comments were based on the initial impressions of the situation because the time Professor Pandit wrote his lectures we were half through the tabulation of the data gathered from the survey. This study certainly was next to the 1974 though in terms of publication date it came first, in 1977. We shall discuss this study at a later stage in a subsequent work.

2. The term 'culture' is being used to describe only those subtle areal and community specific social, ceremonial and behavioural distinctions that are readily recognisable at the surface manifestations of the behaviour of any people. But this usage certainly does not deny the existence of a composite and homogenous deep level of culture, the formulation proposed by Professor Pandit. Our interest here is only in pinpointing the existence of surface, subtle, and specific distinctions which are, at times, more meaningful for the individuals.

3. For instance, the College was busy in participating in Guru Teg Bahadur's, the 9th Guru of the Sikhs, martyrdom day which was being observed in Delhi and all over the country during the end of 1974 when we were conducting our survey.

4. The exact number of the students who participated in our survey, the language background of these students, etc., are given in Appendix 1. This group of 276 is selected out of a total population of the college because they reported Panjabi language as their mother tongue.

5. Our category 'below matric' is a combination of anything between no-education and education-not-matric. We had to club this range under one category because of various considerations, ease in handling the data just being one of them.

6. More is said about this classification in chapter 2. We give the criteria there.

7. There is no *rationality* claim about this decision. This is just an arbitrary decision to have a starting base, may be it has some meaning in the intuitive understanding of the situation in Delhi, but we are not very sure about that.

8. Some of the reasons for this can be found in our statements in chapter 2, especially the statements made on the information elicitation strategy.

Chapter 2

1. This questionnaire also carries some of the characteristics features of the one used by Professor Pandit. For instance, the number of the questions, and the sequences of the questions, etc. is almost the same. But it must be pointed out that most of the underlying assumptions that sanction the interpretations of the data are different from those of his. Because of the similarities with his questionnaire, I am thankful to Prof. Pandit for the *initial* version.

2. We do not know how far sociologists may agree to this conception of social structure. However, there seems to be some thinking on these lines in the literature, especially treatment by Philip (1978), though he develops his argument on different lines and for a different purpose.

3. This is one of the main limitations of this work. Given the conditions it was unavoidable.

4. We had a cursory look at the information under the '(4)' and decided not to include this information in the study because it does not give any significant insight into the language behaviour of the student if we study it in relation to the availability conditions.

5. This element of privacy is considered to be the characteristic feature of this domain. We posit this as a feature to be measured on a multi-point scale. These multi-points on the scale help us to include the presence of the people holding different social distances with the student (the Ego), and also those who come on occasional visits to the family.

6. This is not to deny the fact that there is always a direct relation possible between the student and each of the relation-types at this level. We are simply considering one side of the fact, because it fits well into our fixation scheme, and because it is more predominant out of the two. Once again, we see this predominance also through our OBEDIENCE at home.

7. Where does the territory of one's private life end and where does the sphere of public life begin is very difficult to decide. In common life of any group, society, and culture, there is always a great deal of interpolation between what can be regarded as the individual and the social. It may be the case that the private vs. public and/or the individual vs. social type of binary oppositions might operate as two sides of one and the same coin, might function concomitantly. Nevertheless, we see that socio-temporal distinctions are always perceived. And behaviour in any concrete life situations is possible unless these distinctions are available.

(Other than these socio-temporally relevant distinctions are those distinctions that are mostly explored by literary and creative people, but these possible distinctions are always open for society to social-

lise them for behavioural purposes. Cultural extension takes place through this and many other types of socialisations.)

Given the operative bias, the defined conditions, a demarcation between private and public territory of existence should be an arbitrary decision at any behavioural point. Such an arbitrary decision seems to be prerequisite for the purpose of this study also. Notice that we use the term arbitrary in Saussurian (1916) sense of the term. And we are talking about the base-conditions of behaviour, as against behaviour as an end product on which Giddens (1976) would base his sociological discussion.

8. Notice that we are making this statement despite an often available social belief that friendship is something non-formal. Our statement is applicable only to a situation where friendship from more than one locale is involved.

9. It is commonly known that 'idol worship' is a salient feature of Hindu religious ceremonies, but this worship is not part of Sikh religious ceremonies. A 'moorthi' is taken to be a god in Hinduism but the 'Adi Garanth' is considered to be a 'Guru' in Sikhism. Further, bowing before the 'Adi Garanth' and performing 'pooja' of a 'moorti' cannot be equated. Therefore, we propose that the term 'worship' does not mean either 'pooja' or bowing before the Adi Garanth, rather it is a general cover term for both.

10. The reader is referred to Professor Pandit's (1977) study on Delhi. He discussed this point of negotiation specifically in relation to language interplay in Delhi. A more broader theoretical discussion on this point can be seen in Giddens (op. cit. p. 74).

Chapter 3

1. Please refer to the 16th Report Of The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, p. 58, on this point.

2. For some of the details of these complaints, please refer to pages 26-28 of this study.

Chapter 4

1. Please refer to the note 9 of the 2nd chapter of this study.

2. Notice that Giddens (1976, p. 82) believes that, "The terms 'intention' and 'purpose' as such are rather misleading, or can easily become so, since they imply that the flux of the actor's life activity can be clearly desiccated into strings of intended out-come". Therefore, he uses the term 'motivation'. We do not have any disagreement with him as far as philosophical standpoint on behaviour is concerned. However, we use the term intention by fixing its place in the following sequence: to want → to intend → to manipulate/negotiate → to ± achieve. Therefore, for us the term 'Intention' is better than 'motivation' because intention involves purely Self in the action but motivation is free to involve *the Other* as well, and hence the self-oriented wanting, etc., does not get clear prominence in the reference

3. This point was suggested to me first by Dr. D. P. Pattanayak in one of our discussions.

APPENDIX No. 1

Mother tongue Breakup of the Students Who Participated in the Survey

1. Panjabi: 277 duplicated: 1 Considered : 276
 2. Bengali : 7
 3. Hariyanvi : 10
 4. Hindi : 88
 5. Kashmiri : 16
 6. Malayalam : 11
 7. Marathi : 6
 8. Sindhi : 7
 9. Tamil : 6
 10. Telugu : 8
 11. Urdu : 8
 12. African Languages With Different Names : 22
- Total No. of the students who participated : 457

APPENDIX NO. 2

Details Of The Occupations Represented

1. Advocate
2. Agent
3. Agriculture
4. Astrologer
5. A medical doctor (late)
6. Army Major
7. Assistant Ministry of Defence
8. Assistant Branch Manager E B Ltd
9. Assistant Engineer (Elect.) CPWD
10. Building Contractor
11. Business (Milk Dairy)
12. Business Motor parts
13. Business Railway Clearing and Forwarding Agent
14. Business Transport Co.
15. Business Wool Merchant
16. Contractor
17. Captain in Indian Army
18. Carpenter
19. Clerk (private)
20. Driver
21. Electric Business
22. Ex-Army Lt. Col.
23. Excise Customs Inspector
24. GISTE in N. Railway
25. Govt. Service
26. Govt. Service Accountant
27. Govt. Service Assistant
28. Govt. Service Asst. Director (Admn.) Ministry of Defence
29. Govt. Service Asst. Director of Intelligence Air Head Quarters.
30. Govt. Service Addl. Dist. & Sessions Judge
31. Govt. Service Caretaker cum Manager in a Hotel.
32. Govt. Service Chowkidar
33. Govt. Service CSO 15 Air Marshall
34. Govt. Service Deputy Admn. Officer
35. Govt. Service Deputy Director

36. Govt. Service Deputy Director research and Development
37. Govt. Service Deputy Manager
38. Govt. Service Head Train Examiner
39. Govt. Service Incharge
40. Govt. Service ISI Section Officer
41. Govt. Service Lecturer
42. Govt. Service Ordinance Officer Civilian
43. Govt. Service Research Officer
44. Govt. Service (Railway) Trimmer
45. Govt. Service STO. M/H Officer
46. Govt. Service UDC.
47. Govt. Service Subhead
48. Govt. Service Tech. Asst.
49. Holder of a Coal Depot
50. Incharge of Parliamentary Board Dept. AICC (formerly)
51. Late Govt. Contractor—Managing Director
52. Information Officer : Ministry of Ext. Affairs
53. Lawyer
54. Lecturer
55. Lieutenant (Indian Navy)
56. Manager in Milk Plant
57. Mason
58. Milk Distribution Officer
59. Ministry of External Affairs
60. Military Engineering Service Contractors (Building)
61. Officer
62. Police
63. Politics, Member of the Parliament
64. Private Service
65. Private Service Clerk
66. Private Service Store Keeper
67. Publishing & Printing
68. Retired
69. Retired Govt. Service
70. Retired Govt. Officer
71. Retired from Private Service
72. Retired Major in Army
73. R. Officer Retired
74. Retired Police Inspector
75. Retired (Railways)
76. Railway Service

77. Railway Servant, Head Train Examiner
78. Sales & Purchase of Scooters
79. Service
80. Service CIG
81. Service Dept. Manager
82. Service Enquiry Incharge
83. Security Officer in DTC
84. Shopkeeper
85. SPM (Sub Post Master)
86. Senior Tech. Officer Home Ministry
87. Service, Station Supervisor of Haryana Roadways
88. Supp. LIC.
89. Supp. NSSO (Field Operator) Srinagar
90. Tailor
91. Tech. Station Officer DFS
92. Timber Merchant
93. Transporter
94. Tutor
95. Under Secretary

TOTAL : 95

Note.—The designations and the spellings in the above list are given as in the original reports of the students, this is especially so in the case of the abbreviated designations.

