

**IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION OF
SHINA SPEAKERS: AN
ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY**

BY

SHAMIM ARA SHAMS



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Identity Construction of Shina Speakers: An Ethnographic Study

By

SHAMIM ARA SHAMS

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Thesis Title: Identity Construction of Shina Speakers: An Ethnographic Study

Submitted by: Shamim Ara Shams

Registration #: 480-PhD/Ling/S14

Dr. Nighat Sultana

Name of Research Supervisor

Signature of Research Supervisor

Dr. Inayat Ullah

Name of HoD

Signature of HoD

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan

Name of Dean (FAH)

Signature of Dean (FAH)

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Safeer Awan

Name of Pro-Rector Academics

Signature of Pro-Rector Academics

Maj. Gen. Muhammad Jaffar HI(M) (Retd)

Name of Rector

Signature of Rector

Date

CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I Shamim Ara Shams.

Daughter of Shamsul Haque

Registration # Pd-Ling-ES14-id 001

Discipline English Linguistics

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ABSTRACT

Title: Identity Construction of Shina Speakers: An Ethnographic Study

This ethnographic study explores the identity construction of multilingual Shina speakers through marked and unmarked choices. The data for this study is triangulated which consists of questionnaires, interviews, recordings of conversations and FM recordings. The study focuses on identity construction of Shina speakers in different contexts through their linguistic practices and also explores the factors which play a role in the establishment of sets of rights and obligations in an interaction. The data was analyzed by using the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) and Hierarchy of Identities Model by Omoniyi (2007). The detailed analysis of the data shows that the Shina speakers construct their linguistic identities in different contexts through code-switching and code mixing. The analysis of data indicates that Shina is an unmarked choice in close circles, Urdu and English are the unmarked choices in formal contexts whereas, Shina, Urdu and English are the unmarked choices in informal contexts. The factors which influence the establishment of the set of rights and obligations include: relationship with the interlocutors, multilingualism and educational background. Identity markers which become salient according to the context include: dress, physical appearance and accent. The study recommends to study the identity construction of other regional language speakers of Gilgit-Baltistan.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GB	Gilgit-Baltistan
KIU	Karakoram International University
KKH	Karakoram Highway
RO	Rights and Obligations
HOI	Hierarchy of Identities
CS	Code-switching
FM	Frequency Modulation

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 General Introduction

This research study undertakes to investigate the identity construction of Shina speakers who live in the mountainous region of northern Pakistan. Identity is a relative and multi-faceted term which varies from context to context. People commonly use the notion of national identity when they are outside the country such as Pakistani, Indian and American, while within one's country, regional, linguistic, political or ethnic terms often delimit people's identity. Radloff and Backstrom (2002) opine that the closer one gets to home, the classification of identity becomes narrower until clan or family names are being used to define the terms of identity.

The language we speak or choose to speak in a certain context and the way it is being spoken determines our identity. In case of multilingual speakers, it becomes even more important because switching from one language to the other may depend upon the competence of the addressee, level of formality or informality or a change in situation or setting. In addition, codes can also be switched for the purpose of communication and due to cultural and social reasons. In case of multilingual participants, language choice depends on identity negotiation, construction and indication of connection and solidarity with individuals or groups. Anchimbe (2007) is of the view that 'linguistic identity' in postcolonial areas is multilayered; either it is used for continued existence, which is to benefit from the advantages of connection with different linguistic groups or for asserting pride in one's roots.

Members of a speech community construct their linguistic identity through language use. People speak in a distinct way and switch codes in different situations. Code-switching or code mixing is a common linguistic phenomenon and an integral part of multilingual communities. Multilingual individuals switch codes in their conversation to propagate their linguistic identity (Coulmas 2005). Once multilingual speakers identify with a particular identity through a language, they switch codes. The term ‘code-switching’ is used at a syntactic level between sentences, while the term code mixing is used at a lexical level in a single sentence (Boztepe, 2005). Chin et al. (2007) have distinguished intra-sentential code-switching from inter-sentential code-switching and have referred to the former as code mixing, but generally both of these terms could be characterized as code-switching. Code mixing of different languages with English is a common practice all over the world. This tendency is more common in postcolonial settings such as in Indo-Pakistan (Crystal 1995; Romaine 2000).

The term, ‘identity’ becomes difficult to explain because of its versatile and complex nature of construction. In simple words, it refers to a sense of belonging to a particular category, culture, ethnic or linguistic group, clan, region or a nation. Tajfel and Turner (1986) consider identity as a self-concept of an individual, which he/she takes from living in a particular group in addition to the emotional significance and attachment with the group. In other words, identity includes a sense of membership in groups and individual character traits as well as one’s social roles in the society. Grad and Rojo (2008) believe that the concept of human identity is about the creation of meaning by the members of the society while they participate in different social activities. In this process, discourse studies play a vital role in understanding meaning of processes of

maintaining, building and conversion of identity. Identity is propagated through language use in daily life both directly and indirectly. It is constructed during direct communication and through discursive practices in media. Furthermore, identity can be analyzed through everyday communication of people and through constant discourses that make up the discursive practices (Tajful, 1981).

Linguists are of the view that language is the main part of identity construction. This does not mean that identity can only be expressed by language but language plays a pivotal role in identity construction. Identity construction is an ever-changing phenomenon which remains in a state of flux due to the nature of its give and take, the relationship between society and the self where it is constantly being shaped and reshaped. This is a two-way process as the members of the society give meaning to the world around them and are also shaped by the meaning which their social world imposes on them in return. Khan (2001) considers identity as a relationship with the world across space and time, which is utilized by the members of the society to understand their position among others in a particular context. He believes that language is one of the major factors that shape this relationship. Linguists believe that there is a strong relationship between identity and language use. People switch from one language to another language in their conversation and this switching can also serve as an index of their identity as it reveals their status, power, prestige, authority and social background. Coulmas (2005) is of the view that a language variety used by speakers of different speech communities is associated with their social identities. Bilinguals select more than one speech variety or languages in order to be associated with the corresponding identities. The selection of different codes in conversation by the participants can be seen

as a marker of identity which identifies them as high status people, modern and knowledgeable, well informed, with a trans-border citizenship, having different linguistic and socio-cultural backgrounds.

It is observed that the regional identity depends on many factors such as landscape, culture, ethnicity, the built environment and more importantly the dialects of the different languages being spoken in the particular region. Radcliff and Westwood (1996) opine that the concept of belonging to a particular region may propagate a sense of identity which will always challenge the hegemonic narratives. This sense of belonging to a particular region and same linguistic and cultural traits serves as a binding force among the members of the society. Radloff and Backstrom (1992) have pointed out that Shina speaking students studying in different colleges and universities in other cities of Pakistan join with other students from Hunza, Nager and Baltistan with different linguistic backgrounds to form student organizations. It has been noticed that such organizations frequently attach the word 'the Karakoram' to their association's title such as 'Karakoram Student Organization'. The name of this famous mountain range Karakoram signifies their identity on a regional scale. The concepts of the regional identity are found in every culture all over the world. Now the regional identity is being recognized as a main segment in the making of different regions as political or social spaces which directly or indirectly affects the collective action of a nation. The topic of regional identity has been discussed by many social researchers. Watts (1996), Rose (1995) and Kith and Pile 1993, are of the view that the concept of regional identity plays a key role in understanding nationalism, ethno-regionalism and citizenship of a particular region. Robbins (2001) talks about the narratives of imagined regional identities which

are propagated through folklore of the region and are transferred from generation to generation.

The Shina-speaking community is one of the biggest speech communities in Gilgit-Baltistan. It has its own culture which is full of ethnic and dialectical diversity. The language of the people is called Shina /ʃɪna:/ which is one of the major languages of Gilgit-Baltistan having its culture and literature orally transferred from generation to generation. Shina does not have an approved orthography system until now to preserve its cultural heritage in the written form which can cause extinction of Shina language and through the loss of language cultural heritage is also lost. The loss of Shina speakers' culture will entail the loss of their identity. In the past different moral and cultural traits were taught to the young generation through folk songs, sayings, riddles and tales. The folk lore was the only means of transmission of moral and cultural values as in the past there were no conventional schools in this mountainous region.

Schmidt and Kohistani (2008) while describing the identity of the Shina speakers in the northern Pakistan shared that Shina speakers often refer to themselves by a geographical location where they live such as Chilasi, Kohistani, Gilgiti and may not use the name 'Shina' to refer to their language, but rather use an adoption of a geographical designation which reflects their regional identity. In other words, there are various identities in a hierarchical order and regional identity surpasses linguistic identity specially when the speakers are outside the region.

Radloff and Backstrom (2002) believe that due to the geographical barriers such as rivers and mountains and limited communication of the inhabitants with the outside world, the identity of the Shina speakers is geographically-oriented. It is a fact that

shaped by the historical and political forces, Shina is spoken by different ethnic groups and tribes in the region. Therefore, it is generally observed that few people define their identity solely by speaking of their common language. Yet this attitude of the Shina speakers indicates that speaking Shina is definitely an integral part of their identity.

Language is considered an integral part of culture and members of a particular community construct or propagate their identity through their language. Sutton (2003) is of the view that linguistic identity can be traced by looking at the number of languages spoken by an individual and the choice of a particular code according to the context. According to Joseph (2004) linguistic identities may refer to a sense of belonging to a community through a language or to the different ways through which we comprehend the relationship between our language and ourselves. It is about positioning ourselves through language. The researcher believes that we not only position ourselves rather position others too through our choice of linguistic codes as our choice indicates the social distance, solidarity, level of formality and informality in as well as out-group membership too.

Rubio (2011) studied how linguistic identities are constructed in officially bilingual contexts. He believes that such identities are constructed during verbal interaction and language is used not only for communication, but also for identity construction including construction of linguistic identities. He studied identity formation using the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis using selected settings and phenomenon. He concludes that people have transportable identities.

The study hypothesizes that when Shina speakers switch a language they switch an identity in the same way when they mix languages they mix identities. In this research,

the researcher has used the ethnographic method to study the identity construction of Shina speakers. Ethnographic research is one of the types of qualitative research in which researchers observe and interact with the participants of the study in their real-life environment.

The present study is an attempt to explore the reasons of the use of different languages on various occasions keeping in view marked and unmarked choices. This study will also investigate the relationship between language use and the Shina speaker's contextual construction of identity through an ethnographic study. The ultimate goal of this study will be to explore the role of multiple languages in identity construction of Shina speakers.

This study will investigate how the identity of the Shina speakers is changing due to the influence of other languages on their mother tongue. Shina like other oral languages is dying out due to absence of a written script. Moreover, it is not easy to study Shina literature which mirrors their identity as it is all oral and the younger generation prefers to use English and Urdu in everyday life. So this study focuses its attention on how the identity of the multilingual Shina speakers is constructed through their social interaction and how social and cultural factors influence the set of rights and obligations in different contexts and roles.

1.1 Background of the Study

Present research investigates the identity construction of Shina speakers through their language choices as language is an integral part of culture. A thematic analysis has been carried out using Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model and Omoniyi's (2007)

Hierarchy of Identities Model in which different themes like pure Shina identity construction, identity construction at work place and in different context have been discussed and investigated. This research attempts to investigate different social motivations underlying language choices in their daily life. The study is based on the data collection through informal interviews, questionnaires, FM recordings, recordings of conversations and participant observation by the researcher using an ethnographic method.

The Shina speakers use more than one language in communication because of different socio-cultural, economic and historical reasons such as migration, education and urbanization. They also speak the national language Urdu and English along with other local languages due to language contact. Like other heterogeneous groups, the Shina speakers communicate with other group members using different languages drawn from a repertoire of different choices. It is commonly observed that these language choices are not random and they emerge due to different factors such as the conversational system of the Shina community. Biddulph (1880) used an ethnographic approach to study the culture and languages of the Shina speakers and other tribes and groups living in the northern part of Pakistan in late nineties.

An Ethnographic approach has been used for the current research using the theoretical frameworks of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model and Hierarchy of Identities Model. The researcher believes that identity needs to be studied in context by observing the participants in natural settings, so accordingly the researcher chose to do ethnography in order to study identity construction of Shina speakers through their culture. In this way the identity of the Shina speakers can best be investigated in different contexts, roles and

natural settings. De Fina (2011) holds a similar opinion as according to her identity must be studied through ethnographic observation by studying actual talk in interaction.

Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model is an analytical framework which helps to investigate the social motivations of language choices which ultimately result in the linguistic identity construction of a community. This model has been extensively used by the sociolinguists in different parts of the world. Gimode (2015) suggests that the Markedness Model contributes better than other models to investigate the key social questions regarding the language choices of people in different groups. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), speakers are not passive rather they become active actors as code choices and linguistic variations are speaker motivated and these are directly linked with interpersonal relationship. In multilingual communities, code-switching offers linguistic opportunities to the speakers to select constituents from more than one language and to integrate them for specific socially motivated purposes. This process reveals that language choices are speaker-motivated and code choices keep on changing depending on social circumstances. The principle notion of the Markedness Model relevant to this research study is the concept of Markedness and the Negotiation Principle as the Shina speakers negotiate multiple identities in different social situations. The concept of Markedness refers to a system of oppositions in code choices in which the unmarked choice is conventionalized and indexes an expected relationship. On the other hand, the marked choice is unexpected between the speakers who are multilingual (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

This study deals with identity construction of Shina speakers and looks at the implications of language use. The extent to which a language is used in the society

exposes its vitality whereas code-switching refers to the technical use of language.

1.2 Demographic and Socio-historical Background of Shina Speakers

The northern part of Pakistan is known as Gilgit-Baltistan. It is a landlocked area located amongst the highest mountain ranges of the world named Karakoram, Hindu Kush and Himalaya. These mountainous ranges are home to the speakers of Shina. In the past these mountainous ranges remained a main cause of less interaction of Shina speakers with the outside world. This region did not remain isolated after the arrival of the British rule in the subcontinent in the 19th century. The area of Gilgit Baltistan became prominent due to its geo-strategic importance. Before the partition of the subcontinent in 1947, the British government had established a proper governance system and a few conventional educational institutions, which served as a product of modernity. Dad (2010) is of the view that these developments played a key role in introducing English and Urdu languages to the Shina speakers and other isolated societies of this mountainous region.

After the partition of the subcontinent, this remote area got connected with other regions of the country through a newly constructed road in late 1950s. During the 1970s the region witnessed a turning point with the opening of the Karakoram Highway. The Karakoram Highway (hereinafter referred to as KKH) acted as a change catalyst in bringing modernization, other cultures and languages to the people of Gilgit-Baltistan. It connected the hitherto isolated region to other parts of the Pakistan on one side and China on the other side. As a result, the interaction among different cultures and

languages increased and now the educated younger generation speaks English and Urdu fluently as most of them are equally competent bilinguals of English and Urdu.

Although the construction of KKH and other modern means of communication benefited the area economically, but it was not without a cost. One of the costs of globalization is the increasing threat to the regional languages like Shina, local values, traditions, literature etc. which are the valuable assets of the people living in this area besides the irreparable damage to the biodiversity of the fauna and folklore.

Shina is one of the major languages in the administrative region of Gilgit-Baltistan. The majority of Shina speakers live in different districts of Gilgit and Diamer divisions (including Astore) with small Shina speaking groups found in Rondu and Satpara areas of Baltistan and some parts of Ghizer. Biddulph (1880) proposed a theory for the spread and introduction of the Shina language in the northern areas of Pakistan. He was of the view that the Shin conquerors, who call themselves Qureshi as well, came up the Indus valley and occupied an area that included the present day Gilgit-Baltistan, and extended their rule almost as far as Leh in Ladakh. The conquerors replaced the original inhabitants and imposed their language upon them. As a result, the speakers of other languages shifted to the high inaccessible valleys such as Hunza, Yasin and Nagar. Biddulph (1880) is of the view that the original inhabitants of the Gilgit region are Yashkuns who are one of the ethnic groups who speak the Shina language. Lorimer (1923) is of the view that the original language of Gilgit was Brushaski before the invasion of Shins, but Jettmar (1980) hypothesizes a peaceful joining of kingdoms, the result of which was the spread of Shina language in Gilgit-Baltistan and other regions.

Biddulph (1880) and Lorimer (1924) also mention that Shina is mixed with Brushaski on the basis of similarities in vocabulary and manner of speech. They believe that such assimilation as the retaining of much vocabulary and manner of speech could be expected as the ethnic group Yashkuns adopted a new language with its morphology. The evidences of the rock carvings in different parts of Gilgit-Baltistan suggest that the land of the Shina speakers has long been a center of civilization. Famous historian of Gilgit-Baltistan, Dani (1989) is of the view that the ancient rock carvings in the boulders along the Indus River in Chilas and Gilgit date back to unknown millennia BCE. The ancient inscriptions in the area suggest that the languages of Gilgit-Baltistan go back as early as 3rd century BCE. The Buddhist rock carving in Kargah Nallah near Gilgit which is known among the local population as ‘**jəčimɪ**’ dates back to 8th century AD during the Tibetan rule of this region. Due to this Tibetan rule, the Shina language borrowed many language terms from the Tibetan languages. The Shina speakers after defeating the Tibetans began their rule in Gilgit. Another famous historian Jettmar (1989) is of the view that in 9th century AD, there was an established state in Gilgit and adjoining areas.

According to Radloff and Backstrom (2002), Shina is spoken by 700000 to 800000 people in northern Pakistan who call themselves Shins and Yashkuns. These are two main ethnic groups who, along with other small groups, speak Shina as their mother tongue. The total number of speakers of the language would be higher if those living on Indian side of the boarder were also counted.

According to the 1998 census report, the literacy rate of Gilgit-Baltistan was 37.85 %. The male education rate in Gilgit-Baltistan was 52.62% while the female literacy rate was 21.65%. According to the Educational Statistics of Gilgit-Baltistan

(2016-2017), the literacy rate increased to 53 %. The educational indicators for Gilgit-Baltistan are slightly high from the national average which was 52.5% in 2005 (Government of Pakistan 2000). Annual census of 1999-2000 indicates that the male school enrolment in Gilgit-Baltistan for primary, middle and high classes was 80%, 63% and 39 % which shows an increase in school admissions. The census also indicates that the female enrolment from 1999-2000 for the same classes was 56%, 28% and 39% (See Murtaza 2012). The literacy rate is higher in urban areas such as Gilgit city while in the rural areas like different parts of Diamer and Astore, literacy rate is low and now it is improving due to government and different NGOs' efforts.

Shina speakers from Gilgit-Baltistan have to move to different cities within Pakistan or at a times even abroad to avail educational or professional opportunities. Due to the impact of modernization and globalization, a growing trend of learning new languages like English and Urdu among Shina speakers has been witnessed in the last two decades. As a result, language socialization, acculturation, and identity construction have led to the usage of the second language to be more dominant as compared to their native language, Shina.

1.3 Vitality, Maintenance and Classification of Languages in Gilgit-Baltistan

The diverse culture of Gilgit-Baltistan provides a unique opportunity for researchers, social scientists and anthropologists to study the cultural evolution and ethno linguistics. As Urdu and English are being considered dominant languages now-a-days due to formal education, the attitude of young Shina speakers towards their language is

changing. This attitude poses a severe threat to their mother tongue due to which their identity seems to be under the pressure of dominant global cultures and languages.

Generally, it is observed that members of most of the speech communities living in Gilgit-Baltistan exhibit pragmatic attitudes towards learning of languages of wider communication such as English and Urdu, as these languages are being associated with power and prestige. In addition to the linguistic diversity of the region, as observed by Radloff and Backstrom (2002) there are higher levels of other differences which can be observed in the form of cultural diversity and multilingualism throughout the northern region of Pakistan. Due to the multilinguistic nature of Gilgit-Baltistan, it is a common practice for people to learn more than one language to some degree of proficiency. They are of the view that the patterns associated with the use of other dominant or regional languages are related to social phenomenon as inter-ethnic contacts, the regional dominance of some groups and the promotion of Urdu and English through media and formal education in schools and colleges. Their study shows that the languages like Domaaki, indicate signs of declining linguistic vitality and preference for more dominant neighboring languages among the younger generations. According to the UNESCO reports (2003), issues of declining vitality are of serious concern for Domaaki as only few hundred speakers of this language are left and this language has been included in the list of the most endangered languages of the world. Unlike Domaaki, most of the other local languages of the region are well maintained by their native speakers as these are frequently used as common means of communication especially in rural areas which are less affected by globalization.

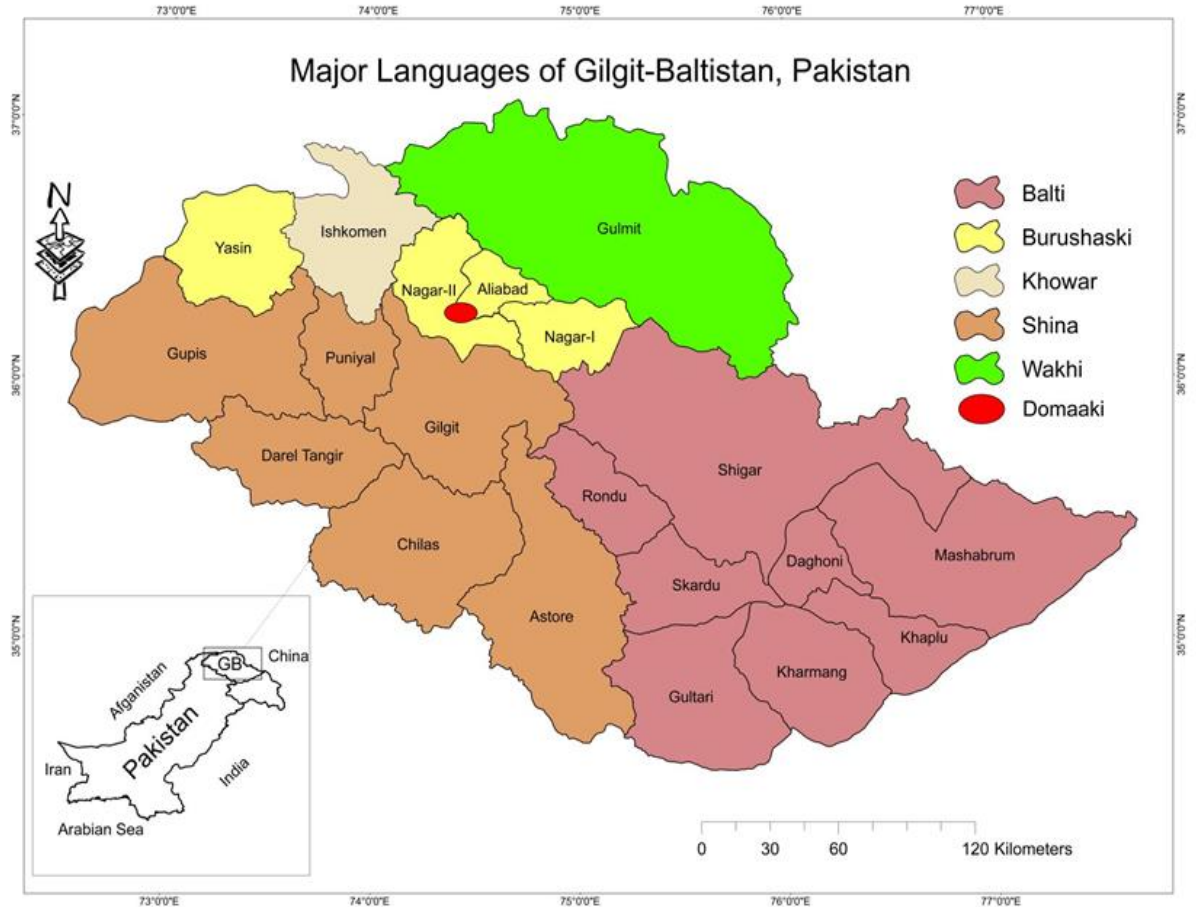
Radloff and Backstrom (2002) are of the view that that the region of Gilgit-Baltistan is unique in the world due to its multilingual, multicultural and multiethnic nature. The major languages of the region are Shina, Balti, Burushaski, Wakhi, Khowar and Dommaki. Shina is the major language spoken in Gilgit-Baltistan. The Shina language belongs to the Dardic branch of Indo-Aryan family of languages (Grierson, 1903; Bashir, 2003; Munshi, 2006). The other languages of this group are Khowar, Kohistani, Kashmiri and others. Shina is being spoken in several valleys of the mountainous northern Pakistan such as central Gilgit region, Punial, Gahkuch in Ghizer, Shinaki areas of Hunza, lower Nager, the entire Astore district up to the Daras valley on the other side of the Kashmir in Indian side, Rondu and Satpara regions of the Baltistan division, Diamer division and Kohistan region in KPK. In other words, besides being unwritten and oral, Shina language is a widely spoken language and the great Himalaya, Hindu-Kush and the Karakoram mountain ranges of the northern Pakistan are its home.

It is observed by the researcher that the farther one travels, the more dialectical diversity one encounters in Shina language. Sociolinguists have primarily divided Shina language into three main dialects i.e Gilgiti dialect, Astori dialect and Kohistani or Chilasi dialect. Gilgiti dialect is spoken in the central Gilgit, Bagrote, Haramosh, Jaglot, Nasirabad, Punial, Gahkuch etc. Astori dialect covers areas from Bunji near Indus River up to the Gurez, Dras on Indian side and Satpara and Rondu in Baltistan division. Chilasi dialect covers different valleys of the Diamer district and some parts of Kohistan such as Harban, Koli, Palas, Jalkot and Sazin in Khayber Pakhtunkhwa. Chilasi Shina is sometimes called the Chilasso language as a different language than Shina. In the same

way Brokskat language spoken in Dras is sometimes treated as a dialect of Shina (Grierson, 1903; Usman, 1991; Leitner, 2001; Dad, 2010).

Even within the Gilgiti dialect there is a significant variation of style, accent and vocabulary of speakers in Gilgit, Punial and Shinaki area of Hunza, but they can easily communicate with each other. There is considerable variation in Astori dialect and so is the case with Chilasi dialect. The researcher is of the view that Gilgit-Baltistan is unique on the face of the earth due to such linguistic diversity in a small region. Shina is primarily orally preserved and transmission from generation to generation is oral. The entire Shina speaking region in northern Pakistan has a rich heritage of legends, mythology and folk stories which contain historical truth and entertainment. The same Buddhist rock carving of Kargah known as '**jæmi**' in Gilgit is referred to as a famous local myth of Shina. This myth is about a giantess which used to eat the local people of the area until it was fixed to the rock wall by a saint as a punishment. These types of pre-historic myths are still passed on to the next generation as part of heritage, culture and history.

Besides Shina speakers, there live a number of other ethnic and linguistic groups such as Balti, Wakhi and Burusho. Other languages in the region are Khowar, Kashmiri, Kalami, Torwali, Phalula and Indus Kohistani. The languages most closely related to Shina are Indus Kohistani, Phalula and Khowar. Most of the Indus Kohistani speakers can speak the Chilasi dialect of Shina with varying degrees of proficiency. The major languages of the region are shown in Map 1 developed by the researcher based on field work.



[Map 1 showing the major languages in Gilgit- Baltistan]

The second largest language of the region is Balti which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family and is spoken in different parts of Baltistan division. Balti is similar to Ladaki language which is spoken on the Indian side of the Line of Control. Balti is the major language throughout Baltistan division, but Shina is also spoken in some parts such as Rondu, Satpara and Kharmang. Most of the Shina speakers living in Baltistan can also speak and understand Balti.

The language isolate Burushaski is spoken in central Hunza, Nager and Yasin valley of Ghizer district with a slight difference in pronunciation, morphosyntax and

lexicon. The Burushaski-speakers call themselves as Burusho and their language as Burushaski.

The people in Gojal, Ishkoman and Yasin speak Wakhi which is an Iranian language. The name Wakhi is derived from the word 'Wakhan' which is a narrow corridor of Badakhshan region of Afghanistan separating Tajikistan from Pakistan. Wakhi speakers living in Gilgit-Baltistan migrated from Wakhan region at different times, beginning in the latter part of nineteenth century (Lorimer, 1954; Leitner, 2001; Radloff & Backstrom, 2002).

1.4 Statement of Problem

Language and identity of an individual or speech community are inseparable from each other and constructing identity becomes a complex phenomenon in multilingual settings. Gilgit-Baltistan is a multilingual area and Shina speakers use multiple languages during interactions in different contexts. It becomes quite challenging to study the construction of linguistic identities in multilingual contexts like Gilgit-Baltistan due to availability of a variety of marked and unmarked choices. It is observed that multilingual Shina speakers switch identities according to the context and interlocutors. This research will investigate the Shina speakers' contextual construction of multiple identities in interactions in personal and public places in their daily life. The present research will explore that which factors motivate multilingual Shina speakers to select a particular code from their linguistic repertoire in their official and work place settings where they interact with the other members of the society.

According to Tabouret-Keller (2017), language acts are the acts of identity. During interaction, people position themselves, position others and are also positioned by

others through code choices. Identity refers to an individual's constant positioning in interactions in different contexts using different codes.

Multilingual Shina speakers construct a linguistic identity associated with one particular language or another based on the set of rights and obligations established in an interaction. The choice of linguistic codes depends on the sets of rights and obligations, so it is important to study the factors which influence the RO sets in interactions. Identity markers, other than language, also need to be identified which become salient according to the context and play a role in identity construction. This research focuses on linguistic practices of Shina speakers and intends to investigate their possible connections with language ideologies and identity. Sometimes individual speakers maintain multiple identities by using multiple linguistic varieties to communicate in different settings. It is also a general observation that speakers constantly adjust their multiple identities and contribute to the group's identity. Multilingual Shina speakers in this study refers to those Shina speakers who are native speakers of Shina and can speak Urdu and English and may have other languages in their linguistic repertoire.

Language is an integral part of culture and members of a particular community construct and negotiate different identities such as linguistic, national, regional, gender, ethnic or hybrid through their language use. In case of multilingual speakers, it becomes even more complex because switching to one language from the other is not always dependent upon the competence of the addressee, level of formality or informality or a change in situation, rather for increasing or decreasing the social distance, to demarcate in and out group members through both marked and unmarked choices. The selection of different codes in conversation can be seen as a marker of identity.

This research study will investigate the identity construction of Shina speakers through an ethnographic approach as this speech community has not been studied properly in terms of the ethno-linguistic diversity. This research will discuss that how the identity of the Shina speakers is changing due to the influence of other cultures and languages on their mother tongue.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This research intends to study linguistic identity of Shina speakers through their language choice in different contexts. The present research is significant as the region of Gilgit-Baltistan in general and Shina speech community in particular has not been studied yet in terms of ethnolinguistic diversity. The current research focusses on linguistic identity construction of Shina speakers that makes it significant due to changing cultural, social, educational and economic scenarios of this remote region, impacting the identity of this lesser known speech community. Identity, being a non-static and vibrant issue, requires to be documented at each important turn. Thus the current study can be an addition to the chain of research on the dynamic topic of identity construction. Multilingual Shina speakers use Urdu, English, Shina and other regional languages in different contexts which results in the projection of various identities.

It is important to understand language in relation to identity of a minority group as it entails survival and maintenance of the language in the long run. It is important for the minority speakers to have a sense of importance about their language and to identify with it because it gives rise to positive in-group attributes and convergence towards that identity. The current research is expected to explore the complex ways of identity constructions in relation to multilingualism. It will add to our understanding of the

relationship between identity construction and linguistic practices of Shina speakers in different contexts. It can explain how minority language speakers construct their identity through a regional, national and an international language.

This research will be an indirect attempt at saving Shina culture and language. Shina does not have a script on which there is mutual agreement. Writers and Poets have taken the Urdu script and with certain amendments using it as Shina script but there is no unanimous agreement so far which makes it more important to study how this language contributes to identity projection of its speakers specially the young generation, more so when only the spoken version of Shina is available.

Awareness to an identity is an early life unique phenomenon. This study is new in the sense that the identity of Shina speakers has not been studied so far. It will also be an effort of studying the culture and changing attitude of the Shina speakers towards their mother tongue. The current study would be an addition to the research on identity construction in general and linguistic practices of multilingual Shina speakers in particular.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

Following are the objectives of this research:

1. To investigate identity construction of Shina speakers through marked and unmarked choices.
2. To find out the factors that influence the set of rights and obligations in interaction.
3. To identify the salient markers of identity in different contexts.

1.7 Research Questions

1. How do multilingual Shina speakers project their linguistic identities in interaction through marked and unmarked choices?
2. Which factors influence the set of Rights and Obligations in an interaction?
3. Which identity markers become salient during interaction in different contexts?

1.8 Delimitation of the Study

The present study is delimited to identity construction of educated Shina speakers who, apart from their native language Shina can speak Urdu and English as well. Multiple identities for the young generation is a main issue in the region due to its socio-cultural situation. This study focuses on identity construction in general.

The participants were both male and female but gender is not taken as a variable in this study because this would have added to the already elaborate study and would have made it too wide to be covered under the parameters of qualitative research. This study mainly focuses on identity representation in the light of different languages.

1.9 Organization of Thesis

The thesis is organized into five chapters as under:

Chapter No. 1 contains a general introduction of the study including different concepts of identity construction, socio-historical background of Shina speakers, language vitality and classification in the region, problem statement, research objectives, research questions, significance of the current study and delimitations of the study.

Chapter No. 2 contains review of relevant past researches on identity construction with a critical review of literature on different approaches to identity construction, factors that affect identity construction. It also discusses previous studies related to the construction of linguistic, contextual, regional, ethnic and hybrid identities. This chapter also reviews the past studies on ethnography and use of Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model in multilingual contexts.

Chapter No. 3 discusses the details of research methods employed in the current study, theoretical framework, data collection and analyzing tools, sampling procedures and ethical issues.

Chapter No. 4 is about data presentation and data analysis. It contains analysis of questionnaires, interviews, conversations, participant observation and FM recordings.

Chapter No. 5 contains findings, conclusion and recommendations for future researchers with similar interests.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The term ‘identity construction’ is considered to be a complex and multilayered phenomenon (Block, 2007), but despite its complexity, we all somehow understand what identity construction is in general. There is no specific definition which appropriately depicts the essence of the term “identity” in particular terms. The notion of identity seems to be polarized, with some researchers taking the term ‘identity’ as something abstract, and subjective (Besemeres, 2002), while others take the term identity as something actively constructed through social interaction and positioning (Bailey, 2000; Block, 2007). Another school of thought takes identity as a ‘function of self and other description’ (Bailey, 2000), for example, Hammers and Blanc (2000), believe that one only becomes aware of one’s own identity when he or she realizes that there are several other identities in existence in the society side by side with their identities. Furthermore, it has been recognized that identity construction is a continuous process which involves accumulation of life experiences, mental or solid emotions, relationships and other connections. Susan et al. (2011, p. 143) believe that, “all these aspects leave a stamp on a human's identity”. Gee (1996) focuses on linguistic identity of human beings and is of the view that discourses of a community are a ‘sort of identity kit’ which becomes complete with the appropriate costume and instructions on how to act, talk and often write so as to take on a particular social role. Andrews (2010) suggests that any study of the notion of multilingualism should be dealt according to the perception of identity, as the concept of

identity is entangled with preferences, attitudes, emotions, anxiety, cognitive aspects, personality type, social ties, influences and reference groups. According to Higgins (2011), learning a second language provides people opportunities to construct new identities which are not tied to the traditional ethno linguistic, national or cultural identities. Phinney (2011) takes identity construction as a communicative process of people that takes place at the crux of development and culture. Identity construction is inseparable from the context in which it is constructed. According to Phinney (2011), identity development pathways differ depending on an individual's needs, goals and culture. There are various domains of identity formation, such as religion, occupation, ethnicity and gender etc.

Researchers in the past took identity as a fixed concept; however, the concept of identity was problematized by the later researchers as they pointed out the fluid and complex construction of identity, negotiated by an individual as he or she moves through the society. Even within the society the particular circles to which an individual belongs can affect how one views, describes and categorizes oneself. Identity is progressively and constantly constructed in context (Block, 2007).

Myers-Scotton (1993) is of the view that speakers demonstrate linguistic identity by using different code choices which could be both marked and unmarked. Bailey (2002) is of the opinion that language is directly related to identity construction and it defines one's identity in the sense that one's mother tongue is the channel that categorizes him. It is a general phenomenon that different linguistic varieties and forms have certain ranges of metaphorical social situations which are being exploited by people in different contexts for particular ends in highlighting and propagating various aspects of their

identities. Milroy and Gordon (2003) are of the view that the speaking style of people plays an important role in shaping ethnic and linguistic identity of groups in a society. They are of the view that identity is projected through daily use of communication by the members of society with each other. Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 585) take identity as a “relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction.

Higgins (2019) has explored the trends in which people of 21st century are offered new identities due to opportunities that are provided to them. These opportunities not only lead to new identity formation, but also to acquisition of another language as well. He believes that due to the rapid means of communication in the new era, the identity of any kind does not remain constant and it keeps on changing.

If one were to use the definition of 'Identity' in the context of nationality then one will define it as a person who tends to associate him or her with a group of people who share same beliefs, ideas, thoughts, and traditions as his own but people change all the time, physiologically, psychologically and even their personalities go through an ever evolving process. Robbins (2001) defines identity as something which is not unchanging or static, but as something that is ever evolving with the passage of time. The trans-cultural existence in 21st century has led to development of identities in many ways. Now-a-days, a person can be seen as associating himself with more than one culture. For instance, the people of Balochistan recognize themselves as Balochies first and then associate themselves with the sub-cultural categories such as Mullazai, Baloch, etc. in the second stage. In the era of globalization, where there is freedom beyond borders and free markets exist, languages and cultures have mixed-up and identities have become a blend

of trans-culture. This has happened mainly because the young generation has more access to the outside worlds than the previous ones. There are more opportunities for them as compared to the people from 20th century. Block (2013) suggests that the cultural integration has resulted due to globalization, trans-nationalism, people shuttling between societies and multiple belongings in different regions. These aspects have paved a way for inter cultural awareness and compelled people from different cultures and regions to learn each other's languages and culture which resulted in the development of multiple identities.

Identity is embedded in the language. The theoretical concept of identity is taken from anthropology and psychology. Identity can also be defined in terms of the image that we present to the world, the sort of position we take which also positions the people around us. Holland and Lachicotte (2007) define identities as the bases from which members of the community adopt new actions, new worlds and new ways of being. Furthermore, it has been noted that the identity of people in a society who speak more languages differs from the people who are monolinguals as the multilinguals prefer to switch codes according to the context and situation (Jenkins, 2000; House, 2003; Kirkpatrick, 2007).

Identities appear to be the means through which people become aware of what is going on in the society around them. It is generally believed that identity construction is a socially constructed phenomenon which is influenced by unconscious psychological processes. Arnett (2002, p. 9) talked about "bicultural identities where the self is defined by local meanings and is maintained along a self, defined by a global culture". Language is an important symbol of communication between people and identity is described as

developed in interaction among people. Gumperz (1982) suggests that the social identity and ethnicity are maintained and established through the discourse. He, while discussing the phenomenon of code-switching in Norway, found that people of the community spoke two languages; one that is the local dialect named Ranamal, and the other that is one of the two national dialects, known as Bokmal. It is a fact that the local dialect carries greater importance in marking one's prestige in the society, therefore, people of Hemnesberget while speaking with other residents use the local or native dialect. This way they would mark their in-group identity. However, while speaking to people outside the community or tourists, they would use the standard dialect. The students while interacting about academic issues in the classroom spoke in the standard dialect. This was done because they had to mark their identity as students whilst in classrooms where every student has a different ethnic background.

2.1 Previous Studies on Identity Construction

Various studies have been carried out on identity construction in different regions of the world. Hayashi (2002) examined the process of identity construction in multilingual university students of a foundation course at Simon Fraser University. The data was collected through classroom observations and the analysis was conducted using theoretical insights of sociolinguistics, identity construction and social practices. Kim (2003) studied the impact of English on the identities of multilingual Malaysian undergraduates who mix English with their regional languages. The sample of the study consisted of twenty Malaysians. All the subjects were either bi or multilingual. Data was obtained through semi-structured interviews. Different questions were formulated based

on six topic domains such as identity, language repertoire, learning English experience, social interaction, experience of culture and literary exposure.

Rose and Dulm (2006) studied English African code-switching in multilingual classroom interactions using Myers-Scotton (1993)'s Markedness Model. Classroom interactions were recorded and the data is analyzed using Markedness Model, which suggests four types of code-switching and code mixing. These code-switches are referred to as marked, unmarked, sequential unmarked and exploratory. Along with types, different functions of code-switching are also identified in this study. The study concludes that code switching plays a specific function in multilingual and multicultural classrooms. Negrin (2008) illustrates that the concept of identity emerges with the collapse of their old hierarchical social order or disappearance of ascribed social roles and the languages they speak. Maria (2012) believes that identity is rooted in social experience, communication and social practices of the society members which differs from society to society.

Doley (2013) explored the use of marked and unmarked choices in code-switching for the purpose of business by the salesmen and traders in the markets of Assam, which is a multilingual region of India. The salesman switches the codes as soon as he recognizes the language of the customer. Data for exploring such type of communication is collected from three markets of Assam (India), which is then analyzed through Scotton's Markedness Model. Radloff and Backstrom (1992) carried out a sociolinguistic survey of languages of northern part of Pakistan, which is not directly related to this research work but it is about the geographical location, dialects and a brief history of languages of Gilgit-Baltistan which includes the following languages such as

Balti, Burushaski, Wakhi, Domaaki and Shina. Ironically most of the local languages such as Shina, Burushaski, Balti, Khowar and Domaaki are unwritten languages and are facing tremendous pressure of other languages like English and Urdu and slowly and gradually these languages are dying out. The younger generation is increasingly considering their mother tongue as a great impediment in the way of their progress. English and Urdu are considered as languages of power, wealth, prestige and influence which results in a hybrid identity. Thus rapid and voluntary language shift process is threatening not only these regional languages but also the existing identity of the people living in these mountainous areas. This study will see the influence of Urdu, English and Shina on the identity construction of Shina speakers. Even a few languages of the region, such as Domaaki have been declared endangered by UNESCO (2011). The dying Domaaki language has even less than two hundred speakers who are basically artisans and musicians by profession. With the gradual extinction of these languages, the unique culture and identity of this region is also endangered.

Taj (2011) while discussing the changing attitudes of the people towards the Shina language in modern world is of the opinion that Shina words related to the local customs, traditions and food are rapidly being replaced by either Urdu or English which is affecting the linguistic identity of the Shina people. As a result of which the young generation is unaware of many Shina terms and words and these archaic words are dying out rapidly reshaping the linguistic identity of the young Shina generation.

