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**A Look into the Causes of Language Choice among Female Students in
Academic Setting in Pakistan**

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Abstract

The study was conducted to investigate the causes of gender difference in terms of the language choice in an academic setting. As socio-cultural and Psychological aspects are considered to be two of the major factors, which affect the choice of language in different settings and situations, it was deemed important to explore the language choice for male and female students having Hindko/Pashto as mother tongue, Urdu as Second language/national language and English as Foreign language. A questionnaire probing language choice was developed and data were collected from 120 participants comprising Secondary, college and university students including 60 male and female each.

Data analysis revealed that the factors which strongly affect the female choice of language are mostly psychological (inferiority complex) and socio-cultural including social status, prestige, social behaviour and others. The research has significant value; it not only highlights the vital role of psychological and socio-cultural elements in shaping linguistic behaviour but also brings into limelight one of the major areas for research that still needs to be explored in Pakistan.

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1.0 Introduction

In our daily life we make choices and our reasoning and choices govern our behaviour. As language is the part of human behaviour, so same is the case with language. We often make choices when we speak. According to Karl Popper and John Eccles, the very origin of language indissolubly is linked with choices. Here is what they say:

We could say that in choosing to speak, and to take interest in speech, man has chosen to evolve his brain and his mind; that language once created, exerted the selection pressure under which emerged the human brain and consciousness of self. (Popper & Eccles, 1977:13).

So, the important point is that making choices is the central part of human condition and they make choices in speech as well. Our choices are subject to restrictions even from the early stage of our speaking.

On linguistic choices there can be physical or cognitive restrictions, grammatical restrictions and social restrictions. For example the need to sleep put natural restrictions on the length of our sentences. The range of speech sound is restricted by our auditory system which is designed to perceive and process sound in a range between 12 and 20,000 cycles/second.

These types of restrictions are physical or cognitive restrictions.

There are grammatical restrictions as well. For example, gender agreement between article, noun and adjective is a good example. French 'bon' and 'bonne' are forms of 'good'. 'It is bon mot', literally a good word but 'bonne action', a good deed. Mot 'word' is masculine whereas action 'deed', is feminine. So, the use of 'bonne or bon forms is determined by agreement rules. Agreement rules are restrictions on choices. What they mean is that, if a language has a gender system, the speakers are not free in their choices of gender forms of nouns, adjectives and articles.

Similarly there are choices which are not determined by physical or grammatical restrictions but by social norms for example there are restrictions on choices between coexisting varieties. For instance English words like 'fast' have, in standard British pronunciation, a long vowel [a:] but in Australian pronunciation it is pronounced a bit archaic, or in some American varieties it borders on [ae] along with other adjustments they make to blend in their environment.

Speech varieties are markers of group membership. So, one tries to use the right forms and pronunciation in order to conform to the group he is trying to join.

1.1 Co-operation and Choice

Speech behaviour is fundamentally co-operative and co-operation is the unmarked case in speech behaviour and vital for preserving the functionality of the language. It can be

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explained in terms of probability that the speakers concerned may.

Linguistic communication is a co-operative game not a zero-sum game. Both players assuming there are just two-benefit if they co-operate. They should not regard the other player as someone who is out to defeat them. The payoffs are for doing what everyone else does. The classic example is traffic; it does not matter which side of the road we drive on, but it is extremely important that we all drive on the same side. (Coulmas, 2005: 12)

The co-operative nature of the language is well revealed by pidgin. Pidgin is a variety which comes into existence when the speakers in a community speak different languages and do not understand each other. They invent a new language or a new variety that is mutually intelligible.

1.2 Marked and Unmarked Choices

Unmarked language choices, in which the language used is one that would be expected in that context, and 'marked choices' in which the language used would not normally be expected. Marked choices may function as attempts to redefine the relationship between speakers and aspects of context.