APPENDIX NO. 3

The Colonies And The Areas of Delhi Represented

1. Anand Parbat
2. Ashok Nagar
3. Ashok Park Main
4. Ashok Palace
5. Ashok Vihar
6. Azad Nagar
7. Baba Road
8. Baljit Nagar
9. Bapa Nagar
10. Bara Hindu Rao
11. Bawan Road, Narela
12. Beadon Pura
13. Bengali Market
14. Bhai Parmanand Nagar
15. Bharat Nagar
16. C.C. Colony
17. Central Jail
18. Chanakya Puri
19. Chandu Park
20. Chitra Gupta Place
21. Clive Square
22. Connaught Place
23. Curzon Road
24. Darya Ganj
25. Defence Colony
26. Delhi Fire Service Headquarters
27. Dev Nagar
28. Dharam Pura
29. Dhaula Kuan
30. Dori Walan
31. East Panjabi Bagh
32. East Patel Nagar
33. Fire Brigade Lane
34. Gandhi Nagar
35. Gita Colony
36. Green Park
37. Gujran Wala Town

38. Hakikat Nagar
39. Hari Nagar
40. Hasting Square
41. Hauz Quzi
42. Hauz Khasa
43. Havelock Lines
44. Inder Nagar
45. Jaffree Square, Gole Market
46. Jaidev Park
47. JJ Colony
48. Jantar Mantar Tantar Road
49. Janak Puri
50. Jangpura Ext.
51. Jawahar Nagar, Shahadra
52. Kalkajee
53. Kamala Nagar
54. Kashmere Gate
55. Kasturba Gandhi Marg
56. Karol Park
57. Khampur
58. Kirti Nagar
59. Kingsway Camp
60. Kishan Ganj
61. Kodia Pul
62. Krishan Nagar
63. Lake Square Park Street
64. Lajpat Nagar
65. Library Road—Azad Market
66. Malik Pur
67. Malviya Nagar
68. Mata Sundri Road
69. Maurice Nagar
70. Meenakshi Garden
71. Mehrauli
72. Minto Road
73. Model Town
74. Mori Gate
75. Moti Bagh (South) Nanak Pura
76. Moti Nagar
77. Naraina Colony
78. Narain Vihar
79. North Avenue

80. Naveen Niketan
81. Naveen Shahadera
82. Nawab Ganj
83. Naya Mohalla Pul Bangash
84. NDSE
85. New Arya Pur—Roshanara Bagh
86. New Mahabir Nagar
87. New Police Line
88. New Rajinder Nagar
89. New Rohtak Road
90. Old Gobind Pura
91. Old Gupta Colony
92. Old Rajinder Nagar
93. Quatrum Square
94. Pahar Ganj
95. Panch Kuian Place
96. Pandara Road
97. Panjabi Bagh
98. Pascham Puri
99. Prabhat Road
100. Prem Nagar
101. Pusa (TARI)
102. Raghubir Nagar
103. Railway Quarters
104. Raja Garden
105. Rajauri Garden
106. Rani Bagh (Shakur Basti)
107. Ranjit Nagar
108. Rana Pratap Nagar
109. Reghur Pur
110. Red Fort
111. Reya Park
112. Rohtak Road
113. Roop Nagar
114. Romesh Nagar
115. R.K. Puram
116. Safdarjung Division Area
117. Safdarjung Enclave
118. Sant Nagar
119. Sarojini Nagar
120. Shadi Pur
121. Singh Sabha Road

122. Shiv Puri
123. South Patel Nagar
124. Sri Nagar
125. State Bank Colony
126. Subhadra Colony, Sarai Rohilla
127. Subhash Nagar
128. Subjee Mandi
129. Sudhama Puri, Shadara
130. Tagore Garden
131. Tagore Park
132. Tilak Nagar
133. Timar Pur
134. Tishazari
135. Tokriwallan Pulmathi
136. Uttam Nagar
137. Varinder Nagar
138. Vijay Nagar
139. Vishnu Garden
140. Vivekanand Puri
141. West Mukherjee Nagar
142. West Patel Nagar
143. Wilson Square
144. Ishwar Colony, Pambari

(The names are spelled as in the original report.)

APPENDIX No. 4

The Home States Claimed By The Students

1. Delhi : 184
2. Punjab : 41
- (This includes the two students who claim 'West Punjab in Pakistan' and 'Punjab in West Pakistan')
3. 'Lahore (Pakistan)' : 1
4. 'Banu (Pakistan)' : 1
5. 'Pakistan-Sargodha' : 1
6. 'Rawalpindi' : 1
7. 'Pakistan' : 2
8. Bihar : 1
9. Haryana : 3
10. U.P. : 3
11. Himachal Pradesh : 1
12. Jammu & Kashmir : 1
13. NO Report : 36

APPENDIX No. 5

Languages Known To The Students

In total 83 students report languages other than Panjabi, Hindi and English known to them. The details are as following :

1. Bengali : 2
 2. Bihari : 2
 3. Gujarati : 1 (Born in Ahmedabad, speaks at home)
 4. Nepali : 1
 5. Rajasthani : 1
 6. Sindhi : 2
 7. Sanskrit : 12
 8. Urdu : 35
 9. Duch : 1
 10. German : 1
 11. French : 2
 12. Bengali-Sanskrit : 1
 13. Bengali-Marwari : 1
 14. Persian-Duch : 1 (Born in London)
 15. Sanskrit-German : 1
 16. Sindhi-Bhojpuri : 1
 17. German-Oria : 1
 18. Urdu-Bengali : 2
 19. Urdu-Gorkali : 1
 20. Urdu-Sindhi : 1
 21. Urdu-Italian : 1
 22. Urdu-Bengali-Gujrati : 1
 23. Urdu-Gujrati : 4
- (Two of these students say they speak Urdu at home)
24. Urdu-Sanskrit : 7

(One of these students reports reading and writing skills in Urdu and he writes in Urdu for us)

Note.—The names of the languages are given as in the original.

APPENDIX NO. 6

Patterns of Language use (Questionnaire)

Instructions :

- (1) Please don't leave any question unanswered.
- (2) In most of the questions you should write language name in the indicated space, or tick the appropriate square (✓)

11. Full name: _____
12. Class: _____
13. Section : _____ Date _____ Place _____
14. Date of birth and place : _____
15. Address : _____
16. Home State : _____
17. Religion : _____ Hindu Sikh Muslim Christian Any other _____
18. Hosteler/Day Scholar _____ Hosteler _____ Day Scholar _____
19. Parent's Address : _____
20. Father's Education : _____ Below Matric Matric Graduate Post-graduate
21. Mother's Education : _____
22. Father's Occupation and Designation : _____
23. Mother Tongue: _____
24. For how many years have your Parents lived in Delhi ? _____
25. For how many years you have lived in Delhi ? _____ Yes _____ No
26. Do your grand parents live with you ? _____
27. Languages known to you :—Please mention the languages and tick off the applicable columns.
 Language : _____ Understand _____ Speak _____ Read _____ Write _____
- 27.1 _____
- 27.2 _____
- 27.3 _____
- 27.4 _____
- 27.5 _____

28. State the medium of instruction and the second language you had in school :
- | | Medium of Instruction | Second language |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 28.1 Elementary (I to V std) | | |
| 28.2 Middle (VI to VIII std) | | |
| 28.3 High (IX to XI std) | | |
29. Indicate the language/languages used by you to talk to the following on these topics :
- | People | Topic | Language |
|---------------------------|--|----------|
| 29.1 Parents : | Family problems/
Personal purchases | |
| 29.2 Sisters & Brothers : | College teachers | |
| 29.3 Aunts and Uncles : | A recent wedding | |
| 29.4 Cousins : | Film stars, gossip | |
| 29.5 Parents' friends : | Their health, well being | |
| 29.6 Servants : | Household chores | |
30. Mention the language used by you in the following contexts :
- | Person | Location | Language |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 30.1 Friends in your locality : | At a shopping Centre | |
| 30.2 Friends at your College : | At University gatherings | |
| 30.3 Religious-head : | Place of worship | |
| 30.4 Fellow worshippers : | Place of worship | |
31. Suppose you are at the bus stop and want to find out the time, in which language would you ask :
- | Person | Language |
|---|----------|
| 31.1 Another student of College (not your friend) | |
| 31.2 A boy (stranger) of your age group : | |
| 31.3 A girl (stranger) of your age group : | |
| 31.4 A middle-aged gentleman : | |
| 31.5 A middle-aged lady : | |
32. When you are away from your home in which language do you write to :
- | Person | Language |
|------------------------------|----------|
| 32.1 Your father : | |
| 32.2 Your mother : | |
| 32.3 Your brothers/sisters : | |
| 32.4 Friends : | |
33. What language would you speak with the following persons while visiting :
- | Sikh | Non-Sikh |
|-----------------------|----------|
| 33.1 Doctor/Chemist : | |

- 33.2 Barber/Tailor :
34. What language do you use when speaking to the following at your college campus : Language
- 34.1 Your teachers :
- 34.2 Laboratory Assistants :
- 34.3 Office staff/Library staff :
- 34.4 Peon :
- 34.5 Class mates :
- 34.6 Close friends in college :
35. In what script do you write Panjabi language ? Gurumukhi Nagari/Hindi Urdu
36. In which language do you read the following? (If more than one language, please mention) : Language
- 36.1 Newspaper
- 36.2 Magazines :
- 36.3 Novels/Stories :
37. When you are reading for relaxation which language do you Prefer? Specify in order of preference (if more than one) :
- 37.1
- 37.2
- 37.3
38. In what language are the marriage ceremonies of your community performed ?
39. Would you please write down a few lines (about 5) in Panjabi on any topic ?
40. Do you visit any place in Panjab ? Frequently Occasionally Never
- 40.1 Place :
- 40.2 District :
41. Mention two books (other than text books) that you have read in your own language : Title Author
- 41.1
- 41.2
42. Do you listen to radio programmes in Panjabi ? Yes No
43. When you have children of your own what language would you want them to use ? Context Language
- 43.1 At home talking with parents :
- 43.2 In school as medium of instruction :

44. Which language do you consider most useful to you for the following : Language
- 44.1 Marriage
- 44.2 Career prospects
- 44.3 Higher Education :
- 44.4 Social status
45. Which language do you use for thinking ?
46. If you can recall, what language do you generally dream in ?

Thanks

APPENDIX NO. 7

Language Speaking Tables

Note .—The Tables that run through some 24 pages or so need a small general note to be prefixed. In all of these Tables a variation between —.01% and —.02% is ignored while counting. Therefore, it may not be possible to get every/any member giving 100 if addition is tried.

The numbering of the Tables follows the sequence of the respective domains that these Tables represent the results of. That order is also given in the Chapter No. 2.

The numbers 1 to 6 in the border of the Tables stand for the domains, i.e. Family, Friendship, Worship, Marketing, Transportation, Education, respectively.

TABLE 1—GENERAL PATTERNS T.N.=276.