Languages are also considered high and low according to their domains of usage. According to Ferguson (1959), two varieties of a language can exist simultaneously in a speech community. The variety associated with high prestige is called the H (high)

variety and the one with low prestige is called the L(low) variety. Sutton (2003) is of the view that in today's world cultural identity has become more complex as it is more static and dependent on geographical locations only. Halliday and Hassan (1989) believe that learning a new language involves taking on a new language identity.

Multilingual Shina speakers use Urdu, English and Shina in different contexts so the researcher intends to study how Shina speakers project their identities through multiple languages. It is observed that multilingual Shina speakers switch identities according to the context and interlocutors. The linguistic identities of Shina speakers have not been studied so far.

The researcher is interested in exploring how multilingual Shina speakers construct their identities through marked and unmarked choices. It will also be investigated that what motivates multilingual Shina speakers to select a particular code from their linguistic repertoire in their official and work place settings where they interact with other members of the society.

2.2 Available Literature on Shina

Not many studies have been conducted on the language and culture of Shina speakers. Available literature on Shina comprises of a handful of books written by the British political agents and writers during the era of Great Game in the region in 19th century which include: Biddulph (1880), Leitner (1893), Grierson (1924), Lorimer (1924), Baily (1924), Namus (1981) and Buddruss (1985). Biddulph wrote about different tribes of Hindu-Kush, Leitner wrote about the history, traditions and folklore of the Dard tribes, Grierson discussed about the languages of area in detail, Lorimer

compiled the folk tales of the region, Baily wrote the grammar of Shina language. Buddruss conducted linguistic research in Gilgit and Hunza while Namus wrote about the history, culture and literature of Shina. Shina was compared with other Dardic languages by Baily and Grierson, while the general description of the language, history, culture and area was described by Biddulph and Leitner. Ethnological studies on Shina include Muhammad (1905) and Lorimer (1924).

Recent studies on Shina have been conducted by Taj (1989, 2011), Zia (1995, 2010), Dukhi (1995), Schmidh and Kohistani (1996, 1998, 2008), Radloff and Shakil (1998), Radloff (2002) and Shakil (2004, 2013). Shina does not have a standardized writing system, although some of the local writers and researchers such as Zia (1986), Shakil (2004) and Taj (2011) have published books on Shina orthography, but the scripts have not become well-known yet.

Biddulph (1880) was the first person to describe the geographical boundaries of Shina language along with a detailed description of the culture and customs of the Shina speech community. He mentioned the areas of Gilgit River valley such as Mayon, Chaprot, Hindi in Hunza river valley and Bagrote and Haramosh where the Gilgiti variety of Shina is spoken. Lorimer (1927) has mentioned that the Shina speech community lives in the areas of proper Gilgit up to some twenty miles including Shakiot and Sherote near the Punial boarder, down the Gilgit valley to its junction with the famous Indus river, at Nomal more than fifteen miles up the Hunza River, in different villages of Bagrote, Haramosh and Sai Nallah. Shina is one of the major languages in the administrative division of northern Pakistan called Gilgit-Baltistan. The majority of the Shina speakers live in Gilgit and Diamer divisions of Gilgit-Baltistan, with additional communities living

in Baltistan and Ghizer districts. The Kohistan area of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province also contains a major population of Shina speakers. Moreover, Shina speakers also live in the valleys on the Indian side of the Kashmir in Daras and Kargil areas (Radloff and Backstrom, 2002). Biddulph (1880)'s book, 'The Tribes of Hindu Kush' stands as a classical standard for description of the Shina speakers, their language, customs and traditions.

2.3 The Notion of Language and Identity

Language is a system of communication used by humans which enables them to exchange messages and convey information to others. Gumperz (1982, p.39) claims that "language differences function chiefly to mark social identity and are perpetuated in accordance with established norms and traditions". This formation of social identity reinforces the subjective, social reality of individual actors, in that it is their decision of making power and actions that serves to make up categories. Social identity is the result of two subjective processes: 'self-ascription' -how one describes oneself- and attribution by others' – how others define one. This shows that the analysis of identity revolves around the questions of how, when and why individuals count as members of particular groups. Some theorists are of the view that a specific language is fundamental to a specific cultural or ethnic identity, in part as it is thought to depict a cultural worldview and long-established forms of knowledge (Bunge et al., 1992). Pinker (1994, p.17) is of the view that language is, "so strongly woven into human experience that it is hardly possible to imagine human life without it". Language constructs individual, social and national identities. Members of a particular society speak in a distinct way and they have

to choose different codes for different situations which leads to variation. Sometimes a person tries to be unique and sometimes, to be liked by others. By doing so, one can change the language identity, but it needs more effort. People in multilingual communities interact with each other by using different languages, but the language variety spoken by the dominant group becomes the unmarked choice and the dialect of the dominant group acquires the standard form. Language is used as a maker of identity and a symbol of 'us-ness'. It serves as a binding force among a nation.

The language we speak shapes our identity. The exact nature of this relationship, however, is a debatable topic. This debate is of particular interest due to the power of globalization which is influencing the world's languages as many languages are disappearing or becoming endangered as a result of language contact and shift (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008). At one end are those who believe that a particular group's worldview, customary facts, and broad way of life are determined by its familiar language, so disappearance of that language could have catastrophic results for that group's cultural vivacity and hence identity (Davis et al., 2009). Other theorists are of the opinion that language is a conditional marker of identity (May, 2004; Edwards, 2009), even if it is simply taken as a surface "behavioral" feature, so that a particular language is effortlessly changeable by another with no change to the primary aspect of that identity. Andrews (2010) studied identity construction of Mexican students using Gee's aspects of identity. They are required to project new identities in order to face new challenges. In a society, the use of a language reveals gender, ethnicity, origin, occupation and social class of individuals. Andrew's study reaffirmed Gee's concept of

identity that through language use we project the kind of person we want to project to our audience as language reflects who we are as members of a particular culture or society.

Many linguists in their works tried to see the connection between language, identity and its history (Taylor, 1989; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; Woodward, 2002; Hall, 2004; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006). The relationship between identity and language, as suggested by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), is mutually constitutive and that identities are manifold, dynamic and subject to change. This means that identities undergo a continuous process of change due to language acquisition and learning.

The link between language, culture and identity is hard to isolate from each other. Hamers and Blanc (2000) examined the connection among language, culture and identity. They are of the view that on one hand language transmits a culture, and on the other it is the foremost tool through which cultural values are internalized with each other. This is true with reference to oral languages like Shina that even in the past when there was no concept of conventional schools and colleges, parents and grandmothers used the folk sayings, songs and folk tales to teach moral and cultural values to the young generation. These moral and cultural values shaped the identity of the Shina people at that time, but as identity is not static, so it changed with the passage of time as the people amalgamated with other cultures and learned other languages.

Aitcheson (2000, p.605) argues that, “besides communication, language is chiefly helpful for the promotion and maintenance of social contacts”. So language can also be used to project an identity of a person. Bailey (2000) mentions that linguistic items and varieties have a variety of metaphorical social situations. These social situations are utilized by individuals in particular contexts for particular reasons in highlighting

different aspects of their identities. Bendle (2002) describes that the origins of the recently increasing interest in identity possibly goes back no further than a century and a half as it is an essential part of the steady secularization of the populations of countries which industrialized from the mid-19th century onwards.

Thornborrow (2004) claims that one of the most essential ways people possess to create their identity, and of determining other people's opinions about other people, is through the use of language. It is through language that the identity of a certain group or an individual is revealed. Language provides us a lot of information about, a certain social class, age group, educational background etc. When we communicate in a language, we do so as members of the society with particular social histories. Our histories are viewed in relation to our association with social groups into which we are born such as social class, gender, race and religion. Any study of the language, as Joseph (2004) observes, should be based on the considerations of identity as the process of identity basically revolves around what language is, how it operates in the society, how it evolved, how it is used in everyday life by every speaker and how it is used in different contexts and situations. The concept of language and identity is closely related to each other. Joseph (2004) analyzed the role languages play in identity formation at individual, community, national and international level. He suggests that the field of linguistics should be dehumanized to incorporate the study of identity on different levels. He is of the view that identity is one of the integral parts of the linguistic research as it is produced and reproduced through daily use of discourse. Joseph also acknowledges the influence of feminism and gender theories in understanding identity and language. He also suggests that language also plays a vital role in shaping national identity as language

acts as a binding force among the individuals of a nation. He uses a constructivist approach in mentioning the meanings of different identities and national languages. He has given a comprehensive detail of the emergence of nationalism referring to French and American revolutions and Renaissance. He outlined Gellner's concept of nation-state in which language acts as a sign of national identity. Derra (2008) would agree that language represents a symbolic communication based on relationships between symbols uttered by the speakers. According to Edward (2009) language is one of the most important psychological anchors that people need.

Language performs two major functions: instrumental and symbolic (Edwards et al., 1984). Instrumental function refers to the use of language as a tool for communication by the members of the society. Language is a skill to learn, and to make one understand by other individuals which are possibly its most blatant and taken-for-granted functions. The symbolic aspect refers to 'representational meanings' it carries and it acts as a marker of culture and identity. According to Edward (2009, p.55), "language is a symbol of unity, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying point".

Given that these functions of language (instrumental and symbolic) are so profoundly rooted in everything we do, creating that "total environment" (Bunge,1992, p. 376) in which identities are constructed, projected and interpreted on many levels, the overall language/identity relationship may appear overwhelmingly complex. As seen in the studies of Heller (1988), Urciuoli et al. (1995), Kallifatides (1993) and Woolard (1994), language is an essential part of identity. While conducting a study on language and identity in the United States, Bailey (2000, p. 556) observed a group of high school students who came from Dominican Republic to the United States. He observed that for

them their language is the most significant recognizing factor. Despite their black appearance, he noticed that the Dominican Americans clearly define their race through language rather than phenotype, explaining that they speak Spanish, so they are Spanish. Bailey noticed that one of the black Dominican American students who loudly identified himself as Spanish rather than African American or Dominican American.

Most of the research on language and identity stimulated in post structuralism assumes a social constructivist standpoint. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) propagated the post structural notion that identity is both “contextually situated’ and ‘ideologically informed’ . They propagate that identity is considered to be plural, dynamic, non-fixed and socially constructed. According to poststructuralist approach identity is about the numerous ways in which people place themselves and are placed, that is, the diverse subjectivities and subject positions they live in or have attributed to them, within particular social, historical and cultural contexts (Block et al. (2007).

The process of identity construction is not seen as intrinsic and fixed to the individual, rather it is perceived as a changing phenomenon which is socially constructed. It is also taken as a dynamic and reflexive product of the historical, social and political contexts of an individual’s life experiences. Barth (1969) defines identity as a boundary constructed by groups between themselves, rather than the distinctiveness of group members. West (1992) defines the notion of identity in terms of desires of a person for recognition and connection; in any society such desires are directly linked with the division of material resources. People who own the resources have power and privileges. So a person’s identity will change according to the changing economic and social relations in society.

During his research Bailey (2000) observed that an Asian girl initially thought a black skinned student was African American, but later she realized that he was Spanish after she heard him interacting in the Spanish language. According to him this indicates that identity is always recognized by others on the basis of language they speak. Anzaldúa (1999) is also of the view that identity of individuals in society is defined through the language they speak. She conducted her study on implications of speaking Chicano Spanish language in the United States. She is of the view that if a Latina or a Chicana person shows a low opinion of her native tongue, it means that he or she also has a low judgment of her. Anzaldúa's findings relate to Bailey's (2000) research which suggests that language is the most significant factor in both self-achieved and ascribed identity.

In other words, language is an agent for transmittal of culture and language is employed to internalize a culture by different groups. Hamers and Blanc (2000) use an identity theory which is similar to that of Woodward (1997). Hamers and Blanc (2000) are of the view that different social groups create their social identities by classifying their surroundings and occupying a specific place in a specific group. These social groups share same characteristics meanwhile estranging themselves from other social groups. In multicultural societies, societal groups discern themselves from others through their linguistic, cultural and ethnic uniqueness. Hamers and Blanc (2000:203) connect language to ethnic identity. They affirm that language is often the most vital sign of ethnic identity in the context of intercultural and interethnic encounters.

According to Hall (1996), in different situations and contexts, a speaker may change his or her language to reflect his or her identity. Hall (1996) claims that "meaning

is constantly being produced and exchanged” in every personal and social communication in which we take part in our daily life. Fishman (1991) is of the opinion that language which has traditionally been associated with a given ethno culture is; at any time best able to show the relics of that particular culture and to express the interests, values and worldviews of that culture, (p. 20). Similarly, Bunge (1992, p. 377) suggests that a national language of a nation is a system of ideas and expressions peculiar to that nation. It also reflects the outer look of that nation's view of the universe around that nation. This close link that envisaged between a specific language and specific culture thus demands that ethnic identity is somehow rooted in the language usually associated with that particular group.

It is essential to mention that each member in a society has a number of groups with which he or she may aspire to identify with at any given time. As referred by Saville-Troike (1989) this process is a person's inventory of social identities. According to him, “every identity that a person acquires in life is linked with a number of approximate verbal and nonverbal forms of expressions”. Several linguistic items express linguistic, national or gendered identity in this process. According to Le Page (1986), people construct different linguistic identities in multilingual settings. They learn different languages and become part of a diverse culture side by side with their own cultural identity. It shows that in multilingual societies, an individual participates in several activities with diverse speech communities. In such situations, the use of language by the members of the society varies according to situation, time, place, and interlocutors.

Shina speakers living in Shinaaki area of Hunza occupy a place in two cultures, and often marks up their membership in two linguistic groups; speakers of Burushaski

and speakers of Shina. For some, to become Shina-dominant is to deny the Hunza heritage that is a part of their group identity, and so they usually have membership in both speech communities of Gilgit and Hunza (Radloff, 1992). In such scenarios the notion of relationship between language and identity becomes fascinating for researchers.

2.4 Approaches to Identity Construction

Many approaches have been suggested by the researchers to study the identity construction of different individuals, groups, communities and nations. Few of the approaches are discussed here.

Socio-psychological approach explores identities in second language learning and daily language use. Socio-psychological approaches are made up of different approaches and are influenced by Tajfel's (1979) theory of social identity and Berry's (2005) theory of acculturation. Giles et al. (1973) take language as a sign of ethnic identity and introduced Communication Accommodation Theory. They see a direct relationship between language and identity. A number of factors have been identified by researchers which can lead to a group's ethno linguistic vitality. Groups having high ethno linguistic vitality may get a low level of second language proficiency, as second language detracts them from their ethnic identity.

Interactional sociolinguistics looks for identities in code-switching and language choice. Gumperz (1982)'s work on language and social identity moved the focus from socio-psychological approaches to interactional sociolinguistics which is ethnographic in nature. Sociolinguists explored identity in language choice and multilingual contexts over the years. The researcher also intends to do the same.

Post structuralist and critical theory led scholars to consider language choice in multilingual contexts as embedded in larger social, economic, political and cultural contexts (Norton, 2014). This theory by Norton (2014) was influenced by French sociologist Bourdieu who takes linguistic practices as a symbolic capital which like economic and social capital is divided unequally in society. Bourdieu's (1982) model of symbolic domination is based on the idea that a symbolically dominated group always takes it granted that their language variety is always better and superior as compared to other language varieties of the society. In other words, the official language is misrecognized as the superior language. Bourdieu's model was criticized by Heller (1988), Gall (1989), Woolard and Schieffelin (1994). These three scholars added new dimensions to the theory in diverse ways. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) added that symbolic domination is dependent on prestige and value of a linguistic variety. She also added to Bourdieu's idea of a marketplace that in any context there may be several alternative marketplaces having different language norms and values attached to different varieties. Gall (1989) added that speakers may transform linguistic norms and stigmatize identities by using microstructures of interaction. Heller analyzed conversation breakdowns and observed renegotiation of shared social knowledge in Quebec. Heller's theoretical framework, which is based on her ethnographic explorations, links language and power in two ways. First language is taken as a process of social action and interaction through which people influence each other. Secondly language is taken as a symbolic resource which is used to exercise power in the social environment.

2.5 Identities and Language Ideologies

Socio-psychological approaches see identity as stable and independent of language while social constructionists see identities as enacted through interaction. Post structuralist, on the other hand, see identities as legitimized or devalued in terms of global or local contexts. According to social constructionist point of view, identities are formulated and constructed through discourses available to individuals. This approach sees identities as constructed in two ways. First identities are constructed and negotiated through the linguistic means or items provided by languages or the discourses within them. Next point to consider is the role of ideologies of language and identity which indicate the ways in which individuals employ linguistic resources to project their identities.

In a society people negotiate different linguistic and cultural Identities. While studying Dominican American students, Bailey (2000) observed that choosing different languages from their linguistic repertoire made the students project different aspects of their identity. Khan (2001) considers identity as a relationship with the world across space and time, which is utilized by the members of the society to understand their position among others in a particular context. He believes that language is one of the major factors that shape this relationship. People switch from one language to another language in their conversation and this switching can also serve as an index of their identity as it reveals their status, power, prestige, authority and social background. Coulmas (2005) is of the view that language varieties used by speakers of different speech communities are associated with their social identities. Bilinguals select more than

one speech variety or languages in order to be associated with the corresponding identities.

Wodak (2009) in her study mentions that language decision and language itself are a piece of identity construction as has been widely reported in sociolinguistic research by different researchers from 1970s onwards such as Grad and Rojo (2008). We talk differently and act in an appropriate manner according to the circumstances as we figure out how to do it quite earlier in life through family and formal instruction. While theorizing risks and opportunities in education Edward (2009), discusses individual and group identity, the relationship between language, religion and identity and also between language and nationalism. Fatima (2012) in her article writes that aside from the different meanings of language in different fields of study, language might be characterized as an intellectual method for correspondence that speaks about an individual's way of life. According to Norton (2013), language and character might be viewed as indistinguishable. Accordingly, each time second language speakers take part in a discussion; they do not just exchange data with their partners, rather they always sort out and rearrange a feeling of their identity.

Language ideologies play a pivotal role in understanding the process of identity construction in a society. Just like identity, language ideologies are not static, but also evolve with the passage of time as it is an ever-changing phenomenon which always remains in a state of flux. Identity construction is a two-way process as the members of the society give meaning to the world around them and as a result they are also shaped by the meaning which their social world imposes on them in return. Language ideologies are ideas and perceptions of participants and observers with which they frame their

understanding of linguistic varieties used by the people and map those understandings with the people who are important to them.

Another indicator of a strong link between ideologies and language is the use of different myths related to languages. These myths are regarding the superiority of one language over another language. Myths such as ‘Persian is a beautiful and polite language’ or the ‘Chilasi is a harsh language’ are not established on natural values. Oakes (2001) believes that these myths are based on cultural norms of the society which reflect social attitudes of the people towards the speakers of these languages.

2.6 Language Affiliation and Ideologies in the Shina Speech Community

Language affiliation is the state of being strongly connected to a particular language. Language affiliation in different speech communities has been discussed by many researchers over time (Pierre, 1977; Benedict, 1991; Davis, 2015). Like most of the indigenous communities of the world, the Shina speech community in Gilgit-Baltistan also faces a linguistic conundrum in which on one hand, they learn and use the dominant languages like Urdu and English to get good jobs and respectability in society while on the other hand, they are being expected by the elders of the society to use their native language to maintain the ties of the culture of their forefathers. This challenge is probably due to the educational and language policies which directly or indirectly hinder the transmission of indigenous languages to the young generation and limit the domains of the regional languages in daily life.

Gilgit-Baltistan is a multilingual region. Most of the people speak more than one language because of a variety of reasons including the colonization of the region in the past, education, trade, media and movement of the people from one place to another place. Apart from English and Urdu, more than ten different languages with several dialects are spoken in Gilgit- Baltistan (excluding the Chitral district of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, which has more cultural similarities with Gilgit-Baltistan as compared to Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa). In educational institutions the usage of English and Urdu can be observed whereas regional languages like Shina, Brushaski and other languages are used at home and informal gatherings. Shams et al., (2020) while studying the attitude of Shina speakers towards Shina, Urdu and English found that though Shina speakers want to retain their language as they consider it their identity but still most of them considered English as the most important language. The first set of ideology that surrounds the Shina speakers when they move outside their culture, is the assimilation process, whereby these youngsters have to adopt the social practices and values of the places where they move.

Taking different contexts into consideration, English as a language of instruction is a prerequisite for gaining access to higher education. Similarly, Urdu language is an everyday need being a lingua franca. For communication in different contexts code switching and code mixing is quite frequently observed in the region. Similar language patterns are also observed in family gatherings, offices, academic institutions, markets and offices etc. English is observed to be used in the classrooms whereas Urdu and Shina are spoken among the students outside the formal teaching space.

2.7 Language and Social Identity

In social sciences, the researchers take interest in studying identity as an integral part of the society and an important segment of inquiry. Identity is considered as a complex phenomenon which is non-rigid, non-fixed, and always being co-constructed by members of the society who share some of the fundamental values or see another group as having such values. The concept of social identity deals with how speakers in multilingual and multi-cultural communities interact with each other. It also deals with how people in multilingual societies negotiate contextual, situational, cultural, social, professional and personal identities. When one talks about identity construction, the concept of in and out groups automatically comes in one's mind. It is also observed by the researcher that in informal gatherings or at any other place when same language speakers sit together, they gossip and exchange jokes in their own mother tongue but still the phenomenon of code-switching and code mixing can be observed.

Mead (1934) discusses how people negotiate their linguistic identities during social interactions according to their roles and status in society. He looked into identity as an integral part of "social activities and relationships" because social reality is negotiated and constructed by people as they attach meanings and names to things during their social interaction. This suggests that a person's social role, position and cultural factors help in shaping the identity of self and society. During this research study, the researcher conducted interviews of Shina speakers in order to know how they negotiate their linguistic identity. Most of the respondents were of the view that they switch codes from Shina to Urdu and English according to the situation and roles in their daily life which supports Mead (1934)'s views of identity construction.

Tajfel (1979) introduced the theory of social identity which sheds light on the position of individuals in the society. The notion of social identity reflects a person's sense of who he or she is as a member of the society. It also reflects the group membership in a society. According to Tajfel (1979), people's sense of belonging to certain groups becomes a source of pride and self-esteem. We get a sense of social identity by belonging to specific groups in the social world. People raise their self-image by elevating the status of the group to which they belong. In this way the world is categorized into in and out groups representing us versus them. This concept is similar to van Dijk (1998)'s concept of ideological square and Said (1978)'s concept of orientalism. According to social identity theory different groups will enhance their positive and out-group's negative image. Clash between cultures in this way may give rise to racism. Tajfel (1979) is of the view that polarization between in and out groups results in enhancing the differences between groups and celebrating the similarities between in groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979) identify three semiotic processes that work together for demarcating in and out groups. First we categorize people through social categories and through this categorization we come to know about others as well as ourselves. Secondly in social identification, the identity of the group with which one categorizes oneself as belonging to is adopted. In the final stage of social comparison, after categorization and identification with a group one's group is compared with other groups in the society. Giddens (1991) believed that individuals have the choice to construct self-identity.

In studying ethno-linguistic identity in a Dutch primary classroom Spotti (1997) opined that immigration on a large scale has caused demographic changes in the Netherlands. According to a survey in Dutch primary schools in 2001, 15.2 % students

were ascribed the status of 'cultural minorities' which indicates the diverse linguistic repertoires that these immigrant students possess. He further studied the role played by linguistic and cultural affiliations in the identity construction of these immigrant students. The conceptual framework taken by him is William (1980)'s concept of dominance residual and cultural elements. In order to see the end product of intermingling dominant and residual cultural elements one must not only look for novelty rather must see how the combination of a variety of cultural and linguistic elements may give new meaning to one's cultural and linguistic repertoires. Spotti (1997) believed that one must not hastily ascribe hybrid language use as hybrid acts of identity. Mercer (2000) on the other hand believes that acts of identity expose cultures of hybrid identity such as Turkish and Maaghrebians in Europe construct ethnic, cultural and linguistic attachments to project their identities. A variety of data collection methods as home language survey, questionnaires and written projects are used to study identity construction. The study revealed that they construct their identities through linguistic practices. The Dutch language is used for utilitarian purposes whereas the mother tongue or the minority language is limited to the home and most of the students gave it the status of the least liked language due to its value in the linguistic market. Poststructuralists take identity as something which is flexible and ongoing and human agency is given importance. Mathews (2002) opined that identities are assumed by individuals in cultural supermarket but, they do not have the liberty to choose any self-identity as the choices available depend on the social structures. He lists various identity types which by nature are both individual and collective and co-constructed. He also explicated that these identity types are not independent rather interrelated. According to Chambers (2003) the reason behind

sociolinguistic variation is the human instinct to project a social identity. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) are of the view that social groupings and social identities are the result of identity work in interaction.

Poststructuralists believe that identity is constructed socially in actions, dresses, bodily movements and language (Block, 2006). In other words, new positions are negotiated in different approaches to identity. Block concludes by opining that psychoanalysis does not cater for the needs of the social scientists as it cannot provide an avenue for understanding observed phenomena. Llamas (2007) shares findings from Variationist study conducted in Middleborough. This quantitative and qualitative study tried to unravel the complex and fluid identity construction in Middleborough which according to Sunday Times (2000) is a part of Britain with no identity. The study explores the motivations for linguistic variation through perceptions of speakers and their views. Llamas (2007) studied social and community identity construction with reference to language use. He used the framework of language ideology within which speaker's views about language are used for explicating variation in language. He believes that the local context impacts identity constructions.

It is generally believed by the social scientists and researchers that many factors such as language, ethnic groups, nationality, race, physical appearance i.e. dresses, interests and religion shape the identity of people. All these factors affect peoples' identity in different ways. The process of identity construction begins from infancy where an infant discovers his/her self which continues throughout his/her childhood and adolescence. In this process the child acquires the mother tongue and learns different societal traits. Sfar and Prusak (2005) believe that the personality of human beings is

nature given or biologically determined, while identity construction is considered as a behavioral trait which is propagated through one's participation in social practices. Through social practices, the members of the community learn different roles, norms and culture of their society which results in the development of their identity.

Many researchers are of the view that as people construct their identity by communicating with external circumstances, that's why identity is subject to change according to different cultural and societal factors (Tajfel and Turner, 1986; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Holland and Cole, 1995; Wenger, 1998).

2.8 Types of Identity

Every individual has a number of identities such as linguistic, regional, ethnic etc. out of which one or the other may be foregrounded depending on the context. Some of the identity types are discussed below.

2.8.1 Linguistic identity

Since this study will be limited to linguistic identity of Shina speakers, it will be helpful to discuss how different researchers have looked at the concept of linguistic identity. Linguistic identity plays an important role and it is accomplished and represented through the social interaction between the members in the social fabric of the society. Globalization makes linguistic identities central as people may take on new identities due to new experiences as well as due to language contact. Global languages appear to be approaching the domains of language use previously dominated by regional languages.

The researcher believes that global languages index global identities whereas regional language reflect regional identities and people in multilingual contexts switch or project multiple identities by switching or mixing linguistic varieties. On one hand globalization has given a renewed importance to local identity on the other hand linguistic purists argue that global languages have influenced the purity of local languages and cultural values. English as a global language is closely related to the history of colonialism giving rise to varieties of Englishes in the post-colonial contexts.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993) the main reason for maintaining multilingualism is conversational implicature. This concept formed the basis of famous Markedness Model which later tried to answer the questions such as why do speakers maintain more than one language. Wouldn't it be more useful if only one language was used in all situations? According to her these questions can be answered from an intergroup perspective in other words multilingualism is maintained due to the function of different languages as tools of positive and negative identification. Different subgroups use different codes as social markers. Myers-Scotton collected data from a multilingual African community and switching from one code to the other is transcribed along with the details of the social setting in which it took place.

Code choices negotiate interpersonal relationships. In the current study code choices are analyzed using the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) and Hierarchy of Identities Model by Omoniyi (2007). In a conversation a set of rights and obligations is negotiated. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), code-switching indicates multiple relationships or a change in relationship between the interlocutors. She identified

different purposes of code switching because of which multilingualism is maintained in any multilingual community.

The most important function of code switching as identified by Myers-Scotton (1993) which forms the base of this study is that code switching implicates multiple identities as the unmarked choice in conversation. An unmarked choice by a speaker is an attempt to affirm the set of rights and obligations associated with a particular code, a marked choice on the other hand is an effort to change the existing set of rights and obligations. Bilingual speakers have dual identities indexed by two languages. Other identified functions of code-switching include code-switching as a marked choice. After the detailed analysis of code-switching data taken from an African community through transcribing the conversation, Myers-Scotton concludes that the maintenance of code-switching supports the claim of the Markedness Model and that no matter how it is used; code-switching is always an indication that the speaker has multiple identities in different contexts and situations. As linguistic identities deal with the way people interact with each other in different situations, so code mixing and code-switching help to construct solidarity or otherness in multilingual societies.

Linguists look at identity from a linguistic point of view and they believe that languages shape the identities of people. We take different positions and relations through language. According to Butler (1997) identities are constructed moment by moment in interaction. The same concept is supported by hierarchy of identities model by Omoniyi (2006). He also discusses and distinguishes between linguistic strategies of code-switching and code crossing. Studies have shown that when speakers choose one particular language rather than the other they want to project a particular linguistic

identity (Andrews, 2010). It is believed that linguistic identities are acquired through socialization. In this point the researcher holds a slightly different point of view that linguistic identities need not necessarily be acquired through socialization rather through exposure to different languages and also the desire and need to learn a particular language either to survive or to be a part of the higher strata of society may make one acquire a particular linguistic identity.

Rubio (2011) believes that people participate in social activities and while doing so acquire discursive and situated identities. Using the same approach, the researcher studied the identity construction of Shina speakers by recording interactions, transcribing them and later analyzing the text through Markedness Model and hierarchy of identities model.

Hozabrossadat (2015) held the view that the devices of positionality and Indexicality are used to construct identities. The principle of Indexicality can be beneficial as well as disadvantageous in multilingual settings. Hozabrossadat (2015) concludes by opining that identity construction may in part be intentional or habitual. It can also be influenced by ideologies of self as well as perceptions of others. Linguistic and cultural differences lead to diversity in linguistic identities. Johnstone and Bean (1997) in self-expression and linguistic variation is of the opinion that the role played by self-expression in linguistic variation is overlooked. She explicated her point of view by comparing language use of two Texas women. Dialectology considers region as the main factor which leads to dialectical variation. Sociolinguists have explored more factors such as ethnicity, social class, gender, socioeconomic status and other factors. Bailey (2007) is of the view that selection of codes is linked with the place of origin. He suggests that the

role of individuals must also be explored as a factor that leads to linguistic variation. Linguistic choices of individuals reveal their self-image. It is observed that the vernacular speech exposes how language choice is influenced by social facts and public speech exposes the self-expressive nature of code selection. Johnson (1997) believes that linguistic and ethnographic analysis of actual communication of speakers is the most appropriate method to explore linguistic variations in a society. He takes the approach of Kroskrity (1993) according to which choice of a code reveals an individual's biography.

2.8.2 Contextual identity

It is a common observation that identities are made in specific settings and contexts. They are co-built intelligent connections. They are generally divided, vibrant and variable. Every individual has a set of different identities which they pick and choose from depending on different contexts. Moreover, identity development consistently infers inclusionary and exclusionary forms, for example, the notions of 'oneself' and 'others'. Identities that are individual and aggregate, national and transnational are likewise created and showed symbolically, but be that as it may, who figures out who can talk with whom, and how? Who settles on the standards of language use; who sets these standards and implements them; who decides if dialects, phonetic conduct, and characters are acknowledged? Who, for instance, chooses, at last, which language and which type of language is 'great' enough to finish a language test to accomplish citizenship or inhabitant status? Along these lines, Wodak (2009) reached the issue of power; the intensity of the individuals who can utilize language for their different personal stakes, as is communicated in the citations above. Language is utilized to decide and define likenesses

and contrasts; to draw clear boundaries among 'us' and 'others'. These distinctions are then assessed and in this way, an ideological minute is frequently certainly presented through different sorts of order. In the political talk, for instance, political notices, promotions, trademarks, and different methods for influential correspondence are generally utilized such as in race battles etc. Such ground-breaking language in the hands of lawmakers serves to influence individuals of purposefully settled limits. Words at that point become weapons, and words can likewise be utilized as real weapons, as has appeared in many nitty-gritty studies (Fairclough 1989; Chilton 2004; Wodak 2009).

A study conducted by Wan (1999) aimed at exploring the relationship between discourse and identity for Chinese immigrant youth whose cultural identifications are spread over multiple geographical territories found that due to transnational culture, there exists a third space among individuals. However, the Chinese immigrants had to face discrimination due to their different culture but they have always been engaged in intercultural activities and exercises that blend them into the US culture. For most of the Chinese immigrant students, schools are seen as an opportunity to socialize outside their tradition and ethnicity and L2 acquisition becomes very common as it is needed to interact with people outside their own ethnicity (Gee, 1996).

Same can be noted in Shina speakers of Gilgit-Baltistan (GB). The students from Gilgit Baltistan have now learnt multiple cultural and linguistic affiliations, and their identity formation is now beyond their tradition and ethnicity. They are now engaged in cross-cultural exchange and negotiation of differences outside Gilgit-Baltistan and even abroad through discourse. The term discourse refers to the ways in which a language is spoken and written by specific groups of people in order to construct realities for

themselves. These realities are based on their shared beliefs, values and historical experiences along with their shared culture. Gee (1996) has noted that discourses are means of interacting, behaving, thinking, valuing, speaking, believing and often writing and reading that are acceptable as instantiations of particular roles of specific groups of people. Norman (1992) has explained the study of discourse as a mode of action or as a form through which people may act upon the world. He has also proposed it as a mode of depiction. Secondly, it has been implied that there exists a dialectic relationship between social structure and discourse. Therefore, discourses can be viewed as a social practice being intimately tied to cultural affiliation of a group of people. Hence, a persons' adoption and alignment of a specific discourse would show his or her affiliation or membership within a particular group.

2.8.3 Regional identity

Social researchers (Kith and Pile 1993; Rose 1995; Watts 1996) are of the view that the concept of regional identity plays a key role in understanding nationalism, ethno-regionalism and citizenship of a particular region. According to Radcliff and Westwood (1996), the concept of belonging to a particular region may develop a sense of identity which will always challenge the hegemonic narratives. This sense of belonging to a particular region and same linguistic and cultural traits serves as a binding force among the members of the society in the time of crisis.

Andress (2000) is of the view that the concepts of the regional identity are found all over the world. Now the regional identity is being recognized as a key element in the making of different regions as political or social spaces which directly or indirectly

affects the collective actions of a nation. It is noted that the discourse of regional or pure identity depends on many factors such as landscape, culture, ethnicity, the built environment and more importantly the dialects of different languages being spoken in the particular region. Robbins (2001) mentions that all these factors contribute to construct national or regional narratives of imagined identities. The imagined regional identities are propagated through the folklore of the region and it is transferred from generation to generation.

In the dynamics of new Englishes, Schneider (2011) discusses how new Englishes have emerged in colonial settings and also proposes a framework for studying the development of new varieties of English through language contact. The contact and influence of English with the minor languages is directly effecting the linguistic identity construction of regional population. He also refers to the reconstruction of identities during this developmental process. He discusses how immigrants in a new land distinguish themselves as against the natives. In the course of time the concept of 'us' incorporates the local population and the previous homeland becomes the 'other'. During the study it was observed that in Gilgit-Baltistan, English is no longer considered the language of colonizers rather it has acquired the positive connotation of being the language of the elite and educated people and has become a sign of high status.

People of Gilgit-Baltistan speak different languages such as Shina, Brushaski, Wakhi, Khowar, Balti and Domaaki. There are ethnic and cultural difference in different parts of the region, but the regional identity of the people becomes more dominant than their ethnic or linguistic diversity as all the people call themselves '*Gilgiti*' when they are out of the region. When these people are within the region, they give more importance to

their linguistic identity. In the same way the people of Kalash in Chitral valley of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa call themselves and their language ‘*Kalasha*’ thus implying devotion to their ethnicity, language, region and way of life. Furthermore, the name Kohistani is also used to describe their language by the Shina speakers in Kohistan area which also symbolizes their regional identity.

2.8.4 Ethnic identity

Different research studies have shown the relationship between linguistic and ethnic identity and ethnic group affiliation (Cho 2000; Baker, 2001; Cavallaro, 2005). The construction of ethnic identity is related to psychological, linguistic and cultural process and it has been discussed by Rusi (2014) in his identity process theory. He explores psychological benefits of ethnic identification. Lee (2018) believes how one conceptualizes identity affects the way it is studied. According to the essentialist view, identity is projected in practice whereas according to the social constructionist view identity is constructed in interaction.

According to Bailey (2007), language provides discursive and linguistic forms for identity negotiation. His study reveals how the dominant Americans use code-switching for negotiating their social identities. He (2008) studied the relationship between Chinese heritage language learning and the role of interaction in ethnic identity construction. According to him, identity is projected through certain acts and stances commonly practiced by ethnic groups. He has used language socialization framework for data analysis. According to the framework of language socialization, different identities are projected through displaying and reacting to different acts.

According to Sharifian (2009) in postcolonial settings linguistic identity plays a dual role i.e. by providing linguistic means to assimilate with the linguistic group and by being proud of one's origin. The markers which demarcate "us and them" may be dependent on factors related to geography, race, economic group, ethnicity or ideology. The study revealed that the students learned English for utilitarian purposes as it is used at interviews, travel and for getting knowledge. It was also found that Malaysian undergraduates demarcate between us and them on the basis of language.

Barth (1969) defines identity as how one defines oneself and how others define one. For this study data was collected through observation, audio recordings of interviews and videos of natural discourses. He observed that code-switching performs multiple functions from identity negotiation to managing local discourses. Goffman (1979) believes that even single switches can play an important role in identity construction. His study reveals that the Native Americans use certain codes and expressions for contextual construction of their identities.

The researchers of the twentieth and twenty-first century observed that how this era is distinguished by a strange interest and passion for identity such as identities created around the concept of community, nation, ethnicity, gender, religion, race, sexuality, and age. Yon (2000) is of the view that these identities are assumed on popular culture and its different shifting sets of representational practices; identities connected to new imagined lifestyles, fashion and free time and work, and to the ordinary and the exotic; identities constructed in relation to a certain place and displacement, to a community and to a sagacity of dispersal, to 'roots' and 'routes' as well.

Various researches on second-language acquisition (SLA) have focused on individual learners' psycholinguistic processes as they learn different communication skills like reading, writing, and speaking in the target language. Different acculturation theories consider standard stages that learners of a language go through as they come into contact with the host culture and assimilate, or oppose it (Atkinson et al, 1983; Black, 2006; Gay, 2007). Phinney (1990) believes that in the present century, the criteria of research have changed to regard the development of ethnic identity as a fluid, dynamic, and often recurring process which is closely related to learners' interaction in different social contexts.

Different scholars and researchers have discussed ethnic identity of Shina speakers living in Gilgit-Baltistan (Grierson, 1903; Namous, 1961; Biddulph, 1980; Dani, 1989; Usman, 1991; Dukhi, 1995). According to these scholars, the Shina speakers of Gilgit-Baltistan constitute a major ethnic group having their own ethnolinguistic identity, customs, norms and traditions which are different from the rest of the country. The Shina speakers living in Baltistan region and on the other side of LOC on Indian side are called 'Brokpa'. The Shina speech community is further divided into small casts such as Brokpa in Baltistan region, Chillis in Kohistan region, Dharmkhel in Astore, Gabare in Damote/Juglote and Yashkuns etc. The study of identity construction of this ethnic group provides a unique opportunity to linguists and other social researchers.

2.8.5 Gendered identity

The concept of gendered identity is socially constructed and it differs from culture to culture. Sunderland (2006, p.28, 29) is of the view that gender is taken as a "social

correlate of sex”. Most of the social researchers believe that gender is usually constructed in talk rather associating it with the biological sex. In other words, it means that it is the language of ideas connected to the manners of both males and females that makes them different from each other, rather the behavior itself. This is a fact that, society members construct identities of its individuals through discourse. In traditional and patriarchal societies, it is a general perception that boys are often courageous, brave and different from girls, who are always, expected to be submissive. These behavior differences are reflected in folk lore of the society where the males are represented as heroes and females mostly their mothers, sisters and wives are represented as singing and praying for their victory in wars and expeditions.

Few of the important points that need to be investigated into are that how both men and women are looked differently in terms of their roles in society? How gender is constructed in a different way and how the language of both genders is different from each other. Lloyed (2005, p.82) is of the view that the difference attitude of men towards women might be the result of the desire of men to control women and gain supremacy by overpowering her through putting her into such types of roles that keep her away from all resources of power. Lakoff, (1975) opines that normally language is used as a tool for gaining supremacy and subjugating women and stressing one as superior to the other.

Language differences play a decisive role in the division of the society’s groups such as men and women. Gender can be perceived as one of the alignments through which society is separated into different groups, which results in hegemonic control of one group over the other group. These segregations support the interest of the superior group in society which is assigned a main position in the society at the cost of the weaker

group. The division of society is also based on social class, race and gender which acts as a main factor in dividing a society into different social groups. This unjustifiably formulated and executed strategy in society makes one group more powerful and dominant, whereas the other group becomes weak and inferior. Gender in this background reflects the categorizations of individuals, objects, events, and strings etc., which according to Arola (1998), draw upon sexual imagery; upon the way in which distinctiveness of male and female characteristics make people's ideas about the nature of social relationship. It suggests that the phenomenon of gender construction is not a biological one; rather it is socially constructed by the members of society which differs in different countries. The sense of belonging to a particular gender and the concept of sexuality produces a specific identity.

2.8.6 Hybrid identities

Linguistic or cultural hybridity refers to a mixture or blending of different cultures and languages due to the interaction of speakers of different speech communities and cultures with each other. In the beginning this term hybridity originated from biology and was subsequently employed in linguistics and other fields of social sciences in the nineteenth century (Rudwic 2008). The notion of, “de-linking, de-constructing of culture, place and identity” was presented by Frello, (2006, p. 23) who considers hybridity as ‘displacement’ rather than as mere ‘blending’ and ‘mixture’. Hybrid linguistic or cultural identity is constructed with the passage of time, in part based on contingency. In today's world, different linguistic or cultural identities merge with each other due to multiple factors such as education, media, and migrations, people negotiate these hybrid identities

to absorb diverse cultural influences. According to Rudwic (2008), the concept of hybridity is linked with postcolonial discussions and its review of cultural imperialism. Kalra et al. (2005) are of the view that hybridity demands creative engagement in both cultural and linguistic exchanges. The creation of creoles and pidgins, urban mixed-codes and extensive code-switching in communication are examples of linguistic hybridity which is common in multilingual societies and has been a topic of much scholarly research (Rudwic, 2008).