A simple example of unmarked language choices can be that in a domestic flight two passengers start talking to each other in Urdu and during the talk they got to know that they belong to the same region, let us suppose Lahore. They unconsciously would turn to Punjabi, which indexes their common identity and marked the relationship as one between 'ethnic brethren'.

In contrast to unmarked choices, the marked choices may be used to increase the social distance, or to express authority or anger. Mayor-Scotton (1993) as cited in Robinson & Giles (2001) presented an example of marked choices that a passenger on a bus switches from Swahili to English when addressing to conductor. He asserts that in this case marked choice do not work. The conductor clearly understands the remark but responds in Swahili.

But societies and social group differ as to what choices are marked or unmarked. For example in monolingual environments multilingual conversations tend to be perceived as un-co-operative while in multilingual environments people expect each other to understand several languages. But use the only one they speak the best.

1.3 Micro and Macro Choices

Language choices can be divided into two types, micro linguistic choices and macro linguistic choices. Micro linguistic choices deal with the features of expressions and lower-level units of a language system. Micro choices are concerned with lower level choices of phonetics, morphological and syntactic variants. In other words we can say, micro linguistic choices mean the choices among the varieties of one language. For example the

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pronunciation of [r] in New York but in standard dialect it is not pronounced often. This choice is micro level choices.

Macro choices are those choices that deal with choice among different languages. These are the choices across the language boundaries and deal with the choice of styles and choices of languages and their functional allocation in society.

1.4 Code Switching

Speakers in bilingual communities are regularly faced with the problem that which language they should chose to speak and in many cases people do not choose either one or the other language but rather they select now portions of one language and then of the other. Bilingual speakers often in one single conversation use two or more languages or varieties of a language. In a single conversation they switch from one language to another or from one variety of a language to another variety.

This is called code switching. Furthermore Gal (1988: 24) says, “Code switching is a conventional strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations.”

Varying Situations

A study on bi-dialectal community in Norway by Gumperz, J. & J. Blom (1986) showed that in Hemnesberget Ranmal, a local dialect and Bokmal the standard variety are taught by local speakers as distinct entities. Ranmal was associated with local cultural identity, home, family and friends; While Bokmal was associated with education, religion, official transactions, and mass media. The two varieties were then, used on different occasions. But they also show that how speakers could switch from one language to the other during the same social event. For instance in a community administration office, clerk would use Bokmal or Ranmal phrases depending whether they are talking about official or unofficial matters; and local residents would use Ranmal to speak with clerk to enquire about family affairs, then switch to Bokmal for the ‘businesses part of transaction. So, the evidence shows that the bilingual code switching is meaningful.

Another example of code switching in multilingual communities is the Singapore, where there are several languages spoken. But four languages (English, the Mandarin variety of Chinese, Tamil and Malay) are considered as official languages. National policy promotes English as trade language, Malay as regional language, and Tamil as the language of the one of the important ethnic groups in the republic. So, the linguistic situation in Singapore offers those who live there a wide choice of languages. And they use different languages in different contexts and situations as well as they switch between the languages as often as the context requires.

Who Switches?

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Question here arises as to who switches. An ideal code switcher is one who speaks at least two languages which are habitually spoken in their community and they are fluent in both languages, although they may not be the completely balanced bilinguals. Similarly code switching may also vary from society to society. As we know, some societies are more tolerant for the transfer of material from one language into another than some others, or some communities are more receptive than others. Same is the case with code switching. Some communities show more tendencies towards code switching while some do not.

The communities with much hybrid languages show less frequency for code switching.

How Switching Occurs? Rule Governed

Another important question is that how code switching occurs. Code switching cannot be done in the absence of agreed upon rule. Common language that constitutes the frame work of rules, and elements to be selected if there are no rules utterances cannot be interpreted.

So, code switching must be rule governed.