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents . . .	66.67	11.59	5.07	9.78	1.09	3.26	2.54	*
Aunts/uncles . .	52.17	8.33	7.97	7.25	6.16	9.06	7.97	1.09
1 Parents' friends .	28.99	11.23	9.42	10.14	9.42	14.49	14.49	1.81
Sisters/brothers .	38.41	6.52	12.32	8.33	9.06	8.70	14.13	10.14
Cousins . . .	28.99	8.33	9.06	10.14	10.87	15.58	16.30	.72
Servants . . .	13.41	17.03	.36	1.09	1.09	61.69	*	5.43
2 In locality . . .	17.75	10.14	3.62	10.87	11.23	22.83	23.55	*
In college . . .	36.23	12.68	7.61	7.97	6.52	12.32	13.41	3.26
In university gatherings .	14.86	5.44	7.97	13.04	15.94	12.68	30.07	*
Religious Head . .	73.19	3.99	*	1.81	1.09	16.30	.36	3.26
3 Fellow worshippers .	65.22	5.07	.72	3.26	1.45	18.12	.72	5.43
Middle aged gentleman .	7.25	7.97	1.09	3.62	9.06	40.94	29.71	.36
Middle aged lady . .	10.51	11.96	.72	3.99	9.06	41.30	21.01	1.45
4 A stranger boy . . .	6.16	2.54	1.81	2.17	10.14	21.38	54.35	1.45
A stranger girl . . .	4.71	1.81	1.09	2.54	10.14	14.86	62.32	2.54
another student of college (not friend) .	3.26	1.81	1.81	1.45	11.23	14.43	65.84	.36
Doctor/Chemist sikh . . .	62.68	2.54	7.25	2.17	2.90	4.71	14.49	3.26
5 non-sikh . . .	3.62	3.62	.36	2.17	13.04	39.13	24.64	13.41
Barber/Tailor sikh . . .	64.13	6.52	1.09	.72	.36	18.84	2.54	5.80
non-sikh . . .	9.42	5.80	*	.36	2.17	63.04	2.90	16.30

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Teacher . .	3.62	1.81	3.99	6.88	14.13	7.61	61.59	.36
Lab. assistant . .	19.20	7.61	2.17	1.09	4.71	30.07	17.39	17.75
6 Office/lib staff . .	30.07	9.42	4.71	2.90	7.25	27.90	17.03	.72
Class mates . .	19.57	9.42	7.25	13.04	10.87	18.12	20.65	1.09
Close friends . .	36.23	12.68	7.61	7.97	6.52	12.32	13.41	3.26
Peons . .	39.86	13.77	.72	.36	.36	44.57	.36	*

TABLE 2—VARIABLE 1.1—RELIGION: SIKH N=198

Parents . .	73.23	9.60	6.57	6.57	.51	1.52	2.02	*
Aunts/Uncles . .	58.08	5.56	10.61	6.57	3.54	6.06	9.09	.51
1 Parents' friends . .	32.32	11.62	12.12	9.60	7.07	12.63	13.13	1.52
Sisters/brothers . .	42.42	6.57	14.65	9.60	5.05	6.06	15.15	.51
Cousins . .	31.31	7.07	10.61	9.60	7.58	16.16	17.17	.51
Servants . .	15.15	18.18	.51	1.52	1.01	58.59	*	5.05
In locality . .	18.18	10.10	4.04	12.63	7.58	22.73	24.75	*
2 In college . .	38.89	14.65	8.08	7.58	4.55	8.59	14.14	3.5
In university gatherings . .	15.66	6.57	10.10	11.62	11.11	12.12	32.83	*
Religious Head . .	94.44	2.53	*	1.52	*	1.01	*	.51
3 Fellow worshippers . .	84.34	3.54	.51	3.54	*	5.56	.51	2.02
Middle-aged gentleman . .	9.09	9.09	1.52	3.54	10.10	35.86	30.30	.51
Middle-aged lady . .	12.12	13.64	1.01	3.54	9.60	37.88	20.71	1.52
4 Stranger boy . .	6.57	3.03	1.52	1.52	10.61	20.20	55.05	1.52
Stranger girl another student of college . .	6.06	2.53	.51	3.03	9.60	16.16	59.60	2.53
(not friend) . .	3.54	2.53	2.02	1.52	11.11	12.12	66.68	.51
Doctor/Chemist Sikh . .	64.65	1.01	6.06	3.03	2.53	4.55	16.16	2.02
non-Sikh . .	4.55	3.03	.51	1.01	11.62	36.36	24.75	18.18
Barber/Tailor Sikh . .	70.20	5.05	1.01	1.01	*	15.66	3.03	4.04
NonSikh . .	10.10	5.05	*	*	2.53	57.58	3.54	21.21

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Teachers . .	4.04	2.53	5.05	7.58	12.63	5.56	62.12	.51
Lab. assistants .	20.20	5.05	3.03	1.01	5.56	26.26	19.19	19.70
Office/lib staff .	33.33	6.06	6.06	3.54	8.59	23.23	18.18	1.01
6 Glass mates .	22.22	11.11	8.59	12.12	9.60	16.67	18.18	1.52
Close friends .	38.89	14.65	8.08	7.58	4.55	8.59	14.14	3.54
Peons . .	46.97	13.64	*	.51	.51	38.38	*	*

TABLE 3—VARIABLE 1.2—RELIGION : HINDU N=78

Parents .	48.72	16.67	1.28	17.95	3.85	6.41	5.13	*
Aunts/Uncles .	37.18	15.38	1.28	8.97	12.82	16.67	5.13	2.56
1 Parents' friends .	20.51	10.26	2.56	11.54	15.38	19.23	17.95	2.56
Sisters/brothers .	28.21	6.41	6.41	11.54	19.23	15.38	11.54	1.28
Cousins .	23.08	11.54	5.13	11.54	19.23	14.10	14.10	1.28
Servants .	8.97	14.10	*	*	1.28	69.23	*	6.41
In locality .	16.67	10.26	2.56	6.41	20.51	23.08	20.51	*
2 In college .	29.79	7.69	6.41	8.97	11.54	12.49	11.54	2.56
In university gatherings .	12.82	2.56	2.56	16.67	28.21	14.10	23.08	*
Religious Head .	19.23	7.69	*	2.56	3.85	55.13	1.28	10.26
3 Fellow worshippers .	16.67	8.97	1.28	2.56	5.13	50.00	1.28	14.10
Middle-aged gentleman .	2.56	5.13	*	3.85	6.41	53.85	28.21	*
Middle-aged lady .	6.41	7.69	*	5.13	7.69	50.00	21.79	1.28
4 Stranger boy .	5.13	1.28	2.56	3.85	8.97	24.36	52.56	1.28
Stranger girl .	1.28	*	2.56	1.28	11.54	11.54	69.23	2.56
Another student of college (not friend)	2.56	*	1.28	1.28	11.54	19.23	64.10	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh .	57.69	6.41	10.26	*	3.85	5.13	10.26	6.41
Non-sikh .	1.28	5.13	*	5.13	16.67	46.15	24.36	1.28
5 Barber/Tailor								
Sikh .	48.72	10.26	1.28	*	1.28	26.92	1.28	10.26
Non-Sikh .	7.69	7.69	*	1.28	1.28	76.92	1.28	3.85

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Teachers . .	2.56	*	1.28	5.13	17.95	12.82	60.26	*
Lab assistants .	16.67	14.10	*	1.28	2.56	39.74	12.82	12.82
Office/lib staff .	21.79	17.95	1.28	1.28	3.85	39.71	14.10	*
6 Class mates .	12.82	5.13	3.85	15.38	14.10	21.79	26.92	*
Close friends .	29.49	7.69	6.41	8.97	11.54	21.79	11.54	2.56
Peons . .	21.79	14.10	2.56	*	* 60.26	1.28		*

TABLE 4—Variable: 2.1—Sex: Male, N-202

Parents . .	62.37	10.40	6.44	11.88	1.48	3.96	3.46	*
Aunts/uncles .	53.46	7.42	9.90	5.94	4.46	8.42	9.41	.99
1 Parents' friends .	27.72	10.89	10.89	9.41	10.40	11.39	17.82	1.48
Sisters/brothers .	40.09	4.95	12.78	8.91	7.42	7.92	17.32	.49
Cousins . .	30.69	8.42	10.40	7.92	10.40	13.86	17.82	.49
Servants . .	12.38	17.32	*	.99	1.48	61.39	*	6.44
In locality . .	21.28	8.42	3.96	12.87	10.40	18.32	24.75	*
In college . .	33.66	11.88	9.90	8.91	6.44	11.88	14.85	2.47
2 In university gatherings .	16.34	4.95	9.90	14.36	14.36	10.40	29.70	*
Religious head .	70.79	4.46	*	1.98	.49	17.82	.49	3.96
3 Fellow worshippers .	60.40	5.94	.99	3.96	1.48	18.81	.99	7.43
Middle-aged gentleman .	5.94	6.44	1.48	3.96	10.89	35.64	35.64	*
Midde aged-lady .	9.90	9.90	.99	4.46	12.38	34.65	26.24	1.48
4 Stranger boy .	8.42	1.98	2.47	2.47	11.39	19.80	53.47	*
Stranger girl .	5.45	1.48	1.48	2.97	10.89	9.90	65.35	2.47
Another student of college (not friend) .	3.47	1.89	2.47	1.48	13.37	11.88	65.35	*
Doctor/Chemist Sikh .	60.89	3.47	6.44	2.47	2.97	3.86	16.34	3.47
5 Non-Sikh .	4.46	4.46	.49	2.47	9.90	34.65	29.22	14.36
Barber/Tailor Sikh .	61.88	8.42	.99	.99	.49	17.33	3.47	6.44
Non-Sikh .	9.41	6.93	*	*	2.97	58.91	3.96	17.83

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Teachers	2.47	2.47	5.45	6.44	10.89	6.44	65.84	*
Lab assistants	21.29	8.42	2.97	.99	3.9	23.27	18.81	20.30
Office/lib staff	32.67	11.39	5.94	3.47	3.47	22.77	19.80	.49
6 Class mates	22.28	7.92	8.91	12.88	9.90	14.36	23.27	.99
Close friends	33.66	11.88	9.90	8.91	6.44	11.88	14.85	2.47
Peons	42.57	14.36	.99	.49	.49	40.59	.49	*

TABLE 5— Variable: 2.2— Sex: Females N-74

	Parents	78.38	14.86	1.35	4.05	*	*	1.35	*
	Aunts/uncles	48.65	10.81	2.70	10.81	10.81	10.81	4.05	1.35
	Parents' friends	32.43	12.16	5.41	12.16	6.76	22.97	5.41	2.70
1	Sisters/brothers	33.78	10.81	10.81	13.51	3.51	10.81	5.41	2.70
	Cousins	24.32	8.11	5.41	16.22	12.16	20.27	12.16	1.35
	Servants	16.22	16.22	1.35	1.35	*	62.16	*	2.70
	In locality	8.11	14.86	2.70	5.41	13.51	35.13	20.27	*
	In college	43.24	14.86	1.35	5.41	6.76	13.51	9.46	5.41
2	In university gatherings	10.81	6.76	2.70	9.46	20.27	18.92	31.08	*
	Religious Head	79.73	2.70	*	1.35	2.70	12.16	*	1.35
3	Fellow worshippers	78.38	2.70	*	1.35	1.35	16.22	*	*
	Middle-aged gentleman	10.81	12.16	*	2.70	4.05	55.41	13.51	1.35
	Middle-aged lady	12.16	17.57	*	2.70	*	59.46	6.76	1.35
	Stranger boy	*	4.05	*	1.35	6.76	25.68	56.76	5.41
4	Stranger girl	2.70	2.70	*	1.35	8.11	28.38	54.05	2.70
	Another student of college (not friend)	2.70	1.35	*	1.35	5.41	20.27	67.57	1.35
	Doctor/Chemist Sikh	67.57	*	9.46	1.35	2.70	6.76	9.46	2.70
5	Non-Sikh	1.35	1.35	*	1.35	21.62	51.35	12.16	10.81
	Barber/Tailor Sikh	70.27	1.35	1.35	*	*	22.97	*	4.05
	Non-Sikh	9.46	2.70	*	1.35	*	74.32	*	12.16