Culture is a broad canvas which includes components such as language, dress, belief systems, customs, music etc. It is flexible, context-dependent and variably understood from place to place. According to Homi (1994, p. 9), cultural hybridity reflects, “human beings as the creators, not the bearers of culture” He is of the view that when people leave home and settle in a new country, it puts them in hybrid situations which causes identity crisis. The tussle between the new language/culture and their native language or culture steals their pure identity. It is a fact that culture cannot be solely explained in terms of its specific contents and components. It is because of the individuality and the innovativeness of human beings that culture becomes a complex phenomenon. Rudwic (2008, p. 153) claims that, “there is not even a single point of reference for the construction of socio-cultural or sociolinguistic identities. This is mostly true with regard to individuals challenged to create identities in radically multilingual and multicultural regions”. Frello (2006) believes that cultural and linguistic identities transform constantly and are dependent on context.

Language plays a decisive role in identity construction and people propagate their identities through communication patterns. Zamfir (2014) opines that identity is not only

objective, but subjective as well as it is constantly negotiated. He is of the view that multiple identities emerge when messages are exchanged by the people. In this way different identities are negotiated through verbal communication. Communication may also be nonverbal in the form of sign language and members of a society can use plenty of different communicative expressions to convey a message. Through acts of convergence and divergence the strength of group identity can be represented. Norton (2000) is of the view that people have multiple identities in different social contexts and situations, making identity, “a process of constant negotiation and performance”. The contacts of different cultural and linguistic groups lead to the construction of hybrid and complex identities. People migrating from one country to the other construct hybrid linguistic and cultural identities, while learning a new language other than their mother tongue and adopting a new culture. According to Kano (2003) the trajectories of people’s identities show a gradual shift from a simplistic and rigid approach of bilingualism and biculturalism to a more complicated approach of belonging, negotiating and control.

Oakes (2001) proposes four notions of linguistic consciousness. These components are linguistic standardization, linguistic prescriptivism, language myths and language purism. There is a close relationship between the linguistic standardization and national identity as the standard language acts as a binding force among the members of a nation. The standard dialect is considered as a national language and reflects the strength of a group’s national identity. Language is used as a marker of identity and a symbol of ‘us-ness’. It serves as a binding force among the nation. The monolingual nations are more integrated than the multilingual nations. In such cases language becomes the key identity marker rather than race, social class or religion. During the partition of Sub-

Continent in 1947, the East and the West Pakistan merged into one country, but later on East Pakistan segregated from West Pakistan and one of the reasons was language. The language of the Bangla speaking community became an identity marker which separated them from the Urdu speaking community (Coates, 1972).

Another component of linguistic consciousness purism deals with the attempt to control where vocabulary comes from and from which external and internal sources it is drawn. Linguistic purists believe that words of native origin should be used instead of borrowed words from foreign languages (Oakes, 2001). Gumperz (1982) proposes that hybrid identities are created and recreated in different social and cultural contexts. According to him social identity is about the relationship between a person and the social world which is represented through different institutions such as workplaces, schools and families. Whereas, cultural identity represents the relationship between a person and other members of an ethnic group, who share the same language, history, beliefs and views about the world. In both social and cultural contexts, identity of individuals in different roles and contexts changes giving a way to the creation of hybrid identities. Identity change also depends on the objectives of the interaction and the situation in which people converse with each other. In these conversations, people switch codes in different situations and this leads to linguistic hybridity. Zamfir (2014) is of the view that when people move from one place to another, different exogenous influences also affect their identity. When people start living in different cultural and linguistic environments, they cannot avoid the new languages and cultures and consequently it becomes a part of their identity. In such a situation, learning the out-group's language can also communicate a type of hybrid social identity.

2.9 Negotiating Identity Construction

Many studies have been conducted on the negotiation of identities in multicultural environment by social researchers (Myers-Scotton, 1982; Pavlenko and Blackledge, 2004; Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Norton, 2013). Tate (2000) studied the relationship between language varieties and social identities by studying identity construction among British Caribbeans. Analysis of written data, interviews and conversation revealed that speakers use British Jamaican Creole to project global identities and a local variety of British to reflect locally based identities. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) conducted their research on the negotiation of identities by non-native English speakers in Great Britain, France and the United States of America where some identity options are more valued than others by the people. This attitude has resulted in the usage or rejection of a particular language in the battle with the hopes to assert their right to a specific identity.

Norton (2013) studied the phenomenon of identity negotiation by the migrants in multi-linguistic ecology of Canada, Australia and United States. Visnjar (2017) carried out his study on identity negotiation of English speaking people from the perspective of linguistic repertoire in Sweden. He observed that people with English as their mother tongue negotiate their identity through their language choice. In multilingual environments, identities are constantly negotiated, formed and shaped through time and come to be the individuals' performative accomplishments. These accomplishments are not definite or stable, but utilized and constructed in inter-subjective processes on the border between the self and others. In daily life people engage in entirely different relationships and social practices, performing different social roles and identities grafted onto or mobilized alongside existing ones. In such a situation individuals negotiate their

identities based on their needs and do not see themselves changing as a result of societal pressure (De Fina, 2016). The geographical relocation of the people provides them an exposure to different places and cultures resulting in the development of new selves and negotiation of different identities in relation to a more global landscape (Visnjar 2017).

As a result of migrations and globalization, cultural and linguistic ecology of the world is constantly evolving and changing. Visnjar (2017) thinks that the linguistic globalization and increasing presence of English in many countries of Europe has blurred the lines between what is considered a local and a global language. In multilingual societies where linguistic codes co-exist, the intrinsic relationship between languages and identities plays a decisive role in the society.

The process of identity construction and negotiation in different socio-cultural environments is a socially constructed process and a hybrid mechanism. Different linguistic identities are constantly created and negotiated on a personal level between the self and the other in a multilingual environment. Busch (2015) suggests that different linguistic ideologies are used to propagate social, national, ethnic, and other afflictions and exclusions. As a result, language carries power and it affects how we are perceived by others and how we perceive other people and how we negotiate our identities through the choice of language use. This perception of self and other develops in discourse where utterances carry not only denotative meaning, but also notion of social status, power, and the speaker's role in the society as its member. Blommaert (2005) proposed the word 'indexicality' which refers to what is said by the speaker and its context. The concept of indexicality operates within the realm of an indexical order which is a non-arbitrary, culturally and socially sensitive way in which indexicality functions in a particular

society. He believes that utterances may indexically invoke different social roles, norms and identities. Thus indexicality deals with meta-pragmatics, meta-linguistics and meta-discursive features of meaning and identities are created and negotiated in discourse in different contexts (Visnjar 2017).

In this age of globalization new identities are constructed based on languages, ethnicities and religions which are affecting different societies across the globe. Even the indigenous mountainous communities of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Gilgit-Baltistan of northern Pakistan are not immune to these new trends. On one hand the emergence of identity based discourses is empowering the local mountain communities; but on the other hand it can also potentially lead to inter-ethnic and inter-communal conflicts over different issues if left unchecked. For human beings' diversity in terms of ethnicity, culture and language has remained a perpetual existential reality that forces people to create conducive environment for diverse people to interact within the framework of a social contract of a particular culture. One of the challenges faced by the modern world is the issue of pluralism which is a state of society in which members of various social groups develop their established cultures or special interests within a common civilization negotiating with each other.

Gilgit-Baltistan, Chitral, Indus-Kohistan and Swat in the northern part of Pakistan are home to heterogeneous cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups. Historically these regions had a social and governance structure indigenous to the region (See Torwali, 2019). The local indigenous system enabled people to negotiate their linguistic and cultural diversity in the past. He is of the view that in culturally, linguistically and ethnically diverse communities of these regions, the politics and narrative of single

identity at the cost of multiple identities can prove disastrous for the society. To ward off negative fallouts of diversity, it is important to negotiate linguistic, cultural and ethnic pluralism which can enrich all the communities living in the northern Pakistan by accommodating each other.

2.10 Multilingualism

Speaking more than one language in a society is called multilingualism. Multilingualism is the ability of individuals, groups, societies and institutions to engage on a regular basis, with more than one language in their everyday life. Multilingualism is a positive attribute for an individual as well as a community and adds enrichment to the socio-cultural life of a community instead of looking at it as a problem (See Ayo, 2000). Multilinguals or bilinguals are people who can use two or more languages or dialects in their daily conversation. Most of the people believe that multilingualism or bilingualism is an exceptional phenomenon found only in regions which are multi-cultural or multi ethnic in nature. They believe that multilinguals have the same speaking and writing fluency in more than one language. Multilingualism or bilingualism is present in every culture, almost in every country of the world, in every society and in all age groups. Many of the linguists are of the view that almost half the world's population is bilingual or multilingual (Weinreich, 1968; Romaine, 1989). Fishman (1991) distinguished between individual and societal bi and multilingualism.

Many factors such as migrations, education, culture, trade, commerce, intermarriages, etc. bring languages into contact and therefore foster the phenomenon of multi or bilingualism. These factors generate diverse linguistic requirements in people

who are in direct contact with two or more different languages. In fact, multilinguals acquire and employ their languages for diverse purposes, in different fields of life, with different people. In different contexts, the uses and needs of the languages are generally pretty different that's why multilinguals hardly ever develop equal fluency in speaking two different languages. They make use of more than one language depending on the context, situation, the topics under discussion, or the socio-cultural background of the interlocutors. The fact is that new language functions, new circumstances, new interlocutors and new situations will occupy new linguistic needs which will therefore change the language patterns of the person concerned. Grosjean (1982) is of the view that in the multilingual language mode, speakers first take on a language to use together, which is identified as the "base language" and then switch to another language unconsciously. Generally, multilinguals go through their everyday communications with other speakers quite unaware of many sociolinguistic and psychological factors that help them choose one language or another. Once a base language has been chosen, multilinguals can bring in the second language in various ways. One of the ways is to switch codes which involves shifting completely to another language on a word, phrase or a sentence level.

Researches have shown that code-switching is not just a random behavior rather it is a "well governed procedure used as a communicative strategy" by multilingual speakers to express linguistic and social information (Heller, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 1993). As a result, multilinguals frequently switch from one culture to another whereas people with a single language usually remain within the same culture. When we try to describe a bi or multicultural person, it becomes important to clarify what we mean by

culture. In a nutshell, culture replicates all aspects of life of a speech community or a social group which includes its organizational set-up, its rules, its values, its traditions, its behaviors, its beliefs, etc. Human beings as social animals belong to a number of cultures or different cultural networks such as linguistic, national, social etc. An important aspect of multiculturalism, particularly for multicultural people, concerns the acceptance of one's multicultural identity. David and Wei (2014) pointed that when multilingual speakers meet, they have to make decision regarding which language to use for communication. Each time there will be instances of multilingualism people will be projecting multiple identities.

Multilingual speakers tend to switch from one language to another language according to the situation and context. In this process the speakers' language choice reconstructs the linguistic identity as it keeps on changing. Mendoza and Dana (2009) used Auer and Di Luzio (1992)'s distinction between 'brought along' meaning and 'brought about meaning' approaches to code-switching to present more recent approaches to the problem. According to 'brought along' meaning approach, identity construction is mainly indexical in nature as Shina language indexes the identity of Shina people or Gilgit people. An example of indexical approach is presented in Gal's (1979) study. He observed that the language-shift from Hungarian to German pertains to materialistic reasons as Hungarian was a low language whereas German was a high language. So in this context, identities align with linguistic choices of the speakers but, the link between the two cannot be taken for granted.

In Gilgit-Baltistan, most of the people are multilingual and frequently switch from one language to another in their daily conversation. Moreover, more than ten different

local languages are spoken in this region along with English and Urdu as official and national languages. Shina language is the largest language and being considered as lingua franca in rural areas, while Urdu is used as a means of communication in urban areas of Gilgit-Baltistan. According to Radloff and Backstrom (1992), because of certain historical forces, the Shina language in Gilgit-Baltistan is spoken by different tribes and cast groups. It is interesting to know that few define their identity completely by speaking a common language; thus speaking Shina language is definitely a part of their identity.

2.11 Multiple Identities

Identity in many ways is constructed by language and equally, language choices may relate to identity. In other words, like a language, identity is both social and personal. Social identity symbolizes the different ways in which members of the society recognize themselves in relation to others. It also includes the ways in which they perceive their past and future, and in what way they want to be understood and viewed by others. According to Rodriguez and Trueba (1998) multiple identities are adaptive strategies to a changing environment. It is observed that the preference for a particular language shows the intention to project certain linguistic identities. Sterling (2000) proposed that the fear of losing one's identity may produce resistance to the norms of the new context. In this way, the choice of the language has significant meanings for the identity construction of people in multilingual communities. Apart from language use as a tool of communication or interaction, it serves as a symbol of social or group identity which in other words can be taken as a symbol of group membership and solidarity. Language also serves as a binding force for its speakers. So identity is unarguably an

index of the diverse ways in which people try to recognize themselves in relation to others in a society. According to Negrin (2008) the word 'self' employs language as a tool for demonstrating and making its presence felt. In this way, a person's world-view is inextricably formed by the language she or he employs.

There can be situations or times when multiple identities come into competition or conflict with each other. People exhibiting multiple identities can switch codes and can reveal various aspects of their identity. According to Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004), identities are projected through linguistic practices in multilingual settings and some identities become more precious than others. They define negotiation as a transactional interaction process in which efforts are made to assert, evoke, define and challenge one's own and other's image. When multilingual contexts are studied through ethnographic ways the homogeneous image of minority communities is challenged and reveals in group differences. Languages may be linked to professional identity of a speaker in addition to racial and ethnic identities.

Ige (2010, p. 3049) points out that "in the early stages of life people begin to use language to identify their personalities in relation to each other, and in later stages, they use language to describe themselves and various social roles they play in the society". Ruthellen and Michele (2012) investigated the challenges of the multiple identities in the globalized world and found that people exhibit multiple identities on the basis of different factors such as race, ethnicity, gender and nationality. People move between complex identities in the society. In today's world, most of people have multiple identities which influences the way we evaluate ourselves i.e. self-image and also what sort of an image we display to the people around. People manage multiple identities on the basis of racial,

ethnic, national or gender grounds. In projecting multiple identities people move between multiple worlds with different roles.

The interaction of language and identity is a reality in a multilingual, multi ethnic and multicultural contexts like Gilgit-Baltistan, where speakers from diverse cultural, language and ethnic background are present. When people migrate to another context where traditions, norms and social practices are different from their own, it is to be anticipated that the settlers or the new comers will adopt the prevalent norms, traditions and values in order to achieve some degree of assimilation into the new context to enhance their ability to communicate and interact. This situation requires changes in opinion and in the approach of communication. Identity theorists understand the concept of identity as polyphonic, multiple selves in dialogue with one another. Tajfel and Turner (1979) are of the view that a person does not have one 'self' rather several 'selves' that relate to particular situations and contexts. The different social contexts and situations may influence a person to feel, act and think on the basis of his personal or national 'level of self' which may be different from others as an individual has several social identities.

In many countries of subcontinent including Pakistan, English is used to perform professional duties. English is used to express new national, ethnic and social identities in many post-colonial settings. Interactional sociolinguistics studies negotiation of identities through code-switching and language choice. Every single act of speaking of a multilingual speaker is an act of identity. According to post-structuralist approaches to the negotiation of identity, the voice of a language is linked to the broader social, political, economic and the cultural systems. Negotiation of identities through linguistic means include code switching, code mixing, code alternation and choice of a language.

Gong and Tao (2013) studied the relationship between language and identity of the speakers by observing the linguistic practices of code switching and code mixing of Mainland Chinese students studying in Hong Kong. In order to collect quantitative and qualitative data from the participants' three types of interview questions were formulated. Interview questions were formulated to observe code switching and language choice in different situations, code mixing between Cantonese and Putonghua, frequency of using Cantonese and non-linguistic practices. Findings revealed that Cantonese is preferred for everyday usage and revealed code mixing at the lexical level. Overall the frequency of usage of Putonghua was higher. The participants constructed their Mainland identity through linguistic and non-linguistic practices. The study revealed that Putonghua is associated with Mainland identity and Cantonese with Hong Kong group. Code mixing of Putonghua and Cantonese by Mainland students shows their association with both Mainland and Hong Kong group. Two types of Hong Kong Mainland identity were identified which is Mainland oriented and Hong Kong oriented identities.

It is a general phenomenon that when two or more languages come into contact with each other, usually one language is dominant over the other as in the case of English and Urdu in Pakistan. The language spoken by the elite class is generally considered to be superior as it holds economic, political and cultural power in the society. Other languages are regarded as marginalized or minority languages which are spoken by the people who are less privileged or hold less power and prestige in the society. The speakers' attitude towards the prestigious and less prestigious languages is likely to influence their willingness to use different languages. In the societies like Gilgit-Baltistan where the

languages of offices and formal education are English and Urdu, regional languages like Shina face a tremendous pressure of their existence which needs to be studied.

2.12 Code-switching and Code mixing: Types and Functions

Code-switching or code mixing is a very common linguistic phenomenon in bilingual and multi communities. The term code-switching is used at a syntactic level between sentences, while the term code mixing is used at a lexical level in a single sentence. The term 'inter-sentential' refers to code-switching between different sentences in a conversation, while the term, intra-sentential refers to code mixing within a sentence (Boztepe, 2005).

Interlocutors from bilingual or multi lingual communities switch to different choices in the same conversation. Bilingual conversations are studied from one of the two broad approaches which are symbolic and chronological. Based on Gumperz's (1982) work, both of the approaches attempt to comprehend the social motivations of code-switching and language choice. According to the symbolic approach, different language varieties have different symbolic functions whereas sequential approach gives more importance to sequential positioning of language choice in a conversation. Gumperz's work (1982) influenced both approaches. He introduced the concept of 'we' and 'they' code, situational and metaphorical code switching and contextualization cues.

The notion of situational code-switching by Bloom and Gumperz (1972) refers to one to one relationship between social situation and language. They also distinguished between situational and metaphorical code-switching. It was noticed that situational switching occurs in situations of diglossia. Metaphorical code-switching takes place

when there is no variation in situational factors such as topics or participants and conveys social meaning. While analyzing conversations Bloom and Gumperz (1972) observed interaction patterns of a community in Norway. They observed code-switching between Ranamal and Bokmal. Ranamal is a local dialect used by the Norwegian community while Bokmal is a standard official dialect used in the formal contexts. They noticed that Bokmal is used with outsiders, while Ramal is used for informal talks with family and friends. While talking about situational code-switching, Gumperz (1982) pointed out that code-switching results due to a shift from 'we code' to 'they code. Myers-Scotton (1982) has pointed out that switching codes in interaction can also index an identity.

Gumperz's (1982) notion of interactional code-switching was taken by Myers-Scotton (1993) in her Markedness Model. This model is determined by rational choice model. Myers-Scotton believes that speakers make their language choices after carrying out a cost benefit analysis which also considers the motivations of the speakers. Speakers make a rational choice of a language in order to achieve their temporary goals without ignoring their prior beliefs. Markedness Model is based on the fact that both speakers and analysts can differentiate between marked and unmarked choices. According to Myers-Scotton (1993), all speakers possess a markedness evaluator which is the cognitive ability to assess markedness. Identifying markedness is dependent on two abilities which are ability to identify linguistic alternatives and to recognize that marked choices will receive responses from unmarked choices. Both Markedness Model and Gumperz's distinction between we and they code are part of symbolic approach of Cashman (2008). Symbolic approaches make use of macro level identities of speakers to describe choice of a language. People switch codes to perform various functions. The symbolic approach to

bilingual conversation sees conversational interaction as reflecting social structure. Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model is also based on Bloom and Gumperz's marked language choice as well as situational and metaphorical code-switching. Goebel and Fotos (2001) point out that code-switching occurs due to the use of two languages and it often occurs to reflect dual identity in two cultures which is called cohort identity.

Myers-Scotton (1993) discussed the social motivations behind code-switching in her famous Markedness Model. The marked and unmarked choices of the speakers of heterogeneous communities can best be analyzed using Markedness Model. The unmarked choice of code-switching occurs as a result of language integration within multilingual communities while the marked choice of code-switching occurs when speakers take a different path and are obliged to abandon the social norms and engage in a different relationship with the listeners (Myers-Scotton, 1993). This model has also been adopted as a theoretical framework in the present study for analyzing and explaining the code-switching of the multilingual Shina speakers which serves as the basis of their identity construction. These switches could be inter- or intra-sentential. In the intra-sentential code-switching, speakers integrate words from two different languages within a clause or sentence.

Several linguists have distinguished intra-sentential code-switching from inter-sentential code-switching and have referred to the former as code-mixing, but generally both of these terms could be categorized as code switching (Chin et al. 2007). In Gilgit-Baltistan one can see instances of both inter and intra sentential code-switching. Code mixing is also observed in countries where English is spoken alongside other languages and this tendency is more common in post-colonial settings (Crystal, 1995). The mixed

speech is quite common and intense in Punjabi (Urdu)/ English bilingual community especially among the younger generation in societies such as Britain, and many fear that minority languages will be lost in the future (Romaine, 2000). Bilingual individuals living in bilingual communities select portions of one language in the beginning and then of the other, altering back and forth in their daily conversation (Coulmas, 2005).

Usman (1991) studied code-switching by the Shina speakers in Gilgit-Baltistan and found that it occurred as a result of mixing different languages due to education, media and migrations. Alexandra (2003), while studying multilingualism and ethnic stereotypes points out that Tairana is spoken by almost hundred people in the multilingual area of Vaupes in Brazil. In this area one cannot marry a person belonging to the same language group. While studying different functions of code-switching in multilingual classrooms, Rose and Dulm (2006) identified various aspects of code-switching between English and African in classroom discourses of a secondary school in Western Cape and are of the view that code-switching is a common phenomenon in South Africa just like the other multilingual areas of the world. Rose and Dulm (2006) used Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model and focused on the types and functions of code-switching. The study identified unmarked code-switching, sequential unmarked code-switching and marked code-switching. Cashman (2008), points out that researchers of bilingual conversational interaction try to investigate how and why bilinguals switch between different language varieties. The linguistic repertoire of bi and multilingual speakers contains ranges of more than one language. Paramasivam (2009) illustrated various reasons for switching codes during conversations in Malaysian context. The findings of the study revealed different functions of code-switching such as authority,

socio-economic background of the speakers, their status in the society, context and their educational background. According to Eric and Stephen (2011), speakers in multilingual communities switch languages according to the context and topic. Doley (2013) studied how speakers switch languages to index particular identities in India by using the theoretical framework of Markedness Model. He explored the use of code-switching for the purpose of business by the salesmen and traders in the markets of Assam (India). The salesman switches the code as soon as he recognizes the language of the customer. Data for exploring such type of communication was collected from three markets of Assam, which is then analyzed through Myers-Scotton's Markedness Model.

Multilingual speakers switch language not only for the purpose of effective communication but also to index identity. According to Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), language is not only an effective way of communication but it is also an act of identity formation. The researcher believes in a social constructionist perspective (Holmes, 1997), according to which identities are negotiated and constructed. Identities are changeable and need to be studied in the social context of the speaker. Along with topic and context there are several other factors too which make a speaker switch a language i.e. the communicative purpose, the immediate situation as well as the desire to project a particular identity.

While switching languages speakers sometimes adopt social and linguistic identities constructed around the languages to which they switch. Switching to a language is like remaking oneself anew. It is also a fact that ex-colonial languages can influence the indigenous languages to the extent that they can be endangered. The same phenomena

can be seen in Gilgit-Baltistan where English has marginalized the local languages and they are undergoing rapid changes.

In Shina speech community, most of the code-switching occurs between Shina and English or Urdu and it is because of education as most of the people in Gilgit-Baltistan prefer education of the new generation. In educational institutions students use regional languages among each other either to indicate closeness, belonging or to project themselves as members of in groups as compared to out groups.

The researcher observed that the regional languages of northern Pakistan offer a lot of scope for linguists and scholars to conduct sociolinguistic research. After having a review of literature available on Shina, the researcher reaches the conclusion that there is a lacuna of sociolinguistic research on how language influences one's identity in case of Shina speech community. For them too, their identity is inextricably related to their language. Without language, identity cannot be entirely accomplished nor can it be efficiently articulated and transmitted in a proper way. Language and identity are so interconnected that it is hard to identify the parameters of language and identity, and whether language impacts identity or identity impacts language. In this study identity is taken as a fluid concept which changes according to the context. It has not been explored so far that how Shina speakers construct their identity in different contexts, so the present research intends to fill this gap by studying the identity construction of Shina speakers through an ethnographic study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Qualitative research is used as one of the empirical methods by social scientists for gathering data about cultural and language studies. In qualitative research, ethnographic technique is used to study languages, cultures, beliefs, customs and personal relationships in simple and homogenous societies. In recent times, according to Nwanunobi (2002), ethnographic method is taken as a research method that uses in-depth interviews, unstructured questions, participant observation and employs oral descriptions and explanations. Ethnographic research method is fairly useful in areas of cultural configurations and language studies as language is an integral part of culture.

Qualitative research helps to describe and explain social phenomenon. Qualitative research is an umbrella term for a number of approaches used in the social sciences. According to Denizen and Lincoln (2005), qualitative research represents the world through field notes, interviews, recordings etc. It is a way of uncovering and transforming the world (Flick, 2007). According to Merriam (2009), qualitative research aims to find out how people construct meaning and construct their world. According to Gay (2011), qualitative research consists of the collection, analysis and interpretation of narrative, comprehensive and visual data to gain in-depth insights into a particular phenomenon of interest. Qualitative research helps us in getting information which cannot be accessed through quantitative data collection procedures. Qualitative research methods such as

participant observation and case studies provide descriptive and narrative accounts of different settings or practices (Parkinson and Drislane, 2011).

In ethnographic research, researchers observe and look at people, their languages, symbols, rituals and shared meanings in their cultural and natural settings with the objective of constructing a narrative account of that specific culture, against a theoretical backdrop. According to Flick (2007), this research method was pioneered by anthropologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but now it is being widely used in all disciplines of social sciences including linguistics to study the linguistic identity of the people using the most common ethnographic approach of participant observation and unstructured interviews. Ethnographic research helps researchers to know about what is naturally happening in real life environment. Ethnographic data is collected from real life situations and the researcher becomes a part of that particular culture. Ethnographic researchers mainly focus on everyday lives of communities which they investigate. Most of the ethnographic researches are conducted in natural settings and researchers become as much as possible, subjective participants in the lives of those communities, as well as an objective observer of their lives. An important aspect of ethnographic study is that researchers are expected to be self-reflective, which means that they are as much concerned with who they are in terms of their ethnicity, race, social class and language.

The ethnographic research method involves collection of information about social relationships, values and beliefs of community. In an ethnographic research, data collection relies on a variety of techniques such as interviews and observations. Flick (2007) is of the view that ethnographic research is multifactorial in nature and conducted

by using two or more data collection techniques. These techniques can be both qualitative and quantitative in nature in order to triangulate the conclusions of the study. The researcher has blended both the qualitative and quantitative methods in the present research for the purpose of triangulation.

Ethnographic researchers often become part of the society as participant observers and balance the objective collection of data with their subjective insights that emerge due to direct interaction with the community members whose life patterns they are trying to investigate and understand (Michael, 2007). It requires a long term commitment on part of the researchers who intend to investigate the community members they are observing for a long period of time. Thus an ethnographic study is the art of depicting and describing a society or community, interpersonal behavior of the members of the community, customs, culture and beliefs.

In the present research ethnographic method has been used as the language studies are an integral part of culture. Participant observation and interviews are used as major tools in ethnographic research. Participant observation requires the researcher to get involved in the society of the studied people and observe their different activities including their language which is the objective of the present research. Participant observation engages the situation where the researcher takes up a suitable status with the target research population. Nwanunobi (2002) is of the view that the researcher looks at the activities not as an outsider rather as a member of the same group. The researcher participates in different cultural activities of the community and observes their feelings, attitudes and responses to various issues that concern his or her research. The researcher needs to know the language and culture of the people and develop close connections with

them. The researcher must not be influenced by the value judgments rather present a realistic description of the activities. The researcher has to understand the symbolic and idiomatic expressions used by the community in their language.

This ethnographic study has been conducted in Gilgit which is the administrative capital of Gilgit-Baltistan and home of Shina speaking people. Shina is the main language in the political division of northern Pakistan which is known as Gilgit-Baltistan. Majority of the Shina speakers live in Gilgit city and Diamer division. The Shina dialect being spoken in Gilgit city is considered the standard dialect of Shina by the Shina speech community due to its use in media and literature as compared to other dialects. The research participants of the study include educated native Shina speakers who can speak Urdu and English along with their mother tongue. People from adjoining areas also come to Gilgit for education and jobs that's why the society of Gilgit is multilingual in nature. Data has been collected through observations, interviews and questionnaires. The Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) and Hierarchy of Identities model has been used as a theoretical framework for data analysis.

3.1 Research Method

In this research study mixed method has been used to analyze the data. The mixed method is a research method in which a researcher blends both qualitative and quantitative methods to compare the results and to maximize the reliability and validity of the study. The researcher gathered the data while living among the Shina speakers through interviews, questionnaires, recordings of the conversations during observations, and FM recordings. The data was analyzed using conversational analysis applying the

parameters of Markedness Model and Hierarchy of Identities Model as theoretical frameworks.

3.2 An Ethnographic Research

Ethnography exactly means to investigate a group of people. Ethnography is holistic in nature. The pioneers of traditional ethnography include Bronislaw Malinowski and Franz Boas. The word 'ethnography' has been derived from the Greek root *ethnos*, meaning an ethnic group and 'graphy' indicating a form of writing, drawing or representation. According to Agar (1980), the term 'ethnography' refers to both a research method and the product of that research. It deals with people collectively by investigating and analyzing different social groups, speech communities or societies in an organized manner. The distinctive way of life that characterizes such a society or community is its culture which includes shared behaviors, beliefs, customs and languages as well.

An ethnographic study is qualitative in nature and gives the researcher an opportunity to enter the participants' field to interact and become familiar with them. Ethnographic investigation is the study of different cultural patterns and viewpoints of participants in their natural surroundings. Ethnographers get involved in the long term study of specific phenomena in context (Gay, 2011:41). In other words, ethnographic research is a systematic study of observing the attitudes, behaviors, living styles of people and cultures (Davis, 2008). Fine (2003) utilized the term "peopled ethnography" to define a text that gives an understanding of the situation and describes the theoretical connotations through an account, depending on different field notes from interviews,

observations and products of the group members. He is of the view that ethnography becomes more effective when the researchers observe the individuals and society in natural settings. This process will enable him or her to "explore the organized routines of behavior". Fine (2003), in part, believes that "peopled ethnography" depends on a general observation in the field, a labor-intensive activity that occasionally lasts for years. During the observation process, the researcher becomes a part of the studied group and is willingly accepted by them.

According to De Fina (2011), ethnographic observation must be used by studying actual talk in conversation in order to study identity. In the construction of linguistic identities in officially bilingual contexts, Rubio (2011) studied how linguistic identities are constructed in society using ethnography. He believes that such identities are constructed during verbal interaction and language is used not only for communication, but also for identity construction including construction of linguistic identities. He studied identity formation using the analytical framework of critical discourse analysis using selected settings and phenomenon. He concludes that people have mobile identities which keep on changing according to the situation. He believes that people participate in social activities and while doing so acquire discursive and situated identities.

Participant observation is the process in which the researcher becomes a part of the community during the observation of their behaviors and activities. The researcher chose to be a participant observer and switched from being active to a passive observer depending on the context and the site. Angrosino (2007, p.16) is of the view that "ethnographers search for predictable patterns in the lived human experiences by carefully observing and participating in the lives of those under study". Flick (2007)

considers ethnography a comprehensive and complex research strategy in which the researchers study the cultures and communities. Ethnographers observe in the field, record and analyze cultures for a better understanding. They interpret different designs within a cultural context. According to Greetz (1973), ethnographers must explain cultures through thick description and minute observations in order to provide a meticulous interpretation. Ethnographic researchers get involved in the daily life and culture of the participants. Ethnographic studies are conducted in natural settings. Ethnographies provide opportunity to observe language practices in real conditions of human lives, to learn in which way language matters to people in their own conditions and also to provide explanations of thoughts and actions of the participants.

The main purpose of ethnographic research is an effort to investigate and understand what is happening naturally in the natural settings and to analyze the data collected through informal interviews and observations and to see what inferences could be formed from the data. Ethnography can be briefly described as the systematic and scientific study of people and cultures including their languages, beliefs, customs, behaviors and interpersonal relations. In other words, ethnography in general refers to a study of culture of a particular group or community through a holistic approach. Ethnographic studies also investigate all parts of the whole culture such as the members of the society and their relationship with each other within the cultural system.

Researchers collect data in multiple ways while conducting ethnographic research. Identity needs to be studied in context by observing the participants in natural settings, so accordingly the researcher chose to do ethnography in order to study identity

construction of Shina speakers. In this way the identity of the Shina speakers can best be investigated in different contexts, roles, situations and natural settings.

3.2.1 Critique on ethnography

Ethnographic research is criticized on the pretext that ethnographic studies cannot be replicated and their findings cannot be generalized. In order to overcome these shortcomings triangulation is used, which according to Burns (1994) involves using different data sources or using different data collection methods.

Ethnography faces criticism from natural sciences and post-modern schools of thought. Unlike natural sciences the researcher himself/herself becomes a research tool in ethnography. According to the natural science critics such as Fetterman (1989); Brewer (2000) and Angrosino (2007), ethnography lacks social causation while explaining any human activity. Ethnographic methods of data collection are unstructured and they use natural language to describe and measure any phenomenon. While defining ethnography, Fetterman (1989), declares ethnographers as both story tellers and scientists. According to Brewer (2000), ethnographers support the humanistic model of research according to which people ascribe meaning to their world as they are active and knowledgeable. Post-modern critique of ethnography questions the validity of ethnographic knowledge.

3.2.2 Validity and reliability in ethnographic research

Ethnographic researchers refer to internal and external validity in qualitative research. Internal validity refers to a contest between the observation of the researcher and their theoretical ideas whereas external validity refers to the amount of generalization

of the findings. In order to ensure validity and reliability of the research findings the researcher has employed both quantitative and qualitative research design and has also used multiple methods of data collection. Silverman (2006) identifies two other forms of validation which are especially important in qualitative research. Triangulation which refers to the comparison of different kinds of methods and different kinds of quantitative and qualitative data to see whether they endorse one another and respondent validation taking one's findings back to the subject, whether these people verify one's findings.

Validity is one of the strengths of ethnography which is attained through data collection and analysis techniques. Living among participants makes continual data analysis and studying participant reality possible for ethnographers (Margaret and Judith, 1982). The researcher collected both quantitative and qualitative data through observations, interviews and questionnaires.

Davies (2008) describes validity as truth or correctness of findings and claims that the researcher's involvement and self-reflexivity should be addressed in ethnographic study. Altheide and Johnson (2011) claim that the social world is an interpreted world and the researcher can apply this perspective to understand how situations in everyday life are informed by social contexts, providing knowledge on both process and outcomes of the study only captures the moment of what is going on in the field within a specific context. To do so, the researcher carefully analyzed the data through triangulation and multiple levels of analysis as there is no absolute way to validate ethnographic data as described by Creswell (2009).

3.2.3 Reflexivity in ethnography

Hertz (1997) defines reflexivity in ethnography as a concern with how the research process is affected by the researcher and the researched. Reflexivity requires ethnographers to understand the influence of factors such as setting, power relations etc. on data interpretation and presentation. To apply the notion of reflexivity in the present study, the researcher acknowledges that subjectivity is a part of interpreting the data; accordingly, the researcher sees the outcomes of the study as emerging from co-construction of knowledge of multilingual Shina speakers, careful selection of theoretical framework, supervisor's feedback on the analysis and her careful consideration during the research process.

3.3 Research Study Area

The study areas for this ethnographic study are the Shina speaking areas of Gilgit, Ghizer, Diamer and Astore in northern Pakistan near China border which are administratively known as Gilgit-Baltistan. According to Angrosino (2007) ethnographic research can be done wherever people interact in 'natural' group settings. The present research was conducted over a period of four years from 2015-2019 in the field in Gilgit-Baltistan. During this period, the researcher was based in Gilgit city which serves as the government headquarter and educational hub of Gilgit-Baltistan. The nature of the research and the role of the researcher varied during this period ranging from working as a teacher in a university in Gilgit to conducting interviews, making observations of the multilingual Shina speakers as a contact linguist, collecting FM recordings and conducting ethnographic field work in the regions of Gilgit, Ghizer, Diamer and Astore.

The researcher observed interaction patterns of Shina speakers in the classroom, in informal communication, in family gatherings and in the markets of Gilgit-Baltistan to observe their culture and use of language in different contexts. Shina being one of the biggest languages of the northern part of Pakistan is being spoken in different regions of Gilgit-Baltistan as indicated in the map 2.



[Map 2 showing the major areas of the Shina language]

3.4 Research Tools

The researcher used the tools of participant observation, recordings of conversations, interviews, FM recordings and questionnaires to collect both qualitative and quantitative data for this research study. For the quantitative data analysis, the

researcher used descriptive statistics to find out percentages of the responses of the respondents through graphs, while for the analysis of the qualitative data; the researcher used the method of conversational analysis. Same questions in interviews and questionnaires were asked to triangulate the data.

3.4.1. Participant observation

Observation, as suggested by Angrosino (2007) is the act of understanding the activities and interrelationships of community in the field setting through the five senses of the researcher. A participant observer is defined as a researcher who is a real participant in the activity under study (Gay, 2011). The researcher selected to be a participant observer considering it the most appropriate tool to study identity construction of Shina speakers.

In order to explore how multilingual Shina speakers, construct their identity in different contexts the researcher observed them and the role varied from being a passive observer to a participant observer. The researcher observed Shina speakers in formal and informal contexts. In the classroom it was observed that during attending the class Shina speakers use either English or Urdu for asking a question or making a comment in the presence of the teacher. The moment teacher leaves the classroom students talk to each other in the regional language or switch or mix codes.

The researcher also observed Shina students in the lawn and cafe of the university. It was observed that with friends and in close circles they used Shina for making a judgment or for sharing something personal. It was also noticed that in formal

situations like a classroom discussion or workplace they use Urdu and English and avoid using Shina. Code mixing was also observed in both formal and informal contexts.

It was interesting to observe Shina speakers in the market. The researcher observed the extensive use of Shina in the market. Some of the Shina speakers initiated conversations with the shopkeepers in Urdu but later shifted to Shina after getting to know that the shopkeeper is a Shina speaker. English was found to be a marked choice in the market other than few insertions of lexical items like variety, discount, color choice, fresh, price etc. It was also observed that before establishing a set of rights and obligations for initiating a conversation speakers try to guess whether their interlocutor is a Shina speaker or not through different ways. They initiate the conversation in Urdu and through the accent and style try to judge whether the person is a Shina speaker or not and shift to Shina Language if they are able to do so. They also judge a person through their physical appearance, complexion and dressing.

The researcher observed that with close relations Shina speakers use Shina as it is frequently observed that Shina speakers use Shina with their parents even if their parents can speak Urdu and English. It was observed that Shina speakers prefer to use Urdu and English with their colleagues but limited use of Shina was also observed.

The relevant parts of the recorded conversations were transcribed and analyzed according to the Markedness Model and Hierarchy of Identities Model as theoretical frameworks for studying identity. During the observation sessions field notes were also taken through an observation sheet.

The process of research started with site selection. The researcher selected sites keeping in mind the identity construction of Shina speakers in different contexts. Gaining

entrance to the fields and getting consent of the participants did not become a problem as the university campus is the work place and family gatherings were the close group of the researcher. Gaining consent of the participants in the market was a bit difficult so only those subjects were observed who showed willingness to participate.

The purpose of the research was explained to those observed but they were not informed what the researcher would be specially focusing on in order to avoid the possible effects of the observer bias. Observer's paradox is the process that enables researchers to know the actions of the people who are under study in the natural setting by monitoring and taking part in those activities. DeWalt and DeWalt (2002) are of the view that ethnographic investigation provides the background for development of sampling guidelines. The participants were ensured of confidentiality in data presentation and findings and accordingly pseudo names are used in data analysis.

3.4.2 Interviews

In most of the social science research and language studies, interviewing is used as a powerful form of communication. In order to use interviewing as a research tool it is important to know the technique of interviews. The technique of ethnographic interviews is used by social scientists and researchers to get the participants' perspective on their traditions, beliefs, culture or moral values and for understanding other aspects of daily life. Erickson and Mattson (1981) are of the view that cultural knowledge of a particular group or speech community can be studied by questioning them and observing them. Different approaches of asking formal and informal questions and observations are part of ethnographic research.

The researcher collected the qualitative data through preplanned but unstructured interviews from the Shina speakers of Gilgit-Baltistan. In the process of research, this type of first time collected data through interviews or surveys is called primary data, which is collected through direct communication with respondents in the field for better understanding of the norms and the traditions of the people. Data collection through interview includes presentation of oral- verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral- verbal response which helps the researcher to understand the culture of a community in a better way. Through this way more information in greater depth can be obtained about the cultural norms, behavior and traditions of the people. The researcher modified and changed the language of the already planned interview questions according to the understanding level of the respondents. By doing so, the researcher was able to collect supplementary information regarding the personal characteristics of Shina speakers, the environment of the area where they live and their specific cultural traits if any.

Interviews follow observations and informal interviews are open ended in nature (Flick, 2007). Angrosino (2007) also believes that interviewing grows logically out of observations. In order to triangulate and validate the findings obtained through observation; interviews were also conducted in the current research in order to study the relationship between code-switching and identity construction of Shina speakers. The interviews were recorded for data analysis and interpretation and to ensure the accuracy of the collected data.

The informants in different research sites (university campus, family gatherings, and market) were interviewed regarding their linguistic behavior. The semi structured interviews were recorded from twenty-five participants. The interview questions included

both open ended and probe questions for clarification and a better understanding. The researcher paid attention to non-verbal behavior of the informants and avoided asking leading questions to avoid interviewer bias. The interviews were conducted with the prior consent of the participants. According to Heyl (2001), ethnographic researchers develop rapport with their interviewees in order to have genuine exchange of views to explore the meaning they place on events in their world.