Mayor- Scotton's (1993) Matrix Language Frame model (MLF) as cited in Robinson & Giles (2001) is influential to describe the issue that how the code switching occurs or how the elements of the two languages are joined or mixed in code switching. Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model suggests that language processing consists in the construction of a frame into which matrix language elements and embedded language elements is incorporated.

The matrix language supplies the frame whereas the content morphemes can be inserted both from matrix language and embedded language. Code switching in which matrix language and embedded language can be identified is called classic code switching. But in every case it is not certain. Code switching may also vary according to language patterns.

Some Factors for Code Switching

Community norms and values, ethnicity, level of education, gender, age, immigrant status, social relations, prestige of language are the factors of code switching. But code switching is not a uniform phenomenon, it varies from one community to the other and even from one group to the other group. Because social environments in which code switching occurs are varied. And the social variables which influence or affect the speaker's choices of language also vary.

Code switching may be an unmarked or expected choice or marked or unexpected choice. To further explain I would add an example by Mayor-Scotton (1993: 88) as cited in Robinson & Giles (2001). A visitor to a company speaks with the security guard in Swahili, the usual language for such interactions between strangers. When the security guard discovers that the visitor belongs to his own ethnic group he switches to the joint ethnic language 'Luya', which shows their common identity. But when another visitor approaches security guard switches back to Swahili. In this example the switches by security guard usually are not unexpected.

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According to Mayor-Scotton (1993) as cited in Robinson & Giles (2001), code switching itself is an unmarked choice. But often it may be a marked choice. Code switching is marked when it does not conform the expected pattern. This type of switching may be used to increase social distance or to express anger or authority. For example in classroom at school, code switching may be disprefferd, and threatened by sanctions and so, is the marked.

2.0 Research Design

To find out the factors which motivate females to adopt a second language, we used social survey research design but we also mixed in it some features of comparative design because a social phenomenon can be better understood when it is compared in relation to two or more meaningful contrasting cases or situations.

2.1 Selection of Site

To work on the hypothesis that female students in academic settings are more interested in a second language rather than their mother tongue, we needed to select a research site with a multilingual speech community. For this purpose we decided to select District Mansehra. It is a district with multilingual linguistic setting.

2.2 Sampling

Our population was the students of educational institutes (schools, colleges and University) in District Mansehra. We selected our sample informants through stratified random sampling. We needed 120 sample informants, so we stratified the population into three strata;
1) University 2) Colleges 3) Schools

Then we divided these three strata further into six sub-strata by dividing each stratum into two sub-strata. We selected 40 students from each stratum and the total 40 informants of each stratum were selected with the proportion of 20:20. For instance, from the two sub strata of university we selected 20 informants from each stratum with the proportion of 10 girls and 10 boys. So 20 of total 40 informants of the two sub-strata of university are girls and 20 are boys.

Table 1 Division of University strata

Sub stratum	Girls	Boys
Dept of Eng	10	10
Dept of I T	10	10
Total	20	20

Similarly from college strata we selected informants in the same way. We selected 20 informants from one college and 20 from the other with the proportion of 10 girls and 10 boys.

Table 2 Division of College strata		
Sub stratum	Girls	Boys
Sky international M.P.S college	10	10
Total	20	20

And from school strata, we also selected 40 informants from two schools with the equal proportion of girls and boys.

Table 3 Division of School strata		
Sub stratum	Girls	Boys
Iqra Collegiate school Mans	10	10
The Educators school Mans	10	10
Total	20	20

2.3 Questionnaire

We designed a questionnaire to test the hypothesis that the females often prefer second language and to explore the factors that are responsible. We included 19 questions in the questionnaire. In the first six questions we asked for some personal information like name, age, sex, father's occupation, and level of education, class and the region where the person belongs, just to have an idea about the age and social statuses and the region that how these variables affect the language choice of a person. Then from question number seven we designed questions to enquire about one's mother tongue and which languages are being spoken at his/her home. This would show that how one's competence of different languages affects his/her language choices and what is the mother tongue of the person.