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Teachers	6.76	*	*	8.11	22.97	10.81	50.00	1.35
Lab assistants	13.51	5.41	*	1.35	6.76	48.65	13.51	10.81
6 Office/Library Staff	22.97	4.05	1.35	1.35	17.57	41.89	9.46	1.35
Class mates	12.16	13.51	2.70	14.86	13.51	28.38	13.51	1.35
Close friends	43.24	14.86	1.35	5.41	6.76	13.51	9.46	5.41
Peons	32.43	12.16	*	*	*	55.51	*	*

TABLE 6—Variable: 3.1—Parents' Education: Below Matric N-57

Parents	68.42	21.05	*	3.51	1.75	5.26	*	*
Aunts/uncles	61.40	7.02	*	3.51	8.77	12.28	5.26	1.75
Parents' friends	40.35	15.79	1.75	5.26	8.77	19.30	7.02	1.75
1 Sisters/brothers	47.37	8.77	8.77	12.28	3.51	7.02	10.53	1.75
Cousins	40.35	12.28	3.51	7.02	12.28	17.54	5.26	1.75
Servants	19.30	10.53	*	*	*	64.91	*	5.26
In locality	17.54	17.54	1.75	14.04	7.02	29.82	12.28	*
2 In college	40.35	7.02	3.51	8.77	12.28	12.28	14.04	1.75
In university gatherings	14.04	12.28	1.75	12.28	19.30	21.05	19.30	*
Religious Head	66.67	5.26	*	*	3.51	24.57	*	*
3 Fellow worshippers	52.63	10.53	1.75	1.75	1.75	28.07	*	3.51
Middle-aged gentleman	10.53	15.79	*	5.26	5.26	35.09	28.07	*
Middle-aged lady	15.79	19.30	*	5.26	5.26	36.84	17.54	*
4 Stranger boy	8.77	5.26	1.75	3.51	10.53	38.60	29.82	1.75
Stranger girl	10.53	5.26	*	5.26	10.53	28.07	35.09	5.26
Another student of college (not friend)	1.75	5.26	3.51	1.75	14.04	22.81	50.88	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	63.16	3.51	8.77	3.51	*	5.26	8.77	7.02
Non-Sikh	3.51	3.51	*	3.51	12.28	42.11	19.30	15.79
5 Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	61.40	7.02	1.75	1.75	*	17.54	*	21.05
Non-Sikh	5.26	8.77	*	1.75	3.51	59.65	*	21.05

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Teachers . . .	3.51	5.26	5.26	5.26	15.79	10.53	54.39	*
Lab assistants . .	19.30	7.02	3.51	3.51	3.51	28.07	17.54	19.30
6 Office/library staff	31.58	15.79	3.51	1.75	3.51	26.32	14.04	1.75
Class mates . . .	26.32	7.02	1.75	14.04	8.77	28.07	14.04	*
Close friends . . .	40.35	7.02	3.51	8.77	12.28	12.28	14.04	1.75
Peons . . .	38.60	17.54	*	*	*	43.86	*	*

TABLE 7--Variable : 3.2--Parents' Education : Matric N-124

Parents . . .	75.00	8.06	4.03	11.29	*	1.61	*	*
Aunts/uncles . .	54.03	9.68	8.06	7.26	6.45	10.48	4.03	*
1 Parent's friends	25.81	11.29	12.10	11.29	9.68	20.97	8.06	.81
Sisters/brothers . .	45.97	5.65	11.29	8.06	8.87	9.68	10.48	*
Cousins . . .	21.77	9.68	13.71	11.29	8.87	18.55	16.13	*
Servants . . .	14.52	22.58	.81	.81	.81	57.26	*	3.23
In locality . . .	20.16	10.48	4.84	13.71	11.29	20.97	18.55	*
In college . . .	45.97	16.13	5.65	4.84	4.84	10.48	7.26	4.84
2 In university gatherings	17.74	4.84	8.06	11.29	16.13	12.10	29.84	*
3 Religious Head	77.42	3.23	*	1.61	*	12.90	*	4.84
Fellow worshippers	70.97	.81	*	3.23	*	16.94	.81	7.28
Middle-aged gentle man . . .	8.06	7.26	2.42	2.42	8.87	51.61	18.55	.81
Middle-aged lady . .	9.68	13.71	.81	2.42	4.84	52.42	13.71	2.42
4 Stranger boy . . .	8.87	2.42	1.61	.81	12.10	19.35	52.42	2.42
Stranger girl . . .	4.84	1.61	.81	2.42	12.10	15.32	60.48	2.42
Another student of College (not friend)	5.65	1.61	1.61	.81	12.10	12.90	64.52	.81
Doctor/Chemist Sikh . . .	69.35	.81	4.03	2.42	4.84	4.84	11.29	2.42
Non-Sikh . . .	1.61	4.03	*	*	17.74	42.74	24.19	9.68
5 Barber/Tailor Sikh . . .	69.35	4.03	*	.81	.81	19.35	1.61	4.03
Non-Sikh . . .	12.10	2.42	*	*	1.61	70.16	1.61	12.10
Teachers . . .	2.42	.81	4.03	8.06	19.35	7.26	58.06	*
Lab assistants . . .	19.35	6.45	3.23	1.61	6.45	30.65	15.32	16.94
6 Office/library staff	26.61	6.45	4.84	4.03	9.68	31.45	16.13	.81
Class mates . . .	20.97	8.86	7.26	12.10	16.13	19.35	14.52	.81
Close friends . . .	45.97	16.13	5.65	4.84	4.84	10.48	7.26	4.84
Peons . . .	39.52	13.71	*	.81	*	45.97	*	*

TABLE 8—Variable : 3.3—Parents' Education : Graduate N-67

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents . . .	59.90	7.46	7.46	11.94	2.99	2.99	7.46	*
Aunts/uncles . .	50.74	4.48	11.94	8.96	4.48	5.97	10.45	2.99
1 Parents' friends .	26.87	5.97	13.43	13.43	5.97	4.48	25.37	4.48
Sisters/brothers .	43.28	4.48	8.96	10.45	10.45	4.48	16.42	1.49
Cousins . . .	37.31	5.97	5.97	10.45	8.96	10.45	19.40	1.49
Servants . . .	13.43	13.43	*	2.99	1.49	58.21	*	10.45
In locality . . .	20.90	5.97	2.99	4.48	8.96	22.39	34.33	*
In college . . .	26.87	13.43	13.43	10.45	2.99	14.93	14.93	1.49
2 In university gatherings .	13.43	2.99	11.94	22.39	8.96	38.96	31.34	*
3 Religious Head . .	68.66	5.97	*	4.48	1.49	14.93	1.49	2.99
Fellow worshippers	67.16	5.97	*	5.97	1.49	13.43	1.49	4.48
Middle-aged gentle- man . . .	4.48	4.48	*	4.48	10.45	31.43	44.78	*
Middle-aged lady . .	10.45	5.97	1.49	5.97	17.91	29.85	26.87	1.49
4 Stranger boy . . .	2.99	1.49	1.49	4.48	7.46	10.42	65.67	*
Stranger girl . . .	1.49	*	2.99	1.49	8.96	5.97	77.61	1.49
Another student of college (not friend)	2.99	*	*	2.99	8.96	13.43	71.64	*
Doctor/Chemist Sikh . . .	52.24	5.97	10.45	1.49	2.99	2.99	20.90	2.99
Non-Sikh . . .	10.45	4.48	*	4.48	5.97	32.84	20.90	20.90
Barber/Tailor Sikh . . .	62.69	7.46	2.09	*	*	20.90	1.49	4.48
Non-Sikh . . .	11.94	7.46	*	*	1.49	56.72	1.49	20.90
Teachers . . .	5.97	1.49	1.49	5.97	7.46	5.97	70.15	1.49
Lab assistants . .	17.91	11.94	*	*	4.48	29.85	20.90	14.93
Office/library staff	32.84	11.24	4.48	1.49	7.46	23.88	17.91	*
6 Class mates . . .	19.40	11.94	13.43	13.43	5.97	10.45	23.88	1.49
Close friends . . .	26.87	13.43	13.43	10.45	4.48	14.93	14.93	1.49
Peons . . .	38.81	14.93	1.49	*	1.49	41.79	1.49	*

TABLE 9—Variable 3.4—Parents' Education: Post
Graduate N-28

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	42.86	14.29	17.86	10.71	*	3.57	10.71	*
Aunts/uncles	28.57	14.29	14.29	10.71	3.57	3.57	25.00	*
1 Parents' friends	25.00	14.29	3.57	7.14	17.86	*	32.14	*
Sisters/brothers	17.86	3.57	14.29	10.71	10.71	14.29	28.57	*
Cousins	17.86	*	7.14	10.71	21.43	10.71	32.14	*
Servants	7.14	14.29	*	*	3.57	71.43	*	3.57
In locality	*	3.57	3.57	7.14	25.00	17.86	42.86	*
2 In college	7.14	7.14	10.71	14.29	7.14	14.29	35.71	3.87
In university gatherings	7.14	*	10.71	*	25.00	7.14	50.00	*
3 Religious Head	78.57	*	*	*	*	17.86	*	3.57
Fellow worshippers	60.71	3.71	3.57	*	7.14	14.29	3.57	7.14
Middle-aged gentleman	3.57	3.57	*	3.57	14.29	28.57	46.43	*
Middle-aged lady	3.57	3.57	*	3.57	14.29	28.57	46.43	*
4 Stranger boy	*	*	3.57	*	7.14	7.14	82.14	*
Stranger girl	*	*	*	*	3.57	7.14	89.29	*
Another student of college (not friend)	*	*	3.57	*	7.14	3.57	85.71	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	57.14	*	10.71	*	*	7.14	25.00	*
5 Non-Sikh	*	*	*	3.57	10.71	32.14	46.43	7.14
Barber/Tailor	50.00	14.29	*	*	*	14.29	14.29	7.14
Sikh								
Non-Sikh	*	10.71	*	*	3.57	53.57	17.86	14.29
Teachers	3.57	*	7.14	7.14	3.57	7.14	71.43	*
Lab assistants	21.43	3.57	*	*	*	32.14	17.86	25.00
Office/library staff	35.71	3.57	7.14	*	3.57	25.00	25.00	*
6 Class mates	*	10.71	3.57	14.29	3.57	10.71	53.57	3.57
Close friends	7.14	7.14	10.71	14.29	7.14	14.29	35.71	3.57
Peons	46.43	3.57	3.57	*	*	46.43	*	*