Interview questions focused on language use of participants in different contexts and with different relations. They were asked to share, which language is used in which context and what makes them select one code rather than another. They were also made to comment on the linguistic practices of code-switching and code mixing.

3.4.3 FM Recordings

The recordings of the live programs were collected from the archival records of FM-99 Gilgit-Baltistan in order to see how anchor persons and callers who are multilingual Shina speakers chose their codes according to the context as almost all of them are educated and can speak Urdu, English and Shina. The selected data from the live call records was transcribed and analyzed to check the use of language and its connection with identity construction.

3.4.4 Questionnaire

Themes emerging from data analysis were quantified through a questionnaire comprising of twenty-four questions which triangulated the data. Hundred questionnaires

were distributed to collect the data. The responses were coded and descriptive statistics was used to make graphs of their responses.

Same questions were included in questionnaires and interviews to see whether the data reveals similar or different responses. Another reason for selecting questionnaire was to incorporate views of a larger sample of Shina speakers in order to quantify the responses as interviews were limited to twenty-five participants.

3.5 Sample

The sample of this study included both male and female Shina speakers between 18 to 40 years of age. The sample of the study included only those Shina speakers who can speak Urdu and English. In this study gender is not taken as a variable as it is generally about the identity construction of educated Shina speakers. It is not possible to take gender as a variable in this study as it is not a part of research questions. If the main premise of the study had been gender representation than this thesis could have been too wide for a qualitative research which is against the research parameters. However, the issue of gender could be taken up by researchers in similar future researches. The reason for selecting the age group from 18-40 is to see how young educated Shina speakers who can speak Urdu and English construct their linguistic identity in different contexts.

The number of subjects observed depended on the situation observed as in family gatherings the number of participants ranged up to ten whereas interactions between a shopkeeper and a customer included two or more. Twenty-five informants were also interviewed to collect the data. Pseudo names of the respondents have been used while

analyzing the data to ensure their privacy. Following is the profile detail of the respondents according to their gender segregation:

Male Respondents

S#	Pseudo Names	Gender	Age	Education/Profession	Languages spoken
1	Ahmed	Male	35	Masters/teacher	Shina, Urdu, English
2	Zohaib	Male	23	BS/student	Shina, Urdu, English
3	Tufail	Male	36	Doctor	Shina, Urdu, English
4	Shah	Male	33	Teacher	Shina, Urdu, English
5	Akram	Male	24	Student	Shina, Urdu, English
6	Ali	Male	33	BA/businessman	Shina, Urdu, English, Burushaski
7	Zain	Male	37	MA/Govt. servant	Shina, Urdu, English
8	Hussain	Male	27	BS/Social worker	Shina, Urdu, English
9	Hadi	Male	35	MA/teacher	Shina, Urdu, English, Burushaski
10	Nasir	Male	33	MA/Social worker	Shina, Urdu, English, Wakhi
11	Asif	Male	32	MA/Lecturer	Shina, Urdu, English
12	Arif	Male	30	MA	Shina, Urdu, English, Burushaski
13	Minhaaj	Male	33	MA/teacher	Shina, Urdu, English
14	Aslam	Male	39	BA/Businessman	Shina, Urdu, English,

Female Respondents

S#	Pseudo Names	Gender	Age	Education/Profession	Languages spoken
1	Anum	Female	19	BS/student	Shina, Urdu, English
2	Esha	Female	22	Student	Shina, Urdu, English, Burushaski
3	Noni	Female	29	Masters/Govt. Servant	Shina, Urdu, English, Burushaski, Wakhi
4	Fatima	Female	27	MA/Teacher	Shina, Urdu, English
5	Bushra	Female	29	BA/Journalist	Shina, Urdu, English,
6	Suman	Female	34	MA/Housewife	Shina, Urdu, English
7	Asma	Female	36	MA/Teacher	Shina, Urdu, English
8	Fozia	Female	29	MA/Govt. servant	Shina, Urdu, English
9	Kokab	Female	19	Student	Shina, Urdu, English
10	Manahil	Female	33	MA/teacher	Shina, Urdu, English
11	Sina	Female	24	BA/teacher	Shina. Urdu, English

In ethnographic research, sites and situations are more important than groups of persons involved (Angrosino, 2007). Judgmental sampling technique was used to select the sample. This sampling technique depends on the judgment of the researcher and focuses on particular characteristics of the population to answer the research questions (Kothari, 2004).

3.6 Data Authentication

The recorded conversations between Shina speakers in different contexts/situations were played to elder native Shina speakers having command over both English and Urdu. The data was also discussed with the Shina researchers and linguists and they were asked later their opinion regarding the reasons for which people switch from one language to the other. It served as a form of peer review to validate the data.

3.7 Ethical Issues

Different social scientists (Reason, 1994; Alderson, 1995; Craig et al., 2001) propose that during qualitative research studies the main ethical principles such as autonomy of participants, their wellbeing, dignity and safety should be fully protected by the researchers. Researchers should avoid ethnocentricity and remain as objective as possible. Flick (2007) suggests that there are a number of basic principles of ethically sound research. First is the informed consent according to which people should not be made a part of the research process without their consent. In observational research ethics become more important as according to Flick (2007) ethnographic studies are more extensive in invading and capturing participants' lives and cultures. Accordingly, the researcher respected the opinions and privacy of the research participants and used pseudo names. Flick believes that confidentiality and privacy of the participants should be maintained and researchers must also take care about the accuracy of the data. Taking care of ethical issues, the researcher kept the personal information of the participants confidential by using pseudo names. The participants were told about the purpose of the research and before the research they indicated their willingness to participate in the

research by signing a form. The researcher has made it sure that nobody can access the audio recordings.

3.8 Theoretical Framework

Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993) and Hierarchies of Identities Model by Omoniyi (2007) have been used for linguistic research on identity construction of Shina speakers in the present research study.

3.8.1 Markedness Model

Markedness Model holds that the choice of a language in a multilingual setting is driven by the negotiation of identity of self and the relationship with other participants in accordance with the context and the social setting. More than one way of interaction exists in a speech community. There can be different speech styles and more than one dialect and languages can also be in use. Markedness Model claims that while using language, individuals exploit the relationship between a linguistic variety and its speakers as well as the place and manner of usage. Speaker's choice of a language is based on weighing relative benefits and costs. Markedness Model is also referred to as rational actor model and can be applied to code-switching. Markedness Model is based on the premise that understanding an utterance is dependent on much more than just decoding linguistic signals. According to it, every speaker possesses a Markedness evaluator.

Myers-Scotton explains that code choices of speakers index their wants. A negotiation principle governs interactions by guiding a speaker to select a code which symbolizes a particular RO (Rights & Obligations) set between the speaker and the

listener. RO set refers to a set of social features. A conventionalized exchange has an unmarked RO set. In non-conventionalized exchanges there is no general agreement about the Markedness of the RO set. The model is made up of a set of maxims. It can be applied to any code choice. It explicates the social motivations behind different types of code-switching. According to the negotiation principle code choices of speakers can be explained on the basis of their motivations. This principle has the following maxims:

(a)- **The Multiple Identities maxim:** This maxim directs the speaker to initiate multiple sets of rights and obligations and resultantly index multiple identities through more than one exploratory choice.

(b)- **The Unmarked choice maxim:** Switching codes is frequently the unmarked choice of bi/multilingual speakers. Implicature is created by the overall pattern of code-switching rather than by the individual switches. An RO set is associated with every code, so code-switching indicates two different RO sets and exhibits dual identities of the speakers. In conventionalized exchanges code switching indicates multiple identities.

(c)- **The deference maxim:** According to this maxim, a marked choice either increases or decreases the social distance between the speaker and the addressee. By making a marked choice the speaker introduces a new set of rights and obligations.

(d)- **The virtuosity maxim:** This maxim directs the speaker to make an exploratory choice for an expected choice in non-conventionalized exchanges. In non-conventionalized exchanges the initial exchange of social information takes

place in a neutral code after which the speaker attempts to establish a set of rights and obligations by making an exploratory choice.

(e)- Code-switching as the marked choice: A speaker makes a marked choice in order to introduce a new RO set by disidentifying with the unmarked RO set. While making a marked choice the speaker negotiates against the expected RO set.

In Markedness Model, choice of a language is seen as a matter of social identity as well as a matter of conversational structure. Markedness Model is applied because it gives explanation of code-switching, which uses social information acquired through ethnographic fieldwork. Situational approach is used to depict how conversation can be structured through language choice. Situational approach fails to account for situations in which there is no switch in language, whereas Markedness Model explains it in terms of acceptance of rights and obligations set reflected through choice of a language in a social setting. In short Markedness Model holds that code-switching can motivate the usage of more than one code to indicate multiple identities as the unmarked choice in a speech community.

3.8.2 Hierarchy of Identities Model

Omoniyi (2007) presented the concept of hierarchy of identities which aims to explain negotiation of multiple identities. He believes that language depicts identity and people have multiple identities due to the multiple roles they perform in society. He further explains that his conception of multiple identities includes the roles that people have to perform and also the realization about other selves. He excludes cases of imposed

identities created by institutional structures. He also provided a comprehensive review of different approaches to identity construction. Omoniyi's Hierarchy of Identities concept explores the multilayered process of identity negotiation. He identifies three main changes in the attitude towards identity research.

The research on identity has become multidisciplinary. This has caused a shift from static essentialist views of identity to a dynamic concept of identity which includes performativity. The Hierarchies of Identities Model explores the multilayered process of identification. Goffman (1959) talked about the likelihood of multiple presentations of self during an interaction. In order to conceptualize multiple roles and identities, identity can be broken up into moments, acts and contexts with differing degrees of salience. According to him one needs to position oneself considering the norms and conventions which make one project different selves according to the requirement. He broadens the concept of code by including dresses, customs, dance, age, gender, religion, music, nation, and ethnicity, talk and walk in the category of codes. Bilinguals can use code-switching as a strategy either to reposition themselves or to change their alignment.

Several options of identity are available for an individual all the time, but each of the identity options get a position on the hierarchies of identities based on their salience in a particular context. The salience of identity options varies from one context to another, so the position of identities on the hierarchy is also variable. It is in interaction that people hierarchize various identity options as nationality and ethnicity based on the context and their goals. Choice of a language presupposes the availability of alternative codes, so the codes not chosen at a particular moment indicate the presence of alternative identities which are back grounded. Pavlenko and Blackledge's (2004) concept of time

and place is called moments by Omoniyi, which he defines as a unit of measurement. He believes in the presence of more than one identity in a single social activity. Omoniyi (2007) also suggests ways of measuring moments which include counting the number of various identities which are foregrounded during an interaction. Moments can also be measured by displaying actions on a timescale and by ascribing identities to them. Omoniyi (2007) opines that shading can be used to handle cases where two identities occupy the same moment. He also discusses certain strategies which are utilized in hierarchizing identities. He explores different discourse tools which are employed to attain hierarchy in different contexts and two of the contexts involved are directly relevant to the data collected for this particular study. The researcher intends to collect data through observing natural conversations, conducting interviews and distributing questionnaires. Omoniyi takes conversations as an identification context and explains that footing shifts (Goffman, 1979) can be used to renegotiate how one projects oneself and how one is perceived to be from moment to moment. The second identification context presented by Omoniyi and relevant to this study is the examination of discourse tools in communication. In transactions one can switch from one language to another to exclude one party and include another. One can switch from an ex-colonial official language to an indigenous language (Omoniyi, 2007).

3.8.3 Justification for using the theoretical frameworks for the current study

Deductive reasoning works from more general to more specific where researchers start their research with a theory in mind about the topic of their interest and move towards the confirmation of that theory. Though in most of ethnographic researches,

researchers opt for inductive or grounded research design, but some of the researchers advocate that they can integrate theoretical arguments or knowledge with new empirical data of ethnographic research. Wilson and Chaddah (2010) opined that empirical assumptions are derived from theoretical arguments and in the absence of any theoretical support, the use of ethnographic method in the context of validation becomes problematic. He argues that ethnography can be done to check the assumptions or hypothesis through quantitative data. The researcher also conducted a quantitative analysis to check the assumption that when we switch a language, we switch an identity.

During the data collection the researcher realized that a single theoretical framework cannot explain the different ways through which Shina speakers project and talk about their identities. Aspects of different frameworks can be considered to get an accurate picture of identity construction of Shina speakers. Accordingly, the researcher used the Markedness Model and Hierarchies of Identities Model.

The researcher believes that Markedness Model is the best sociolinguistic model that can be used to study the negotiation of identities in code-switching in the multilingual contexts. Myers-Scotton (1993) believes that speakers select a language that reflects the rights and obligations relevant to a particular interaction. While making an unmarked choice speakers take the status quo as the foundation of the speech event whereas making a marked choice reflects the desire to index a different set of rights and obligations. If such a choice is meant to indicate solidarity, it decreases the social distance between the participants whereas if a marked choice is made to show power difference it can increase the social distance between the interlocutors.

Other reasons of making marked choices include showing deference and also the inability to make the expected i.e. the unmarked choice. When one language becomes dominant in a particular context, it indicates solidarity and becomes the symbol of a particular in group. The process of code-switching can also become the unmarked choice in other contexts. In the same way Shina speakers may switch from Shina to either English or Urdu to project their identities. Myers-Scotton believes that speakers may use a particular linguistic variety while switching codes to indicate how they view themselves in relation to the socio-political values reflected by a particular language or variety.

Myers-Scotton (1993)'s Markedness Model received criticism. The first criticism is that identity should not be taken as an explanatory concept as it requires explanation itself. Secondly sociolinguists also criticize the links between languages and specific groups on account of the fact that individuals may formulate particular identities by using codes of groups to which they do not belong. Heller (2007) is of the view that it is not only identity which influences code switching rather code-switching and code mixing can also be explained through other factors including the competence of the speakers.

Markedness Model as a theoretical framework suits the present study as it talks about the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts through code choices. Gilgit-Baltistan is a multilingual region so this model will help in analyzing the motivations behind code choices of Shina speakers and its possible connections with identity. Unmarked code switching is promoted in Pakistan just like the other third world countries. These conditions include maintaining an indigenous language along with a former colonial language. In the context of Gilgit-Baltistan, like the rest of Pakistan, the national language Urdu is also maintained. Gimode (2015) suggests that the Markedness

Model contributes better than the other models to investigate the key social questions regarding the language choices of people in different contexts.

During the analysis of interviews, conversations/situations and FM recordings instances of maxims are identified and it is also discussed how different identities are made salient through code choices. In multilingual settings, multiple languages are used to index multiple identities. In such cases, it becomes important to study the hierarchy of identities, so in the present study, the hierarchy of identities, during projection of multiple identities in different contexts is also studied using the framework of Hierarchy of Identities Model.

3.9 Thematic Data Analysis

Thematic analysis is the way of identifying different themes or patterns within qualitative data which is collected through personal interviews, participant observations and conversations etc. Themes can be defined as patterns that capture something interesting or significant about the data or research questions. Boyatzis (1998) is of the view that instead of taking thematic analysis as a method, it can be taken as a tool which can be used across different methods in research.

The main purpose of a thematic analysis is to discover different patterns or themes in the data that are significant or exciting and use these themes to conduct research about an issue. During thematic analysis researchers comprehend the data and do not only provide a summary. Data analysis kept into account the following areas:

- Identity construction was explored in language choice, linguistic expressions and the positionality of discourse participants.

- Indexicality was also looked at i.e. the way in which different linguistic forms are used to create identity positions.
- Semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meaning were also analyzed.
- Data was analyzed for traces of overt mention of identity groups and labels; Implicature and assumptions about one's own or others' identity position; participant roles and the use of different linguistic structures that are ideologically connected with specific individuals and groups.
- Relationality was also explored in the data gathered according to which identities are never independent but always get social meaning in relation to other existing social actors and identity positions.
- Partiality was also analyzed according to which identity is naturally relational; it will be always produced partially through contextually situated configuration of self and other.

During data collection different themes or patterns such as 'identity construction at work place', 'identity construction at home', 'contextual identity construction', 'pure Shina identity construction', 'ways of identity construction', 'factors that affect the establishment of RO sets in interaction', 'identity construction at market place' etc. were identified. These themes identified in this research are predominately descriptive in nature as they illustrate different patterns in the data related to the research questions.

According to Holloway and Todres (2003), a qualitative research method is extremely diverse and multifaceted and thematic analysis should be taken as a foundational method for qualitative analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) believe that there are no specific rules for identifying themes in qualitative research. They further explicate that thematic

analysis is the first qualitative method that must be learned by the social scientists as it provides basic skills that can be used for carrying out many other kinds of analysis as well due to its flexible nature. They distinguished between semantic and latent themes. Semantic themes deal with the surface or explicit meanings of the data in which a researcher is not looking for anything beyond what a respondent has said. Whereas, the latent themes deal with the underlying meaning of what has been said by the respondent. By using a latent thematic analysis, a researcher examines or identifies the underlying assumptions, ideas, conceptualizations and ideologies. They also explained the difference between deductive and inductive thematic analysis. The deductive or theoretical thematic analysis is driven by specific research questions. For the present research on the identity construction of the Shina speakers, the researcher used this theoretical thematic approach by using Markedness Model and Hierarchy of Identities Model. This approach is also known as top-down approach in which the researcher picks a theoretical framework and analyses his or her data accordingly. The bottom-up or inductive approach is driven more by the data itself.

Qualitative research includes a series of different queries and researchers need to have a clear understanding about the relationship between these questions. These questions can be broad as well as narrow. The narrow questions may be part of broad questions. In a nutshell, thematic analysis consists of searching across a data set that could include a number of interviews or observations to find repeated themes of meaning. The product and form of thematic analysis differs according to research topic and the field. However, different combinations are possible as there are no specific rules. It is important that the final product must contain a description of what was done and why it was done.

The process of thematic analysis begins when the researcher starts observing and looking for patterns or themes and issues of possible interest in the data during the data collection phase. The final stage is the reporting of the content and meaning of the abstract themes in the data by the researcher (Ryan and Bernard, 2000). Thematic analysis involves a repeated moving back and forth between the entire set of data. The write-up is an integral part of analysis which begins from the beginning when the researcher starts jotting down ideas and continues through the entire analysis process.

3.10 Transcription Conventions

IPA-samd Uclphon1 SIL DoulosL font is used for transcription of Shina and Urdu data. SIL-International has designed various font sets which help to transcribe multilingual text using IPA. It contains entire inventory of IPA and is similar to Times New Roman. **Bold transcription is used for Shina**, underlined transcription for Urdu, and regular Times New Roman font is used for the English text. For actual utterances, double quotes “” have been used. If the utterance is only in English, it has been mentioned in parenthesis (). All metalinguistic information in conversations is provided in *italics* using regular fonts. Translation in English is placed within square brackets [] just after an utterance. Several dots ‘.....’ show that the speech continues.

Chapter 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data and the set of procedures adopted for selecting data collection tools, different data collection procedures and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data. The present study used a mixed method research to address the research questions. Qualitative method was used by using thematic analysis. Quantitative research method was used to find out the perceptions and opinions of the Shina speakers regarding the use of Shina and other languages. Questionnaire, which comprised of both open and close ended questions, Interviews, observations, recordings of conversations and FM recordings were used as data collection tools.

4.1 Qualitative Data Analysis of Interviews

Fifty informants were interviewed to find out how do multilingual Shina speakers construct their linguistic identities in their daily conversations. Questions were designed to ask the Shina speakers to comment on their linguistic practices, to specify the domains of different languages and to comment on Shina identity. Questions were also framed to find out the factors that affect the RO sets and to investigate the identity markers used by the Shina speakers.

Before starting the interview, the researcher asked the participants regarding their mother tongue and the number of languages they can speak in order to exclude or include them in the study. The sample of the researcher included only those native Shina speakers who can speak Urdu and English so respondents who were native speakers of other regional languages were not made a part of this study. The data is organized under different themes which emerged during the in depth analysis of the data.

4.1.1 Pure Shina identity

In order to investigate the relationship between language and identity and to find out how multilingual Shina speakers construct their identity in different contexts, the researcher started by asking questions regarding the variety of Shina used by Ahmed to which he responded that his Shina language is influenced by other languages in his linguistic repertoire. He also shared that he uses Shina with his family, friends and even sometimes at workplace (marked choice). When probed about the reasons for doing so he talked about his emotional attachment with his mother tongue as he said, “Through Shina I can easily connect with closed ones, Shina is my mother tongue so I feel good while using it”. This discourse indicates that the projection of pure Shina identity is preferred with family and friends.

According to the unmarked choice maxim, it indicates that Shina is the unmarked choice with family and friends. The use of the expression, “even sometimes” while referring to the use of Shina at the workplace indicates his realization that Shina is a marked choice at the workplace.

In order to know whether Shina speakers are rigid or flexible about their identity the researcher asked the question if it is necessary to marry someone who speaks the same language. In response to which, Ahmed shared that for him it is not a consideration but people around him do consider it. Ahmed replied in the negative when asked about the inclusion of someone who knows Shina or has learned it in the Shina community on the pretext that his food, culture, home environment and conduct with other community members will be different.

According to Hierarchy of Identities Model (Omoniyi, 2007), it indicates that while considering anyone as a member of the Shina community Shina identity is foregrounded and the linguistic identities of Urdu and English speakers are backgrounded.

In order to know the level of affiliation with Shina language, respondents were also asked to describe their reactions towards losing their mother tongue. The spontaneous reaction of Ahmed was “loss of mother tongue is loss of identity”. He also shared the apprehension that “our culture is in danger and our language is going to be diminished”. This discourse indicates that Shina speakers ardently take Shina as a symbol of their identity and losing Shina is equated with losing culture and they are fearful of it. In response to the next question he called Urdu the most important language. Contradiction is found here as on one hand he is worried about the future of Shina and believes that losing Shina would mean the loss of identity. On the other hand, the status of the most important language is given to Urdu. When asked about the reasons he explicated that Urdu can widen their social circle whereas Shina is confined to the Shina community. This shows his realization about the fact that for utilitarian and practical

purposes other languages are important whereas the apprehensions regarding the future of Shina reflect his emotional attachment with his mother tongue. When seen from the perspective of identity it shows that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is dear to him but the linguistic identity of an Urdu speaker is more important as according to Ahmed, “most of the time most of the people of my country speak and communicate in Urdu”. Interviewee 1 called languages other than Shina second languages.

Zohaib considered language as central to Shina identity but found it difficult to define Shina identity as “we are the people..... various identities”. This discourse directly refers to the multiple identities maxim according to which people can negotiate multiple identities when there is no unmarked identity. He further explicated that our culture, life style, language and clothes are different. He also shared apprehensions about the extinction of culture and identity as, “Our culture and language is wiping out from the society.”

In response to the question related to the purity of Shina, Anum answered that she cannot speak pure Shina and picks most of the words from Urdu and English. She shared that she also uses Shina with friends. This indicated that Shina is preferred in close circles. This discourse provides an example of deference maxim according to which Shina is used here to reduce distance and to indicate intimacy. In class she tries to use English but outside with friends she uses Urdu and Shina. This sounds interesting as it drives our attention towards the contextual construction or switching of identity as in class she projects an educated or formal identity of an English speaker but outside the class with the same people she constructs a mixed Urdu and Shina identity. In other words, according to the Markedness Model, she establishes a formal set of rights and

obligations in class and a mixed set of rights and obligations outside the class by blending the national and the local identity. According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, the linguistic identity of an English speaker is foregrounded in class. In formal contexts such as the classroom, while presenting or discussing something with teachers, Anum uses English. In informal contexts, she always uses Shina language which is her mother tongue and also switches to Urdu. She shared that it is necessary for one's spouse to use the same language as it is the medium through which people understand each other. She called Urdu the national language and English a second language. She said that the most important language for her is English as she is a student of English Department. She opined that language and culture are interconnected and losing Shina will mean losing our culture. On one hand, she wanted Shina to survive, on the other hand she did realize the importance of English in the market and the low prestige of Shina. According to Hierarchy of Identities Model (2007), it indicates that in the linguistic market English is ranked high as compared to Shina.

The next respondent Tufail shared that he can speak four languages. He can speak Shina, Urdu, English and Burushaski but his mother tongue is Shina. He learned Burushaski at an early age from his friends. He said that he cannot claim to speak pure Shina as his language is intermixed due to unconscious usage of Burushaski words. He did not consider speaking the same language a consideration for marriage. According to him community will consider someone who knows Shina language as a member of Shina community but there will be a difference as his accent will indicate that he does not belong to the area. He called languages other than Shina, second languages. He called Shina the most important language for him. He also showed concerns regarding the

influence of powerful languages on Shina as they are influencing Shina lexicon as: “I would love to give more importance to my mother tongue”. According to him, “if we lose Shina we will shift to other language like Urdu and English. This would lead to the death of our mother tongue and our cultural language”. When probed further about the possible effects of it he opined that resultantly we will not have any cultural identity and we will become any other person.

Tufail considered language as central to Shina identity. He defined Shina identity as a person who speaks Shina, wears */tʃɒkəh/* (a long coat) and a local hat. The term Gilgiti according to him refers to all the people belonging to this region and not only to Shina speakers.

Shah shared that he cannot speak pure Shina due to English speaking academic environment. In informal gatherings he prefers to speak Shina which is quite natural. So in informal gatherings Shina is the unmarked choice. He works in a university so he uses English at his workplace but Urdu is very much there. This indicates that code switching is the unmarked choice, at Shah’s workplace. In informal situations at the workplace he loves to use Shina. In formal contexts only English is used as English is the official language. In informal contexts according to Shah the choice of language depends on the addressee in case of non-natives he uses Urdu otherwise Shina. While responding to the questions related to language being a consideration for marriage he shared that his wife is a Burushaski speaker so they use Urdu with each other. In other words, he meant that as long as there is a common language to communicate same language is not a consideration for marriage.

He opined that anyone who acquires Shina would not be that much native. He called languages other than Shina second languages. Urdu is the language of school for him, English is the language of college and Shina is the language of home. This discourse is quite loaded with meaning as it not only refers to three types of identities rather the domains of their construction as well. He called English the most important language for him because of his profession. When asked to share the reasons of giving importance to English it was shared that it depends on the market value of a language. He very realistically pointed out that Shina has nothing to do with career making and formal gatherings as he added “in this country either Urdu or English are important, Shina has no place anywhere. He believes that “if we lose Shina we don’t lose anything”. This discourse refers to the multiple identities maxim (Myers-Scotton, 1993) and in the hierarchy of identities Urdu and English are at the top of hierarchy.

Shah shares that Shina is not the name of a nation rather a tribe. when asked to define Shina identity he responded: “we are people from Gilgit-Baltistan” this is how he defined Shina identity and further added that dress and food are central to Shina identity which is quite interesting as rest of the respondents considered language as central to Shina identity. He got confused about the term Shina identity. He showed reservations about the term Shina identity and shared that we have a regional identity “as people of Gilgit-Baltistan who speak different languages” which is interesting as well as different from what the other respondents opined. We have neither linguistic nor ethnic identity.

Ms. Esha speaks Shina, Urdu, English and Pashto. When asked about her mother tongue she shared it is Shina because of which she was interviewed. She claimed that she speaks pure Shina which is different from the response of the other respondents. She

further explained that she is not aware of the archaic or old Shina words which shows that the Shina she speaks is not that much pure. Language is not a consideration for marriage according to Esha as her husband is a Pashto speaker therefore they use Urdu with each other. She called Urdu an informal language. She will not consider anyone who has learned Shina a member of Shina community as the knowledge of cultural norms and practices is also essential according to her. Though Shina speakers seem to have linguistic identity along with other identities, but culture is also an inevitable part of the linguistic identity according to similar discourses. She called languages other than Shina second languages. She could not decide which the most important language is for her as according to her every language becomes important according to the context. According to Esha, “losing our language means losing our culture and traditions” which according to her is, “a big part of our life”. According to her, food and ways of talking are central to Shina identity. She defined Shina identity as the life style, food and ways of talking of the Shina speakers.

Akram is a multilingual Shina speaker, a student of MA English and can speak Urdu and English in addition to Shina. He opined that the variety of Shina spoken by him can approximately be called pure Shina. When asked to explain that he shared that his Shina is a mixture of Urdu, English and Shina. He did not consider language a consideration for marriage. He will not consider anyone who learns Shina a member of Shina community as according to him there are factors other than language to acquire in order to make anyone a member of the Shina community as clothes and food. He called languages other than Shina second languages. According to him, losing a language means losing a culture. The most important language for him is Shina as he spontaneously said,

“obviously Shina as it is our identity”. This shows that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is very dear to him as he called Shina the most important Language for him.

Noni can speak four languages but her mother tongue is Shina. She cannot speak pure Shina as it is a mixture of Shina and Urdu. She uses Shina with her friends outside home. She considers languages other than Shina second languages. She believes that losing a language means losing a culture as well as identity. In informal contexts Shina, Burushaski and Wakhi are used by her. This indicates that the unmarked choices in informal contexts are the regional languages. She did not consider language a consideration for marriage but shared that she would prefer to marry a Shina speaker. She will consider anyone who has learned Shina a member of Shina community as to some extent one learns the culture as well by learning the language. She considers language as central to Shina identity. Noni defined Shina identity as people belonging to a specific geographical area who speak Shina language as, “we associate Shina with the people of Northern areas”. She displayed a very flexible attitude towards all the three languages in her linguistic repertoire. She is not very rigid about her pure Shina identity.

Ali is a multilingual Shina speaker. He uses Shina outside his home as well as it is his mother tongue and most of the people around him use Shina language. He expressed affiliation with Shina language but also added that he is equally comfortable with English as well as Urdu. Most of the participants displayed a scenario of mixed language use in which they either mix the languages or switch from one language to the other. This is an example of code-switching itself as the unmarked choice (Myer-Scotton, 1993), where bilinguals construct dual identities through code switching.

Fatimah is a female multilingual speaker who can speak English, Urdu, Burushaski and Shina. She is 27 years old, mother of three kids and has done Masters in English. The interview took place in her office while taking tea and was like a chit chat rather than a formal interview being colleagues.

In response to the question related to the number of languages she can speak she informed that can speak four languages. While commenting on the variety of Shina spoken by her, she shared that the variety of Shina spoken by her is not pure like the rest of the respondents. When further asked about the variety of Shina language spoken by her she shared that the variety of Shina spoken by her has changed due to code mixing and code switching, which according to her is also the demand of the society. The variety of Shina, spoken by her is an amalgamation of Shina Urdu and English. This discourse is directly related to the multiple identities maxim, according to which people project multiple identities when norms do not specify a particular unmarked identity. This discourse adds to the multiple identities as well as instead of simultaneously constructing or switching multiple identities Shina speakers project a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity. She also shared that the grandparents of her kids cannot understand them as in one sentence they mix three languages. This along with other examples mentioned above indicates that the young generation mostly uses a variety of Shina which is an amalgamation of Urdu, English and Shina there by revealing a mixed identity.

Fatima shared that Shina speakers prefer to marry same language speaker. In order to probe the phenomenon further, the researcher also asked whether someone who knows Shina or has learned it is considered a member of Shina community. She refused to accept any nonnative speaker of Shina as a member of the community as that very

person is not a Shina speaker by birth. She called Shina her native language, Burushaski, Urdu and English second languages. Fatimah called English as the most important language as, “it is the language through which we are earning so it’s very important”. This shows the instrumental and utilitarian reasons of learning English language because of which most of the respondents called it the most important language. According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model (Omoniyi, 2007), English enjoys the top most position in the hierarchy of identities. Most of the respondents including Fatima expressed apprehensions about the future of Shina. When asked to comment on her reaction towards the mixed variety of Shina, she opined that it has brought positive changes and innovations in the language. This indicates her flexible attitude towards Shina language. In other words, she showed a positive attitude towards the changes in Shina.

Bushra shared that she cannot speak pure Shina as she consistently switches codes and also mixes English and Urdu. She never uses Shina outside her home or institution. This indicates that she did not consider Shina an appropriate language for outdoor usage. This refers to the marked choice maxim (Scotton, 1993), according to which, Shina is a marked choice outside home. In other words, Bushra confined the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker to the sphere of home.

Bushra did not consider language a consideration for marriage. She seemed quite flexible but when asked about the inclusion of anyone in the Shina community who can speak Shina she refused to accept them as members of Shina community which indicates that the boundaries are quite rigid. She considered English as the most important language for her as, “it is required for social and professional acceptability”. Bushra believed that losing a language means losing identity which in turn means losing power

possessed by the people recognized as a community. While defining Shina identity, Bushra opined that the people of Gilgit are defined through their language which is Shina.

Suman claimed that she can speak pure Shina but shared that she does not speak Shina outside her home and institution. She did not consider language a consideration for marriage. Suman refused to consider anyone a member of Shina community even if he/she speaks Shina as it is not only language rather culture, traditions and food as well which play a role in making one a member of the Shina community. She considered the loss of mother tongue as the loss of identity. Though Shina speakers seem to have only linguistic identity but culture, traditions and even food is considered to be a part of this identity. English is the most important language for Suman as according to her command over English guarantees good opportunities. This elaborates that in Gilgit; English is taken as a symbol of education and indicates social and economic grooming. This also reflects that she wants to retain her identity of a Shina speaker, but at the same time realizes the global importance of English due to which she considers it the most important language.

Asma is multilingual Shina speaker and a teacher by profession. In response to the question regarding the purity of Shina, respondent Asma shared that the variety of Shina spoken by her is influenced by the other languages in her linguistic repertoire. She also identifies the domains of different languages in her repertoire. It indicates, according to the tenets of Markedness Model, Shina is the unmarked choice used with relatives and in informal situations, which shows association with in-group members and close networks.

According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, in informal situations core Shina identity is foregrounded whereas professional, national or other identities are backgrounded. Usage of Urdu is associated with friends, siblings and colleagues. Shina speaker's preference to use Urdu with colleagues and friends even if they are Shina speakers shows their desire to exhibit a professional identity and to keep people at a distance. According to Hierarchy of Identities Model, professional identity is foregrounded by Asma in formal contexts with friends even if they are in-group members. The domain of Shina is limited to the village to identify with the people there, by saying that she does not speak pure Shina, Asma indicates that she is not rigid about her identity and does not only take Shina as a symbol of her identity rather projects a hybrid identity indexed through bi or multiple languages.

It also indexes relationality principle of Bucholtz and Hall (2005), according to which identities get meaning through interaction with other identities. The analysis of data revealed that Shina is used with in-group members, which means that Shina speakers construct a personal Shina identity in only close networks. It also implies that identities emerge in discourse as the participants opined that they select codes by considering the context and the interlocutors.

Zain is also a multilingual Shina speaker and works in a government organization. In response to the same question Zain opines that the variety of Shina spoken by him is an amalgamated language as Shina has incorporated words of many languages. The response to the second question regarding the use of Shina outdoors shows that the usage of Shina is limited to the personal or regional domains as it is used at home and with relatives for indexing personal and regional identities. Responses to the question

regarding language choice in formal and informal contexts indicate that multiple identities are projected through multiple languages according to the context and social setting.

According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, all these identity options i.e. core Shina identity, national identity, professional identity, hybrid identity, etc. are available to Shina speakers all the time but depending on the context, requirement and interlocutors one or more identities are foregrounded or backgrounded. Asma's response also shows that usage of a language also depends upon the function for which a particular language is used as the use of English in formal context i.e. academic institutions or offices for the sake of teaching, learning and official communication.

Kokab also considered Language a consideration for marriage. She was flexible enough to consider anyone a member of Shina community if they can speak Shina. She called languages other than Shina official, national and international languages. She considered Shina the most important language. In response to the question related to losing Shina language she said it would mean losing culture and she would not like to let it happen at any cost as she called Shina a valued aspect of her identity.

When asked about Shina identity, Kokab opined that culture is important like most of the participants and as expected she found it difficult to define Shina identity as the people of Gilgit-Baltistan do not have any ethnic identity and only linguistic identity i.e. they are identified through the language they speak. She only said that she is proud of her Shina identity. She further added that in Gilgit-Baltistan, there are multiple languages and from linguistic point of view every group is identified by the language they speak.

These languages also show the specific cultures of these areas as along with language there is cultural variation too.

According to Asma, speaking the same language is not necessary to marry someone, but she does indicate the requirement of a common language between the partners. Zain also does not consider speaking the same language a factor for marriage but said that according to the social norms of the society people prefer to marry someone who speaks the same language. One of the questions was regarding the inclusion of non-native speakers of Shina in the Shina community. Asma responded that anyone who knows Shina or has learned it becomes a member of the Shina speech community but in order to assimilate with the speech community the knowledge of cultural practices is also required. In other words, the acquisition of a language along with its cultural practices is necessary for a language to index one's identity and language is the identity of its native speakers only. Zain believes that language is an art and anyone can learn it so if someone learns and speaks Shina it is still difficult to accept him or her as a member of the Shina community.

According to Hierarchy of Identities Model this shows that Shina occupies the highest position in the hierarchy of identities when we talk about the core or basic identity of Shina speakers. Response to question seven regarding language use with different relations and in different contexts indicates the skillful management of hybrid or multiple identities according to the context and social setting by a multilingual Shina speaker as according to Asma all languages are context and participant specific as they are associated with different identities; Shina is used with relatives, in personal relationships and settings.

In formal contexts Urdu and English are used for projecting professional identities. Interesting in this regard is Asma's response that all languages (Urdu, English & Shina) are equally important for her which shows that in order to keep a balance between multiple personas all three languages are important. Asma's response also refers to code-switching, shifting and mixing keeping in view the knowledge of languages of the participants of the interaction. This response is directly related to Myers-Scotton's (1993) Markedness Model that the choice of a language indexes an identity and switching between languages indicates switching identities. Mixing different languages indicates mixed or hybrid identities which are all indicated through language. Zain believes that English is the most important language for him as it dominates the official and educational scenarios. It shows according to Hierarchy of Identities Model that young multilingual Shina speakers like Zain give more importance to their educated or professional identity.

Asma calls languages other than Shina such as Urdu and English as national and official languages and by doing so indicates association of Urdu with national, usage of English with professional and usage of Shina to index a regional identity. Zain also calls Urdu his national language, English as official language and Shina as the mother tongue and further calls Urdu and English indispensable segments of a society.

Till responding to question about the loss of mother tongue framed to see the relationship between mother tongue and identity, Asma had been showing a very positive attitude towards all three languages in her linguistic repertoire and also indicated flexibility in her skillful management of different linguistic identities through language. When she was asked what the loss of mother tongue Shina would entail, she

spontaneously responded that it means the loss of one's origin and identity, there by indicating that a very strong and crucial part of her identity is reflected through mother tongue. This question made the respondent quite emotional as it changed her tone as well as body language. She also indicated that Shina has given a sense of identity to its speakers so the loss of Shina would mean the loss of identity and origin for her. Zain calls his mother tongue Shina an important part of his culture but also shares that it is vanishing from society. If the attitude of people towards Shina remains the same the new generation will not be familiar with its civilization and culture. Right before responding to the question related to the loss of one's mother tongue, Zain foregrounded the professional identity by declaring English as the most important language. It was observed that immediately after commenting on the loss of mother tongue Zain backgrounds professional identity and foregrounds regional core Shina identity by declaring that losing Shina means losing his identity.

Hussain is a student of BS and a social worker. He is a multilingual Shina speaker and surprisingly speaks six languages as: English, Urdu, Pashto, Shina, Burushaski and Persian both dialects Qandahari and Darri. He shared that he cannot speak pure Shina as it is affected by the other languages he can speak. He did not consider language a consideration for marriage unlike the other Shina speakers which indicates that exposure to a variety of languages has made him quite flexible. English is the most important language for him and he considers loss of language as the loss of identity. This discourse is quite interesting as it equates the loss of Shina language with the loss of identity but considers English as the most important language.

Fozia shared that she speaks four languages. She shared that she cannot speak pure Shina. Fozia did consider language a consideration for marriage. She considered English as the most important language for her as it is the need of the time.

Mr. Hadi is a multilingual Shina speaker and is a teacher by profession. The data is analyzed not only through what the respondents said but also through the ways they said as he also switched languages while answering the questions. The interview took place in his office. He shared in English that he cannot speak pure Shina and right after saying that switched to Urdu as:

“However, hɔta: hœ jœ zu hœ na

unintentionally ʌfa:z a:tei hæŋ jəh hei kh, we come to a shortage of a language,

us mæ wəheɪŋ ʌfa:z nəhi miɾəheɪ huteɪ. ʃina: meɪn təu həmeɪn jh təu swit
ch kʌrna: həɔta: hei ja: hʌm thought kɔ un tʌk convey nəhi kərsʌkteɪ.”

[However it happens that we get words unintentionally or we come to a shortage of language as we are unable to find appropriate words in Shina due to which either we have to switch or we cannot convey a particular thought to them].

This very discourse is an amalgamation of Urdu and English the essence of which is that we insert words from other language due to non-availability of lexical items in one’s language. He accepted that he uses Shina outside his home as he feels that he can express himself better in Shina. This is interesting as he seems a competent bilingual but while expressing feelings he finds it easy to express himself in Shina. This strengthens the finding of the questionnaires that Shina is preferred to express emotions and feelings. The medium he used to express his thoughts is English which is similar to the findings of

the analysis of the situations that English is used when people need their opinion to be heard and to be taken as important and valuable.

In Hadi's point of view speaking the same language i.e. Shina is necessary for both partners as it is important for cultural affinity. He will not consider anyone a member of his community who has learned Shina. He considered English a foreign language and Urdu the national language. English is given the status of the most important language by him and the reason he gave is that all intellectual discourses are in English and it is a global language. This is quite interesting as on one hand he shared that to express his culture and identity Shina is important and even at the workplace he feels the need to speak Shina but on the other hand he gave the status of the most important language to English due to utilitarian reasons. According to Hadi loss of mother tongue will mean loss of culture, loss of history and loss of identity. This indicates that Shina does indicate the personal/pure Shina identity of the Shina speakers but they give more importance to the linguistic identity of an English speaker may be due to the benefits it offers.

According to Hadi, language as well as culture and norms are central to Shina identity. While defining Shina identity he shared that it refers to the areas where Shina is spoken and also shared that people of Gilgit-Baltistan do not have any ethnic identity as there are diverse languages and the term Gilgiti refers to the residents of Gilgit not specifically only Shina speakers.