In question number 12 we put eleven different situations and asked that in which situation the person speaks which language and what is the reason of that particular choice. By this question we would be able to get an idea that in how many situations females choice a second language and in how many situations males prefer their mother tongue and which are those situations. The knowledge of these situations would help us to find out the factors which cause this type of choices. To make students clear, we gave 10 suggestions to give them an idea that what can be the reasons for language choice in a particular situation. But the four situations were of central importance and those were what language the respondent used to speak in her school/college/university with her teachers, friends and male and female

classmates.

We added some other questions just for the knowledge for further studies. In question number 13 and 14 we asked about the reading of literature and the language in which the person likes to read the literature. By this question we wanted to know that how much interest the informant has in a language.

Question number 15 was about code-switching. We just wanted to explore that as females prefer second language to speak in most situations, if they also mix the languages or use two/more languages in a single situation more than males. Question 17 tells that gender biased attitude of society affects language choice of females. Question 18 was very vital in our research. By this question we wanted to have a direct idea/opinion of the people about the concept and what they think the reason is, of the female choice of another language rather than their mother tongue.

3.0 Data Analysis

To analyze the data collected from different schools, colleges and university first of all we separated the questionnaires of the respondents due to the different mother tongues. The following table 4 shows the details.

M.T	Schools	Colleges	University	Total
H	29	24	25	78
P	2	8	14	24
U	9	8	0, 1 said Punjabi	18
Total	40	40	40	120

Table 4

Table 4 shows that out of 120 respondents 78 respondents have Hindko as their mother tongue and 24 respondents said that their mother tongue is Pashto while 18 respondents told that Urdu is their mother tongue.

Out of 40 respondents from schools 29 have Urdu as their other tongue, 2 have Pashto as their mother tongue and 9 said that their mother tongue is Urdu. From 90 respondents from colleges 24 said that their mother tongue is Hindko, 8 said Pashto is their mother tongue and 8 said that Urdu is their mother tongue and from university 25 respondents told that Urdu is their mother tongue and 14 respondents are those whose mother tongue is Pashto and no respondent said that Urdu is their mother tongue. One respondent said that her mother tongue is Punjabi.

M.T	Number of speakers	Males	Females
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H	78	32	46
P	24	18	6
U	17	10	7
Total	119	60	59

Table 5

The table 5 shows that out of 78 respondents who said that Hindko is their mother tongue 32 respondents are males and 46 are female and from 24 respondents whose Mother Tongue is Pashto 18 respondents are male and 6 are female and from those 17 respondents whose Mother tongue is Urdu 10 are male and 7 are female.

In Questionnaire, question No. 12 in which we have asked about many situations the person speaks which Language and why? This was helpful to give us idea that whether the respondent prefers his/her mother tongue or any other language in different situations and the results showed that 90 % of female respondents prefer another language rather than their mother tongue. While the questionnaires/answer of male respondents showed that almost all of the respondents preferred their mother tongue over any other language. So then we separated the questionnaires of female respondents just to turn to the main purpose of our research which was to find out the factor which motivate females to speak any other language¹ rather than their mother tongue, in academic settings with their teachers, friends and male/female class mates.

All of 53 respondents whose mother tongue is Hindko/Pashto said that they speak Urdu or English with their teachers. The reasons they gave for this choice are helpful to find out the factors which are responsible for female such choices of other languages. The details are in following table.

S.No	Factors	H	P
1	Prestigious language	3	1
2	Easy to understand and speak	2	
3	I will be considered as educated	5	1
4	To show respect	15	3
5	I can better explain my self	7	
6	It is an external pressure	13	1
7	People pay more attention	1	

Table 6

Table 6 shows that 3 respondents speak to their teachers in other languages because they think that these languages are more prestigious, two respondents speak Urdu because they

think that it is a language that is easy for everyone to understand and speak. Six respondents said that they choose Urdu to speak to their teachers just to be considered as well mannered and educated. 18 respondents said that by using this language they want to show respect to their teachers. It means that they do not consider their Mother Language as a language which is rich enough to show respect. 14 respondents are of the opinion that they are asked to speak Urdu by the institution and they do not use this language with their teachers on their own will. 7 respondents said that they choose a language other than their mother tongue to speak to their teachers because they think that this is the language in which they can better explain their selves. One respondent gave an interesting reason that she chooses another language because she thinks that her teachers pay more attention to her when she speaks this language.