TABLE 10—Variable 4.1—Parents' Occupation :
Commoners N-59

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents . . .	61.02	8.47	3.39	18.64	*	5.08	3.39	*
Aunts/uncles . .	49.15	6.78	8.47	11.86	3.39	11.86	6.78	1.69
1 Parents' friends .	23.73	6.78	6.78	13.56	11.86	20.34	13.56	3.39
Sisters/brothers .	32.20	1.69	11.86	15.25	10.17	11.86	16.95	*
Cousins . . .	23.73	8.47	8.47	13.56	10.17	23.73	11.86	*
Servants . . .	6.78	22.03	*	1.69	*	66.10	*	3.39
In locality . . .	15.25	8.47	1.69	8.47	13.56	25.42	27.12	*
2 In college . . .	44.07	5.08	3.39	13.56	6.78	11.86	10.17	5.08
In university gatherings . . .	16.95	6.78	1.69	15.25	18.64	8.47	32.20	*
Religious Head . .	62.71	6.78	*	*	1.69	20.34	1.69	6.78
3 Fellow worshippers . . .	59.32	6.78	*	*	3.39	22.03	1.69	6.78
Middle-aged gentleman . . .	6.78	1.69	3.39	5.08	10.17	35.59	37.29	*
Middle-aged lady . . .	11.86	6.78	*	6.78	6.78	44.07	23.73	*
4 Stranger boy . . .	1.69	1.69	3.39	1.69	11.86	25.42	54.24	*
Stranger girl . . .	3.39	*	1.69	5.08	6.78	15.25	66.10	1.69
Another student of college (not friend) . . .	3.39	1.69	1.69	1.69	11.86	10.17	69.49	*
Doctor/Chemist Sikh . . .	62.71	3.39	3.39	3.39	1.69	5.08	13.56	6.78
5 Non-Sikh . . .	6.78	5.08	*	1.69	13.56	38.98	25.42	8.47
Barber/Tailor Sikh . . .	62.71	11.86	*	1.69	*	15.25	1.69	6.78
Non-Sikh . . .	11.86	5.08	*	*	*	71.19	1.69	10.17
Teachers . . .	6.78	*	1.69	6.78	13.56	8.47	62.71	*
Lab. assistants . .	23.73	6.78	3.39	1.69	3.39	37.29	11.86	11.86
Office/library staff . . .	38.98	11.86	1.69	6.78	3.39	28.81	8.47	*
6 Class mates . . .	27.12	5.08	6.78	15.25	10.17	16.95	16.95	1.69
Close friends . . .	44.07	5.08	3.39	13.56	6.78	11.86	10.17	5.08
Peons . . .	33.90	10.17	*	1.69	*	52.54	1.69	

TABLE 11—Variable 4.2—Parents' Occupation :
Business (NE) N=114

	P	PH	PF	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents . . .	75.44	13.16	1.75	5.26	.88	3.51	*	*
Aunts/uncles . . .	59.65	7.89	5.26	5.26	7.02	11.40	3.51	*
1 Parents' friends . . .	32.46	14.91	7.89	7.89	9.65	18.42	8.77	*
Sisters/brothers . . .	42.98	7.02	13.16	8.77	9.65	18.42	8.77	*
Cousins . . .	29.82	8.77	11.40	7.02	12.28	17.54	13.16	*
Servants . . .	18.42	14.91	.88	*	* 63.16		*	1.09
In locality . . .	21.93	10.53	4.39	7.89	10.53	24.56	20.18	*
2 In college . . .	38.60	14.91	5.26	4.39	7.02	14.91	11.40	3.51
In university gatherings . . .	13.16	7.02	7.02	8.77	14.91	18.42	30.70	*
Religious Head . . .	78.07	3.51	*	1.75	.88	13.1	*	2.63
3 Fellow worshippers . . .	70.18	4.39	.88	3.51	.88	16.67	*	3.51
Middle-aged gentleman . . .	8.77	13.16	.88	2.63	7.89	42.98	22.81	.88
Middle-aged lady . . .	8.77	17.54	.88	2.63	5.26	45.61	16.67	2.63
4 Stranger boy . . .	10.53	3.51	2.63	.88	11.40	23.68	43.86	3.51
Stranger girl . . .	7.02	4.39	1.75	.88	12.28	17.54	51.75	4.39
Another student of college (not friend) . . .	3.51	2.63	3.51	.88	12.28	16.67	59.65	.88
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh . . .	69.30	1.75	9.65	2.63	1.75	7.02	7.02	.88
5 Non-Sikh . . .	3.51	3.51	*	2.63	18.42	44.74	15.79	11.40
Barber/Tailor								
Sikh . . .	70.18	4.39	1.75	*	*	19.30	*	4.39
Non-Sikh . . .	9.65	4.39	*	*	2.63	68.42	*	14.91
Teachers . . .	3.51	1.75	6.14	4.39	17.54	7.89	24.28	*
Lab assistants . . .	14.91	9.65	2.63	.88	5.26	29.82	19.30	19.30
6 Office/library staff . . .	27.19	10.53	2.63	1.75	7.89	30.70	17.54	1.75
Class mates . . .	21.05	10.53	3.51	11.40	12.28	28.09	13.16	*
Close friends . . .	38.60	14.91	5.26	4.39	7.02	14.91	11.40	3.51
Peons . . .	38.60	14.91	*	*	*	46.49	*	*

TABLE 12—*Variable 4.3—Parents' Occupation:*
Business (E) N=30

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	56.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	3.33	10.00	3.33
Aunts/uncles	46.67	3.33	16.67	10.00	6.67	3.33	13.33	*
1 Parents' friends	30.00	6.67	13.33	20.00	10.00	3.33	16.67	*
Sisters/brothers	36.67	6.67	13.33	13.33	10.00	*	23.33	*
Cousins	33.33	3.33	3.33	3.33	10.00	10.00	26.67	*
Servants	13.33	16.67	*	3.33	3.33	60.00	*	3.33
In locality	23.33	3.33	*	13.33	10.00	16.67	33.33	*
2 In college	23.33	13.33	10.00	16.67	6.67	3.33	26.67	*
In university gatherings	23.33	*	10.00	16.67	6.67	3.33	40.00	*
3 Religious Head	80.00	3.33	*	6.67	*	10.00	*	*
Fellow worshippers	73.33	3.33	3.33	10.00	*	10.00	*	*
Middle-aged gentleman	3.33	6.67	*	3.33	10.00	40.00	36.67	*
Middle aged lady	10.00	6.67	3.33	3.33	20.00	30.00	23.33	3.33
4 Stranger boy	3.33	3.33	*	6.67	10.00	13.33	63.33	*
Stranger girl	3.33	*	3.33	*	10.00	10.00	73.33	*
Another student of college (not friend)	3.33	*	*	3.33	6.67	16.67	70.00	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	53.33	3.33	10.00	3.33	3.33	3.33	23.33	
Non-sikh	3.33	3.33	*	3.33	6.67	33.33	33.33	16.67
5 Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	56.67	6.67	*	*	*	26.67	10.00	*
Non-sikh	6.67	6.67	*	*	6.67	53.33	10.00	16.67
Teachers	*	*	*	10.00	6.67	3.33	80.00	*
Lab assistants	10.00	6.67	*	*	6.67	13.33	33.33	30.00
Office/lib staff	20.00	3.33	10.00	3.33	10.00	23.33	30.00	*
6 Class mates	16.67	13.33	10.00	13.33	3.33	3.33	36.67	3.33
Close friends	23.33	13.33	10.00	16.67	6.67	3.33	26.67	*
Peons	40.00	13.33	6.67	*	3.33	36.67	*	*

TABLE 13—Variable 4.4 Parents' Occupation: Elite
N=54

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	HE	H	*
Parents	61.11	12.96	12.96	7.41	*	*	5.56	*
Aunts/uncles	38.89	11.11	11.11	5.56	7.41	7.41	16.67	1.85
Parents' friends	27.78	12.96	9.26	7.41	5.56	9.26	25.93	1.85
1 Sisters/borthers	38.89	11.11	11.11	7.41	3.70	9.26	16.67	1.85
Cousins	29.63	9.26	7.41	12.96	9.26	5.56	24.07	1.85
Servants	7.41	9.26	*	1.85	1.85	72.22	*	7.41
In locality	12.96	9.26	3.70	3.70	14.81	20.37	35.19	*
2 In college	35.19	7.41	14.81	7.41	7.41	11.11	16.67	*
In university gathering	12.96	5.56	12.96	7.41	14.81	9.26	37.04	*
Religious Head	72.22	1.85	*	1.85	1.85	20.37	*	1.85
3 Fellow worshippers	53.70	7.41	*	*	3.70	12.96	18.52	3.70
Middle-aged gentleman	7.41	7.41	*	3.70	9.26	38.89	33.33	*
Middle-aged lady	11.11	9.26	*	3.70	12.96	37.04	25.93	*
4 Stranger boy	3.70	*	*	3.70	7.41	18.52	66.67	*
Stranger girl	*	*	*	3.70	9.26	7.41	77.78	1.85
Another student of college (not friend)	1.85	*	*	1.85	5.56	18.52	72.22	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	50.00	3.70	7.41	*	7.41	1.85	25.93	3.70
5 Non-Sikh	*	1.85	*	5.56	35.19	38.89	38.89	16.67
Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	64.81	12.96	*	*	*	12.96	3.70	5.56
Non-Sikh	11.11	5.56	*	*	*	57.41	5.56	20.37
Teachers	1.85	1.85	9.26	7.41	7.41	7.41	62.96	1.85
Lab assistants	25.93	7.41	*	*	3.70	37.04	12.96	12.96
6 Office/library staff	37.04	9.26	5.56	*	3.70	27.78	16.67	*
Class mates	11.11	12.96	14.81	14.81	11.11	9.26	25.93	*
Close friends	35.19	7.41	14.81	7.41	7.41	11.11	16.67	*
Peons	48.15	14.81	*	*	*	37.04	*	*

TABLE 14—Variable 4.5 Parents' Occupation: No Report

N=19

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	63.16	5.26	5.26	15.79	10.53	*	*	*
Aunts/uncles	42.11	21.05	10.53	10.53	5.26	5.26	*	5.26
1 Parents' friends	31.58	5.26	21.05	5.26	10.53	5.26	15.79	5.26
Sisters/brothers	31.58	10.53	10.53	5.26	15.79	10.53	10.53	5.26
Cousins	31.58	5.26	10.53	5.26	15.79	15.79	10.53	5.26
Servants	10.53	15.79	*	*	5.26	57.89	*	10.53
In locality	10.53	5.26	10.53	26.32	10.53	26.32	10.53	*
2 In college	26.32	5.26	10.53	4.26	10.53	21.05	15.79	5.26
In university gatherings	21.05	*	15.79	10.53	26.32	10.53	15.79	*
3 Religious Head	68.42	10.53	*	*	*	15.79	*	5.26
Fellow worshippers	52.63	5.26	*	5.26	5.26	15.79	*	15.79
Middle-aged gentleman	5.26	*	*	5.26	10.53	52.63	26.32	*
Middle-aged lady	15.79	10.53	*	5.26	10.53	36.84	21.05	*
4 Stranger boy	5.26	5.26	*	*	5.26	15.79	68.42	*
Stranger girl	10.53	*	*	5.26	10.53	15.79	57.80	*
Another student of college (not friend)	5.26	5.26	*	*	10.53	10.53	68.42	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	47.37	*	10.53	*	5.26	5.26	21.05	10.53
5 Non-Sikh	5.26	*	5.26	5.26	5.26	42.11	26.32	10.53
Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	47.37	10.53	*	*	*	21.05	5.26	15.79
Non-Sikh	*	10.53	*	5.26	*	57.89	5.26	21.05
Teachers	10.53	5.26	*	10.53	10.53	10.53	52.63	*
Lab assistants	26.32	10.53	5.26	5.26	5.26	15.79	10.53	21.05
Office/library staff	31.58	*	21.05	5.26	5.26	15.79	21.05	*
6 Class mate	15.79	*	*	10.53	21.05	10.53	36.84	5.26
Close friends	26.32	5.26	10.53	5.26	10.53	21.05	15.79	5.26
Peons	42.11	15.79	*	*	*	42.11	*	*