When Mr. Nasir was asked whether he speaks pure Shina he shared that it has become impossible to speak pure Shina as he lives in a multilingual and heterogeneous society where multiple languages are spoken. He himself is a multilingual speaker and

speaks three languages that get mixed up. Nasir believes that speaking the same language must be a consideration for marriage. He is flexible enough to consider anyone a member of Shina community if he has learned Shina. When asked about the most important language he called it English. While commenting on losing mother tongue, Nasir shared that dominant languages and cultures have always been influencing the indigenous languages and cultures. He further said:

“Language is you know an integral part of our culture and civilization you know if we lose our language we will lose our culture, our identity. Our culture is our identity”.

Though Nasir considers language an integral part of culture and believes that loss of language means loss of identity but at the same time he calls English the most important language and even the discourse about Shina being the identity is expressed in English. This shows that since Shina speakers are attached to their mother tongue due to which they do not want to lose it but they do realize that Shina has no value in the linguistic market that is why they consider English as the most important language. In other words, they value the pure Shina identity but give preference to the professional or educated identity which is projected by using Urdu and English. He considers dress as central to Shina identity.

Asif is a multilingual Shina speaker who can speak English and Urdu and is a lecturer by profession. He shared that pure Shina is not in use any more so he cannot claim that he can use pure Shina rather mentioned that he can speak ‘everyday Shina’. When asked to explain what he meant by the expression everyday Shina he mentioned that young Shina speakers these days are using a variety of Shina which is a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English. He further added as, “Shina is accepting the influence of many

other languages”. He did consider language a consideration for marriage to some extent. He further shared that his wife is not a Shina speaker so they use Urdu and English for communication. He is flexible enough to consider anyone a member of Shina community if he has learned Shina even if that very person is not from Gilgit Baltistan. He called English the most important language for him. He believes that if we lose Shina language, we will lose a major part of our culture. He accepted that he switches codes even in the classroom when students are unable to understand anything.

Arif shared that he can speak four languages but confirmed that his mother tongue is Shina which made the researcher include him in her study as it is specifically about the identity construction of Shina speakers. While commenting on the variety of Shina spoken by him, he commented that he can speak good Shina. He did not consider language a consideration for marriage and was flexible enough to consider anyone a member of his community if he has learned Shina. He also quoted that in his community there are plenty of examples of successful marriages, which are cross cultural, region and religion. Arif considered languages other than Shina second languages. He considered Urdu as the most important language for him as most of the people around him can speak and understand Urdu. In other words, he considered national identity represented by Urdu as the most important. While commenting on losing the mother tongue, he expressed his apprehension that losing a language means that the particular community is deviating from their cultural heritage. He shared that he will consider anyone who has learned Shina as a member of the Shina community but the Shina community will not do so.

Most of the respondents while responding to the question related to the purity of Shina (without Urdu and English insertions) reported that they cannot speak pure Shina

as the variety of Shina spoken by them is very much influenced by Urdu and English. One of the respondents said:

“No I can’t speak pure Shina because I am very much exposed to Urdu and English in the academic environment”.

There were quite interesting responses regarding the usage of Shina outside home. One of the female respondents shared that outside her home if she comes across Shina speakers not known to her, she prefers to use Urdu with them as she finds it difficult to find more formal words in Shina. Another respondent replied in English:

“My language has become a mixture; you know”.

A variety of responses were received in response to the question related to the usage of Shina outside home. Most of the respondents denied using Shina outside home. Those who use Shina specified that they use it with closed ones and friends outside home. One of the female respondents, who is a graduate student of university shared her view in English as:

“Yes ma’am if Shina speakers are there I prefer Shina but if there are some strangers who can speak Shina I talk to them in Urdu or English because in Shina language we have less formal words”.

This discourse reveals quite interesting facts about choosing a particular code with strangers that even if the stranger is a Shina speaker the female respondent uses Urdu with him in order to sound formal. In other words, national identity is foregrounded and regional or Shina identity is back grounded. While commenting on language use in informal contexts one of the male respondents shared:

“In our informal gatherings I always prefer to speak Shina because it is a bit natural. It comes out of nowhere without any intention”.

The analysis of the interviews shows that multilingual Shina speakers use the three languages in their repertoire interchangeably. Most of the respondents showed preference for marrying the same language speaker. There were also respondents who did not consider language a consideration for marriage. One of the respondents who is a student said:

“Yes language is and should be a consideration for marriage”.

Most of the respondents were hesitant to accept a Shina speaker as a member of their community who has learned Shina and is not a Shina speaker by birth. Some were flexible enough to consider them Shina speakers while others drew a line of demarcation between the native Shina speakers and those who have deliberately learned it. One of the respondents quite enthusiastically shared:

“Yes the community will consider him a Shina speaker but there will be a difference between the actual or native Shina speaker and the one who.....his accent will tell Shina speakers that he is a Shina speaker but he does not belong to the community of Shina speakers”.

A female respondent who appeared to be quite sensitive said:

“Having the first-hand experience of living among us is the precondition to be a native otherwise that kind of person won't be that much native”.

Others were of the opinion that it is not only language which makes one a member of Shina community, it includes other factors also like food, culture, dress and traditions. This indicates that Shina speakers consider not only language as identity

marker rather take dress, food, culture and traditions as identity markers as well. Shina speakers called languages other than Shina second, foreign, national and international languages.

Multilingual Shina speakers either considered Shina or English as the most important language for them. This division is quite interesting as those who consider Shina as the most important language have done so due to emotional attachment and affiliation while those who consider English as the most important language are considering the practical and utilitarian benefits of using English. Almost half of the respondents considered pure Shina/regional identity as more important while others considered professional English identity as important. The rest of the respondents considered all three languages in their linguistic repertoire as important. A student respondent shared:

“The most important language for me is Shina as well as Urdu and English”.

Another respondent spontaneously shared: “Obviously ma’am, Shina, because this is our identity”.

The question related to the reaction towards the loss of mother tongue also received multiple interesting answers as one of the responses was:

“What would my kids do with Shina if Shina has nothing to do with their career making”? A young respondent shared quite candidly:

“Be a bit realistic, I think we will lose nothing, if we lose Shina”.

This discourse seems quite realistic as well as nostalgic as the respondent has become ambitious and materialistic to such an extent that it has weakened his ties or

affiliation with the native language. They do not even have an iota of feeling regarding losing their language and thereby their culture. A variety of responses were received as:

“I think I can’t lose my mother tongue, it means to forget our traditions, culture and a big part of our life ma’am”. Another response was:

“Losing a language is a very severe kind of a thing, losing a language means losing a culture, losing a world view”.

4.1.2 Identity construction at workplace

While commenting on language use at workplace, Ahmed shared that different languages are used at his workplace and also specified the domains of each language as: “I prefer Shina at home, in class I use English whereas in the market I frequently use Urdu”. According to him both Urdu and English are acceptable in formal contexts as one is official language while the other is the national language. According to the unmarked choice maxim of Markedness Model, the linguistic identities of both Urdu and English speakers are the unmarked choices in formal contexts at the workplace. He also elaborated that in formal settings people are discouraged to use any of the regional languages. It shows, according to the Markedness Model, at the workplace the unmarked choices are Urdu and English and using Shina at the workplace would be a marked choice. He also shared that in informal gatherings Shina and Urdu are frequently used, which shows even at workplace Shina speakers find space to construct the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker. In formal contexts most of the people use Urdu as they have different lingual backgrounds and Urdu serves as a lingua franca. Though Shina is a marked language at the workplace but people still use it as according to him, “with our

friends if they are Shina speakers we use Shina language” may be to localize the context. Formal and informal contexts are also demarcated by the use of languages as Urdu and Shina are the unmarked choices in informal context and most of the respondents called Shina as a marked choice in formal context.

Esha uses Urdu and English at the workplace. She uses Urdu in informal contexts. According to her along with Urdu and English Shina is also used at the university. In formal contexts like classroom both Urdu and English are used. In the class Ali mostly uses English. He uses Urdu and sometime Shina with colleagues. He shared that he likes to switch codes and is comfortable with people who do switch codes. When asked about the reasons, he laughed while explaining that he has never thought about it and it just happens.

While discussing language use at the workplace Fatima shared that most of the time at the workplace Urdu and English are used whereas sometimes Shina is also used during informal gatherings among colleagues. In class she uses English and also uses Urdu if the students find it difficult to understand anything. According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, this shows that at the workplace regional languages/ identities are back-grounded most of the time and national and international languages or identities are foregrounded. This indicates that in the professional setting most of the time the linguistic identity of an English speaker is projected. Shina is a marked choice at Fatima’s workplace according to the workplace ethics and norms as she teaches English. Data analysis reveals the construction of a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity at the workplace in informal context whereas in formal context at the workplace a mixed Urdu

and English identity is constructed which is the contextual construction of identity according to the tenets of the Markedness Model.

According to Zain, national language Urdu is used at his workplace and Urdu has subdued Shina language by limiting its usage. Zain further explained that at his workplace people switch and mix codes. According to him, contextual code choice is also important as if one Uses English with kids or siblings in the market they will get items at a higher price whereas if one does so in a government office or bank one will get more attention.

According to the Markedness, choice of a language indicates an identity depending on the context in order to probe into it when the respondent was asked regarding the choice of a language in formal and informal contexts, surprisingly the response showed the usage of Urdu in both formal and informal contexts which indicates that Urdu indexes the hybrid identity of the speaker (personal & professional). The participants shared that English dominates the workplace. Urdu and English both are used in formal and informal contexts whereas Shina is only used in informal contexts. Analyzing the data through the lens of Markedness model and Hierarchy of Identities Model, shows that Shina is used to project a core Shina identity as Aslam said that, “Shina is my identity and losing it means I am losing my identity”. English and Urdu are used to construct a hybrid professional identity as both Zain and Asma shared that they use both English and Urdu at the work place as Zain said, “if one does not use English at the workplace one stands nowhere”. Shina, Urdu and English are used to exhibit a flexible cosmopolitan mixed identity. In other words, some moments of identification require the simultaneous projection of regional, national and professional identities. Asma shared that at a time even at

workplace in order to resolve an issue their coordinator also uses a little bit of Shina which shows the requirement of projecting core Shina identity even in formal contexts.

Bushra uses Urdu and English at her workplace. Suman uses Urdu and English at her workplace. She uses Urdu and English in formal contexts. Hussain uses Urdu and English at the university. In formal contexts Urdu and English are used according to him. Fozia speaks Urdu and English at the workplace but with her best friend she uses Shina even at the workplace as it gives her a sense of connection. Most of the respondents shared that Urdu and English are used at their workplace. This indicates, according to the unmarked choice maxim, that the linguistic identities of Urdu and English speakers are the unmarked choices at the workplace whereas Shina identity is a marked choice at the workplace. It is interesting to note that though Shina is a marked choice at the workplace but Shina speakers still use it as according to the respondent mentioned above using Shina with close friends at the workplace gives her a sense of pleasure.

While commenting on language use at workplace Hadi shared that multiple languages are used at his workplace, sometimes Urdu and English and sometimes Shina. This discourse directly refers to the multiple identities maxim that multi-lingual speakers construct multiple identities using multiple languages. This indicates that his workplace environment is not very formal and all three languages i.e. Urdu, English and Shina are the unmarked choices. He also said that Urdu is used more frequently at the workplace. This indicates that the National language of Pakistan i.e. Urdu being a lingua franca and a symbol of national identity is preferred at his workplace. This shows that a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity is projected at the workplace. He described language use at his workplace as:

“eik təu ʊrdu: language use
kəɾ rəheɪ hæʊteɪ heɪn and as if kəʊʒi: ʌçɪ: mehfil hæʊ bəri: jəʊ kəpeɪ: intelle
 ctual discourse hʊ rəha: hɒ English meɪ:n, təʊ wɒ jəʊ heɪ nɑ: wəʊ English
dʒɒ heɪ nɑ: hʌm use kʒ: rəheɪ hæʊteɪ heɪn”.

[One of the languages we use is Urdu and if there is any good gathering, a big one, if any intellectual discourse is going on in English, then we use English].

According to Hierarchy of Identities Model, national identity is foregrounded whereas local and international identities are back-grounded at Sohbat’s workplace. The analysis of data reveals that for formal discourse at the workplace English is used as according to Sohbat for, “intellectual discourse” English is used. This indicates that Shina is used to express personal emotions and feelings.

Asif mentioned that he rarely uses Shina outside his home as, “in professional settings I prefer to use English or Urdu, very rarely when I meet my close friends or people I am closely associated with, otherwise I don’t use Shina language”. The analysis of the data reveals that like the previous respondent Asif demarcates formal and informal contexts at his workplace. This discourse vividly explains how identities are switched according to multiple identities maxim, as with very close friends he prefers the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker. While commenting on language use at the workplace he shared that mostly at the workplaces in Gilgit-Baltistan there is frequent code-switching and code mixing of Shina, Urdu and English in educational contexts. While commenting on language use in formal contexts Nasir shared that Urdu and English are used in formal contexts and further added that in the formal contexts he does not see any place for Shina language. This indicates that Shina is a marked choice in formal contexts.

The analysis of the data reveals that in Gilgit-Baltistan, at the workplaces, a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity is preferred. This finding is strengthened by the respondents in the questionnaires as well as analysis of the conversations. This finding can add to the maxims of Markedness as a mixed identities maxim.

Arif explicated that with colleagues he uses different languages which indicates the construction of multiple identities at the work place according to the multiple identities maxim. He also shared that in official gatherings, English language is encouraged and primitive languages are discouraged. This indicates that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is a marked choice in formal settings where as the un-marked choice includes the linguistic identities of Urdu and English speakers. While commenting on language use at the work place, he shared that it depends on the context and situation. According to Arif, when people belong to the same portfolio, he uses English and speaking English in such gatherings is strongly recommended.

While commenting on perceptions regarding code-switching he shared that at the work place in order to show solidarity with the people around, one has to use English and further code-switching indicates the education level of the speaker.

Most of the respondents shared that the unmarked code choices at their workplace are Urdu and English.

“In the class some teachers use English and some teachers use Urdu while the students use Shina language for their communication”.

Another respondent who is a teacher by profession shared:

“I am serving in a university where English is the official language but Urdu is very much there. In informal gatherings at workplace I prefer and love to speak Shina”.

This indicates that though the unmarked choices are Urdu and English, but still some of the respondents like to use Shina rather prefer to do so.

4.1.3 Identity construction at home

While commenting on language use at home Ahmed shared that he uses Shina at home with all of his family members. This shows, according to the unmarked maxim, that at home the unmarked code choice is Shina as it can appropriately establish the RO set between the family members who can connect and create solidarity through this code choice. Ahmed further elaborated that sometimes with kids he uses Urdu and rarely uses English. This shows how children are prepared for the world outside by consciously constructing the linguistic identities of English and Urdu speakers. In other words, he meant that he switches to Urdu and English with kids. When further probed to comment on this linguistic practice he explained that during lecture he switches to Urdu to explain anything. In the circle of friends, he switches more as, “sometimes it is unintentional usage or I may not find any suitable expression in the mother tongue”. According to exploratory choice maxim it shows that a dual identity or a mixed Urdu and English identity is constructed in the circle of friends. According to the unmarked choice maxim, code switching is the unmarked choice among friends.

Tufail uses Shina and Urdu at home where as with friends he uses English. In informal contexts he uses Shina and Urdu. In informal contexts, Shina and Urdu are used

according to Bushra. Suman uses Shina and Urdu at home and the same languages in informal contexts. Hussain uses Shina and Urdu in informal contexts. It is interesting to see that Urdu is used in both formal and informal contexts. In other words, in informal contexts Shina and Urdu are the unmarked choices. It also reveals that Urdu is the unmarked choice in both formal and informal contexts. Nasir accepted that he uses Shina outside his home with his relatives and friends and prefers to use it with any Shina speaker. Though he said that he uses Shina outside his home but again with whom he speaks Shina with are in group members.

Nasir also shared that in informal contexts he uses Shina and Urdu. This is interesting as Urdu is used in both formal and informal contexts. This shows that a mixed Shina and Urdu identity is projected in informal contexts. This discourse refers to the multiple identities maxim. While commenting on language use in informal settings he further said, “you know when we have to interact informally we switch to, you know, our own language that is you know Shina. Actually there are certain places like offices and classrooms where we cannot use our local languages I mean”. This clearly suggests that Shina is only preferred in informal contexts and is a marked choice in offices and classrooms.

According to Asif, in informal contexts at the workplaces Shina language is spoken. He also shared that Urdu is used in both formal and informal contexts. He specified that it is only at home that he tries to speak pure Shina. This indicates that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is constructed mostly at home and in closed circles to signify closeness and solidarity. According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, Shina identity is foregrounded at home and rests of the identities are back-grounded. Shina is

the unmarked choice in the sphere of home. In informal contexts, Arif uses Shina most of the time and with speakers of other languages like Burushaski and Khowar, he speaks Urdu.

Discussing language use at home, Arif shared that he prefers to use Shina with his mother and sisters whereas with his brothers he uses English and Urdu most of the time. This is quite interesting as language use and preference varies within the family circles as well. This indicates that he has established relationship with different people in different languages as he feels more connected to his mother and sisters by communicating in Shina whereas, with brothers he feels more comfortable while using English and Urdu as they have established a relationship which is more exploratory and adventurous and on an equal level. We see projection of multiple identities within a single site i.e. home according to the multiple identities maxim (Myers-Scotton, 1993). In formal situations, Kokab uses languages other than Shina with Shina speakers whereas, in informal contexts, she prefers to use Shina.

While commenting on contexts where he intentionally avoids code-switching, he shared that in the gathering of people who are concerned about their culture, identity and think about the preservation of their language, in such contexts he avoids switching codes and tries to speak pure Shina. According to the virtuosity maxim (Myers-Scotton, 1993) it indicates that Shina language is used to lessen the distance and bring the addressee closer by introducing an intimate set of rights and obligations. This extract is rich in information regarding contextual construction of identity as on one hand it reflects that language does indicate identity of the speaker and mixing or switching languages indicated amalgamation of identities which is not encouraged by the advocates of

language preservation and pure identity projection. On the other hand, it also shows the deliberate effort to project Pure Shina identity in certain contexts to exhibit solidarity. It further explicates that the projection of a pure Shina identity is deliberate as the expected scenarios of its usage are limited as the data analysis revealed that it is projected in closed circles and with a particular group of people. It also indicates that code-switching has become an integral part of the personalities of multilingual Shina speakers and the construction of a mixed identity exhibited through multiple languages and code switching is unintentional and unmarked.

4.1.4 Factors that affect the establishment of RO Sets in interaction

Questions were also designed to find out the factors that influence the initiation of RO sets in interaction. According to Markedness Model, code choice indicates rights and obligations sets (RO Sets) in an interaction which can vary from interaction to interaction. The RO sets depend on the situational features like the social identity, topic and setting etc. RO sets refer to the attitudes and expectations of the participants towards one another. Each linguistic variety indexes a different RO set for the speaker and a different relationship with the addressee.

To explore the factors which influence the RO sets, the participants they were asked to share whether they use languages other than Shina with Shina speakers. One of the respondents from Gilgit reported that he does speak by giving the example of his classroom where he uses English even though most of the students are Shina speakers. This indicates that identity construction is effected by the context and in formal contexts Shina is a marked choice. In other words, in the classroom only the linguistic identity of

an English speaker is appropriate or unmarked. According to Shah being a multilingual is a must here. The advantages of multilingualism include the appreciation of literature in different languages. In response to the question related to language use with Shina speakers he shared that it will depend upon the context as if it is informal he will use Shina. He would love to use Shina if it would be his choice.

Esha explicated that she uses languages other than Shina with Shina speakers like Urdu and English as it depends on the relationship and situation which determines the choice of a language. In response to the question related to advantages of multilingualism Tufail shared that it provides opportunity to know other people. While responding to language use with Shina speakers, He shared that when the topic is serious he prefers to use English which shows that people use English when they want to be heard or their opinion to be valued. He further explained that he gets the attention of his fellows if he uses English.

Noni considered being a multilingual a requirement as she can make a lot of friends. She shared that she uses languages other than Shina with Shina speakers as she uses English and Urdu with her friends. Sometimes she uses languages other than Shina with Shina speakers in order to hide her identity. Noni uses English in order to hide her secrets from Shina speakers. This indicates that Shina is used to create bonding to express solidarity and at a times one deliberately does not choose it in order to create social distance.

Bushra considered multilingualism a necessity, for socialization, for progress in workplace, for dealing with identity crisis as according to her, “its significance can’t be denied as our world is no more the world but the global village”. She candidly shared that

being a monolingual curtails one's ability to socialize as one gets confined to one's community or even the locality. Moreover, one may not be able to avail a job opportunity else the progress in the work place would be curtailed to a greater extent. Socialization, social acceptability, varied job opportunities are a few of the myriads of advantages of being a multilingual according to her. This indicates that young multilingual Shina speakers have realized the importance of all the three languages in their linguistic repertoire and either switch them according to the needs or use a mixed code there by projecting a versatile personality. Bushra shared that she speaks languages other than Shina with Shina speakers as after being brought up away from her own speech community of Shina; she got accustomed to speaking Urdu and English. The languages she has been speaking throughout school, college and university life. Suman considered being a multilingual an asset which helps her in socializing and being a mono lingual restricts one to a particular community. She shared that for her selection of a code depends on the context.

Zain considers being a multilingual a requirement as one has to learn the mother tongue, the national language as well as the international language. This reveals that like their linguistic repertoire, various identity positions are equally important and necessary. Various identity positions are occupied according to the context and goals. A multilingual person can communicate with different segments of the society and does not find it difficult to communicate nationally or internationally where as a monolingual will feel secluded. Languages other than Shina are also used with Shina speakers due to the variety of Shina dialects. According to the context and setting, Urdu and English are also used with Shina speakers as according to Zain, in office he uses English with colleagues.

When probed further regarding this, Zain explained that it is done in order to exhibit a professional and a formal identity. Kokab shared that being a multilingual is an asset as she can communicate with many people saying, “it makes our circle wide”. She considered being a multilingual important for higher education and in today’s global world it has even become more important. In formal situations she uses languages other than Shina with Shina speakers where as in informal contexts she prefers to use Shina.

Hussain shared that the three languages he can speak get mixed up. He also uses other languages with Shina speakers because in formal conversations he avoids Shina and prefers the official language (English). Tufail also accepted that he uses languages other than Shina with Shina speakers even at the workplace to quote as:

“dʒʌb meɪn swɪtʃ kʌrtɑː hʊn Urdu to English

ʊsɪː wɜːd meɪ həməːrɪ əpni cultural representation

həʊti heɪ, həməːrɪ eɪk society ki representation həʊti heɪ, because I am.....,

dʒɪs language seɪ meɪn words

use kʌrtɑː huːn wɔ words dʒəʊ heɪ nɑː ɪskɑː representation

həʊtɑː heɪ wəhɑːn seɪ kʊtʃ bətɑː rəhɑː həʊtɑː heɪ təʊ ɪsɪː kæ lijeɪ dʒəʊ heɪ n

aː cod-e-switching kʌrtɛɪ rehtɛɪ heɪn”.

[When I switch from Urdu to English, that very word has our cultural representation, it is representation of our society because I amwhen I pick a word from one language, it represents that very language, it tells us something from there, something special due to this very reason, we have been switching codes.]

When asked to comment on his language use with Shina speakers, Nasir shared that the choice of a language depends on the situation and addressee. Arif considers it an asset to be a multilingual as it provides opportunities to interact with different communities and cultures. It also enhances the chances of getting a better position in any area and community. While commenting on language use with Shina speakers, Arif expressed that he uses English with Shina speakers in formal contexts and further specified the domains of formal language as a presentation, interview or a lecture. This indicates that one of the factors which determines hierarchizing identities is the context which decides which particular identity will be foregrounded.

4.1.5 Contextual construction of identity

For an in-depth study of the contextual construction of identity, the researcher wanted to get details about language use in certain contexts and certain relations to know how context and addressee or interviewee affect identity construction. Zohaib shared that he uses Shina at home, in the neighborhood, with shopkeepers as, “I know the shopkeepers of my area so I use Shina”. Zohaib uses Shina for praying as according to him, “my God can understand Shina, anything which comes straight from heart is in Shina”. While commenting on language use with different relations, Zohaib described that with parents and siblings he uses Shina only.

In order to study the contextual construction of identity respondents were also asked to share when and why did they learn each language in their linguistic repertoire. Zohaib explicated that he learned his mother tongue Shina from his home environment and Shina community in his hometown. He shared that in his hometown it is his

compulsion to use Shina language as, “when I go outside and interact with people, I have to use Shina.....if I use any other language they don’t accept me”. This shows that in his home town only the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is the unmarked choice. According to maxim of deference it shows that it is his compulsion to project the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker or core Shina identity to win their acceptance.

The process of identity construction for Zohaib started from home where he started constructing core Shina identity. He called Urdu a national language and a lingua franca and also specified the domains of its usage as, “at school, college, university and in other social and formal gatherings we have to communicate in Urdu”. This shows that the construction of the linguistic identity of an Urdu speaker takes place formally.

English is the official language of Pakistan and Zohaib called it a compulsion to learn and speak it as, “our entire.....are in English”. In other words, in order to be successful or for utilitarian purposes linguistic identity of an English speaker is a must. This shows according to the exploratory choice maxim that it is a compulsion to learn and speak it as, “our entire curriculum is in English”. This shows, according to the exploratory choice maxim, that it is a compulsion for multilingual Shina speakers to simultaneously project three linguistic identities associated with Urdu, English and Shina or a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity to successfully conduct day to day affairs in Gilgit-Baltistan. Sometimes one linguistic identity will be foregrounded and others backgrounded whereas at other times all three will be projected simultaneously depending on the context and the interlocutors.

In order to connect with closed ones and to strengthen and enjoy the bond mother tongue Shina is used by the respondent. In other words, core Shina identity or the

linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is constructed at home. He further explained that with kids he uses both Urdu and Shina, whereas with colleagues he uses English and Urdu. This indicates according to the unmarked choice maxim that at workplace the unmarked choices include both Urdu and English. In other words, a mixed Urdu English linguistic identity is projected at the workplace which is a formal context. It was quite interesting and revealing that Zohaib uses Urdu with strangers even if they are Shina speakers which indicates that Shina is only used in closed circles where the level of intimacy and solidarity is high and Urdu is used in formal situations and to create distance indicating in and out group members. While communicating with friends and colleagues most of the time he shifts to one language from the other.

Tufail shared that while his stay at Gilgit, he consciously tries to use Pure Shina and further added that he becomes very much conscious while talking to Shina speakers of Gilgit. He uses Shina at home, in the neighborhood and for praying. He uses Urdu and Shina in the market and uses Shina with parents. Almost all of the participants irrespective of the fact whether their parents can speak English and Urdu or not shared that they use Shina with their parents. This indicates that they feel more connected and closer while using Shina Language. Being a native Shina speaker it is the personal experience of the researcher that she used to respond in Shina even if her father used English with her as the researcher considers it disrespectful to talk to parents in any language other than the mother tongue. Tufail uses Shina with siblings and Urdu and English with colleagues whereas Urdu with strangers.

Shah uses Shina with parents, siblings and Urdu with kids, strangers and colleagues. Esha uses Shina outside her home with friends, colleagues and sometimes

even teachers which sounded quite strange as in institutions teachers normally discourage the usage of the regional languages. She uses Urdu and Shina at home for praying and in the neighborhood whereas she uses Urdu in the market. She uses Shina with parents and siblings. English and Urdu are used by her with colleagues and Urdu with strangers. Noni uses Shina at home, neighborhood and market. She also uses Shina with parents, kids and siblings. She uses Shina and Urdu with friends and colleagues and uses Urdu with strangers.

Zain uses Shina with family, Urdu in the market and prays in the mother tongue. Zain uses Shina with parents/ and siblings, Urdu and English with colleagues and Urdu with strangers.

Kokab uses Shina at home, in the neighborhood and for praying. In the market she uses Shina. She uses Shina with parents, siblings and kids at home. She uses Urdu with colleagues or class fellows. Kokab uses Urdu with unknown Shina speakers as according to her there are less formal words in Shina. She uses Urdu and English in formal contexts and Shina in informal contexts.

In the neighborhood, Hussain uses English, Urdu, Shina and Burushaski. He uses Shina for praying and Urdu in the market. He uses English and Urdu with colleagues and Urdu with Strangers. Like the previous respondents, he also uses Shina with parents and siblings. Fozia speaks Shina with her parents and siblings as Shina gives her a feeling of intimacy. Hadi uses Shina at home, for praying and in the neighborhood, whereas he uses Urdu in the market. Nasir mentioned that for praying, at home and in the neighborhood he uses Shina whereas prefers Urdu in the market. This indicates that he prefers Shina in closed circles and uses Urdu with the out group members. This finding is further

strengthened by his comments on language use with different relations. He mentioned that he uses Shina with parents, kids and siblings whereas Urdu with strangers.

4.1.6 Ways of identity construction

To study the construction of identity through the linguistic practices, interviewees were asked to comment on their code switching and also to specify the context and interlocutors with whom they switch codes. Zohaib accepted that he does switch codes especially when he is excited as:

“If I talk to a person of my field I use terminologies from my field, if I don’t know the Urdu and Shina equivalents of those words again it becomes my compulsion to use English”.

This shows, according to the unmarked choice maxim that in his community of practice it is acceptable to project multiple identities through multiple languages and code switching. According to the exploratory choice maxim, it shows efforts on part of the respondent to do justice to his multiple identities through multiple codes or leaving the code choice on his addressee. The respondent also shared that at home he tries to avoid code-switching as his mother cannot speak any other language so he has to use pure Shina with her as, “I try my best to use pure Shina with her”. There are repeated references by the respondent that at home and with parents he only uses Shina.

Shah switches codes quite often and in formal gatherings this happens more and in informal gathering there isn’t much code switching. He never tries to avoid switching codes intentionally. Esha also accepted that she switches codes quite often while talking as:

“We do switch codes with friends, isa: teu hɔta: heɪ ba:t kərtɛɪ hɔweɪ, it just happens”.

[We do switch codes with friends, the same happens while talking, it just happens].

She switched from English to Urdu while responding to this by switching from English to Urdu as / aɪsa: teu hɔta: heɪ...../. She denied avoiding switching codes in any context.

While talking about contexts or relations with whom he avoids switching codes Minhaj shared that though his parents can speak Urdu but he only uses Shina with them as, “I prefer to talk to them in Shina”. Switching codes is his compulsion. According to Minhaj, switching codes indicates that the person doing so is educated.

Like the previous respondents she shared that she switches codes quite frequently specially with friends. In the class they speak English but switch to Urdu due to lack of vocabulary and other reasons. She avoids switching codes when she is with friends who are not Shina speakers or when she is at home with her family members as code switching shows that we are trying to create some distance if she uses Shina it shows affiliation.

Fozia switches codes during class, during conversation with friends and even at home. Fozia, shares the reasons of switching codes as:

“for making my conversation more effective, or may be at some point where I get stuck, where I didn’t find any particular word, so to fill that lexical gap I have to switch the codes”.

While commenting on switching codes, Hadi shared that he often switches codes which is also evident from his spontaneous comment as:

“ja: jeɪ code-switching

təʊ hʌm əksər kərteɪ heɪn ki kʊi əlfɑ:z nəhi: mɪlrəha:ho təʊ wʊ lʌfz

dʒɪs bɪ language meɪ mɪleɪ hʌm use kʒ: læteɪ heɪn”.

[yah this code-switching we frequently do when we do not find a word in one language, in whichever language it is available we use it, because language depends on culture and cultures differ from one another].

This discourse comprises of both Urdu and English stretches of language. He also shared that most of the time he switches codes with educated people. When probed further he explicated that code switching happens unintentionally as they have become used to alternate languages. While talking about contexts where he deliberately avoids switching codes it was pointed out by him that in the class he deliberately tries to avoid switching codes in order to make the students fluent in English. Whereas, at home he also tries to avoid using any language other than Shina with his parents and at a times it becomes difficult for him as well as he is habitual of switching codes.

This is quite interesting as it supports the findings of the questionnaires as well as analysis of situations that Shina is used for maintaining interpersonal relationships, for bonding and showing solidarity whereas English is preferred in the professional contexts. Above all in casual conversation and with close friends a kind of code is preferred which is an amalgamation of Shina, Urdu and English. There are particular rights and obligations associated with both professional and personal spheres as in professional life

one needs to project a professional and educated identity by using English whereas at home one needs to connect with parents and siblings through the mother tongue. In casual conversations with peers and friends one uses language by choice and is not guided by any compulsion which makes it the best site for studying the construction of identity through language. The analysis of this interview as well as questionnaires indicate that in casual conversations with friends be them formal or informal, all the three languages i.e. Urdu, English and Shina are used interchangeably or in combination there by projecting a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity.

It is worth mentioning that Urdu is used in both formal and informal contexts. Nasir also shared that he switches codes more with children in order to make them speak Urdu and English. On the other hand, like the previous participants he switches codes more frequently with friends. In contrast to other respondents, Nasir shared that he does not even try to avoid switching codes in any context as he cannot even decide whether it's intentional or unintentional as he has become habitual of switching codes.

Kokab prefers to switch codes especially with friends and even at home if she cannot convince someone in Urdu and Shina she switches to English. This is one of the strategies she uses to get things done the way she would like them to happen. She avoids switching codes with elders like grandparents because they cannot understand other languages even if they understand she feels awkward while using any other language with them. While commenting on personality traits associated with mixing languages she shared that if she switches codes in front of an educated person it shows her education/literacy level for anyone else who cannot understand these languages he or she

might take it as an attempt to show off. According to her to some extent code switching defines her as, “I can speak English and I can use it in an appropriate way”.

While talking about code-switching, Nasir shared that he does switch codes according to the context and situation as:

“you know mei əbi: a:p sei ba:t kər rəha: hən,

so, mein jeh behtz: səmʌdʒta: hən to talk to you in either Urdu or English as

English əʊr ʊrdu ʃina: sei zi:ja:də formal əʊr prestigious hein”.

[You know I am talking to you right now so I deem it better or I deem it formal to talk to you either in Urdu or English so we give or attach prestige to Urdu and English].

When probed further about the prestige of Shina he shared that Shina has lost its prestige. This discourse explicitly exposes what other participants have been stating covertly that Shina has become a marked language in formal settings. In other words, in formal settings Shina speakers prefer to project an educated identity by using Urdu and English where as in close networks they construct either a pure Shina identity or a mixed Shina and Urdu identity.

In response to the question related to switching codes, Sina shared that most of the time she switches codes with children while teaching them in order to make them understand. She further added that with friends also she switches codes. This indicates that unless and until there is any pressure or obligation to use any specific language she prefers to or is habitual of switching codes and thereby projects a mixed identity. Sina also claimed that she does not avoid switching codes in any context or with anyone

including grandparents which is a bit surprising as most of the participants said that they avoid switching codes with grandparents even if they speak any other language. While responding to the question related to the reaction of the people towards code switching, Sina also switched to Urdu and shared that the general perception of people regarding anyone who switches codes is that one does not have command over his or her mother tongue. When people switch codes most of the time they are taken as educated, modern and liberal.

Tufail also said that switching codes indicates to which particular group of society a person belongs. According to him, educated people take code switching as a sign of literacy. People in his community of practice, try to avoid him as a punishment for switching codes. He shared that in the academic environment code switching is taken in a positive sense and anyone switching codes is taken as a learned person.

According to Shah, the general public will take code-switching as a cultural shame. Shah switches codes sometimes due to shortage of appropriate words in any language which is not liked by the people.

In response to the question, “do you mix languages?” Zain replies in the affirmative and the reasons he shared for doing so include clarifying a point sometimes habitually or unconsciously. Code-switching or mixing, according to Zain, indicates that the person doing so has a cosmopolitan personality. The advantages of being a multilingual according to Zain include communicating with different people nationally as well as internationally.

When asked about mixing languages, Asma responded that she mixes languages whenever she feels the need to do so for making people understand. She further added

that it is also unconsciously done among siblings, friends and colleagues. The personality traits she associated with mixing languages are friendliness and adaptability.

Noni commented that the common perception in the society about code switching is that it is done in order to show off high status. According to her code-switching defines personality to some extent as if someone switches to English it shows knowledge if she switches language with friends that shows, “I am changing personality”.

Fatimah opined that mixing languages has become the habit of people and further shared that in the context of Gilgit-Baltistan, people deliberately shift the language in order to portray a particular status in the society. She also shared that most of the families in Gilgit-Baltistan use English with their kids to show that they are educated as it has become the need and the demand of the society. When asked about the reasons of using Shina she said it is due to emotional attachment and further added:

“ʃina: mədʒa: mʊr ʊei məzə wa:n, zuba:n sei hi pata: tʃʌlta: h ki hʌm ka

han kei

heɪn, and it also shows the respect for our culture”

[When we talk in Shina we enjoy it, through language we show where we come from and it also shows the respect for our culture].

She considered being a multilingual a requirement in Gilgit-Baltistan. She also shared that sometimes multilingualism creates problems as according to her due to the importance given to the national and international languages we are not only losing our traditions but also our values which is quite alarming. Suman accepted that she switches languages. Nasir shared that by switching codes a person wants to show off and show to

others that he has command over various languages and through this he wants to inspire others. This is interesting that on one hand people who switch codes share that it just happens and they have become habitual of it but those who observe believe that a person switching codes is trying to impress others.

According to Arif, code-switching shows that the person is literary or educated. He explained that literary people switch codes to show their degree and status. The personality traits, he associates with mixing languages are friendliness, style and being educated whereas being monolingual indicates that one is only confined to the Shina community. He further elaborated that in our country and society there is a mindset that being fluent in English has become the standard of being educated i.e. deliberate construction of a mixed identity for positive self-projection. Zohaib opined that educated people switch codes in their communication. During the field visits, the researcher also observed that this is the common perception about code switching in Gilgit-Baltistan.

Most of the respondents shared that they do switch codes. The analysis of the interviews revealed interesting facts that respondents switch codes more frequently with colleagues and friends. They also shared that they have become habitual of switching codes. They have become quite used to mixing and switching codes to the extent that it has become natural. One of the respondents who is a university teacher by profession shared spontaneously in English as:

“Whenever I speak to my friends I switch three languages simultaneously, from Shina to Urdu and then sometimes English”. Another response was:

“Yah we switch our codes whenever we are with friends I switch codes”.

This indicates that code-switching takes place more often with friends.

The responses to the question regarding avoiding code switching also received a variety of interesting responses. It is noteworthy that most of the participants shared that code switching takes place naturally and unconsciously whereas code switching is avoided deliberately. One of the respondents said:

“Whenever I speak to my friends I switch three languages simultaneously, from Shina to Urdu and then sometimes English”.

Questions were also framed to make the respondents share the contexts and interlocutors with whom they avoid switching codes. The responses to the question revealed that it is only with very close relatives and at home that some of the respondents avoid switching codes deliberately where as others switch codes everywhere and with everyone. Some of the interesting responses were:

“While I am in Gilgit, I try my best to use purely Shina words because like they are going to say that this gentleman is not a pure Shina speaker. I really get conscious while communicating with Shina speakers of...to make them feel that I am also a Shina speaker so I try my best to speak consciously, Shina with them”.

Another response was:

“Ma’am with my parents I can’t switch to any language I only use Shina language. They know Urdu language as well but I don’t switch”.

A variety of responses were received about attitudes toward code-switching as:

“It shows showing off that I want to show off by mixing languages”. Another response was:

“They will say that look this gentleman is educated and he has forgotten and is not using his language. He is mixing the languages so he must be punished”.

“If he is a learned person he would definitely appreciate that if not that much literate, the general public would sometimes call it a cultural shame”.

These responses indicate that in order to portray a positive face and to indicate bonding and attachment, multilingual Shina speakers avoid switching codes with much closer relations like parents, siblings and children. This discourse also indicates that educated people have a positive attitude towards code switching where as general public does not approve of code switching and mixing. This also shows that the core Shina identity is preferred and constructed at home and with closed ones. Respondents were also asked to share whether code switching defines them in any way. Some of the responses were:

“To some extent it defines ma’am. I can speak English and I can use it in an appropriate way”.

“People perceive that the person who switches codes is modern and kind of liberal”.

“You can identify your culture, your life style through your language”.

Most of the respondents considered being a multilingual a requirement.

4.1.7 Identity Markers

To explore identity markers through which Shina speakers are identified, participants were asked to share how they identify Shina speakers if they come across them outside Gilgit-Baltistan. According to Zohaib, their style of dressing, traditional cap, body language and accent signifies that they are from this very region. Tufail shared that he can recognize Shina speakers not known to him when he comes across them in other parts of country even if they are using Urdu through their phonological accent. He

shared that Shina speakers can be identified through their appearance and through the way they talk. Shah will identify Shina speakers through their appearance, dress and accent. Esha recognizes unknown Shina speakers through their get up, talking style and accent. Noni recognizes other Shina speakers through their accent.

While responding to the question about recognizing Shina speakers, Suman opined that in terms of language, she recognizes them through their accent; choice of words and at a times through the unusual or incorrect sentence structure such as, “/meɪ nei ʊsei a:ɒ kəɦa: hei/” [I have asked him to come]. Abid recognizes Shina speakers by their accent. He uses multiple languages with his friends such as English, Burushaski and Urdu. Sohbat shared that Shina speakers can be identified through their accent, dialect and even through their physical features. According to Nasir the dress and accent of Shina speakers reveals their identity.

In response to the questions about ways to recognize Shina speakers in other parts of Pakistan, Arif explicated that when he interacts with them the way they speak i.e. their accent tells that they are Shina speakers as:

“the way they speak, the way they walk, the way they get dressed is unique I mean, there are some about whom you cannot make a guess”.

He shared the experience that once he took a girl as a foreigner but later got to know that she was from Gilgit.

According to Bushra, Shina speakers can be identified through their appearance and accent. Anum shared that she, “recognizes Shina speakers through the way they talk”. Minhaj recognizes Shina speakers through their dressing and traditional cap. According to Shah, identity markers other than language include; food, dress and

complexion. Asma recognizes other Shina speakers through their accent. Physical appearance and accent of Shina speakers makes them easy to identify according to Akram.

Kokab recognizes other Shina speakers through their speaking styles. While commenting on the connection between code-switching and identity markers Kokab opined that when she uses English, people consider her educated. Kokab also shared that being a multilingual is an asset as she can communicate with many people. She prefers to use Shina with Shina speaks. On different occasions, she also uses Urdu with Shina speakers.