For their choice of another language for their friends they also gave interesting reasons which are shown in the following table 7.

S.No	Factors	No. of respondent	P
1	Prestigious language	3	2
2	Easy to understand and speak	3	
3	I will be considered as educated	2	
4	To show respect	2	
5	I can better explain my self	7	
6	It is an external pressure	4	
7	To be socially equal to those who are socially superior to me	3	
8	To express closeness	21	3
9	People pay more attention		01

Table 7

Table 7 shows that 24 of the 52 respondents speak other languages Urdu with their friends to express closeness. It is interesting.7 said that they can better explain their selves in Urdu. 3 respondents speak Urdu to their friends to be socially equal to those who are superior to them, this mean that they think their language as inferior by speaking which they cannot be equal to others.4 said that they choose other languages because it is an external pressure perhaps from school/college/university. 2 respondents told that they do so because they think that other language (Urdu, English) is more helpful to show respect to other than their mother tongue. Two 2 respondents said that they choose Urdu to speak to their friends because they think that they would be considered as educated. 5 respondents said that they speak Urdu language because it is easy to on understand and speak and 3 respondents said that they speak Urdu with their friend because they think it as a prestigious language and one said that people pay more attention when they speak this language.

In answer to the question that which language they choose to speak while talking to their male class mates and why. 51 respondents said that they speak Urdu while talking to their male class mates and only one respondent said that she uses her mother tongue to her male

class mates.

S.No.	Factors	No. of respondent	P
1	Prestigious language	3	1
2	Easy to understand and speak	7	2
3	I will be considered as educated	6	
4	To show respect	1	
5	I can better explain my self	3	
6	It is an external pressure	4	
7	To be socially equal to those who are socially superior to me	4	
8	To express closeness	3	1
9	To keep distance	12	1
10	People pay more attention	2	01

Table 8

As per the table 8 data 13 of the 51 respondents use Urdu that is not their mother tongue with their male class mates to keep distance. Perhaps they mean that speaking mother tongue with others is a way to express closeness. Respondents are of the view that they choose to speak Urdu to their male class mates because it is a language that is easy to understand and speak. Six respondents said that they will be considered as educated. Three respondents say that they can better explain their selves in Urdu language, three 3 respondents speak Urdu with their male class mates because they think it as a language of prestige. Four respondents said that they speak Urdu with their mall class mates not on their own will but because it is because of some sort of pressure. Four female respondents said that they choose to speak Urdu because by speaking this language they want to be equal to those who are socially superior or to them. 3 Respondents said that they choose Urdu to speak to male class mates. It is because in this way, they can get more attention from them. One respondent gives the reason that she does so because by using this language she can respect to their male classmates.

The 52 respondents whose mother tongue is Hindko and Pashto for their choice of another language rather than their mother tongue with their female class mates they gave following reasons.

S.No	Factors	H	P
1	Prestigious language	4	
2	Easy to understand and speak	8	2
3	I will be considered as educated	1	
4	I can better explain my self	4	

5	It is an external pressure	5	
6	To be socially equal to those who are socially superior to me	3	
7	To express closeness	18	2
8	People pay more attention	3	2

Table 8

Table 8 shows that 20 gave the reason for their choice of Urdu language, as compared to Hindko and Pashto, while talking to their female classmates that they want to express closeness. Ten said that Urdu is a language that is easy to understand and speak. Five respondents said that it is not their own will but they are not allowed to speak their mother tongue with classmates. Four respondents think Urdu as a language of prestige that is why they chose to speak it with their female classmates. Four other respondents said that they can better explain their selves in Urdu language three respondents said that they choose to speak Urdu with their female class mates because they think that it is a way to be socially equal to those who are superior. Other respondents say that they do so because people pay more attention to them when they speak Urdu. One respondent said that she speaks Urdu with her female class mate because by speaking this language she would be considered as educated and well mannered.