TABLE 15:—Variable : 5.1—Duration of the students stay in Delhi:
(Includes 2 no stay cases also) N=30

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents . . .	70.00	10.00	6.67	6.67	*	3.33	3.33	*
Aunts/uncles . .	56.67	3.33	13.33	3.33	10.00	6.67	6.67	*
1 Parents' friends . .	13.33	16.67	13.33	6.67	16.67	16.67	16.67	*
Sisters/brothers . .	30.00	6.67	10.00	10.00	10.00	13.33	16.67	*
Cousins . . .	26.67	10.00	6.67	3.33	13.33	23.33	16.67	*
Servants . . .	10.00	6.67	*	*	*	80.00	*	3.33
In locality . . .	13.33	*	3.33	6.67	20.00	26.67	30.00	*
2 In college . . .	26.67	6.67	16.67	3.33	13.33	10.00	13.33	10.00
In university gatherings . .	6.67	6.67	13.33	13.33	10.00	16.67	33.33	*
3 Religious Head . .	76.67	3.33	*	*	*	13.33	*	6.67
Fellow worship-pers . .	63.33	10.00	3.33	*	3.33	10.00	*	10.00
Middle-aged gentleman ² . .	*	6.67	*	*	16.67	40.00	36.67	*
Middle-aged lady . .	3.33	3.33	*	3.33	30.00	30.00	26.67	3.33
4 Stranger boy . . .	6.67	3.33	*	*	13.33	20.00	56.67	*
Stranger girl . . .	*	*	3.33	*	13.33	16.67	63.33	3.33
Another student of college (not friend) . .	3.33	3.33	*	*	13.33	16.67	63.33	*
Doctor, Chemist . .								
Sikh . . .	56.67	*	10.00	3.33	3.33	6.67	16.67	3.33
Non-Sikh . . .	3.33	3.33	*	3.33	10.00	23.33	30.00	26.67
Barber/Tailor . . .								
5 Sikh . . .	56.67	13.33	3.33	3.33	*	13.33	3.33	6.67
Non-Sikh . . .	6.67	6.67	*	*	3.33	46.67	6.67	30.00
Teachers . . .	*	3.33	3.33	3.33	13.33	10.00	63.33	*
Lab assistants . . .	20.00	13.33	*	3.33	*	33.33	10.00	20.00
Office/library staff . .	30.00	20.00	3.33	*	6.67	23.33	16.67	*
6 Class mates . . .	16.67	16.67	13.33	10.00	10.00	10.00	20.00	3.33
Close friends . . .	26.67	6.67	16.67	3.33	13.33	10.00	13.33	10.00
Peons . . .	46.67	16.67	3.33	*	*	33.33	*	*

TABLE: 16—Variable: 5.2—Duration of the students' stay in Delhi N=246

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents . . .	65.85	11.79	4.88	10.16	1.22	3.25	2.85	*
Aunts/uncles . .	51.63	8.94	7.82	7.72	5.69	9.35	8.13	1.22
1 Parents friends . .	30.89	10.57	3.94	10.57	8.54	14.23	14.23	2.03
Sisters/brothers . .	39.43	6.50	12.20	10.16	3.94	8.13	12.82	.81
Cousins . . .	29.27	8.13	9.35	10.98	10.57	14.63	16.26	.81
Servants . . .	13.82	18.29	.41	1.22	1.22	59.35	*	5.69
In locality . . .	13.29	11.39	3.66	11.38	10.16	22.36	22.76	*
2 In college . . .	37.40	13.41	6.50	8.54	5.69	12.60	13.41	2.44
In university gatherings . .	15.85	5.28	7.32	13.01	16.67	12.20	29.67	*
Religious Head . . .	72.76	4.06	*	2.03	1.22	16.67	.41	2.85
3 Fellow worshippers . . .	65.45	4.47	.41	3.66	1.22	19.11	.81	4.88
Middle-aged gentleman . .	3.13	8.13	1.22	4.06	8.13	41.06	28.86	.41
Middle-aged lady . . .	11.38	13.01	.81	4.06	6.50	42.68	20.33	1.22
4 Stranger boy . . .	6.10	2.44	2.03	2.44	9.76	21.54	54.07	1.63
Stranger girl . . .	5.28	2.03	.81	2.85	9.76	14.63	62.20	2.44
Another student of college (not friend)	3.25	1.63	2.03	1.63	10.98	13.82	66.26	.41
Doctor/Chemist . . .								
Sikh . . .	63.41	2.85	6.91	2.03	2.85	4.47	14.23	3.25
5 Non-Sikh . . .	3.66	3.66	.41	2.03	13.41	41.06	23.98	11.79
Barber/Tailor . . .								
Sikh . . .	65.04	5.69	.81	.41	.41	19.51	2.44	5.69
Non-Sikh . . .	9.76	5.69	*	.41	2.03	65.04	2.44	14.63
Teachers . . .	4.06	1.63	4.06	7.32	13.82	7.32	61.38	.41
Lab assistants . . .	19.11	6.91	2.44	.81	5.28	29.67	18.29	17.48
6 Office/library staff . .	30.08	8.13	4.88	3.25	7.32	28.46	17.07	.81
Class mates . . .	19.92	8.54	6.50	13.41	10.98	19.11	20.73	.81
Close friends . . .	37.40	13.41	6.50	8.54	5.69	12.60	13.41	2.44
Peons . . .	39.02	13.41	.41	.41	.41	45.93	.41	*

TABLE : 17—Variable: 6.1—The claimed Home States : Delhi. N=182

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	62.64	12.09	4.95	12.64	1.10	2.75	3.85	*
Aunts/uncles	52.75	9.89	6.59	8.79	6.04	8.24	6.59	1.10
1 Parents' friends	30.77	13.74	9.34	9.89	7.69	14.29	13.19	1.10
Sisters/brothers	41.76	7.69	10.44	11.54	7.69	7.69	12.64	.55
Cousins	27.47	9.34	7.69	10.99	12.09	15.38	16.48	.55
Servants	12.64	18.68	.55	1.10	1.10	61.54	*	4.40
In locality	19.23	11.64	4.40	10.44	10.44	23.08	20.88	*
2 In college	36.81	14.29	6.59	7.69	6.59	14.29	10.99	2.75
In university gatherings	18.13	4.94	7.69	13.19	19.23	9.34	27.47	*
3 Religious Head	71.98	4.95	*	2.75	1.10	14.84	.55	3.85
Fellow worshippers	65.38	3.85	.55	3.85	1.65	17.58	1.10	6.04
Middle-aged gentle	9.34	8.24	1.10	4.40	7.14	45.60	23.63	.55
Middle-aged lady	12.64	18.74	1.10	4.95	7.69	42.86	15.38	1.65
4 Stranger boy	6.59	3.30	1.10	3.30	9.34	26.37	48.90	1.10
Stranger girl	5.49	2.20	.55	3.30	11.54	15.93	58.24	2.75
Another student of college (not friend)	3.85	2.75	1.65	2.20	12.64	14.29	62.09	.55
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	67.03	1.65	8.24	1.65	2.20	3.30	13.74	2.20
5 Non-Sikh	4.94	3.30	.55	2.20	13.19	40.11	24.73	10.99
Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	67.58	7.14	1.10	*	.55	15.93	2.20	5.49
Non-Sikh	11.54	6.64	*	*	2.75	62.64	2.20	14.84
Teachers	4.95	2.20	3.30	6.59	17.03	7.14	58.24	.55
Lab assistants	18.68	7.69	2.20	.55	4.95	28.57	16.48	20.88
Office/library staff	29.67	9.39	5.49	2.20	8.79	26.37	17.03	.55
6 Class mates	20.33	9.89	7.69	12.64	8.79	21.43	19.23	*
Close friends	36.81	14.29	6.59	7.69	6.59	14.29	10.99	2.75
Peons	41.21	14.29	1.10	.55	.55	41.76	.55	*

TABLE 18—Variable : 6.2—The claimed home states: Punjab
N=49

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	73.47	10.20	4.08	4.08	2.04	4.08	2.04	*
Aunts/uncles	44.90	4.08	12.24	6.12	6.12	8.16	16.33	2.04
1 Parents' friends	18.37	6.12	10.20	14.29	14.29	12.24	20.41	4.08
Sisters/brothers	40.82	2.04	12.24	8.16	12.84	8.16	14.29	2.04
Cousins	26.53	10.20	10.20	6.12	12.24	16.33	16.33	2.04
Servants	16.33	16.33	*	16.33	*	55.10	*	10.20
In locality	14.29	10.20	*	16.33	16.33	14.29	28.57	*
2 In college	38.77	12.24	14.29	6.12	2.04	10.20	12.26	4.08
In university gatherings	8.16	6.12	12.24	18.37	8.16	8.16	32.78	*
3 Religious Head	83.67	*	*	*	2.04	14.29	*	*
Fellow worshippers	69.39	10.20	*	4.08	2.04	12.24	*	2.04
Middle-aged gentleman	4.08	10.20	*	*	20.41	22.45	42.86	*
Middle-aged lady	6.12	10.20	*	*	18.37	30.61	32.65	2.04
4 Stranger boy	6.12	*	4.08	*	14.29	8.16	63.27	4.08
Stranger girl	2.04	2.04	2.04	*	10.20	10.20	69.39	4.08
Another student of college (not friend)	*	*	4.08	*	12.24	16.33	67.35	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	53.06	2.04	8.16	2.04	4.08	6.12	18.37	6.12
Non-Sikh	*	8.16	*	4.08	14.29	32.65	20.41	20.41
Barber/Tailor								
5 Sikh	59.18	8.16	2.04	2.04	*	18.37	2.04	8.16
Non-Sikh	4.08	10.20	*	2.04	2.04	55.10	4.08	22.45
Teachers	*	2.04	10.20	8.16	10.20	6.12	63.27	*
Lab assistants	26.53	10.20	4.08	2.04	4.08	26.53	18.37	8.16
Office/lib staff	36.73	8.16	4.08	4.08	4.08	22.45	18.37	2.04
6 Classmates	24.49	10.20	12.24	14.29	12.24	6.12	18.37	2.04
Close friends	38.77	12.24	14.29	6.12	2.04	10.20	12.24	4.08
Peons	44.90	14.29	*	*	*	40.82	*	*