While responding to the question, “how do you recognize other Shina speakers?”, Asma says that Shina speakers can easily be identified through their accent and pronunciation whereas responding to the same question Zain opined that they speak Urdu in a different style thereby implying that they are identifiable on the basis of their accents. According to him Shina speakers can easily be identified due to their accent and cultural array.

While commenting on mixing languages, Esha shared that it has become quite common these days and has become an accepted phenomenon. While commenting on code mixing and switching, Bushra shared that she consistently switches codes. She habitually switches codes which she also considers natural being a multilingual.

According to Bushra, people switch codes in order to make one’s message intelligible through the selection of the best suitable from any language. Sohbat shared that a person who switches codes is taken as a learned person by some whereas others might think that he is showing off and trying to impress others. He also accepted that he

uses languages other than Shina with Shina speakers even at the workplace. People switch to show that the person is literary or educated.

4.2 Analysis of Conversations

In order to study the construction of identity in natural contexts with the consent of the participants, the conversations of the participants were recorded in both formal and informal settings. They were informed that their conversations will be recorded for research purposes, but they were not informed what specifically would be looked at in order to avoid the deliberate and conscious effort to change behavior and also to get a natural sample of speech. In certain situations, the researcher left the recorder with the students and sat at a distance away from them, while in other situations, the researcher herself participated in discussions. The conversations were recorded and later transcribed for analysis.

4.2.1 Conversation 1

Four students were sitting together for tea after the class and more students kept on joining by greeting each other.

The researcher observed that the greetings were in Shina and Brushaski. The first two phrases are in Shina and the next three phrases are in Brushaski in order to show solidarity with the Brushaski speakers in the gathering, though the addresser himself/herself is a native Shina speaker. This includes expressions for asking about each other's health.

/dʒeɪk ha:l hən, ɔi:k həneta:ʔ bə ha:l bila:, əra:m bila:, ɔi:k ba:/

[How are you? Are you fine? How are you, do you feel well, are you ok]

The opening of this conversation indicates that in informal gatherings Shina is the unmarked choice where in order to show solidarity, to express connection and belonging, other regional languages are also used. In other words, to establish bonding and connectedness regional identity is preferred as it creates an atmosphere of ease and candidness.

The conversation moves towards a discussion about the latest trends in clothing and the new trends in the local culture were discussed. While discussing it, the students switched to a mixed code comprising of Shina, Urdu and English.

A: “**bəs səʊtʃ ənnəs nɑː fæʃəneɪ bɑːrɑːr hʌm**

discuss kʒː rəheɪ heɪn kə students western fashion adopt kʒː rəheɪ heɪn”.

[We are thinking about fashion; we are discussing that students are adopting western fashion.]

B: “ʃɑːr insɑːn kəʊ wʌkt keɪ sɑːθ bədʌlnɑː tʃɑːhɪjeɪ, as change is a sign of life”.

[Buddy one needs to change with time as change is a sign of life].

C:

“ɑːp kɪː bɑːt səhiː heɪ, bʌdʌlnɑː tʃɑːhɪjeɪ, məgər hʌd seɪ nəhiː gʊzərnɑː

tʃɑːhɪjeɪ, but we must not cross cultural and religious limits”.

[Yes you are right, one must change with time, but one must not cross cultural and religious limits]

The students were sitting informally and were not under any pressure so language use in this setting was unintentional and unconscious as almost all the students were

trilingual. The analysis of this conversation indicates that after the exchange of greetings in Shina and Brushaski, they started using Shina, Urdu and English in their repertoire interchangeably and mixed or switched codes whereas Brushaski was used only for the initial greetings. This reveals that code-switching and mixing is also the unmarked choice among multilingual Shina speakers in informal contexts.

In the conversation while giving opinions and passing judgments most of the time English is used which indicates that English is used as a sign of being educated. It seems that this was done intentionally in order to sound more educated and to make their opinion valued. This indicates that a professional/educated identity is constructed when one wants one's opinion to be given more weight and considered as a serious contribution to the discussion as one of the participants said:

“hʌm əpneɪ a:bɑ: wə ədʒda:d keɪ norms kəʊ bu:l rəheɪ heɪn ja:r həm ləʊg, it has destroyed our culture. It is all because of media it is not our fault”.

[We are forgetting the cultural norms of our forefathers, friend, we people are forgetting, it has destroyed our culture. It is all because of media, it is not our fault].

This shows that even the new generation looks at the cultural and linguistic changes with dismay. The conversation proceeds as:

“ɪs prɒbləm kɑ: sɒljʊn kja: heɪ? ʌnɪvɜrsɪti meɪ bi: ʌnɪfɔrm hɒnɑ: tʃɑ:hjeɪ nəhɪ nəhɪ, it's not good for us. It is the issue of all girls”.

[What is the solution of this problem? Do we need to have uniform in university as well? No, no it is the issue of all girls].

In the conversation above, English and Urdu are used when Shina speakers want to be projected as more critically aware and more informed about certain topics as words like ‘problem’, ‘solution’, ‘issue’ are used in English and English is also used for blaming the media for changing the local culture. This is the possible result of education system in which knowing English language ensures a better place to climb the academic ladder. Hence individuals are conditioned to see English language as a more appropriate choice for a sound argument.

Interlocutors used expressions like, “*Western fashion adopt kija: hei*”, which is a mixed Urdu English expression indicating how do thereby identities get mixed up. While inquiring about each other’s health and personal questions regional languages are used. The analysis of the conversation along with the years of observation of the researcher indicates that the multilingual Shina speakers construct different linguistic identities according to the context and interlocutors. The analysis of this conversation further strengthens the findings of the interviews that in order to establish connection and show solidarity they use Shina language with each other. Whereas, in formal and professional contexts they avoid using Shina most of the time and project a mixed English and Urdu identity.

Though the conversation was mainly in Urdu but they were using or inserting English words. They were using English words may be due to lack of appropriate words in their language or these appeared to be the best choices to them. They have become habitual of using a mixed variety as revealed by the respondents in the interviews and conversations. Whatever be the reason of using English lexical items what is significant

is that despite the availability of Urdu and Shina equivalents, they still used English words.

The expressions used include fashion, over, adopt, western culture, change, university, topic, discussion etc. While this discussion was in progress another female student joined the group and greeted every one and inquired every one about their health i.e. phatic communication. Most of the members of the group greeted her back in the regional language Shina. One of the participants from the group told her in Urdu that they were discussing the adoption of latest fashion trends by the students at the university. Though the comment was in Urdu and the situation was an informal one but the students' spontaneous response was "we must accept change" after uttering this she stated in Urdu that societies change with the passage of time and so does dressing, one must see it in a positive way and accept it. This is quite interesting that initially she greeted them in the regional language in order to show solidarity and thereby exhibiting that she is a member of the in-group i.e. the locals.

After joining the discussion when she knew that the discussion was in Urdu she chose English which seems a deliberate effort to change the rights and obligations set formed between the participants even if for a short duration of time. It is quite interesting as she used English for passing a judgment that we must accept change. In other words, people use English when they want their opinion to be valued.

At this point in conversation, a male student joined the conversation and greeted the group. Though the conversation was in English but this new student who joined them used Urdu thereby making the situation a little less formal as he changed the rights and obligations set by saying:

insa:n ku wʌkt kaeɪ sa:ə bəɖʌlna tʃa:hiɟɪ

[one has to change with time].

In response to the comment one of the speakers from the group spontaneously responded that one must not change to the extent of compromising one's cultural values. The shift in language at this particular point in conversation is significant as the topic and situation is the same but language is switched. In this conversation, judgments and phatic communication takes place in Shina but to emphasize and assert their point of view with the desire to be heard and to make their argument strong both Urdu and English are used. The change in rights and obligations set made the situation a bit formal but it kept on being more formal as the next speaker commented in English as 'one must not cross the limits'. This is quite interesting to notice that initially the conversation started in Shina with few insertions of English and Urdu lexical items than moved towards Urdu and later English.

The next speaker lessened the level of formality by switching to a mixture of Urdu and English as:

"hʌm ʌpna: culture destroy k ʒ: rəheɪ æin"

[We are destroying our culture].

It is significant to notice that though this speaker is concerned about the changes in the regional culture that the youth is adopting western culture but the kind of language they were using to express that is a mixture of Urdu and English. This indicates that they value their culture but they were not rigid about using only Shina rather they use Urdu, English and Shina interchangeably. The conversation moves forward as one of the females shares in Urdu as:

“Cosmetics bəhət məheŋgeɪ hɔgeɪ heɪn due to the adaption of fashion trends”.

[cosmetics have become very expensive due to the adoption of fashion trends]

Like the previous situation terms related to latest trends in clothing and beauty industry are used in English despite having equivalents in Urdu and Shina in order to portray an image of being up to date and economically strong. It is noteworthy that the participants are not only using English and Urdu to make their argument effective but also to support the ones who share the same opinions with them as, “yes, yes we agree with you” (*spoken in English*). One of the participants blamed media for it as:

“jeɪ sʌb media ki: wədʒə seɪ hɔ rəhɑ: heɪ”.

[this all is happening due to media]

It is worth description that within the same situation and while discussing the same topic, an amalgamation of Shina, Urdu and English is used by young multilingual educated Shina speakers in this informal situation. Within the same situation for maintaining social relationships and showing solidarity and casual commenting Shina language is used where as in order to share an informed opinion, to assert their point of view, to agree and to disagree English and Urdu are used. This is also directly related to the ideologies related to the three languages in the social and cultural context of Gilgit Baltistan. This finding is also strengthened by the observation of the researcher as well as the analysis of interviews that for expressing interpersonal relationships, showing closeness and solidarity Shina is preferred. Urdu and English are used to portray a formal educated or professional identity according to the context but what is noteworthy is that without a predefined set of rights and obligations multilingual Shina speakers use a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English.

As the conversation proceeds about adoption of other cultures and forgetting one's own cultural values one of the students shared in English that, "we must be within the limits of our culture, otherwise we will destroy it". Another student opined almost the same in Urdu as:

"hʌm əpneɪ a:bɑ: wə ədʒda:d keɪ norms kəʊ bu:l rəheɪ heɪn ja:r, həm ləʊg,..."

[We are forgetting the norms of our forefathers' buddy, we people....]

This sounds strange as well as important that on one hand these students were talking about respecting regional cultural values and traditions on the other hand in order to express these ideas they were using Urdu and English. This strengthens the findings of the interview analysis as well as the observation of the researcher that for making judgments and in order to give more weight to their argument students use Urdu and English which are more formal when in fact the situation is an informal one. This also indicates positively that young multilingual Shina speakers have become used to a style of speaking which is an amalgamation of Shina, Urdu and English and this appropriately projects their mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity. One of the female student opined that due to the wave of fashion cosmetics have become expensive; a male student holds females responsible for it as the prices have risen due to the increase in demand. In order to make her argument strong a girl reacts to it as:

"jeɪ həmə:ri: mədʒbu:ri heɪ.... what we can do ja:r.... it's all because of social media"

[this is our obligation.... what we can do friend... it's all because of social media]

This very opinion is expressed through a medium which is an amalgamation of both Urdu and English. After this very comment four girls as a chorus utter spontaneously "It's not our fault". This indicates that in order to make an argument as

well as an agreement, or to persuade both English and Urdu are used. The role of electronic media is also discussed by the group members. They shared that by watching movies and dramas youngsters are adopting other cultures. This time the language they used to describe the situation around is Shina. This is surprising that in order to show the influence of other cultures on the regional culture one's mother tongue Shina is used but to make an argument and persuade others English and Urdu are used. One of the participants uses a mixture of Urdu, English and Shina as:

“**əsaɪ pɑ:kɪstanaɪ** dress **dʒeɪk hən** ʃəlwa:rkəmi:z hən neɪ.

[What is the national dress of our Pakistan? Isn't it Shalwar Kameez?]

The discussion moved towards the national dress of Pakistan that now-a-days very few students at the university wear it. The students have the realization that their culture is in danger as:

“ʃa:r əpna: culture dʒəʊ bɪ hə useɪ nəhi: bhʊlna: tʃa:hɪjeɪ”

[friend whatever is our culture, we must not forget it].

Even the increase in the rate of suicide is attributed to fashion as:

“a:dʒkəl jeɪ dʒəʊ suicide hətəɪ heɪn na: jeɪ bɪ za:da: tʒ: ɪsɪ wədʒa: seɪ kju: keɪ
 compete nai kərskteɪ heɪn.”

[Now-a-days these suicides are also taking place due to this (fashion attitude) because they cannot compete with others]

There are words for ‘suicide’ and ‘compete’ in both Urdu and Shina as /khudkəʃi:/ and /**əkʊ mərəʊk**/ but instead of using the Shina or Urdu, English equivalents are used in order to show that whatever they are saying is based on facts.

In a humorous manner one of the students shared that:

“a:dʒ kʌl lʒ:kɪjə: education keɪ nɑ:m pə pæseɪ leɪ keɪ cosmetics lætɪ heɪn”.

[Now-a-days girls get cosmetics by the money they get for educational purposes.]

Education raises one’s social standard and cosmetics are taken as a symbol of being up-to-date and fashionable just like the use of English, so both of these concepts are expressed in English rejecting their Shina and Urdu equivalents. The next speaker asks about the solution of the problem. The words ‘problem’ and ‘solution’ are both used in English there by indicating their ability to identify a problem and finding its solution by using English. One of the students says:

“jɑ:r..... jɛɪ sʌb tʃi:zeɪn hæʊrhi heɪn social media meɪn jəh teʊ government ka: kɑ:m heɪ kɪ wɒ social media kɒ control kəreɪ.”

[all these things are happening on social media, it’s the responsibility of government to control the social media].

They suggest that government must play a role to control social media which is influencing the youth. It is noteworthy that an amalgamation of Urdu and English is used to express this idea and the terms social media, government and implement are used in English thereby indicating that they are aware of their surroundings. One of the students reminds that it is the time of the class so they leave immediately.

It is also important to notice that within the same conversation sometimes one language is foregrounded while the other is back grounded and vice versa. The analysis of this conversation supplements the findings of the interviews that young multilingual Shina speakers switch codes more frequently with their friends in informal situations. This also indicates that when there is no obligation to use a particular language,

multilingual Shina speakers prefer to use a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English. In other words, it reveals a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity. They want to be viewed as respecting their culture through using Shina; they want to be seen as worldly and up to date by using English and indicate their nationality by using Urdu. The analysis of the conversation reveals code mixing as well as code-switching. This indicates that the group was not closely bonded or maybe they had established a relationship with each other in Urdu. The group was informally commenting on the dressing of the students around and was also critically analyzing them through the lenses of their own cultural context i.e. the culture of Gilgit-Baltistan.

4.2.2 Conversation 2

The recording of this conversation took place at Tumtum (a tea place at Karakoram International University Gilgit) among a group of students. Initially five students were involved in a discussion with each other (three females & two males) and later other students joined.

The conversation opened with the exchange of greetings with the new students who joined as:

A:

“əsəla:muəlaikum, **dʒæk ha:l hən, ɔi:k hənəta:**, ka:fi: ərsə dʒəu dʒa: gəjəb əsilət”.

[Greetings (It is a loan phrase from Arabic), How are you? are you fine? Where were you for such a long time]

B: “**ɪmtɪhɑ:nɪ əsɪl**, pɪçlɑ: həftə midterm exams **əsɪl**”

[Had exams, last week, we had midterm exams.]

C: “*paper* **khətəm bil tuxtən soku:n hən**”

[Now the papers are finished and we are relaxed.]

D: “*ɪk tension* **khətəm bil təv mətɪ: sʊru:, teɪn ɪd wətɪn**”

[One tension has come to an end and the next has started, now Eid is approaching].

The greetings were in Arabic and the regional language Shina. All people use the Arabic greetings before they start the greetings in regional languages. The rest of the conversation among the students is in Shina which indicates the level of closeness and informality between the participants. It also shows that all of them are in-group members. Some of the participants were meeting after a week so they asked each other the reason of absence and were told that they were busy due to exams. One of the girls seems concerned about the clothes for Eid, which she refers to as the next tension.

Though the participants were using Shina but whether consciously or unconsciously they were also using Urdu and English lexical items as well as “**əai dzeɪk plan hən shopping ai?**” [What are your plans about shopping]? In addition, for indicating social status and for expressing anything related to academics they use English. In other words, they were using Shina with amalgamation of Urdu and English.

A: *subh mās morning show* **pəfeɪsɪs**

[I had seen morning show today]?

B: $\Lambda\text{çha: au nidai}$ morning show **er** $\text{ətʃa:k mɪʃteɪ mɪʃteɪdresɪ}$ **wətən,**
hijəu sei ra:n $\text{b}\Delta\text{S jəhɪ}$ tʃa:hijeɪ , bridal dress,
ətʃa:k mɪʃtɪ design **œiɣʌn, beɪs taɪn kæ** type **ai çileɪ ɡinaʊn?**

[Yeh in Nida's morning show so many good dresses were on display. My heart wants only those dresses. The bridal dresses are so beautifully designed, but now what type of dress should we buy?]

C: $\Delta\text{lkərəm mai}$ la:n collection **er** new arrival **wətɪn** market **əʊr**

[In Alkaram's lawn collection, new arrival is in market?]

D: *online shopping* **əʊn**

[Let's do online shopping.]

The English word they used included 'paper', 'exam', 'busy', 'morning show', 'new arriva'l, 'dresses', 'bridal dress', 'online shopping', 'type', 'branded', 'sometimes', 'page', 'order', 'Capri', 'tops', 'design', 'lucky', 'foreigner', 'season', 'time', 'decide' etc. They also discussed the morning show of Nida and the dresses displayed. It is quite interesting to see that words related to their studies and professional contexts are in English. While discussing fashion and the latest trends in dressing and footwear they again used English.

A: $\text{a:dʒ k}\Delta\text{l}$ fashion mæn jəhɪn in hei tops, capri

[This is what is in trend these days, tops and capris]

B: $\text{gərmi hən la:n mɪʃtu: baɪ}$

[lawn would be a good choice as it's summers]

C: $\text{dʒuteɪ Heels keɪ ja: Stylo keɪ əçei rəheɪngeɪ}$

[Consider Heels and Stylo for buying shoes]

D: Stylo keɪ shoes university meɪ nəhi: pəhneɪ dʒa:teɪ, formal settings may.

[One cannot wear Stylo shoes at the university I mean in formal settings.]

C: Go for Mocciani or Divinci then (Speaks in English)

A: Alkaram keɪ ɪla:wə Nishat əʊr Khadi

keɪ bi: deɪkh leɪna: əqr la:n leɪni heɪ təʊ,

məhəndi Karachi seɪ mənɔwɑ:ɪnɔeɪ online.

[Along with Alkaram see Nishaat and Khadi's collection as well if you want to buy lawn, we will order *mehandi* online from Karachi].

It is also observed that judgments and opinions are expressed in English to sound influential or able enough to critically comment or to give more weight to their line of reasoning as in the utterance of speaker 'C' in the conversation above. Interestingly the conversation opened with greetings in the regional language but closings are in English. In order to show new trends and to indicate that they are up to date they used terms like Capri, tops, branded, design. It also indicates the importance and use of information technology in the lives of people even in the remote areas. Even while speaking Shina the use of the terms like foreigners, season indicate the flux of tourists in Gilgit Baltistan. They were using a mixed variety of language but for judgments and decisions they uttered the whole sentence in English as, "We must decide it". This conversation also refers to a cultural concept as the group discussed the designs of "məhendi" which is specifically a cultural item and also refers to the whole ritual of "məhendi". One thing which is obvious is that the students were not showing preference for any particular language rather using the three languages interchangeably.

4.2.3 Analysis of conversation 3

Six students were sitting in the lawn of university as their teacher was on leave and they did not have any class.

The discussion opens with comments that most of the students are happy as the teacher is on leave. The discussion was in progress that one of the students shouted by pointing to a student who was at a distance in a code which is an amalgamation of English and Shina as:

A: əli Kiren pɑ:reʊ əsai classmate Sherbaz nʊʃɑ:ʔ

əli əli ʧhəkɛɪ lift əki: i nə thəreɪn ʃɑ:jəd həmeɪ nəhi: pəhtʃhɑ:nɑ: hɔɡɑ:

[Hello Kiran! Isn't that our old classmate Sherbaz? You see, he must not have recognized us as he is not showing any sign of intimacy].

B: Yes, you are right, əʊ əki hən, nə si:n̩ bei,

wərnɑ: tɒ tutei leil hən ei əsai dimɑ:g khɑ:s

[that's true, yah it's him, must not have recognized us, otherwise would have irritated us by coming here.]

This indicates the informality of the situation but the term classmate is uttered in English indicating their educational background. The next comment is uttered in an amalgamation of Urdu, English and Shina as:

“əli əli ʧhəkɛɪ lift əki: i nə thəreɪn ʃɑ:jəd həmeɪ nəhi: pəhtʃhɑ:nɑ: hɔɡɑ:”

[...see he isn't even looking at us; he must not have recognized us].

Casual conversation is the ideal spot for studying identity construction as here language use is not influenced by any factor other than personal choice. “əli əli” is an informal Shina expression which is used to get the attention of a female colleague, while

“**əla:**” is used for males. All the students in the group can speak Shina, Urdu and English; they are native Shina speakers and students of English Department. The context is informal, in other words there are no preexisting set of rights and obligations so the use of language here is spontaneous. Initially the conversation started in Shina with insertion of expressions in English and Urdu but in response to that the next student agreed in English as “yes, you are right” and the rest of the discourse is again expressed in a code which is an amalgamation of Urdu and Shina.

It is revealed through the analysis of language use in different situations as well as through the analysis of interviews and questionnaire that young multilingual Shina speakers use a code which is a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English. It is significant to note which particular expressions are used in which language as they indicate the motivations behind using a particular code or a mixture of codes. Meanwhile, their old class fellow comes towards them after recognizing them and they greet each other in the regional language Shina.

A: **dʒeɪk ha:l hən səm hənətə:ʔ**

[How are you? Are you fine]?

B and C together: **səm hənəs əai dʒeɪk ha:l hən Sherbaz,**

**səm hənəʊʔ..... ja:r a:p kəha:n ga:jəb əei ka:fi: ərsəi səi nəzər nəhi: a:rəh
eɪ əeiʔ**

[We are fine how are you Sherbaz? are you fine?...friend, where were you, we didn't see you for so long.]

A: “ja: r meɪn ʊdʒ: Peshawar gɪja: əa: university admission keɪ silsileɪ meɪn”

[I had gone to Peshawar for the sake of admission in university.]

B: kija:bəna: admission ka: ?

[what about your admission]?

A: **əfsus nei bu na:** admission

[Alas! I could not get admission].

C: No problem, eur bi: bhəut si: options hein

[No problem, there are many other options too]

This conversation between the students above shows that within the same situation and context speakers are using Shina for maintaining interpersonal relations, to indicate solidarity and closeness and use English for showing agreement. According to Hierarchy of Identities Model for maintaining social relationships Shina regional identity is foregrounded whereas in order to express an informed opinion both English and Urdu identities are foregrounded as done by ‘C’ above by saying, “No problem, eur bi: bhəut si: options hein”.

The multilingual Shina speakers in informal contexts have become used to construct a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity. This mixed linguistic identity has become their nature and within this identity they have demarcated which particular expressions will be expressed in which language. After the initial greetings in Shina the students shift to Urdu thereby adding a bit of formality to the informal situation as saying: “ja:r a:p kəha:n qa:jəb ɔɛi ka:fi: ɔrsɛi sɛi nəzər nəhi: a:rəhɛi ɔɛi” [Where were you dear? we didn’t see you for quite a long time]. The response of the student is as “ja: r meɪn ʊdʒ: Peshawar gɪja: ɔa: university admission kɛi silsileɪ meɪn” [I had gone to Peshawar for the sake of admission in university.]

The conversation opened with Shina language but later on moved towards a mixture of Urdu and English and within the middle of the conversation the greetings were again in Shina language. The terms related to the educational and formal context are all used in English as “university” and “admission”. In this situation neither of the three languages is completely foregrounded or back grounded rather most of the time a mixture of three is used according to the set of rights and obligations. The students asked their class fellow about his admission in Peshawar in a mixture of Urdu and English but the student shared with them in Shina that he was unable to get admission there in Shina thereby bringing a change in the set of rights and obligations. This shift in code to express his inability is significant as he used Shina to share something which is personal. Though the student had selected Shina to share that he could not get admission again he is asked in Urdu as “اچھا: ۱سکا: مہتلہب توم ہا ۱دیر ہا: ا:گاہے کیو مہے”. [So it means you have also joined KIU over-here].

One of the female students asked him whether he was interested in getting admission in KIU in a code which is a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English. The colloquial address term is in Shina as “**اے وائسے**”, terms related to academic life are in English as ‘university’ and ‘admission’, whereas the word ‘intention’ is in Urdu i.e. ‘۱را:دہ’. This shows that interpersonal relationships are indicated and maintained in Shina language and professional life is referred to in English as shown in the example blow:

“**اے وائسے** **ہاے** university **ہور وائے** admission **ناے** ۱را:دہ **اےسیلا: پہلا:**”.

[Were you interested in getting admission in the university?]

The response of the student to the query is in a mixed code as:

“**a:nteɪ wəjɔki təu** ira:də təu nai əa: bʌs...Unfortunately,

idz: a:neɪ keɪ ɪlɑ:hwə ʌb kja: kəreɪn məjbu:ri: əi: na:.....”

[I had not planned and was not interested in coming here but unfortunately I had to, as I had no other option left].

Another student shared that she was also not interested in getting admission in KIU but was forced by the people at home to join KIU. She expressed the idea of being forced in English as “forced me to go” to make it sound more serious and contrary to her wishes. A female student also shared in English that she wanted to go to Karachi university but could not do so. This indicates that anything related to studies, education and professional life is shared in English thereby indicating an educated identity. One of the male student opined in a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English that it’s all due to luck as:

“**kheɪr bʌs kismətɑɪ tʃəgə hən phɑ:tɑ: pəri,** əbi: deɪkheʊ na: meɪrɑ: bi: tʃeʊk təu

Quaid-e-Azam university dʒɑ:neɪ ka: əa:, but **sətɛɪ leɪl hən**, all wishes never come true **rɑ:nən”**.

[It depends on luck as I was also interested in getting admission in Quaid-e-Azam university but you know the proverb which says that all wishes never come true.]

The expression “**kheɪr bʌs kismətɑɪ tʃəgə hən**” [so, it’s all due to luck] is expressed in Shina as it is something which is related to feelings and emotions, while talking about professional life within the same discourse and situation there is a switch to Urdu that she wanted to go to Quaid-e-Azam University. She also inserts an idiomatic expression in English as, “all wishes never come true”, may be as she is a student of English department or she may not be aware of similar expressions in the other languages

she can speak. One of the students blamed the people around in Shina that they were not guided properly due to which they were reluctant to join Karakoram university as “due to which we were afraid to come to KIU”. This discourse strengthens the previous findings that anything related to education, university life and academics is expressed in English within the same situation whereas anything that appeals to emotions is expressed in Shina.

The conversation below indicates that Shina, Urdu and English are used interchangeably and as a mixture of three languages, thereby projecting a mixed identity.

A: əʒəl meɪn məslə guidance kɑː heɪ kɪ jhɑːn students kɪ career counselling
kərneɪ wɑːlɑː kəɪ nəhi.

[The actual problem is lack of guidance; no one is available for career counselling of the students].

B: yes, you are absolutely right, till now career raɪ bɑːrɑːr bəh kəuseɪ
 guide nə ɵeɪg.

[yes you are absolutely right, till now no one has guided us about the career].

C: Public kəʊ university kɑː itnɑː idea nəhiː, due to which we were afraid to come to KIU.

[Public does not have much idea about university, due to which we were afraid to come to KIU].

B: leɪkɪn əʃɑːk khətʃɪ university nəʃ

[but university is not that bad].

A: ɪk tʃiːzɪk əkəʊkɪʃ bɪl təʊ kədər nə beɪn nɑː, otherwise, it's one of the good universities of Pakistan.

[One does not realize the importance of anything which is in hand, otherwise, it's one of the good universities of Pakistan].

B: əsuteɪ kɒʃ bəʊki iwaɪdʒaɪ, and we must concentrate on studies.

[we must be happy and we must concentrate on studies].

In order to show agreement with an idea shared by a student above regarding lack of career counseling the next student uses English as “yes, you are absolutely right” within the same discourse for expressing an opinion based on personal experience the same students switched to Shina as:

“leɪkɪn ətʃa:k khətʃɪ university nɒʃ”

[the university is not that much bad].

The next speaker adds to the discourse by uttering one clause in Urdu and the other in English as:

“ɪk tʃi:zɪk əkəʊkɪʃ bɪl təʊ kədər nə beɪn naɪ”

[we don't feel the value of anything that is easily available to us].

otherwise it is one of the good universities of Pakistan. In this discourse also an opinion or judgment is expressed in English whereas for expressing feelings Shina is used. In the very next sentence of the discourse we come across a quotation comprising of Shina and English clauses in which a suggestion comes straight from the heart of the speaker in Shina. In the next clause of the same utterance an advice related to studies is in English as “we must only concentrate on studies”. In the middle of the situation one of the students reminds the others about the class as:

“nə ʃaɪr, its class time, **mʊri ʊəʊdʒɒ ʊəʊdʒɒ əsuteɪ læl əki nə beɪn,**

tʃələʊ tʃələʊ class tʃəlteɪ heɪn”

[Oh friend, its class time, we did not feel the passage of time while talking, let us go].

The terms of address in this stretch of speech are in Urdu, whereas the comment that they did not feel the passage of time while talking and ask others to accompany them to the class is in Shina. It is observed that Urdu is used in both formal and informal situations may be because as it is a lingua franca. Even if Urdu is used in informal situations it still indicates distance as compared to the closeness indicated by the regional languages. The conversation closes with an Urdu expression “tʃələʊ tʃələʊ” indicating a movement from an informal situation to a more formal scenario i.e. the classroom.

4.2.4 Analysis of conversation 4: customer and shopkeeper in a mobile shop

This is a conversation between a customer and a shopkeeper and both of them are multilingual Shina speakers. The conversation took place in a mobile shop in market.

The conversation opens without a greeting as:

“mətɛɪ note 5 mobile ik pəʃrət”

[Show me a Note 5 mobile]

This discourse is a mixture of Shina and English. The matrix language used here is Shina with insertions of English words ‘note five’ as there is no equivalent of the word, ‘note five’ in Urdu or English. The next sentence uttered by the customer is an amalgamation of Shina, and English as:

“əçhɑː ənisɑɪ dʒɑɪk price hənʔ”

[Ok what is the price of this?]

There are equivalents of the word price in both Shina and Urdu such as ‘**ki:mət**’ and ‘**baʊ**’, but the use of English equivalents indicate that the customer is either habitual of using a mixture of Shina and English or the English equivalent is more readily available. In response to the query of the customer the shopkeeper also replies in a code which is a mixture of Urdu, English and Shina as:

nisei mədʒa: original **kei wa:n du:** sim **wa:la:**.....**motr** quality **hən** China
copy, dika:wən wəʊ bi:ʔ

[In it, there comes an original set with two sims.....the other quality is its China copy, should I show that too?]

This very discourse is an amalgamation of Shina, Urdu and English but the matrix language is Shina in which English and Urdu equivalents are used. It is interesting to see that the whole discourse takes place in an amalgamation of Shina, English and Urdu, but the expressions used for greeting and reducing the price are in Shina:

“sir tu: sa:ʔi ta:luk gə hə, ənu ʒa: gə ɡini: wətu:.....”

[sir we already know you and you have come with this brother too.....]

In the same way to express an opinion or a judgment Urdu is used here as:

“kisi: bi: wəkt bənd bi: heʊ səkta:”

[it can stop working at any time].

This study explores the linguistic practices of multilingual Shina speakers within a particular context. In order to express feelings and emotions only Shina is preferred, for expressing judgments either English or Urdu is used, whereas on other occasions a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English is used. Multiple languages are used in variety of ways by multilingual Shina speakers to construct their identities. Sometimes codes are

mixed on other occasions codes are switched within the same context. In this whole process what is interesting is the contextual construction of identity.

4.2.5 Analysis of conversation 5: In a cloth shop

This conversation took place between a customer and a shopkeeper both of whom are multilingual Shina speakers. The conversation took place in a clothes shop in Gilgit.

The conversation opens with a greeting as:

“**səla:mʊ əlaikʊm bra:dər dzeɪk ha:l hən**”

[Greetings brother, how are you].

This greeting is uttered in Shina but the word “**bra:dər**” is a coinage as the actual word is English “brother” but in order to assimilate it with the Shina sounds he makes it “**bra:dər**”. This indicates that if the customer knows that the shopkeeper is a Shina speaker they use Shina. The customer asks about the quality of clothes as:

“**səm brand ɪkʃeɪ nɪʃa:?** While looking at the clothes he said,
“ʃeɪ zərə: mʊdʒeɪ ləʊ quality ka: ləg rəha: heɪ”

[Don't you have a good quality (cloth).....this seems to me a low quality].

This sounds strange as well as interesting as before this the whole conversation took place in Shina with English and Urdu insertions but at this point the customer switches to Urdu to pass a judgment about the quality of the clothes. This indicates that people either shift to a more formal variety to indicate their social status or to sound more judgmental. The shopkeeper shares that the same variety of clothes is available in a variety of colors as “**ənɪsai color tʊteɪ ləʃɪdʒaɪʃu:**” [you will get it in different colors].

The equivalent of ‘color’ is available in both Urdu and Shina as ‘رنگ’, ‘**roŋ**’ but still the English lexical item is selected. This on one hand indicates the widespread influence of English in the Shina community and shows the unconscious use of English by the Shina speakers, on the other hand, a good number of instances of Shina and English code mixings is visible in this very discourse. In order to express his disappointment at the lack of variety in the city he utilized the linguistic resource of Urdu and opined:

“kəhɑ:n dʒɑ:jɛɪn jɑ:r sɑ:ri: Gilgit ki: market mɛɪ jəhɪn tʃi:zɛɪn nəzər a: rəhɪ h
ɛɪn”. This switch to Urdu in the middle of the conversation which was taking place in Shina with few insertions is marked. This expresses the disappointment as well as the judgmental attitude of the customer. The analysis of this discourse through the lenses of the Markedness Model indicates the construction of a mixed Shina and Urdu identity on one hand and a mixed Shina and English identity on the other hand as: “**əsɑɪ mɑ:l** Sust border **ɛɪ dʌŋ pɒntʃɑ: bilin...** custom clear **bɛɪ** Monday **dʌŋ wɑɪ...**” [our goods have reached at Sust border, after custom clearance, it will reach here by Monday].

The customer closes the conversation by bidding farewell as “thank you so much” which is reciprocated by the shopkeeper as “khuda: ha:fiz” [May God protect you]. These farewell expressions indicate different sets of rights and obligations by both of them.

4.2.6 Analysis of conversation 6: another mobile shop

The context of this conversation is of a mobile shop in market.

The customer enters and greets the shopkeeper in Shina as “**ʌs səla:mʊəlaikum, dʒeik ha:l hən**” [Assalam-o-alaikum, how are you], which is in Shina, uttering the greetings in Shina indicates the bond of connectivity and closeness. The customer asks the shopkeeper about the availability of a Samsung mobile in an amalgamation of Shina and English as the matrix language he used is Shina in which he inserted English words either unconsciously or he doesn't have equivalent terms in his own language as “**J5 ai dʒeik price hən?**”. [What is the price of J5]? There is no equivalent of ‘J5’ in Urdu and Shina but the lexical item ‘price’ does have equivalents in both Urdu and Shina but the customer preferred the term ‘price’ which might either be unconscious or deliberate to show that he is educated. Immediately after that the queries of the customer regarding the cell phone are uttered in Shina but afterwards again we observe an amalgamation of Shina and English as when the customer asks the shopkeeper about the availability of the same in used items as “use **mədʒa: gə wa:nɑ:…price dʒeik hən**” [are used ones available (not pin packed), what is the price?] The use of words like ‘price’, ‘use’, ‘original’ shows in this discourse insertion of English lexical items in the matrix language is not deliberate or conscious rather unconscious.

In other words, it has become the habit of the speaker being spontaneous in his linguistic repertoire either interchangeably or as a mixture. The multilingual Shina speaker in the shop also uses a discourse which is a combination of three languages i.e. Shina, Urdu and English:

“**ənisi mədʒə pin pack kəʊr kəmək ɡʊndʒa:iʃ bəʒa:?**”

[Is there any possibility of discount in the pin packed one]?

The expression ‘pin pack’ is from English, ‘gundzɑ:iʃ’ is from Urdu while the question tag is in Shina.

As the conversation proceeds again the customer uses a discourse which is a combination of Shina and English as “students **ka:ri dʒeik** concession **hənija:**”. [Is there any concession for students”?] This appears to be spontaneous speech so the use of language is not intentional. The student has become habitual of using a variety of Shina which is an amalgamation of Shina, Urdu and English. The matrix language used in this very discourse is Shina where Urdu and English equivalents are inserted. Just like the opening of the conversation towards the ends the farewell is also in Shina without any English or Urdu equivalent. This is quite strange as this conversation is natural in essence and most of the conversation is a mixture of Urdu, English and Shina whereas the opening and closing is entirely in Shina as, ‘**dʒeik ha:l hən**’ [how are you] and “**ʃu mai ʒa: khuda: dʒə həwa:lə**” [ok my brother may God be with you]. This might be because of the reason that people show good will and establish a relationship or reaffirm it in the beginning or end of a conversation. Using pure Shina seems deliberate here whereas mixing English, Urdu and Shina seems natural and spontaneous. This indicates that a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity is constructed in this very discourse which has become the natural style of Multilingual Shina speakers where as pure Shina identity is projected when one feels the need to indicate in-group membership.

4.2.7 Analysis of conversation 7: In a Dry Fruit Shop 1

The context is of the market. This discourse took place in a dry fruit shop. The customer entered the shop and greeted the shopkeeper in Urdu.

Unlike the previous discourse, here the customer greeted the shopkeeper in Urdu. This indicates that if the customer knows that the shopkeeper is a Shina speaker they use Shina if they are not sure they open the conversation by using Urdu during this duration they judge the particular sets of rights and obligations which are applicable in that very discourse. This very conversation opens as:

“ʌs sələ:mʊələɪkʊm bəɪ ja:n kja: ha:l hein ɔi:k hein?”

[Greetings! How are you brother? Are you fine?]

Immediately after the greeting the customer asks about the price and quality of almonds in a language which is a mixture of Urdu and English as:

“bə:da:m tʃa:hi:jeɪ ɔeɪ mʊdʒeɪ kja: price heɪ iski ɔur ismeɪ kitni varieties ki: hain?”

[I need almonds. What is the price and how many varieties it has?]

While commenting on the quality and the types of almonds the shopkeeper also uses both English and Urdu lexical items while the matrix language remains Urdu as:

“dʒəʊ bəhəʊt high quality keɪ bə:da:m hein ʊn meɪ chemical lɑgta heɪ”.

[Chemical is applied on the almonds which are of a high quality].

In response to the query of the customer regarding the prices and qualities of almonds the shopkeeper responds in an amalgamation of Urdu and English that very good quality almonds are available at a high price as:

“əçhi: bə:da:m ki prices ka:fi: high heɪn”. [The prices of good quality almonds are quite high].

In response to this, the customer spontaneously responds that locals must be given discount. When the shopkeeper tells that the price of high quality almonds is expensive, the customer spontaneously says:

“locals **ka:ri təu** special discount **bəuki iwa:dʒaɪ**”. [there should be a special discount for locals].

This is quite interesting as right from the beginning the customer was projecting a mixed Urdu and English identity but the moment he was told the price he switched to Shina and English thereby hierarchizing the mixed Shina and English identity in order to create affinity and also to indicate that both of them are in group members.

This appears to be the deliberate construction of a particular identity for utilitarian benefits. It is also noteworthy that English exists side by side whether the customer uses Shina or Urdu; this indicates the importance given to English in the Shina community like the rest of the country.

The customer asks for a discount to which the shopkeeper replies in a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English as:

“**ənisi mədʒa:** discount **taɪ ɡʊndʒa:ʃiʃ nʊʃ**, wərna: kərdəɪta:”

[there isn't any possibility of a discount, otherwise I would have reduced the price].

It is noteworthy that despite being a Shina speaker he did not even use a single lexical item in Shina before it as either he did not recognize that the customer is a Shina speaker or he used a mixture of Urdu and English and not Shina as the customer did not use Shina as well.

This switch to Shina becomes quite significant as at this point in conversation the customer also switches to Shina and while doing so asks for a discount as “*kətʃa:kət dei last*” [What will be the last price]? In this very conversation the customer has used Shina with the insertion of an English vocabulary item but while asking for further discount he switches to pure Shina. The use of Shina seems intentional to get benefit by indicating that he is a local while the rest of the conversation is initially in Urdu and English and later in Shina and English.

4.2.8 Analysis of conversation 8: In a Vegetables shop

This situation is also of a market. The context is of a fruit and vegetables shop.

The customer greets the shopkeeper in Urdu and inquires about his health. Immediately after the greeting the customer asks about the price of tomatoes in Urdu as: “*təma:tər kis tərə dei rəheɪ hein a:p?* [By what way are you giving tomatoes?”]

The analysis of the language use in the market indicates that unless and until the shopkeeper is an acquaintance and the customer knows that he is a Shina speaker they use Urdu otherwise they prefer to use Shina. In cases where the customer does not know whether the shopkeeper is a local or non-local they start the conversation in Urdu during which they try to judge whether the shopkeeper speaks Shina or not, if he speaks Shina they switch to Shina if not they proceed in Urdu. The interesting fact is that whether they use Shina or Urdu they do insert English lexical items.

After asking the price of tomatoes in Urdu the customer bargains about the price of tomatoes as:

“*tɪ:n tʃa:r kiləʊ lei rəha: hən na: mudʒeɪ øəʊra: sa: concession kər dein.*”

[I am buying 3 to 4 kg, so provide a concession in price], to which the shopkeeper responds:

“pʌndʒa:b sei dʒəʊ rate a:ta: heɪ wɒ jəha:n bɪ apply hɒta: heɪ,
phɪʒ: wəʊ local əʊr non local ka: system khətʌm hɒ ja:ta: heɪ”.

[The price rate of Punjab is also applied here so the local and non-local system comes to an end].