Out of 60 female respondents 52 are those whose mother tongue is Hindko and Pashto while 1 respondent said that her mother tongue is Punjabi and she said that she speaks Urdu with her teachers, friends and male and female classmates the reason she gave for her choices is that when she speaks this language people pay more attention to her. The rest of respondents are those who said that their mother tongue is Urdu and they also speak Urdu with their teachers, friends, and male and female classmates.

So, out of 60 female informants 53 prefer other languages to their mother tongue while the rest of female informants are those who use their mother tongue.

The results of research showed that females of District Mansehra prefer another language rather than their mother tongue in academic settings with their teachers, friends and male and female class mates. The reasons which they gave for their choices helped us to get an idea about the factors which motivate females to speak another language rather than their mother tongue. The important factors are following:

Gender Biased Attitude of Society

In the society of District Mansehra, our observation indicated that the general concept of the people about females is that they only can speak, they do not know anything and they cannot do the things which males can do, they are for domestic work only, they cannot go outside and cannot serve any useful purpose. The results of this research are indexical of these beliefs.

Out of 60 female respondents, 53 speak Urdu/ English with their teachers and friends, and Language in India www.languageinindia.com
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male and female classmates. Most of the reasons given by them show that they choose another language because of the society's typical gender biased attitude. For example, the respondents frequently gave the reason for their choice of Urdu. They think that they can better explain themselves in this language, because by speaking Urdu they can express better what they will not be able to express in their own language/dialect, and they also said many times that people pay more attention to them when they speak in Urdu. This shows that in order to seek attention which being a woman they are not getting, they have to switch over to Urdu. They seek this way to get attention. Many informants also said that they choose another language rather than their mother tongue just to be equal to those who are socially superior to them. This reason shows that females consider themselves as inferior. They have an inferiority complex and because of this complex they want to do the things because of which they would be considered as equal to males. And they also gave the reason that they want to be considered as educated and so in order to prove themselves as prime and proper, well mannered, educated and cultured they try to speak a language that has more prestige than their mother tongue so the most important factor for female choice of other languages is social inequality and gender biased attitude of society.

Fashion

The other important factor for female choice of language is fashion. Females are much more interested in fashion than males. Many informants whose mother tongue is either Hindko or Pashto gave reasons for their choice of other languages than their mother tongue. They reported that the language which they speak (English/Urdu) has more prestige than their mother tongue. So this shows that females are much interested in that language which is more prestigious. And the other reasons given by them such as, they want to be considered as educated also show that they are interested to create good impressions about them to others by using a language that is not their mother tongue and that which has more prestige than their mother tongue. So, fashion is also an important factor that contributes to motivate females to prefer other languages that are more prestigious than their mother tongue.

Politeness and Richness of the Language

Simplicity, politeness and richness of the language preferred by females is also an obvious factor. If the language is easy to use, politer in expressions and richer in vocabulary and other expressions than the mother tongue, then we should say that there must be a natural tendency to speak that language rather than any other. All the respondents said that they speak Urdu. In this case, their preference for Urdu over Hindko and Pashto may be because of the assumed simplicity, politeness and richness of Urdu language. Respondents many times stated that the reason for their choice of Urdu language is because it is a language that is easy to understand and speak. Many also said they speak Urdu because in this way they may pay respect to others. It means that Urdu is a language that is more polite and soft than Hindko and Pashto. Some respondent also said that they speak Urdu because they can better explain their selves in this language. This is because Urdu is a rich language. Many respondents said that they speak another language because it is more appropriate to express closeness to those they are speaking to.