TABLE 19—Variable 6.3 The claimed home states:
Non-Delhi/Punjab N=9

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	66.67	22.22	11.11	*	*	*	*	*
Aunts/uncles	33.33	22.22	11.11	*	11.11	22.22	*	*
1 Parents' friends	11.11	11.11	11.11	*	22.22	22.22	22.22	*
Sisters/brothers	*	*	11.11	11.11	22.22	33.33	22.22	*
Cousins	33.33	22.22	11.11	*	11.11	22.22	*	*
Servants	11.11	*	*	*	*	88.89	*	*
In locality	33.33	*	*	*	11.11	22.22	33.33	*
2 In college	11.11	*	*	*	22.22	11.11	44.44	11.11
In university gatherings	*	11.11	*	*	22.22	22.22	44.44	*
3 Religious Head	33.33	*	*	*	*	44.44	*	22.22
Fellow worshippers	33.33	11.11	*	*	*	33.33	*	22.22
Middle-aged man	*	*	*	*	11.11	66.67	22.22	*
Middle-aged lady	11.11	*	*	*	11.11	55.56	22.22	*
4 Stranger boy	*	*	*	*	11.11	22.22	66.67	*
Stranger girl	*	*	*	*	11.11	22.22	66.67	*
Another student of college(not friend)	11.11	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	66.67	
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	77.78	*	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	*
5 Non-Sikh	11.11	*	*	*	*	44.44	44.44	*
Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	66.67	*	*	*	*	22.22	11.11	*
Non-Sikh	11.11	*	*	*	*	77.78	11.11	*
Teachers	*	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	77.78	*
Lab assistants	11.11	*	*	11.11	*	44.44	*	33.33
Office/lib staff	11.11	22.22	*	*	*	55.56	11.11	*
6 Classmates	*	*	*	11.11	11.11	22.22	44.44	11.11
Close friends	11.11	*	*	*	22.22	11.11	44.44	11.11
Peons	22.22	11.11	*	*	*	66.67	*	*

TABLE 20—Variable 6.4—The claimed home states:
No Report N=36

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	75.00	8.33	5.56	5.56	2.78	2.78	*	*
Aunts/uncles	63.89	2.78	8.33	2.78	5.56	11.11	5.56	*
1 Parents' friends	38.89	5.56	8.33	8.33	6.33	16.67	11.11	2.78
Sisters/brothers	27.78	8.33	22.22	5.56	8.33	8.33	19.44	*
Cousins	19.44	8.33	11.11	11.11	2.78	25.00	22.22	*
Servants	13.89	13.89	*	*	2.78	63.89	*	5.56
In locality	11.11	5.56	5.56	8.33	8.33	33.38	27.78	*
2 In college	36.11	8.33	5.56	13.89	8.33	5.56	19.44	2.78
In university gatherings	11.11	5.56	5.56	8.33	8.33	33.33	27.78	*
Religious Head	75.00	5.56	*	*	*	19.44	*	*
3 Fellow wor-shippers	66.67	2.78	2.78	*	*	25.00	*	2.78
Middle-aged gentleman	2.78	5.56	2.78	5.56	2.78	36.11	44.44	*
Middle-aged lady	5.56	8.33	*	5.56	2.78	44.44	33.33	*
4 Stranger boy	5.56	2.78	2.78	*	8.33	13.89	66.67	*
Stranger girl	5.56	*	2.78	2.78	2.78	13.89	72.22	*
Another student of college(not friend)	2.78	*	*	*	2.78	11.11	83.33	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	50.00	8.33	2.78	5.56	5.56	8.33	13.89	5.56
Non-Sikh	*	*	*	*	13.89	41.67	25.00	19.44
5 Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	52.78	2.78	*	2.78	*	33.33	2.78	5.56
Non-sikh	5.56	*	*	*	*	72.22	2.78	19.44
Teachers	2.78	*	*	8.33	5.56	11.11	72.22	*
Lab assistants	13.89	5.56	*	*	5.56	38.89	25.00	11.11
Office/lib staff	27.78	5.56	2.78	5.56	5.56	36.11	16.67	*
6 Class mates	13.89	8.33	*	13.89	19.44	16.67	25.00	2.78
Close friends	36.11	8.33	5.56	13.89	8.33	5.56	19.44	2.78
Peons	30.56	11.11	*	*	*	58.33	*	*

TABLE 21—Variable: 7.1—The subjects opted in the college:
B.A. (Pass) N=112

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	66.07	9.82	4.46	10.71	1.79	4.46	2.68	*
Aunts/uncles	58.93	6.25	5.36	5.36	4.46	12.50	6.25	.89
1 Parents' friends	28.57	15.18	8.04	8.04	6.25	20.54	11.61	1.79
Sisters/brothers	43.75	7.14	10.71	8.25	8.04	11.61	11.61	.89
Cousins	33.93	9.82	7.14	10.71	8.93	20.54	8.04	.89
Servants	13.39	17.86	*	.89	*	60.71	*	7.14
In locality	18.75	10.71	3.57	13.39	8.04	25.00	20.54	*
2 In college	41.96	18.75	4.46	7.14	2.68	15.18	5.36	4.46
In university gatherings	15.18	5.36	9.82	15.18	12.50	16.96	25.00	*
Religious Head	76.79	6.25	*	3.57	.89	9.82	*	2.68
3 Fellow worshippers	69.64	6.25	*	4.46	.89	13.39	*	5.56
Middle-aged gentleman	9.82	8.93	*	2.68	11.61	41.96	25.00	*
Middle-aged lady	10.71	17.86	.89	1.79	8.93	41.96	16.07	1.79
4 Stranger boy	7.14	5.36	*	1.79	14.29	21.43	48.21	1.79
Stranger girl	6.25	4.46	*	1.79	15.18	16.96	53.57	1.79
Another student of college (not friend)	5.36	3.57	*	.89	16.07	13.39	60.71	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	73.21	.89	4.46	.89	5.36	8.04	6.25	.89
Non-Sikh	4.46	2.68	*	1.79	14.29	50.00	13.39	13.39
5 Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	71.43	2.68	*	.89	.89	18.75	.89	4.46
Non-Sikh	10.71	1.79	*	*	1.79	67.86	*	17.86
Teachers	5.36	2.68	2.68	8.04	15.18	8.04	58.04	3.57
Lab-assistants	12.50	4.46	.89	.89	7.14	33.93	16.96	23.21
Office/lib staff	25.89	4.46	3.57	2.68	10.71	36.61	14.29	1.79
6 Class mates	21.43	17.86	5.36	12.50	7.14	26.79	8.04	.89
Close friends	41.96	18.75	4.46	7.14	2.68	15.18	5.36	4.46
Peons	36.61	13.39	*	*	*	50.00	*	*

TABLE 22—Variable 7.2—The subjects opted in the college :
B.A. (Hons) N=55

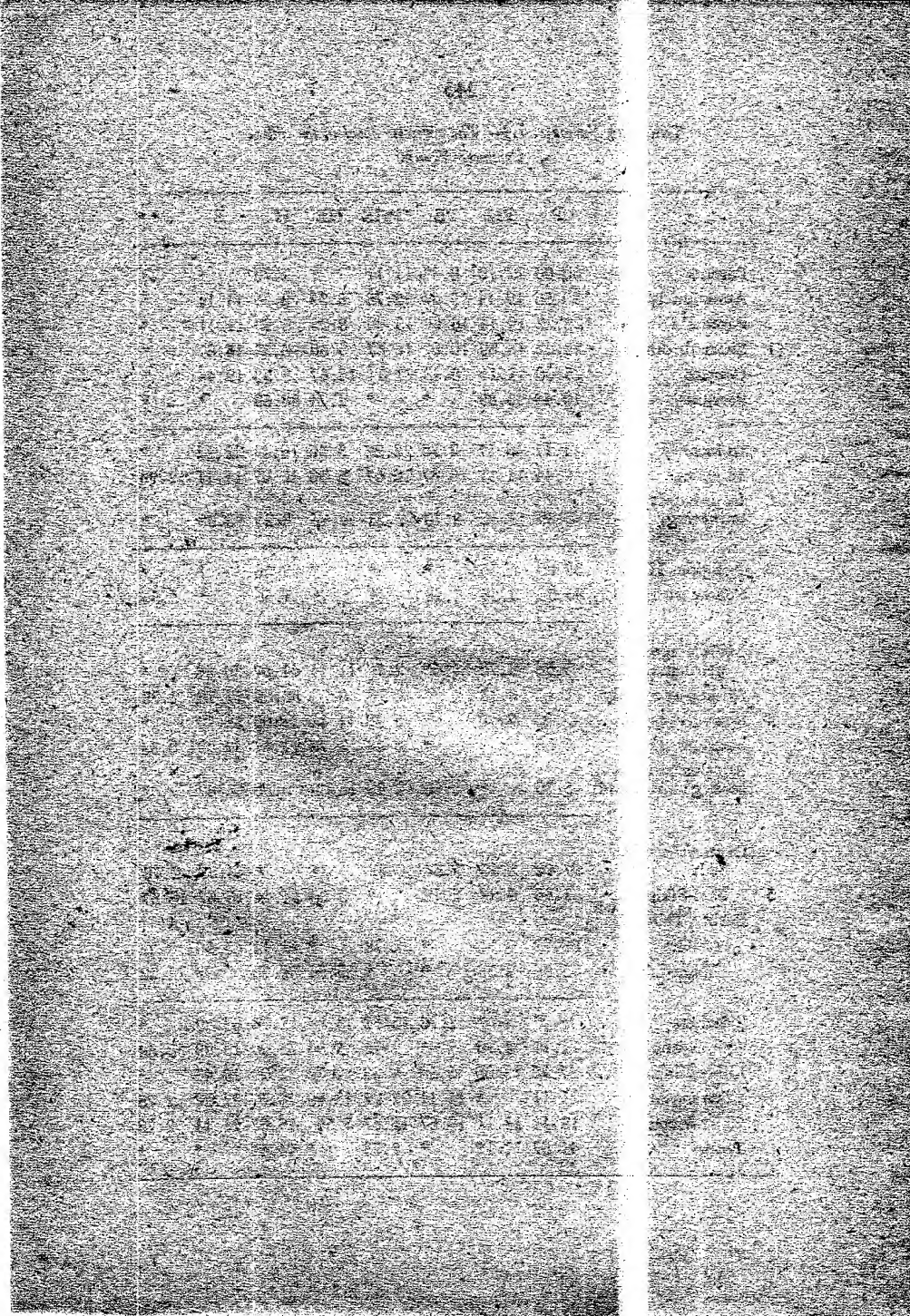
	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	65.45	10.91	5.45	7.27	1.82	1.82	7.27	*
Aunts/uncles	52.73	7.27	7.27	10.91	9.09	5.45	5.45	1.82
1 Parents' friends	27.27	5.45	10.91	12.73	16.36	7.27	18.18	1.82
Sisters/brothers	30.91	5.45	7.27	9.09	18.18	3.64	23.64	1.82
Cousins	25.45	3.64	9.09	10.91	16.36	12.73	20.00	1.82
Servants	9.09	5.45	*	3.64	3.64	72.73	*	5.45
In locality	14.55	3.64	3.64	10.91	12.73	18.18	36.36	*
In college	16.36	5.45	7.27	9.09	10.91	7.27	41.82	1.82
2 In university gatherings	10.91	3.64	1.82	9.09	20.00	5.45	49.09	*
Religious Head	69.09	3.64	*	*	1.82	20.00	*	5.45
3 Fellow worshippers	60.00	5.45	1.82	*	3.64	21.82	1.82	5.45
Middle-aged gentleman	5.45	7.27	*	1.82	5.45	43.64	36.36	*
Middle-aged lady	7.27	7.27	*	1.82	9.09	49.09	25.45	*
4 Stranger boy	5.45	*	*	3.64	7.27	20.00	63.64	*
Stranger girl	*	*	*	1.82	7.27	16.36	74.55	*
Another student of college (not friend)	*	*	*	1.82	3.64	18.18	76.36	*
Doctor/Chemist								
Sikh	50.91	*	7.27	3.64	*	1.82	29.09	7.27
Non-Sikh	*	1.82	*	1.82	12.73	21.82	47.27	14.55
5 Barber/Tailor								
Sikh	49.09	9.09	1.82	*	*	21.82	5.45	12.73
Non-Sikh	5.45	1.82	*	1.82	1.82	65.45	5.45	18.18
Teachers	1.82	*	*	1.82	3.64	7.27	85.45	*
Lab assistants	5.45	5.45	*	1.82	5.45	27.27	38.18	16.36
Office/lib staff	34.55	5.45	3.64	1.82	7.27	18.18	29.09	*
6 Class mates	9.09	*	3.64	6.36	9.09	7.27	54.55	*
Close friends	16.36	5.45	7.27	9.09	10.91	7.27	41.82	1.82
Peons	38.18	12.73	1.82	*	1.82	45.45	*	*