It is apparent that this very discourse is a mixture of Urdu and English so a mixed Urdu and English identity is constructed. The conversation closes again in a mixture of Urdu and English. The researcher wanted to discard this conversation and not to consider it for analysis thinking that the shopkeeper is not a Shina speaker but at the end of the conversation the researcher asked the shopkeeper about his native language to which he responded that it is Shina. They did not use Shina as they could not identify the set of rights and obligations as they could not recognize each other as Shina speakers.

4.2.9 Analysis of conversation 9: an informal discussion at home

Description of participants: Sajaawal and Ali are multilingual Shina speakers; both of them are educated and can speak both English and Urdu. In this particular situation they are comparing the life style of Shina people in older times and today.

The matrix language that they were using is Shina. The conversation opened with the comment that time has changed as, “time change **bilin**”. Sajaawal further shared the details that the culture and traditions of their forefathers are no more there to be seen in a variety of Shina which is an amalgamation of different linguistic varieties as:

“**əsai ma:lɪ da:daɪ** culture change **budʒɒ a:lɒn deɪs bədeɪs**,

həma:ra: culture individualistic **bəji a:lən**”.

[The culture of our forefathers is undergoing changes day by day, as our culture is becoming more individualistic].

This particular discourse is a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English. It is striking that though the interlocutors are lamenting over the fact that the culture and traditions of their forefathers is becoming extinct but the medium which is used to express this idea is not Shina only but rather a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English as:

“mass media **ai ləp** role **hən ənisei mədʒa:**”. [the mass media has a great role in it].

This indicates that multilingual Shina speakers are not rigid about their identity rather quite flexible. They do not only consider Shina as their identity but have also accepted English and Urdu as their identities.

Code-switching has become an unmarked choice in the Shina community which is indicated by the analysis of the interviews as well as the analysis of the conversations. As the discussion proceeds further again we get instances of the same kind of language use as Ali said:

“**əsai məkə:n-i tain** advancement **wəri bədʒən**.....western culture **ʃiri**.....khəra: ktʃʌn ga: cabinets **hən kei pʊrana: zəma:na əʊr nei əsil..**”

[Now our houses are moving towards advancement.....as there are cooking counters and cabinets which were not there in older times].

Even a cursory analysis of this discourse shows that the initial phrase is in Shina, the next one in English and the third one in Urdu. These phrases are uttered spontaneously as parts of a sentence. This indicates the natural language usage of the

Shina speakers. This type of language use might not be acceptable or considered positive by the old Shina speakers but this is the variety being used by the educated multilingual Shina speakers both in formal and informal contexts as code switching and code mixing have become a natural part of their style. Using Shina or English only in specific circumstances may have special reasons e.g. for initiating a particular set of rights and obligations otherwise English, Urdu and Shina are used interchangeably or as instances of code-switching and code mixing. Sajaawal adds:

“**hər əkai təom əki individual kəmrai hən keisai wədʒja: ɡini: əsai**

life style complete **əki:** change **bilon**”.

[Everyone has their individual room due to which our life style has completely changed].

This discourse shows that along with changes in linguistic practices of the Shina community their culture has also changed to a considerable extent. It is noteworthy that in this very discourse other than few conjunctions in Shina the rest of the words are from English. This type of code mixing is very common in the circle of educated multilingual Shina speakers and has become an unmarked choice as:

“Western life style **bəs** copy **əei ɡənəs bəs** relax feel **əunəs ənis mədʒa:**”.

[We have copied the western life style and we feel relaxed in it].

This discourse is an amalgamation of Shina and English in which the number of English lexical items is more than the Shina words. This utterance indicates not only an amalgamation of linguistic identities rather an amalgamation of cultures as the discourse above suggests that adopting western life makes the speaker feel comfortable.

4.2.10 Analysis of conversation 10: An informal discussion between two friends

The researcher left the recorder with the students and asked them to record their conversation.

The conversation started with the exchange of greetings. In this discourse speaker 'A' gets an unexpected response when she inquired about the health of 'B'. The first speaker selected Urdu as the unmarked choice. The second student shared in Urdu that she is overburdened due to assignments and presentations.

A: ʌs sələ:muələikəm. [Greetings in Arabic]

B: wələikəməs sələ:m, kaisei hə? [Greeting in Arabic, how are you?]

A: θi:k nəhi hən na: ja:r [friend I am not good].

B: kiju:n ja:r kəja: hua hei? [what happened buddy?]

A: Assignments, presentations əur ma'am nei itna: pressure da:la: hua hei.

[Due to assignments, presentations and madam has been pressurizing us.]

The analysis of the discourse reveals that the terms related to academics are used in English either due to the non-availability of equivalents in other languages or they have become habitual of using them in their academic life. In other words, the second speaker introduced a dual set of rights and obligations thereby simultaneously creating dual linguistic identity of an Urdu and English speaker. According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, national identity is hierarchized, the linguistic identity of an English speaker comes next. The linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is completely backgrounded here as it does not even appear that the interlocutors are Shina speakers. It

strengthens the findings of the interview that Shina has no place in the formal spaces and contexts.

In this discourse right from the beginning till the conclusion the set of rights and obligations remain the same and none of the interlocutors make an effort to reintroduce a new set of rights and obligations. In other words, both Urdu and English seem to be the unmarked choices for this discourse whereas the marked choice is Shina. The matrix language remained Urdu throughout the discourse.

4.2.11 Analysis of conversation 11: An informal discussion between friends

A group of students was sitting in the lawn of university and they were already discussing something. After getting their consent that their conversation will be recorded for research purposes the researcher left the recorder with the students and later collected it after the recording. The discussion was already in progress that is why this discussion does not have an opening.

A: education əʊɾ knowledge meɪ phi:z: fəɾʌk heɪ.

[There is a difference between education and knowledge.]

B: hʌm dʒɔ formal education hɑ:sɪl kəɾ rəheɪ heɪn wəhi: əsʌl education heɪ.

[The formal education we are getting is the real education].

ba:z lɔg səmədʒteɪ heɪn kɪ university meɪ a:keɪ əçha: GPA lɪja: usi: kə educa
tion

kəhteɪ heɪn, education ka: məksəd ʊnka: jeɪ hɔta: heɪ.

[Some people think that getting a good GPA after coming to a university is education, that is the purpose of education for them].

The matrix language in this conversation is Urdu in which English lexical items are inserted. The group of students was discussing the differences between education and knowledge. The opening remark of this conversation set an educated set of rights and obligations and selected both Urdu and English as the unmarked choices. The next speaker adds:

B: “education ka: məksəd jɛɪ nəhi: heɪ kɪ həm sɪrf aʧhay marks

ləkeɪ dʒəha:n seɪ

tʃəleɪn jəhɪn. education aɪsɪ: hə dʒə a:pko aʧha: insa:n bəna:jɛɪ.....

ləgən kə

ləgeɪ kɪ wa:ki: jɛɪ educated heɪ.....education

ka: mətləb heɪ dʒa:nəna: kəheɪn seɪ bi: həm dʒa:n səkteɪ heɪn”.

[The purpose of education is not that we get good marks and go away. Education should make you a good human being. People should say that in reality one is educated. ...the purpose of education is to be inquisitive about knowledge, which we can get from anywhere].

This discourse indicates that Urdu and English are the unmarked choices in formal contexts. Most of the lexical items in this discourse are used in English e.g. change, reflection, ideas, acts etc.

C: “dʒa:nəneɪ keɪ lɪfəz kə deɪkha: dʒa:jɛɪ tə ɪs dʊnʒa: meɪ kəɪ bi:

illiterate nəhi:”

[If you talk about being inquisitive, nobody can be called illiterate].

D: mæra: perspective jei hei ki sɪrɪf dʒa:n leɪna: ka:fi: nəhi hei...

a:p nei dʒo kʊtʃ dʒa:na: hei, if you are implementing that in your practical life,

agər a:p ʊs pə əməl kər rəhei hɒ tɔ wɔ actually education hei əʊr həma:ri:

education ka: məksəd bi: jəhi: hɒna: tʃa:hi:jei ki.....education həma:ri:

personality seɪ reflect hɒti hei.

[My perspective is that just to know is not enough one must be able to implement it practically, if you are acting upon it, that is actually education and it should be the purpose of our education our personalities must reflect that we are educated].

This discourse like the previous ones indicates that in formal contexts multilingual Shina speakers negotiate a dual or a mixed Urdu English identity as both of the languages are the unmarked choices in formal contexts. This further shows that the unmarked choices for this discourse are Urdu and English. The choice of certain linguistic items in English indicates the education level and sophistication of the speakers. According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, the linguistic identities of Urdu and English speakers are foregrounded whereas the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is back-grounded in this discourse.

In this discourse an informal discussion was going on between the group members but may be due to the seriousness of the topic a formal set of right and obligations is

established here by the use of Urdu and English. In this discourse Shina seems to be a marked choice as it is not even used once throughout the whole discourse.

C: kəbi: kuba:r tʃhi:zon ka: bəhət ɪləm hənei ka: bi: negative effect
hə dʒa:ta: heɪ

D: True indeed than you start finding faults in everything.... if you have a positive attitude, a:pko bʌndən meɪ bi: positive tʃi:zeɪn deɪkheɪn geɪ.....

həmeɪn ləgʊn kə follow

nəhi: kərna: tʃa:hɪjeɪ.....leɪkɪn bəhət kəm ləg aɪseɪ hətɪ heɪn dʒə du:səreɪ

ɪnsa:nʊn ki: səʊtʃ kə əpneɪ ʊvər ha:vi hənei nəhi: darteɪ.... It should be expressed through your actions.

[True indeed than you start finding faults in everything.... if you have a positive attitude then you will notice only positive things in other people...we should not follow people.... but very few people are there who do not let themselves be influenced by others..... it should be expressed through your actions].

According to deference maxim, this discourse indicates formal distance between the interlocutors as the participants distanced themselves from each other by choosing a formal set of rights and obligations. Even a quick look at this discourse is enough to reveal that the set of rights and obligations have become more formal as compared to the ones established in the beginning. In this discourse in order to agree with an idea and to pass a judgment English is used. In this discourse action verbs are used in English to stress the importance of implementation.

A: My point is that səb seɪ pəhleɪ əgər həm apneɪ a:p kə change kəreɪn na:....

həma:ra: kirda:r hi: reflection hɔta: heɪ həma:reɪ ideas ka: həma:ri: thoughts
ka:, həma:reɪ acts aɪseɪ hɒŋgeɪ tɔ həmeɪn kəhneɪ ki: zərurət nəhi: hɒɡɪ.

[My point is that; first of all we need to change ourselves....as our personality is a reflection of our ideas and thoughts. If our acts are like that then there would be no requirement of saying anything].

B: Hazrat Ali (RA) fərma:teɪ heɪn ki əgər kəɪ ɪnsa:n world kəʊ

change kərna: tʃəhta: heɪ tɔ sʌb seɪ pəhleɪ əpneɪ a:p kɔ change kəreɪ, then he can change everyone.

[Hazrat Ali said if somebody wants to change the world, s/he should change herself/himself first, then they can change everyone].

A: Education system bi: involved heɪ, həma:rə zija:də time school əʊr college
meɪ gʊzərta: heɪ....

[Education system is also involved in it as we spend most of our time in school and colleges].

In the discourse below, we see the simultaneous use of Urdu and English which indicates multiple sets of rights and obligations thereby projecting multiple identities as:

B: Really educated hɔkə bi: həm educated nəhɪn heɪn....jəha:n focus sɪrɪf
 career bəna:neɪ pəh heɪ moral grooming kɔ importance nəhi: di: dʒa:ti:

[Really even after being educated, we are not educated as here the focus is only on career making whereas moral grooming is not being given importance].

C: haəm sɪrf society kɒ, education system kɒ, əpneɪ parents kɒ blame nəhi: kər səkteɪ həm khud kija: heɪn. I agree kɪ hurdles heɪn, tests bi: to heɪn career bi: təʊ heɪ, number bi læneɪ heɪn, career bi: bəna:nɑ: heɪ.

[We cannot only blame society, education system or our parents; there are weaknesses in our own personalities, I agree that there are hurdles. We have to score good marks, make our careers as well].

A: Although we are connected with our friends but competition bi: hɒtɑ: heɪ aʃhi: bɑ:t heɪ inspiration leɪ leɪn təʊ competition is good....

həmeɪn əpneɪ standards kɒ bədʌlnɑ: hɒgɑ: dʒɪs ki: bɑsɪs paɪ həmeɪn khud kɒ change kərna: hɒgɑ:.

[Although we are connected with our friends but the good thing is that we compete as well, if one gets inspiration, then competition is good.... we need to change our standards, on the basis of which we should change ourselves].

This discourse is an amalgamation of English and Urdu as it is a continuation of the same discourse so it can be observed here that two sets of rights and obligations are introduced which are accepted by the participants as none of them tried to either change or readjust it. In order to get the attention of the group speaker 'A' tried to get attention of the group by using the expression "my point is" when she would have easily used Urdu to express the same. This whole discourse indicates that Shina is a marked choice in formal and professional contexts as almost all the participants in this discourse are Shina speakers but they did not utter even a single word in Shina. According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model the linguistic identities of an Urdu and English speaker are foregrounded

in this context whereas the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is back-grounded. According to the multiple identities maxim, the simultaneous use of more than one language in this discourse indicates multiple identities of the interlocutors.

This conversation showed the simultaneous use of Urdu and English which indicates that code-switching itself is the unmarked choice thereby indicating mixed or dual identities. In the discourse below though both Urdu and English are used but it is significant to mention here that nouns, verbs and adjectives are used in English whereas the structural words are used in Urdu as:

C: “həm practically, ka:m nəhi: kərtei hien, həm sentimental ləg hein...həm determined

nəhi: hein, həsəkta: hei ki əgər həm müsəlməm ira:də kʒ: lein təu

həm change lei a:jəm phɪʒ:”

[We do not work practically; we are sentimental people..... we are not determined people, if we strongly intend to bring a change, we will do so].

The discussion among the students reveal that though both English and Urdu are used during the conversation, but for sharing an opinion or to assert something the entire sentence is uttered in English:

“If one can change oneself one can change everyone” (*utterance in English*)

Participants have also used English to sound serious and to indicate that the matter is important as:

“həma:ri: kɔɪ moral and ethical training nəhi: hɔti: heɪ....., the aim of education must also be to inculcate moral and ethical values in students”.

4.2.12 Analysis of conversation 12

A group of students was sitting in front of cafeteria and was discussing the quality of edibles in the café while taking tea.

A: Waseem ənə university ə khəkɪ pɪju:kɪ tʃi:zə ba:raɪ əaɪ

dʒeɪk khəya:l hən ?

[Waseem what do you think about the quality of edibles in the university?]

B: khɔdaɪ seɪ rɪzkaɪ nəʊmeɪtʃ dʒeɪk ga: dəʊ tə məs kha:mʊs

[I am happy with whatever bounties God has blessed us with]

A: tʊs səhi: rən leɪkɪn university əʊr khəkɪ kə tʃi:z ləpi: dʒən eɪsaɪ

quality **bɒdɪ aki: khəra:b hən? nɪʃa: ?**

[You are right but whatever edibles are available at university, the quality of it is quite low. Isn't it?]

In this discourse speaker A introduces an intimate set of rights and obligations by initiating the conversation in Shina. Initially only Shina identity is constructed but as the discourse proceeds we see the construction of a mixed Shina and English identity. The matrix language used here is Shina in which English lexical items are inserted. Though the matrix language remains Shina as the discourse proceeds but the number of English

lexical items gets more in number. While commenting on the quality of edibles whole phrases are used in English as the expression “the system of check and balance”. In this discourse we see an amalgamation of Shina and English.

According to Hirarchization of Identities Model, we see hierarchy of identities in this discourse the linguistic identities of Shina and English speakers are foregrounded whereas the linguistic identity of an Urdu speaker is back-grounded here. This discourse is different from the previous discourses in the sense that we do not see any usage of the national language Urdu here. The possible reasons might be the close bonding between the group members due to which they preferred to use Shina whereas English is used to indicate that they are educated as:

C: **çhəkɛɪ nɑː zɑː** inspection **bən gə næ** quality **kheɪ beɪ** low **næ baɪ**, check and balance **əɪ** system **əkɪː nʊʃ keɪsɑɪ mədʒ anɪsɑɪ.....VC wəʊt**, Head of Department **wəʊt, jɑː kɑɪ** professor **eɪl wəʊt rəsɑɪ kɑɪrɪ** special fresh **tʃə səniːdʒən....**

səmuːsə gɑː tʃʊn tʃʊn ɵeɪ fresh select **ɵeɪnən**.

[Brother you see, obviously the quality will be low as there is no system of check and balance..... If an official of high status comes such as VC, Head of Department or a professor comes, fresh tea and *samosas* are served. Fresh *samosas* are selected for them].

In this discourse, code-switching is the unmarked choice as throughout the discourse, both Shina and English are used. The first speaker used Shina in the beginning and later mixed Shina and English which was accepted by the other members of the

group and nobody tried to change the set of rights and obligations rather reaffirmed the same throughout the discourse as:

A: rate list **ai mɔta:bɪk bəs paɪsə** payment **œɪgənɔs.....**

wai əki: sa:f næ læji:dʒeɪn asai department **dəru:** even cooler **nɪʃ.....**student
ai ka:ri: facilities **nɔʃ.**

[We also pay the same amount according to the rate list....., we do not even get clean water, there is not even a water cooler in our department..... Students are not provided with facilities].

B: timetable **ʒ: ga:** blunders **hən...sa:ra: dɪn** class

nɪʃ əʊr tɪn bədʒeɪ hən...gɔtaɪ responsibility **ga: beɪnən.**

[There are blunders in the timetable too, we don't have any class in the morning and the first class is at three pm. We have responsibilities at home as well].

In this discourse the expressions used to express judgments are selected in English to give weight to their argument.

Throughout this discourse we see the usage of more than one code i.e. Shina and English which according to the multiple identities maxim indicates the construction of multiple identities by using more than one code as:

C: **əni deɪzɔr** presentations **əs** responsibility

tə phət œi tɪki: dʒu: gə hæreɪgən.

[These days due to presentations we do not only forget our responsibilities rather forget to eat as well].

B: **bes teom** pɜːdaːjaɪ **gə** course **mɪftɪ** təri:kə **ɡɪniː** manage **œɪgənes.....**

[We have managed our studies and courses well....].

A: **jaːr juice kaːrɪ paɪsaɪ kəm bɪlən.**

tʃaːliːs rupeɪ kəm œɪ təʊ teʊ bətaːteɪ naː....

jaː USB heɪ.....data send **œəʊk hən.**

[Friend money is not enough to buy juice... you should have told earlier if forty rupees were less.... Buddy do you have USB; I have to send data as well].

One student reads aloud a text in English in response to which another student sings a song in Urdu.

A unique set of rights and obligations is introduced in this discourse as here we see the simultaneous use of Shina and English. As the conversation proceeds we see the use of Urdu as well. In other word we see the initiation of multiple sets of rights and obligations thereby indicating multiple identities. Earlier in the discourse Shina and English were used to comment on the quality of edibles and lack of facilities, as the conversation progressed towards an academic topic we see that only Urdu and English are used and Shina is backgrounded.

B: kjaː pədh rəheɪ hɒ Waseem, case study heɪ?

[What are you studying Waseem, is it a case study]?

C: Slides bəna:nem hein ya oral presentation heɪ

[Are we supposed to make slides or is there any oral presentation]?

A: tʃəlɒ tʃəlɒ class ka: time hɒrəha heɪ.

[Let's go to class it's almost class time].

The discourse started with Shina and is concluded in Urdu and English which shows movement from an intimate set of rights and obligations to a formal set of rights and obligations.

4.2.13 Analysis of Conversation 13

A group of multilingual students was sitting under the sun and discussing their future plans.

One of the group members ask the other about her future plans as:

A: Sahiba a:pka: kɪja: plan heɪ a:geɪ? [Sahiba what is your future plan ahead]?

B: Teaching kəreɪŋgeɪ əʊr kɪja: kəreɪŋgeɪ.

[Obviously I will go for teaching, what else I will do].

C: B.Ed keɪ papers deɪŋgeɪ jəha:n seɪ fa:riŋ hɒkeɪ.

[I will appear in B.Ed. paper after getting free from here].

A: Qandeel a:p ka: kja: plan heɪ. [Qandeel what is your plan to do]?

D: Fashion designing ki: tərʌf dʒa:neɪ ka ɪra:də heɪ.

[I wanted to go for fashion designing].

In this discourse the first speaker introduced a mixed set of rights and obligations by using Urdu and English. The unmarked choices for this discourse are both Urdu and English. It further indicates that even if an informal discourse takes place about a serious topic a formal set of rights and obligations is established. The initially introduced set of rights and obligations is reaffirmed by all the participants and none of the participants made an attempt to reintroduce another set of rights and obligations.

Shina appears to be a marked choice in this conversation as it introduces an intimate set of rights and obligations and in this very discourse not even a single word is used in Shina. The matrix language is Urdu in which English lexical items are inserted as:

B: ja:r tom naei Qandeel ki: paintings and dress designing deikhi: hei, It's marvelous, we must appreciate it.

[Buddy have you seen Qandeel's paintings and dress designing? It's marvelous, we must appreciate it].

C: Wow! dress designing, kaisei time nika:lti: ho ja:r?

[Wow! how do you get time for dress designing buddy?]

D:

piçhle week mein isi: lijei nahi: a:ræhi: oi: designs bana: kei bædʒne: eei.

[I did not come last week as I had to make designs and send].

In this discourse we see an amalgamation of Urdu and English. While praising Qandeel's art work one of the students utters the whole sentence in English as: "It is marvelous, we must appreciate it (*spoken in English*)". English is used by the speaker to emphasize that it is worth appreciation.

As the conversation proceeds we observe that the participants switch back and forth between Urdu and English. It is also significant that on particular occasions entire expressions are uttered in English. As in this very discourse we see that when Qandeel was asked regarding payment of her artwork she spontaneously said:

C: Payment bi: h̄pti: heɪ kija:?

D: Yes, I received twenty-five thousand this month, Art əʊɪ paintings bi: bəna: leɪti: h̄n (*She shows a sketch and every one praises it*).

[Yes, I received twenty-five thousand this month, I make art and paintings too].

Though the question was asked in Urdu but she replied in English to emphasize her sense of achievement.

In this very discourse we observe that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is back grounded, whereas the linguistic identities of Urdu and English speakers are foregrounded.

C: t̄ʊmneɪ interior designing leɪna: əa: na: major?

[You should have taken interior designing as your major]?

D: jəha:n nəhi: əa: na:.....

[The program was not offered here.....].

B: Pindi Islamabad tʃələɪ dʒa:teɪ na:

[You should have gone to Rawalpindi or Islamabad].

D: pəhleɪ ghər peɪ paintings bəna:na: ʃʊru: ki: phɪɪ designs. jeɪəɪ color pensɪl seɪ bəna:ja: heɪ.

[Initially I made paintings at home than went towards designing, I have made it with colored pencil].

A: isi: lijei tom piçlei hæftei nəhi: a:rəhi: ɔi:?

[that's why you were not coming last week]?

D: ja:r time manage kərna: bəhət mʊʃkil hɔta: heɪ piçleɪ week
meɪ nəhi: asəki: as designs bəna: keɪ bheɪdʒneɪ ɔeɪ.

[It is quite difficult to manage time; last week I could not come as I had to send designs.]

B: ja:r meɪ təʊ gər dʒa:keɪ səfa:ji: kər keɪ ɔlk dʒa:ti: hʊn ʌmi: office seɪ late
a:ti: heɪn....ja:r buses nɪkəl rəhi: heɪn tʃələʊ.

[buddy I get tired after cleaning home when I get back, Mom comes late from office... buddy, buses are leaving let's go.]

According to the maxim of deference in the discourse above, we see that suggestions are uttered in Urdu and terms related to profession and academics are used in English.

4.2.14 Analysis of conversation 14

Three colleagues who are teachers by profession and native Shina speakers were sitting in the sun and were waiting for tea to be served. While waiting for tea they were having an informal chitchat.

The first speaker established an intimate and informal set of rights and obligations by using Shina to ask whether the order has been placed or not as:

A: **tʃaɪ reɪga:ʔ** [Have you ordered tea?]

B: **əwə əwə.** [Yes, yes].

A: məʊsəm bi: bəhət həsi:n heɪ ja:r a:dʒ. [The weather is quite nice today buddy].

B: dʒi: ka:fi: dɪnu: ba:d a:dʒ sun bath leɪrəheɪ heɪn.

[Yes after a long time we are taking a sun bath].

C: **əwəli: kəʊn adɛɪ beɪ bəju:k beɪn.**

[Yes buddy, one cannot even think about doing so in summers].

A: **ɪnsa:nai** nature **əki: ənə hən ʧəkeɪ.** [It is the nature of human beings.

B: bʌs wəhi:n na: ja:r ɔwailaɪ su:rɪ dʒɒ ɔʧeɪn jənai su:rɪ: ɔdrem.

[Yes it is so, we like heat of sun during winters and avoid it in summers].

A: **ənɪ deɪzəʊr teʊm kətʃa:k ga: care thoak heɪn....du:p meɪ zija:də rehna: k**
hətɾeɪ seɪ kha:lɪ nəhi: heɪ.

[One must take care of oneself during winters, staying in the sun for long these days may be quite harmful for us].

B: mʊdʒeɪ teʊ flu pəhleɪ seɪ hɒ ɡɪja: heɪ. [I already have flu.]

C: I am healthy Alhamdulillah.... I am not facing typical winter issues (*spoken in English*).

A cursory look at this discourse is enough to indicate that initially this discourse started in Shina language and gradually moved on towards a more formal set of rights and obligations. It is interesting to note that the same speaker who chose Shina initially readjusted the set of rights and obligations by using Urdu and later also used English. It also indicates that they are habitual of switching and mixing codes with friends. It also strengthens the findings of the questionnaires as well as interviews that multilingual Shina speakers are habitual of using a mixed code with friends. The conversation proceeds as:

A: dɪl and dəma:g keɪ məʊsəm bi: ʧaŋdʒ hɒteɪ rəhteɪ heɪn.

[The seasons of the heart and mind also keep on changing].

B: Mood swings you know...**mə mədʒa: bədi hən əni.**

[Mood swings, you know... influence me a lot.]

C: a:p meɪ bəhət zɪja:də heɪ jeɪ. [it influences you too much].

A: **ənɪtʃɪ wədʒa:tʃɪ mət** frustration **gə zɪja:də bi:n.** [I often get frustrated due to it].

B: kʊtʃ lɒg dʒʊp deep hɒteɪ heɪn wɒ show nəhi: kɑ:teɪ. [Some people are deep souls and they are good at hiding their feelings].

C: you are not like that, as you express whatever you feel (*spoken in English*).

B: So he is a hollow man (*spoken in English*).

A: **Islamabad wa:ri bʊdʒəkai dʒeɪk ɪrɑ:də hən?**

[When is your plan of going to Islamabad].

According to the multiple identities maxim multiple, multiple identities are projected by the speakers in this conversation. In this discourse we can see an amalgamation of multiple sets of rights and obligations by the simultaneous use of Shina, Urdu and English thereby showing construction of multiple identities out of which one or the other is foregrounded according to individual sets of rights and obligations. In the conversation above one adjacency pair is in English which is about the judgement of personality of one of the participants as:

C: you are not like that as you express whatever you feel (*spoken in English*).

B: So he is a hollow man (*spoken in English*).

We see that in this discourse above, code-switching itself is the unmarked choice. Code-switching here is a symbol of friendliness, solidarity and intimacy.

It is also interesting to note that opinions are expressed in English.

A: həm room arrange kɑ:teɪ heɪn [We will arrange a room].

B: It should not be in a noisy area as tests ki: təjɑ:ri: kɑ:ni: heɪ.

[It should not be in a noisy area as we need to prepare for a test].

A: Your desires have now turned into a longing (*Spoken in English*)

B: He is not even going to be satisfied with that life.....you will not get our company whenever you need (*Spoken in English*).

We see the adherence to the same multiple set of rights and obligations throughout the discourse. It is interesting to note that comments related to personal life are made in Shina and Urdu whereas discourse related to professional life is expressed in English. We also see an exception here when one of the lecturers uses English to express that he wants to get married as:

C: Yah true I want to get a government job at any cost and I want to get married as soon as possible (*spoken in English*).

The speaker has used English to express something personal which might be done to emphasize it or maybe it is done to make others take him seriously.

A: Yah that's true, **tʃaɪ ɡɪnɑː nɪ mɔːriː bɒdʒɒ beɪnɛn.**

[Yah that's true, take tea...discussion will go on].

B: Paper check **əɪɡɑː puːrɪ?** [Have you marked all papers]?

C: **neɪ lə ʒɑː kɒn bɪɡən puːrɪ** [No brother, not all are finished yet].

A: Presentation keɪ tɒpɪks bɪː deɪneɪ heɪn.

[I have to assign topics for presentations as well].

The analysis of the discourse also reveals that English is preferred to show agreement with an idea presented. This discourse also strengthens the findings of the questionnaires and interviews that Urdu is used in both formal and informal situations.

4.2.15 Analysis of conversation 15: Students in a lab

A group of students was sitting and discussing in the lab. They were discussing the procedure of applying for different scholarships.

The first speaker initiated the conversation in Urdu as:

A: ap səmdʒa:wə geɪ na: kija: process heɪ apply kərneɪ ka:?

[Hope you will make me understand the process of applying]?

B: is keɪ ɪla:wə bi: bəhət scholarships heɪn.

[Many other scholarships are also available besides this].

A: heɪn təʊ səhi: but share nəhi: kijeɪ dʒa:teɪ isi: ɪjeɪ meɪ a:p ləʒən seɪ
connected hən ta:kjeɪ information mɪleɪ.

[Yes there are, but the information is not shared, due to which I am in contact with all of you so that I can get information].

The analysis of the conversations above show that Urdu is used in both formal and informal contexts and the same is noticed in this discourse. It is important to mention here that though the context is informal but the topic they are discussing is serious and academic due to which the speaker has selected Urdu.

The unmarked choice for this discourse is Urdu with English insertions as both of them establish a formal set of rights and obligations. It also strengthens the findings of the questionnaires as well as interviews that Urdu and English are preferred in formal contexts i.e. professional and academic contexts and Shina is preferred in intimate informal contexts.

According to the Markedness Model, the speakers in this discourse have constructed the linguistic identity of an Urdu speaker may be to sound educated or they

are tuned to use Urdu with English insertions to discuss anything related to academics. The use of Shina seems to be a marked choice in this context.

According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, the linguistic identity of an Urdu speaker is foregrounded in this discourse whereas the linguistic identities of an English speaker comes next and Shina identity is back grounded here. Code mixing seems to be an unmarked choice for this discourse which indicates the dual identities of multilingual Shina speakers in this discourse. The conversation proceeds as:

A: a:p lɔg bæəhem mein tʃəlti: hən məri: class heɪ.....2:15 **neʊʒ:** madam
wa:ɪn

[You people carry on, I have to go, I have a class, my teacher comes at 2:15].

B: is bə:reɪ mein mən a:pko update kərɔŋna: ok. [I will update you regarding it ok].

C: Email share ki: ɔi:? [Did you share your email].

A: **ʌʃ mʌs** send **əəm ɡɔtʒ:r ɡijɪ.** [I will share once I get back home].

B: I am worried kɪ date nə over hɔdʒa:jeɪ. [I am worried lest the deadline is over].

C: nəhi: əbi: bəhu:t time heɪ. [No there is much of time].

A: Facebook peɪ deadline 5th December mentioned ɔi:, but wɔ page official nəhi: ɔa: [On Facebook, the deadline was mentioned 5th December, but it was not an official page].

B: eɪk minute mein check kərta: hən WhatsApp peɪ kɔɪ link share kɪja: heɪ.

[Wait for a minute, I will check, somebody shared a link in WhatsApp].

As the conversation proceeds we see that one of the speakers tries to readjust the set of rights and obligations by using Shina to express that her teacher comes at 2:15 as 2:15 **nəʊr** madam **wɑ:ɪn**, but the rest of the participants did not accept this new set of rights and obligations and continued using Urdu and English. She made a second attempt to change the existing set of rights and obligations by using Shina again as, “**ʌʃ mʌs** send **əəm ɡɒtʒ:r ɡijɛr**” [I will share once I get back home], but again it is ignored. When the RO set, she attempted to introduce, was rejected by others, she accepted the existing RO set and used Urdu and English to express herself as, Facebook peɪ deadline 5th December mentioned əi:, but wɒ page official nəhi: əa:.

The efforts of the speaker A to introduce an intimate set of rights and obligations and the rejection by the group members and adherence to the previously held set of rights and obligations revealed an interesting fact that Shina is a marked choice in this context. It also intensifies the findings of the questionnaires and interviews that Shina has no place in the formal gatherings other than greetings and a casual comment here or there.

4.3 Analysis of FM Recordings

The recordings of live programs were collected from the archival records of FM 99 Gilgit-Baltistan in order to see how anchor persons and callers who are multilingual Shina speakers chose their codes according to the context as almost all of them are educated and can speak Urdu, English and Shina.

4.3.1 Analysis of the Recording 1

This recording is of a program in which the anchorperson is receiving calls and playing songs on the requests of the callers. Urdu musical tracks are played but in the meantime he also talked to the people on phone. The live program was on-aired on December 2, 2017.

Initially he greeted the listeners in Urdu very enthusiastically and shared that his voice would be new for some listeners whereas old for others as:

“dʒəha:n dʒəha:n a:p ki: səma:t sei məri: a:waz tʌkra:jei a:pko meira: səla: m,

especially un dɔstɔn kei lijei dʒɔ iləm kei maida:n mei dʒɔstɔdʒu: kər rəhei hem”.

[I greet everyone who is listening to me specially those friends who are working hard in the field of education to get knowledge].

The unmarked choice for this program is Urdu according to the sets of rights and obligations holding between the presenter and the callers. This discourse is an amalgamation of Urdu and English. The anchor person used English in order to indicate that he is educated. Though the unmarked choice for the current exchange is Urdu but according to the unmarked choice maxim the unmarked choice for interaction between bilingual peers is more than one code. In this discourse the matrix language is Urdu in which the lexical item ‘specially’ is inserted. According to the Markedness Model the anchorperson projected a mixed Urdu and English identity.

“a:dʒ meɪ information a:p kɒ du:nɡɑ: feɪsbʊk keɪ dɒstʊ:n keɪ message bi: ʃɑ:
mɪl

kəruŋɡɑ, a:p mʊdʒeɪ join kəreɪŋɡeɪ əpneɪ cell phone seɪ, Live call

peɪ message bi: kəɪ səkteɪ heɪn, a:p ki: təmɑ:m calls meɪ program meɪ

ʃɑ:mɪl kəruŋɡɑ:, **Danyore aɪ meʊsəm khəjəʊk hən?**”

[I will give you information today, Facebook messages will also be included, you can join live calls through your cell phone, you can also send messages, I will include all your calls in my program. How is the weather of Danyore?]

While communicating with the second caller the anchor person tried to establish a set of rights and obligation as first he used an amalgamation of Urdu and English and in the very next sentence shifted to Shina thereby changing the set of rights and obligations and bringing himself very close to the caller by asking him about the weather in Shina. Shina language is a marked choice in this context but the anchor person used it to connect with the caller and to introduce a new set of rights and obligations as it is an Urdu program.

In this discourse the anchorperson has implicated multiple sets of rights and obligations thereby indicating multiple identities. The analysis of the discourse above indicates the impact of technology in the lives of the people today and also the fact that neither Urdu nor Shina has terms related to information technology as face book, cell phone and others. It is interesting to note that even for those lexical items which have equivalents in both Urdu and Shina, English vocabulary items are used.

He received the next call as:

“Who is there? Biological sciences keɪ student heɪn a:p audible
nəhi: heɪn,..... I really appreciate it you are kind of a great person you know
(Spoken in English).

[Who is there, you are a student of biological student? You are not audible, I
 really appreciate it you are kind of a great person you know].

It is interesting to observe that the anchor person was selecting his code according to the background of the caller as after getting to know that a student has called first he used a combination of Urdu and English and later uttered the whole sentence in English. This indicates switching an identity according to the interlocutor. The next caller sounded rude due to which the anchor person said:

“a:p ɡʊsə nə kəreɪn mistake hə dʒa:ti: heɪ, Gilgit-Baltistan keɪ lɔɡ bəhət
 liberal educated and friendly lɔɡ heɪn”

[Don't be angry, mistakes do occur, the people of Gilgit Baltistan are quite liberal,
 educated and friendly].

The anchorperson could have used Shina to express his displeasure but he used a mixture of Urdu and English to sound formal and to emphasize his point of view. This had a positive effect on the caller as he changed his tone and rather praised the program as: “your program is going very well keep it up *(spoken in English).*”

4.3.2 Analysis of Recording 2

The anchor person greets the listeners of FM 99 Gilgit-Baltistan in Urdu and shares with them the reason of being on air late in an implicit manner and also shares that this program is quite special due to the presence of wonderful personalities in the show. The guests included an advocate, a social activist and a professor. The program was arranged for special people on the day of people with disabilities to know their problems and to see how society treats them. The program was on aired on 3rd December, 2017.

“əgər həm deeply dʒa:jeɪn tɒ bəhət sa:reɪ məsləɪ heɪn dʒɒ həm discuss kər s
əkterheɪn, a:p kɒ kɪn məslɒn ka: sa:mna: kərna: pɑdrəhɑ: heɪ əʊr governmen
t level peɪ kɪja: help hɒ rəhi: heɪ?

[If we consider deeply, there are many problems that can be discussed. What sort of problems are faced by you and to what extent you are being helped on government level]?

The unmarked choice for this discourse is Urdu the national language of Pakistan but the analysis of this very discourse indicates that though the matrix language is Urdu but English lexical items like ‘deeply’, ‘discuss’, ‘government level’ and ‘help’ are inserted which makes the discourse sound quite formal. Since all the interlocutors are educated multilinguals so enforcement of dual sets of rights and obligations seems natural and inevitable. It is interesting to note that though all of them are native speakers of Shina but none of them uses it as it would be a marked choice in this context. This further

reveals that the linguistic identities of Urdu and English speakers are the unmarked choices whereas the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is a marked choice here.

In the recording above simultaneously Urdu and English are used while taking calls, whereas Shina was not used as it is a marked choice. This shows that the construction of a particular identity depends on the context as well as the topic of discussion along with other factors.

The anchorperson set two sets of rights and obligations by using both Urdu and English for posing a question which was also endorsed by the listeners as they also used the same languages for expressing themselves.

‘Persons with disabilities ka: dʒʊ crucial məslə heɪ wɒ basic education heɪ pu:reɪ Gilgit meɪn aɪk special education complex heɪ dʒʊ kɪ fully functional heɪ, another is under construction in Skardu..... dʒʊ regular educational ɪdɑ:reɪ heɪn wɒ bi: accessible nəhi: aiseɪ meɪn wɒ bʌtʃeɪ dʒʊ wheelchair handicapped heɪn ja: du:səri: disabilities heɪn wɒ ʊn schools seɪ bi: ɪstɪfɑ:də nəhi:n kəɪ səkteɪ, ɪs keɪ bɑ:d həm a:teɪ heɪn financial rehabilitation pəh ɪs pəh fully as it is implementation nəhi: hɒti: heɪ though kɪh government ka: vision clear heɪ.... Clear orders dʒɑ:teɪ heɪn keh 2 % quota pəɪ implementation kɒ jəki:ni bəna:ja: dʒɑ:jeɪ’.

[The most crucial problem faced by persons with disabilities in Gilgit-Baltistan is acquiring basic education as there is only one institution for special people in Gilgit which is fully functional. Another is under construction in Skardu.... rest of the regular educational institutions are not accessible to everyone. In this

situation, where will those poor souls go who are wheel chair handicapped or suffer from other disabilities as they cannot get benefit from regular schools. After this we come towards financial rehabilitation on which there is no implementation, though the vision of the government is clear. The orders are clear that there must be strict implementation on 2% quota].

This discourse reveals that multilingual Shina speakers are habitual of using codes which are amalgamation of both Urdu and English in formal contexts. According to the Unmarked Choice Maxim (1993) bilinguals use code-switching to exhibit dual identities.

In this discourse the speaker of the discourse is projecting a mixed national and educated identity through code mixing. In this discourse most of the terms related to identifying problems and explaining the role played by government are used in English to index education, designation, authority and knowledge.

Gilgit Baltistan meɪ private sector neɪ heɪ dʒɪs kɪ wədʒə seɪ persons with disabilities kɒ jobs nəhi: mɪlti:, vocational training kɪ bi: opportunities nəhi: heɪn social inclusion ti:sra: məslə heɪ, religious, social and cultural activities meɪn ʊnki: representation nəhi heɪ dʒɪs seɪ mʊa:ʃɪreɪ keɪ dʊsərəɪ əfra:d entertain hɔteɪ heɪn.

[There is no private sector in Gilgit Baltistan, due to which disabled people do not get jobs. They do not have opportunities of vocational training and they are also deprived of representation in social, cultural and religious activities which are enjoyed by other segments of the society].

In the discourse above Urdu is the matrix language in which most of the expressions like ‘private sector’, ‘persons with disabilities’, ‘jobs’, ‘vocational training’,

‘opportunities’, ‘social inclusion’, ‘religious’, ‘cultural activities’ and ‘entertain’ are used in English.

It is interesting to note that although all of the interlocutors in this program are Shina speakers but they did not even utter a single word in Shina other than asking about the weather in Danyore, thereby indicating that Shina is a marked choice in this context. This strengthens the findings of the questionnaires as well as interviews that Shina has no place in formal settings. Even in those situations where minimal use of Shina is seen at workplaces, it is for phatic communication.

The second guest of the program shared that two of his daughters are special due to which he is well aware of the problems faced by disabled people.

“insa:n dʒʌb affect hɔta: heɪ tɔ useɪ realize hɔta: heɪ, meɪ by birth blind
nəhi: əa:, night blindness əi:, but day time meɪra: vision bɪkʊl əi:k əa: leɪkɪn
gradually meɪrɪ eyesight decrease hɔti: gəjɪ əbi: sɪrɪf ɪtna: heɪ kɪ mʊdʒeɪ light
perception heɪ.....meɪ kɪsɪ kɑ:m keɪ sɪlsəleɪ meɪ Human Rights Commission
gɪja:, application leɪkeɪ gɪja: ɔr uskeɪ follow up
keɪ lijeɪ bɑ:r bɑ:r dʒɑ:ta: rəhɑ: wɔ bəhtəri:n social activist
heɪn ʊnhʊn neɪ mʊdʒeɪ guide kərna: sʊru: kɪja:.....meɪ neɪ visually impaired
ɪfra:d keɪ sa:th ra:bɪteɪ bəda:jeɪ.....phɪr həm neɪ realize
kɪja: ke həmeɪn aɪk hi: segment kɔ leɪkeɪ a:geɪ nəhi: badna: tʃɑ:hjeɪ.