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External Pressure

As our research is concerned with the academic settings, many respondents said that they speak another language with their male and female classmates, friends and particularly with their teachers because they are asked to speak that language by the institution. So at times external pressure may also influence the choice of the language to carry on communication.

4.0 Conclusion

We had observed in our classrooms that most of our female students speak Urdu with one another and with their male classmates and teachers. But Urdu is not their mother tongue. Almost all of the females belong to same ethnic group and they have Hindko or Pashto as their mother tongues, but they never speak to each other in their mother tongue nor do they speak their mother tongue while talking to their teachers and classmates.

To enquire about the factors which are responsible for this particular behaviour of females, we conducted this research, which is a social survey. For this purpose we selected our population (120 sample informants) from different schools, colleges and university of District Mansehra. Then we collected data in the form of a questionnaire. We designed some questions just to have an idea about the informant's social status and mental level. Then we added some questions which were the key points of our research. On the basis of the results of these questions we got the exact idea about the factors which are responsible to motivate females to speak another language rather than their mother tongue in academic settings.

Our findings were that, out of total 120 respondents (from which 60 were male and 60 were female), most of the male respondents prefer their mother tongue in most situations but, out of 60 female informants, 53 prefer other languages over their mother tongue. 7 respondents said that they speak their mother tongue. Out of 53 respondents who prefer Urdu (and sometimes English) 46 are those whose mother tongue is Hindko while 6 are those whose mother tongue is Pashto and one person's mother tongue is Punjabi. On the other hand, 7 respondents preferred their mother tongues and these respondents gave interesting results because they all have Urdu as their mother tongue. It means that the respondents whose mother tongue has more prestige than other languages prefer their own language.

In answer to the questions as to which language the respondent speak with their teachers, friends, male and female classmates and what are the reasons for their choice, the respondents gave interesting reasons on the basis of which we got some understanding of the factors responsible for this type of choice by females.

For their choice of Urdu or English language with their teachers, 18 informants said that they speak this language to show respect and 14 said that it is not their own will but they are asked to do so by the school/college/university administration. 4 respondents said that they speak these languages because they are more prestigious. So, the choice of language by female respondents with their teachers is mostly because of the fact that females think themselves as

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inferior and also they consider their language as inferior that is not much rich to express respect to their teachers.

To answer the question about their choice of language while talking to their friends, all the females told that they speak Urdu with their friends. The important reason which they gave for their choice is that they speak to express closeness. 25 respondents gave this reason. This means that they think their languages are deficient to express closeness.

In answer to the question as to which language you speak with your male and female classmates, the important reasons they gave are that it is a prestigious language and it is easy to understand and speak, and by speaking this language they will be considered as educated and with female classmates they speak Urdu to express closeness. They gave some other reasons which are also important and these reasons include that they will be equal to those who are socially superior to them and by speaking Urdu they will be considered as educated.

The reasons stated by the 53 female respondents for their choices of languages index the social and psychological factors that motivate females to opt a language that is not their mother tongue. The most important factor is social inequality that prompts women's psychology. Women have a low status in the typical tradition-bound society of District Mansehra. This thing has become a part of women's psychology that they are considered as nothing, so they naturally feel a need to put emphasis on what they speak. For this purpose and to get attention and prove their worth, and look competent and educated, women choose Urdu to speak to their friends, teachers, male classmates and female classmates.

The other factor is fashion. Females are more interested in prestige forms and fashion. To express their selves as fashionable they choose to speak a language that has more prestige. From our point of view, there has always been a traditional belief and practice that the charm, the softness and politeness of Urdu and the richness of this language naturally make people to speak this language particularly in formal contexts. So, along with the major factors that are social and psychological, the prestige and the richness of the other language also makes the females prefer Urdu over their mother tongue to speak to their friends, classmates and teachers.

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