TABLE 23—Variable : 7.3—The subjects opted in the college :
B.Sc. N=73

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	75.34	6.85	4.11	9.59	*	2.74	1.37	*
Aunts/uncles	52.34	6.85	6.85	9.59	5.48	6.85	10.96	1.37
Parents' friends	34.25	5.58	6.85	9.59	9.59	13.70	17.81	2.74
1 Sisters/brothers	43.84	2.74	16.44	13.70	5.48	8.22	9.59	*
Cousins	26.03	8.22	12.33	8.22	6.85	13.70	24.66	*
Servants	13.70	13.70	1.37	*	*	65.75	*	5.48
In locality	21.93	10.96	4.11	1.37	17.81	24.66	19.18	*
2 In college	50.68	9.59	8.22	4.11	9.59	9.59	5.48	2.74
In university gatherings	20.55	6.85	12.33	8.22	16.44	13.70	21.93	*
Religious Head	63.01	*	*	1.37	1.37	28.77	1.37	4.11
3 Fellow worshippers	54.79	2.74	*	5.48	1.37	28.77	1.37	5.48
Middle-aged gentleman	5.48	9.58	1.37	6.85	6.85	36.99	31.51	1.37
Middle-aged lady	9.59	8.22	1.37	9.59	9.59	38.36	21.93	1.37
4 Stranger boy	6.85	1.37	5.48	1.37	5.48	20.55	56.16	2.74
Stranger girl	5.48	*	4.11	1.37	8.22	12.33	65.75	2.74
Another student of college (not friend)	2.74	1.37	4.11	1.37	8.22	16.44	64.38	1.37
Doctor/Chemist - Sikh	52.06	5.48	12.33	*	5.48	4.11	19.18	1.37
5 Non-Sikh	4.11	4.11	*	4.11	15.07	32.88	28.77	10.96
Barber/Tailor - Sikh	64.38	9.59	2.74	*	*	20.55	1.37	1.37
Non-Sikh	12.33	13.70	*	*	1.37	58.90	4.11	9.59
Teachers	4.11	2.74	9.59	4.11	20.55	9.59	47.95	1.37
Lab-assistants	43.84	16.44	6.85	*	*	28.77	4.11	*
6 Office/lib staff	34.25	17.81	6.85	1.37	4.11	24.66	10.96	*
Class mates	28.77	8.22	10.96	6.85	16.44	13.70	13.70	1.37
Close friends	50.68	9.59	8.22	4.11	9.59	9.59	5.48	2.74
Peons	45.21	16.44	1.37	*	*	35.62	1.37	*

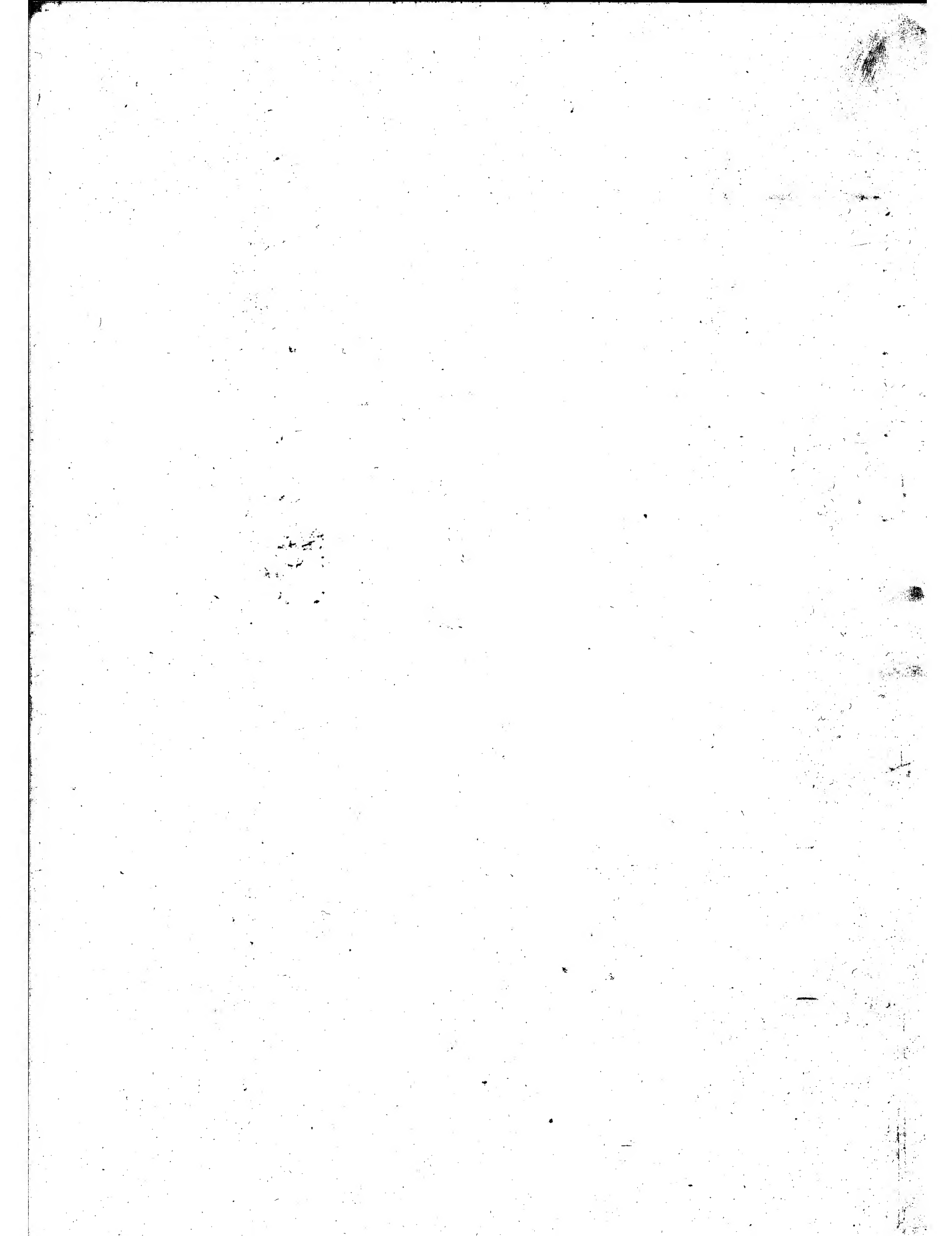
TABLE 24 Variable: 7.4— The subjects opted in the college:
Commerce N=36

	P	PH	PE	PHE	HE	H	E	*
Parents	50.00	27.78	8.33	11.11	*	2.78	*	*
Aunts/uncles	30.56	19.44	19.44	2.78	8.33	8.33	11.11	*
Parents' friends	22.22	19.44	16.67	13.89	8.33	8.33	11.11	*
1 Sisters/brothers	22.22	13.89	16.67	16.67	5.56	8.33	16.67	*
Cousins	25.00	11.11	8.33	11.11	16.67	8.33	19.44	*
Servants	19.44	38.89	*	*	2.74	38.69	*	*
In locality	11.11	16.67	2.78	22.22	5.56	16.44	22.22	*
In college	19.44	11.11	16.67	16.67	5.56	16.67	11.11	2.78
2 In university gatherings	8.33	5.56	2.78	22.22	19.44	8.33	33.33	*
3 Religious Head	88.89	5.56	*	*	*	5.56	*	*
Fellow worshippers	80.56	5.56	2.78	*	*	5.56	*	5.56
Middle-aged gentleman	5.56	2.78	5.56	2.78	11.11	41.67	30.56	*
Middle-aged lady	11.11	8.33	*	2.78	8.33	38.89	27.78	2.78
4 Stranger boy	5.56	2.78	*	2.78	11.11	25.00	52.78	*
Stranger girl	5.56	*	*	8.33	2.78	11.11	63.89	8.33
Another student of (college not friend)	5.56	*	5.56	2.78	13.89	5.56	66.67	*
Doctor/Chemist Sikh	69.44	5.56	5.56	8.33	*	*	8.33	2.78
5 Non-Sikh	5.56	8.33	2.78	*	5.56	44.44	16.67	16.67
Barber/Tailor Sikh	63.89	8.33	*	2.78	*	11.11	5.56	8.33
Non-Sikh	5.56	8.33	*	*	5.56	52.78	5.56	22.22
Teachers	*	*	2.78	16.67	13.89	2.78	63.89	*
Lab assistants	11.11	2.78	*	2.78	5.56	25.00	13.89	38.89
Office/lib staff	27.78	13.89	5.56	8.33	2.78	22.22	19.44	*
6 Class mates	11.11	*	11.11	22.22	13.89	16.67	22.22	2.78
Close friends	19.44	11.11	16.67	16.67	5.56	16.67	11.11	2.78
Peons	41.67	11.11	*	2.78	*	44.44	*	*



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