[one realizes when one is affected, I was not blind by birth, initially, I had only night blindness whereas my vision was fine during the day, but gradually my eyesight got decreased and resultantly I have only light perception now. Once I

went to the Human Rights Commission with an application and had been going there again and again for its follow-up. They are the best social activists, they started guiding us...., I increased contact with visually impaired people, then we realized that we must not move forward with just one segment].

Through code mixing, a mixed Urdu and English identity is projected in this very discourse. In other words, pure Shina identity is back-grounded and a mixed identity of Urdu and English is foregrounded. The reasons behind the selection of codes are the context as well as the level of formality. It was a live program so the speakers were aware of the fact that people are listening to them which made them conscious about projecting an educated and informed identity.

The presenter asks the next question whether females are also helped by vision welfare organization which is working for people with disabilities. One of the guests responded:

“Women with disabilities təu həma:ri: priority list peɪ heɪn həma:ri: team
ka: hɪsə heɪn a:dʒ bi: həm neɪ press club Gilgit meɪ celebrate
kɪja: həma:rei sa:ə bəhət bəri: teɪda:d meɪ females əi: na:, wə nə sɪrɪf policy
 making level peh wə həma:rei sa:ə heɪn bəlki dʒʌb bi: kəɪ bi: activity
həti: heɪ təu persons with disability keɪ həwa:leɪ seɪ they are with us
ʊnkə əpneɪ rights ka: pətə: heɪ”.

[Women with disabilities are on our priority list. They are part of our team. We had arranged a program in press club Gilgit in which a good number of females participated. In our organization, females play their role not only at the level of

policymaking; they are also involved in every activity related to the special people. They are with us and they are aware of their rights].

In this discourse most of the expressions are used in English to emphasize their point of view and to indicate that females play an active role in their organization. Throughout this discourse a mixed Urdu and English identity is foregrounded whereas the regional identity is back-grounded to the extent that they do not even appear to be Shina speakers. This discourse also reveals the fact that projection of a regional or pure Shina identity is not acceptable at all in formal official contexts. The program had acquired a very formal and serious tone due to which the anchorperson attempted to change the set of rights and obligations by asking the guests about their interest in music as:

“Special dʒitneɪ bi: əfra:d heɪn ʊn ka:

music seɪ bəhət zɪja:də ləgəʊ hətɑ: heɪ.....,

mʊzeɪ gəzəl əçi: ləgti: heɪn ɪskeɪ ɪlɑ:wɑ melodious gɑ:neɪ.”

[All the people who are special, also love music very much....., I like ghazels, other than that, melodious songs].

The second guest shares:

“mʊdʒeɪ local music bəhət pəsənd heɪ ʃɪnɑ: language meɪ.

[I like local music in the Shina language].

When the guests indicated their interest in local Shina songs the presenter played a Shina song for them and meanwhile also received calls that either asked a question or

commented on the program. It is interesting to note that Shina identity which was backgrounded throughout this discourse being a marked choice is foregrounded here not verbally but by playing a Shina song. This also reveals that though multilingual Shina speakers are well aware of the low prestige of Shina in the linguistic market but still it is very dear to them as almost all the guests of the show indicated their preference for Shina music and poetry. This finding can be linked with the findings of the questionnaires as well as interviews that Shina is preferred in close circles, for expressing emotions and for praying.

In order to reduce the seriousness of the program the anchorperson had attempted to introduce a new set of rights and obligations by referring to music and paying a local Shina song. One of the listeners who made a call adhered to this new set of rights and obligations and used only Shina as:

A: Sir **dzeik ha:l hən səm hənu:** [Sir, how are you? are you fine?]

B: **mai ʃəkər ža: təh səm hənu:** [My sweet brother, are you fine?]

A: **əai bədi: ʃukrijə ʃəkər ža: ki təs** ma:zu:r

əfra:d əv kəri: ətʃa:k laʊ kəmœm.

[We are really grateful to you sweet brother for your efforts, you work so hard for the disabled people].

B: **seu pərələi dzəgə wədža: gini: ənu: kəom məmkin bilon mai ža:**

[It became possible due to the cooperation of people like you my brother].

After receiving few more calls the presenter bids farewell to the guests.

4.3.3 Analysis of Recording 3

This recording is of a Shina program. The researcher analyzed Shina as well as Urdu programs in order to see how the use of language varies in the programs conducted in different languages. The program was on-air on 17 December, 2017.

The anchorperson of the program starts the program by greeting the audience in Shina as:

**“səus mai sa:ti dəuk hən, ik ɔei bɪkʊl gə phət əəuk nɪʃ, umi:d əəmʊs əa
ɪ gʊtər pʊrei ɔi:k bei ben, ža:rei gə səja:rei gə istəkɑ:lɪ gə
tʃʊnei gə bərʊtei dzu: gə səla:m bəut, bʊtei ža:rei gə səja:reit, səu sa:ti
dəʊan təkɑ:lɪ. əəʊn gʌpʃʌp. ʃɪnɑ: bɑ:ʃɪ zʊbɑ:n hən gʌpʃʌp əəʊn tʊ hiʃəʊ
bəʊdʒ həlka: bɑi, həlka: bɪl təʊ pəri:ʃɑ:nɪ hənɪk du:r beɪn”.**

[you have to accompany me, don't leave me alone. I hope everyone is well at your home, brothers and sisters, old and young, greetings to all of you. Brothers and sisters we will be with you. When we will talk to each other, heart burden will be reduced, when it is reduced, worries will go away].

**“ səu program ɔur mɪʃɑ:r bəuk bɑ:nət call ɔei, Facebook əi zərjɑ:r
gə mɪʃɑ:r bəukɪ bɑ:nət. nəʊm lɪk həkɪ hən, space
dəuk hən, address lɪk hək
hən, pɛiɡɑ:m ek dəuk hən, əʊr əsʊtei send əəuk hən”.**

[You people can join me in this program through calls, you can also join me through Facebook, you have to write your name, after space write your address, type your message and send].

In this discourse the anchorperson sets a very close and intimate set of rights and obligations by using Shina which is also the unmarked choice of the program. He also asks the listeners to share their emotions and feelings in other words to have catharsis as it will make them feel relaxed. Though the matrix language in this discourse is Shina but still he has inserted English lexical items. The use of these lexical items was inevitable as Shina does not have words related to modern technology. In this discourse a mixed Shina and English identity is foregrounded and the linguistic identity of an Urdu speaker is back-grounded.

A: **ʌsəla:mualaikum mai ža:** [Greeting my brother].

B: wʌlaikumsəla:m kaisei hein ba:i a:p. [Greetings to you too, how are you?]

A: dži: məreɪ baji: məreɪ dɒst. [yes my brother, my friend].

B: **gə:jek khətərnə:k sa:n ʌʃ** [you have played a hilarious song today].

A: **dʒeɪk ha:l hən səm hənə:**. [how do you do, are you well].

B: eɪk song ki fərma:jiʃ kərneɪ call ki: heɪ.

[I have called to request you to play a song].

The anchorperson greets the caller in Shina who comments on the song played.

The short discourse above is quite interesting as right from the beginning till the closing of the conversation Shina is used but in the middle of the conversation in order to

make a request, to play a song the caller used Urdu. Initially in this very discourse Shina identity is constructed by using pure Shina. After initial exchange of greetings in the local language Shina, the caller changed the set of rights and obligations by using Urdu with few insertions of English lexical items.

4.3.4 Analysis of Recording 4

This is the recording of a program in which the anchorperson along with plying tracks was also taking calls and asked the listeners the definition of life. This conversation was on-air on 6 December, 2017.

The first caller set a formal set of rights and obligations by sharing the definition of life in English though the anchorperson posed the question in Urdu in which the word life was used in English as:

A: a:dʒ keɪ program meɪ ʃa:mil kəʀŋga: a:p keɪ favorite songs a:p ki: request peh meanwhile həm a:p saeɪ kəreɪŋgeɪ gay ɔʌp ʃhʌp.

[In today's program, I will play your favorite songs of your choice on your request and will also talk to you].

He told the listeners the phone number to call, dedicated an Urdu song to them and asked them a question:

a:pkeɪ khəja:l meɪn zɪndəgi: ki:ja: heɪ. Life kəʊ kaisay define kəreɪn geɪ a:p?

[What do you think what is life in your view? How do you define life?]

The anchor person introduced a mixed set of rights and obligations by posing the question in Urdu in which he inserted English lexical items. The first caller introduced a formal set of rights and obligations by defining life in English as:

“Life is a mixture of various aspects like sorrows, worries, happiness and pleasure” (*spoken in English*).

Immediately after defining life in English, caller ‘A’ inserts Urdu lexical items in his speech where the matrix language remains English as:

“Everyone has a different opinion and approach towards life əʊr ɪs kɒ bəjɑ:n kərnɑ: is not possible.

[Everyone has a different opinion and approach towards life and it is not possible to define it].

The speaker in this discourse introduced two sets of rights and obligations by using two languages. It is significant to notice the selection of terms in Urdu as “əʊr ɪs kɒ bəjɑ:n kərnɑ:” [and it is not possible to explain it], which indicates that the speaker preferred to use the national language Urdu to express feelings. The selection of words also reveals that multilingual Shina speakers use Urdu to express their feelings along with the Shina language. It further indicates that Urdu as the Lingua Franca plays an important role in the life of multilingual Shina speakers. The first caller selected both Urdu and English as the expected choice for this discourse.

The anchorperson received the next call and the second caller introduced an intimate set of rights and obligations by using Shina. In this discourse, Shina is the matrix language in which English lexical items are inserted as:

zɪndəgi: ik səfrekəi nəʊm hən, bəs tʃʌl ɐi ənu səməndərəi madzɑ: təʊmʊ s
əfər continue əʊk hən ʌlbətə hez: aɪk sei təʊm manners madzɑ: zɪndəgi:
 definition ɐiɣʊn.

[Life is the name of a journey and every one of us has to continue his or her travel in this ocean of life, but everyone has defined life in a different manner].

This discourse reveals that in order to index high status and an educated identity English is used. The speaker gave an impression of being a learned person as he gave reference of certain scholars and researchers without being specific. The third speaker used Urdu to define life but also inserted English items whether consciously or unconsciously but it indicates that the speaker is educated. Meanwhile the anchorperson played an Urdu song. Speakers of other regional languages also joined the program but they were not made a part of this study as it is specifically about the identity construction of Shina speakers as:

meɪ ʌrəz kərnɑ: tʃɑ:tɑ: hʊn ki zɪndəgi: ɛk mɪxtʃər heɪ əʊr pɛɪtʃi:də heɪ.

jeɪ kehna: ke it's not easy is not fair...tʃʊke zɪndəgi: sɑ:hɪl bi: heɪ əʊr
sʊməndər bi: ʌb ɪs kʊ pɛɪtʃi:də kəhna: is not fair according to me....

jeɪ a:p ki: səʊtʃ əʊr əməl pɛh depend kərtɑ: heɪ əʊr əgər a:p positively
səʊtʃeɪŋgeɪ əʊr behave kəreɪŋgeɪ təʊ life a:sɑ:n əʊr sehəl heɪ.

[I would like to add that life is a mixture of ease and trials. It is not fair to say that it is not easy to live life. Life is just like an ocean and at the same time it is the seashore. Now it depends on your actions and thinking, if you think and behave positively things will turn out to be easy for you in life].

This discourse reveals that everyone is using the code of his or her choice as the norms do not specify one particular choice. It is significant to mention that whether callers were using Urdu or English they were mixing codes there by constructing a mixed identity.

The next speaker contributed to the discourse as:

“According to Islamic ideology and Christianity life is a trial but it is difficult to claim that itni: bədi: universe bəna:ji: gəji: heɪ fəkʌt for the sake of trial.”

[According to Islamic ideology and Christianity life is a trial but it is difficult to claim that such a big universe has been created just for the sake of trial].

It is quite interesting to notice that though the callers were using both Urdu and English to communicate but to share their knowledge and to give more weight to their argument all of them used English.

“mʊhʌbət eɪk taste hay dʒɪs seɪ həm əpneɪ ʌndər feel kərteɪ heɪn,

jeɪ eɪk dʒʌzbə heɪ, dʒu: həma:reɪ inner

meɪn phu:ta: heɪ ɪs dʒʌzbeɪ ka: əhsa:s

təb hʊta: heɪ dʒʌb həm dʊnja: keɪ təfʌkʊr seɪ nɪkʌlteɪ heɪn əʊr əpneɪ

inner meɪn du:b dʒa:teɪ heɪn”.

[Love is a taste which we feel within us. It is an inner realization which springs within us. We can only feel it when we come out of the hustle and bustle of the world and only then we can experience it within us].

“Situation jei hei kih həma:ri: new generation kə əpneɪ fore fathers keɪ
 culture ka: idea hi: nəhi: hei deɪkheɪn ke a:p keɪ lɪba:s əʊr language
ka: kija: həʃʌr hə

tʃʊka: hei ha:la:nki ʃɪna: culture bəhət khubsərət culture hei əʊr music,
lɪba:s, food wəqeɪrə aɪseɪ

unique ʌdʒza: heɪn dʒp ʃa:jəd dʊnʃa: meɪ kəheɪn nə mɪleɪn leɪkɪn
a:dʒ həma:ri: ha:lət jei hei ke jei sʌb tʃi:zeɪn we have forgotten”.

[The situation is that our young generation does not have any idea and is not even aware of the culture of their forefathers which is evident from their dressing as well as their language. The Shina culture is a beautiful culture with its unique music, culture, food and traditions but the young Shina generation is not even aware of it].

4.3.5 Analysis of Recording 5

This is the analysis of an FM 99 recording of an Urdu program where the anchorperson asked the callers to share the problems and challenges faced by the young people along with playing songs for them. This program was on-air on 15 December, 2017.

He initiates the conversation as:

A: “a:dʒ a:p kə meɪ bəhət pɪja:reɪ seɪ program meɪ welcome
kərta: hʊn dʒɪs ka:

na:m heɪ ɡʌp ʃʌp with Shakeel Ahmed, a:p bi: ɪs prɒɡrəm kɑ: hɪsə bən
səkter heɪn.....deɪkhter heɪn first lucky caller kʊn heɪn..... kɪjɑ: a:p həma:reɪ
 topic keɪ ba:reɪ meɪn dʒɑ:ntɪ heɪn?”

[I welcome you all to the lovely program called chit chat with Shakeel Ahmed.
 You can become a part of the program....., let’s see who is the first lucky caller....
 Do you know about the topic of our program]?

B: nəʊdʒəwa:nʊ kɑ: sʌb seɪ bədə: məslə a:dʒ kʌl unemployment heɪ.

[The biggest problem faced by the youth today is unemployment].

A: Nice bye bye.

The unmarked choice for this discourse is Urdu as it is an Urdu program but we can see the insertion of English lexical items. We noticed the insertion of nouns, adjectives and verbs in the discourses analyzed earlier as well, but surprisingly we see the insertion of an English preposition here in the expression “ɡʌp ʃʌp [chit chat], with Shakeel Ahmed”. In other word the matrix language in this is discourse is Urdu with English insertions.

The use of dual languages in this discourse indicates the establishment of a dual set of rights and obligations and thereby the dual identities of the Shina speakers. The anchorperson initiated a formal set of rights and obligations by mixing Urdu and English. This also strengthens the findings of the questionnaires as well as interviews that in formal contexts both Urdu and English are used by the Shina speakers. It is the topic of the program which made it formal whereas the title of the program sounds informal.

The next caller adds to the topic of challenges faced by the youngsters as:

C: “Society dʒɪs tərə modernity kɪ tərəf dʒɑ: rəhi: heɪ.....kəwɑ:ti:n

Problem face kər rəhi: həin eik tərəf təu wə modern

həna: tʃa:hi:ti: həin du:sri tərəf unka: culture allow nəhi: kərta:

due to which they are facing depression”.

[Society is becoming more advanced and modern quite rapidly due to which women are facing problems. They want to be more fashionable but their culture does not allow them to be so due to which they are facing depression].

The anchorperson changed the set of rights and obligations while talking to the third caller in Shina as:

dʒeik ha:l hən, ɔ:k həna:, tʌbjət səm həna:?

[How are you? Are you fine, how is your health?]

B: Pakistan ki: population ka: 65% youth heɪ they are facing the problem of child labor....wə əpneɪ childhood kə enjoy hi: nəhi: kərteɪ, dʒɪs ki: wədʒa: seɪ wə hopelessness, violence, drugs and unemployment ka: ʃɪka:r həteɪ hən..

[65% population of Pakistan consists of youth. They do not even enjoy their childhood due to child labor. They have become victims of hopelessness, violence, drugs and unemployment].

A: “a:p əpra: concise kəeɪn təu bəhtər həga:, I am sorry program ka: time kəm heɪ”.

[It would be better if you concise your point as the time of program is quite short].

B: “Unemployment ki: wədʒa: seɪ həm frustration ka: ʃɪka:r həteɪ hən”.

[We become frustrated due to unemployment].

The analysis of this discourse indicates that Shina is used for exchange of greetings in this discourse in order to show solidarity. It is interesting to note that while identifying the problems of Youngsters most of the problems are identified in English. The matrix language remained Urdu throughout this discourse in which English lexical items are inserted. The use of English in an Urdu program to share facts and figures and the tone of the speaker indicated that that his analysis of the problems faced is quite authentic. The unmarked choices for this discourse are Urdu and English. Shina is a marked language in this discourse still we see that Shina is used in this discourse but its use is quite minimal.

4.4 Participant Observation

The researcher attended a wedding ceremony. The function was at the bride's home. The lawn was decorated with fairy lights. When the researcher entered the house the sound of local music entered her ears. The researcher entered the house and greeted everyone. Females of every age group were present there. It was floor seating and only the bride was sitting on a couch. The researcher had taken her diary along to take field notes but she did not consider it appropriate to take it out and write so she just typed few details and points on her cell phone. When she got back home she immediately jotted down the details with fresh memory.

In the function most of the females were in dark fancy dresses. Girls were sitting together and were commenting on the bride's dress and make up. They were using Shina but were also inserting English vocabulary items. Some girls were also sitting with elderly women. They were speaking in a low tone so the researcher could not hear what they were saying. While people were gossiping noise was heard outside and a teenage

girl came running inside saying that the groom has come in Shina. Little girls ran outside. After the girls left the researcher could hear the ladies around as it had become less noisy. The researcher observed two varieties of Shina spoken by the people around. Youngsters were using Shina with English and Urdu insertions while the elderly women were using Shina with very few Urdu insertions. The researcher heard an elderly woman saying that these days' girls do not cover their head due to fashion. Meanwhile dinner was served. The host girls were offering one item after the other to all guests. After dinner the researcher bid farewell to the hosts and left.

The researcher chose to observe her own class of communication skills as a participant observer. This class was divided into five groups. The researcher gave them the topic "the role of hard work and luck in our lives" to discuss. The students were asked to discuss the topic with their group members for almost twenty minute in English. After twenty minutes they were asked to stand up and share their views. While the students were discussing the topic the researcher moved from group to group, sat with them and also added to their discussions. It was observed that though the students were having the discussion in English but they were also using Urdu for directing each other to contribute to the discussion. It was interesting to note that when the researcher sat with them they tried to use English only and also asked about certain vocabulary items. When the students were individually asked to stand up and speak on the topic all of them used English which is the unmarked choice in the class.

The researcher also observed the interaction patterns of Shina Speakers in the markets of Chilas. It was a bright sunny day. The shops were crowded but the number of customers was less. Most of the people were just talking to each other. The researcher felt

awkward as well as there were no females. Almost everyone was using the local dialect of Shina and the researcher did not find any insertion of English and Urdu lexical items. There were Pathan hawkers too who could be easily identified through their attire. The researcher went to a hotel along with family to take tea. The waiter took the order by using Urdu. There were two more families in the hotel who were already taking tea. The family was communicating in Urdu but their appearance and accent was indicating that they are not Shina speakers. The second family also included two kids. It was interesting to observe that the couple was using Shina with each other and Urdu with their kids.

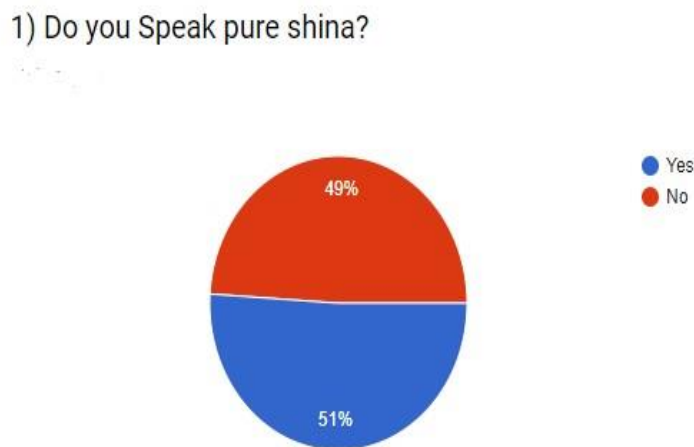
The researcher also observed certain formal contexts. The faculty of the department of Linguistics and Literature gathered in the office of the head of the department to celebrate one of their colleague's MPhil degree completion. Most of the faculty members including the researcher congratulated their colleague in Urdu to which she reciprocated in the same language Urdu. Few of the faculty members however did so in English.

Meanwhile the office boy of the department served tea, with whom the male colleagues used Shina to tell the quantity of sugar to be added. The rest of the discussion about whether to do PhD from Pakistan or abroad continued in an amalgamation of Urdu and English. Sometimes one sentence was uttered in Urdu while the other in English. English and Urdu were also frequently mixed. The researcher selected language based on the language in which she was addressed. Gradually the faculty started leaving sharing that they have a class and so did the researcher.

4.5 Quantitative Data Analysis

In order to find out how many people construct pure Shina, or a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity in different contexts, questionnaires were distributed among the Shina speakers which comprised of open ended and closed ended questions. It also helped in identifying the factors and identity markers which the Shina speakers use in different contexts to reflect their identity. The results of the responses have been shown in the figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1 Use of the Shina language



In response to the question related to the variety of Shina spoken by them almost more than half of the respondents i.e. 51% shared that they speak pure Shina and the reasons they gave for using pure Shina were being native Shina speaker, Shina is their mother tongue whereas some of the respondents shared that they speak pure Shina due to their emotional attachment with the Shina language. Whereas 49% of the participants

reported that they do not speak pure Shina. Those who believe that their Shina is not pure held multilingualism responsible for making the variety of Shina spoken by them impure.

The variety of Shina spoken by 49% of the participants is influenced by Urdu and English. It is interesting to note that although majority of the participants claimed that they speak pure Shina but the responses to the questions related to code switching and code mixing indicated that they mix and switch codes quite frequently. This shows that they are not even aware of the fact that their language is influenced by the dominant languages like Urdu and English. Another possible reason of claiming to speak pure Shina might be their emotional attachment with their mother tongue Shina.

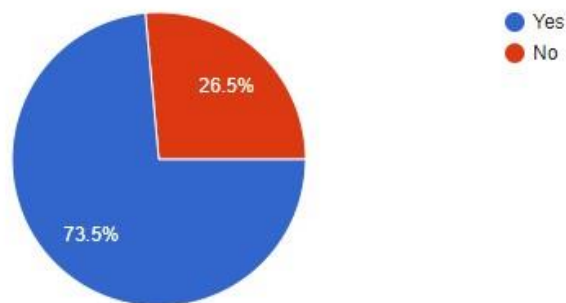
The comparison of the questionnaires with interviews revealed quite striking differences as most of the respondents in questionnaires indicated that they speak pure Shina whereas most of the interviewees were of the opinion that they cannot speak pure Shina due to the influence of Urdu and English. Most of the respondent were unable to use only Shina which was revealed not only by what they said but rather the way they said it as most of the respondents used all the three languages in their linguistic repertoire.

It is important to mention here as we have drawn a conclusion on the basis of both interview and questionnaire analysis that most of the interviewees who shared that they cannot speak pure Shina also shared that at home and with elders and parents they deliberately try to use pure Shina. This shows that Shina speakers indicate a preference for pure Shina identity at home and with close ones as parents, siblings and intimate friends as described in the maxims of the Markedness Model by Myers-Scotton (1993).

According to the Hierarchy of Identities Model, it indicates that pure Shina identity is foregrounded at home and with close ones being the unmarked choice.

Figure 4.2 Use of Shina Outside Home

2) Do you use Shina outside your home?

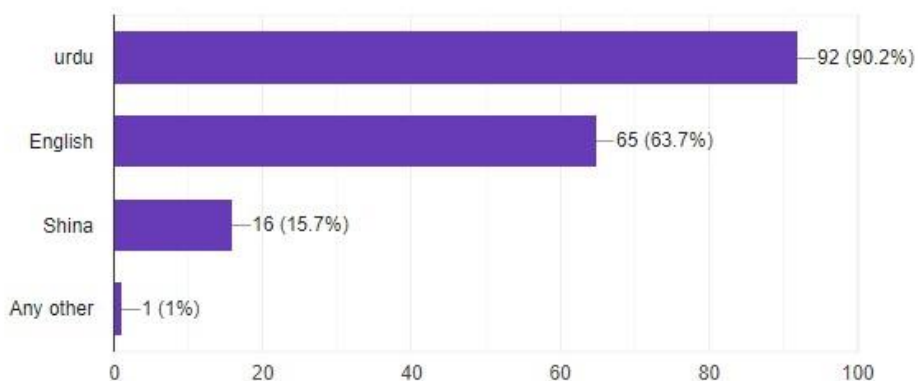


In response to the question asked regarding the use of Shina language outside home 73.5% respondents reported that they use Shina outside their homes whereas 26.5% respondents reported that they do not use Shina outside their homes. Those who shared that they use Shina outside their home gave very interesting reasons of doing so. Some of the respondents were of the opinion that Shina is the unmarked choice in every type of context in Gilgit. Others attributed the use of Shina to being the mother tongue. This indicates that majority of the participants consider Shina an appropriate language for outdoor usage whereas 26.5% of the participants do not consider it so. The findings of this question are quite opposite to the responses regarding usage of language in formal contexts as most of the respondents consider only English and Urdu as the unmarked choices outside home.

The analysis of the questionnaires as well as the interviews revealed that Shina is a marked choice in formal contexts but people still try to use it for a casual comment, greetings or to express any emotion. Most of the respondents in the questionnaires considered Shina an appropriate language for outdoor usage may be due to their affiliation and attachment with their language.

Figure 4.3 Language Use at Workplace

3) Which languages are spoken at your workplace?



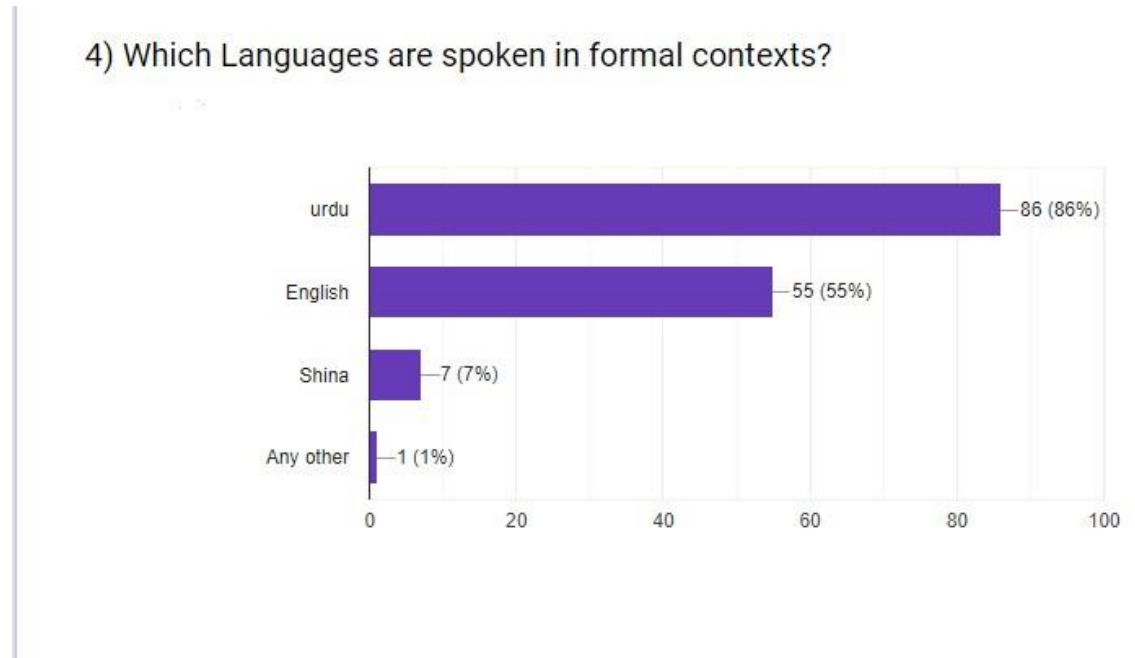
In some of the questions such as above, respondents selected more than one option, i.e. some of them mentioned that both Urdu and English are used at their workplace. Others even mentioned the usage of three languages simultaneously at their workplace. In response to the question asked regarding the choice of codes at work place, most of the participants 90.2 % reported that they use Urdu at the works place which is the national language of Pakistan whereas 63.7% shared that they use English. The use of

the Shina language at workplace seems to be quite minimal i.e. Only 15.7% of the respondents reported the use of Shina at the workplace.

This is quite contrary to the findings related to the usage of Shina outside home as most of the participants shared that they use Shina outside their homes. The findings of the question related to the use of Shina in informal context indicate that the use of Shina in informal contexts is greater than the use of Shina in formal contexts. When we see the results in relation to the construction of identity this indicates that Shina identity is foregrounded in informal contexts and back grounded in formal contexts. Though the use of Shina seems very less in formal contexts but still it is there, thereby indicating Shina identity at the workplace to indicate cultural affinity or bonding with other Shina speakers within the same workplace context.

A high percentage of the respondents reported that both Urdu and English are the unmarked choices at the workplace. It is also the observation of the researcher that people at the workplace also mix and switch languages. According to the unmarked choice maxim (Myers-Scotton, 1993), code-switching indicates at least two different sets of rights and obligations and also symbolizes dual identities of bilingual speakers. The analysis of the questionnaires revealed that a dual or mixed Urdu and English identity is the unmarked choice at the workplace but the minimal use of Shina is also seen at the workplace thereby indicating triple sets of rights and obligations and indicating a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity.

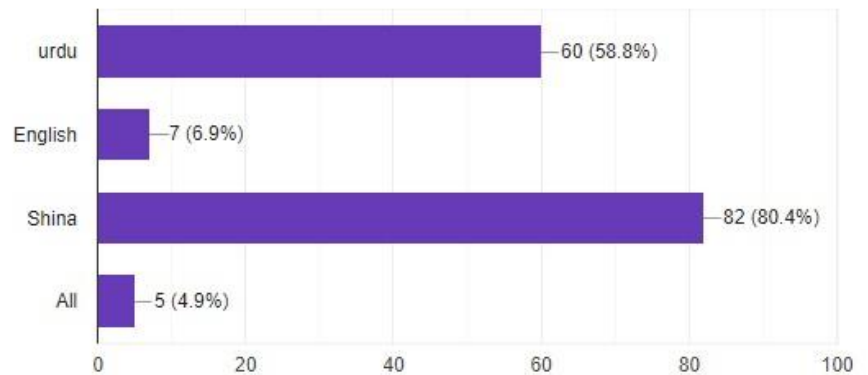
Figure 4.4 Language Use in Formal Contexts



In response to the question asked regarding the use of Shina language in formal contexts only 7% of the respondents reported that they use Shina in formal contexts which indicates that Shina is a marked Choice at workplace in formal contexts but few people still use it may be to indicate their affiliation with the mother tongue. The preferred languages at the workplace appear to be Urdu and English this supports the findings of the interviews that a mixed English and Urdu identity is projected at the workplace most of the time. This also indicates that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is back-grounded in formal contexts whereas the mixed Urdu and English identity is foregrounded. This discourse refers to the deference maxim which indicates that Urdu is used at the workplace in order to create some distance as it is a professional context.

Figure 4.5 Language Use in Informal Contexts

5) Which Languages are spoken in informal contexts?



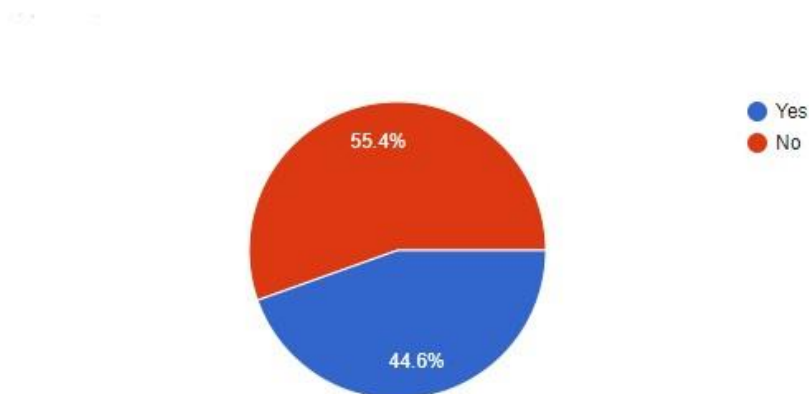
In response to the questions asked regarding the use of languages in informal contexts 84% respondents supported the use of Shina language in informal contexts. This indicates that Shina is used to lessen the distance in informal contexts according to the deference maxim whereas 60% of the respondents use Urdu language in informal contexts and 6.9% of the respondents use English in informal contexts. This supports the findings of the interviews that Shina is preferred for expressing feelings and emotions and for communicating with the closed ones. The findings of this question in comparison with other questions also shows that Urdu is used quite frequently in both formal and informal contexts but Shina is more frequently used in informal contexts. In other words, a mixed Urdu-English identity is projected in the formal contexts whereas a mixed Shina-Urdu identity is projected in informal contexts.

The responses to this question further indicate that the unmarked choices in informal contexts are Shina and Urdu whereas minimal use of English language was also

seen in informal contexts. The linguistic identities of Shina and Urdu speakers are foregrounded in informal contexts whereas the linguistic identity of an English speaker is back-grounded.

Figure 4.6 Consideration of Language for Marriage

6) Is language a consideration of marriage?



In response to the question related to language being a consideration for marriage 54.5% of the respondents did not consider it important to marry the same language speaker. Those who did not consider it important that the spouse should speak the same language were of the opinion that any common language between the partners can serve the purpose not necessarily the mother tongue. This indicates that young multilingual Shina speakers are quite flexible about making relations with other language speakers. Whereas 44.6% of the respondents considered it important to marry the same language speaker. Those who were in favor of marrying the same language speaker were of the opinion that the native language serves as a bond between the partners and is also essential for understanding each other easily.

In other words, 55.4% of the participants proved to be the advocates of language and cultural purism. The results also indicate that the rest of the respondents' i.e. 44.6 % were equally comfortable with all the three languages in their repertoire.

Figure 4.7 Inclusion in the Shina Community

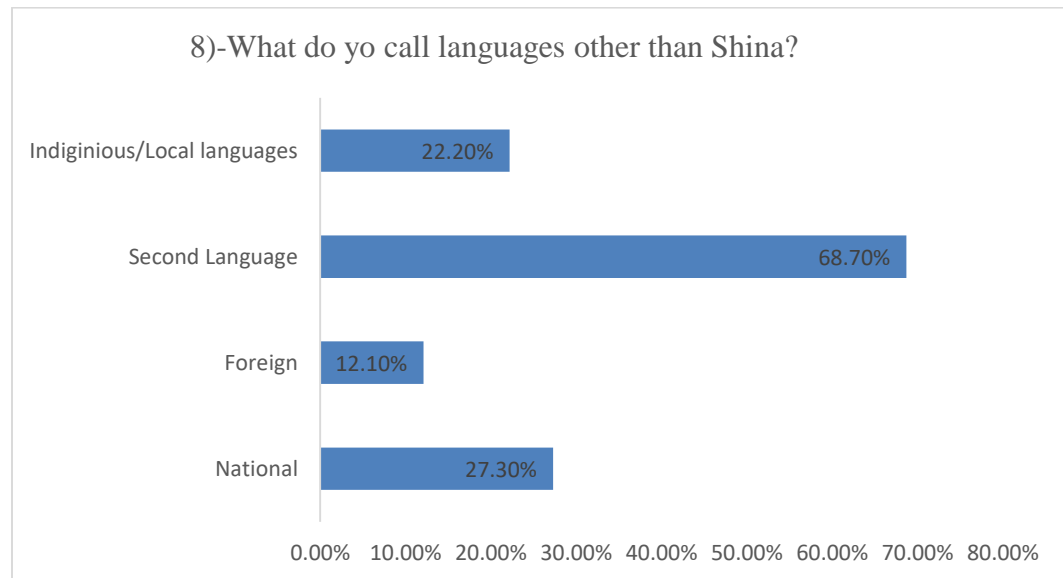


While answering the question asked regarding the inclusion of someone in Shina community on the basis of knowing the language, again a flexible attitude is reflected as 45% respondents reported that they will consider that very person a member of their community this shows that Shina speakers are not very rigid about in and out group demarcation. These respondents were of the opinion that if anyone learns Shina language it indicates their affiliation with the language and by learning a language we also acquire the culture of that particular community. 55% of the participants on the other hand were not able to accept anyone who has learned Shina as a member of the Shina community on the pretext that there are factors other than the language which are essential to make one a

member of a particular community. One of the respondents shared: “Shina speakers are those whose native language is Shina not second or third”.

Other markers enumerated by the respondents to include anyone in the Shina community were: food, dress, culture, traditions and geographical area.

Figure 4.8 Languages other than Shina

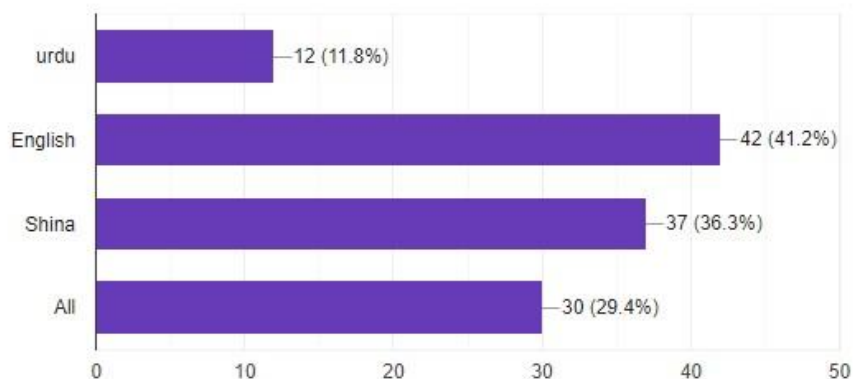


Gilgit-Baltistan is famous for its multilinguistic, multi ethnic and multi-cultural nature and most of the people speak more than one language. In response to the question asked about titles given to other languages 68.7% respondents called languages other than Shina as second language whereas 27% called them national languages, 22% called them indiginous/local languages. This indicates that majority of the respondents consider other languages as second languages because they consider Shina as their first language. The reason behind this categorization is that majority of the people in Gilgit-Baltistan are

multilingual speakers therefore they place other languages in the category of second languages.

Figure 4.9 Most Important Language

9) What is the most important language for you?



Multilingualism plays an important role in one's life. People give preference to different languages according to situation and context. In response to the question asked regarding the most important language for Shina speakers, 41.2% of the respondents considered English as the most important language for them, 36.3% of the respondents considered Shina as the most important language for them and 29.4% of the respondents shared that English, Shina and Urdu are equally important languages for them. The respondents were also asked to share the reasons due to which they consider a particular language important.

A variety of responses were received in response to this question which are quite interesting as well as contradictory. The responses to the previous question showed that Urdu is used in both formal and informal contexts so Urdu should have been given more

importance by the respondents but quite contrary to expectations only 11.8 % of the participants considered Urdu as the most important language whereas most of the respondents considered English as the most important language whereas the next language in the hierarchy of importance was Shina. On one hand most of the respondents in the questionnaire claimed that they speak pure Shina and showed reservations regarding accepting anyone as a member of the Shina community who has learned Shina but they called English as the most important language as they realize the low prestige of Shina in the linguistic market and the high prestige of English.

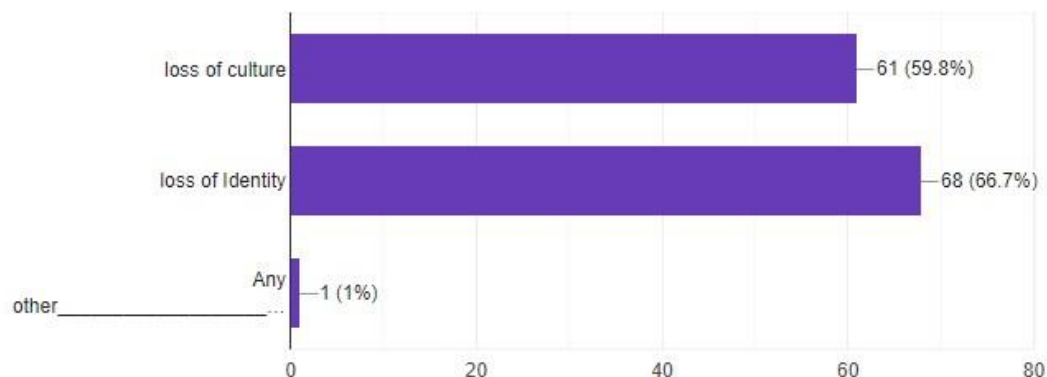
One of the respondents shared: “We need Urdu for national solidarity, English for education and academic purposes and Shina as being the mother tongue and our identity”.

Another respondent who called English as the most important language in his linguistic repertoire shared the following reason of its importance: “English helps us in getting good jobs”.

Other reasons shared for considering English as the most important language in their repertoire were: English is an international language and a language of current demands of the national and international contexts. Whereas Urdu is used as a lingua franca within Pakistan for different communicative purposes in formal, informal and workplace settings.

Figure 4.10 Loss of the Mother Tongue

10) What the loss of mother tongue will entail?



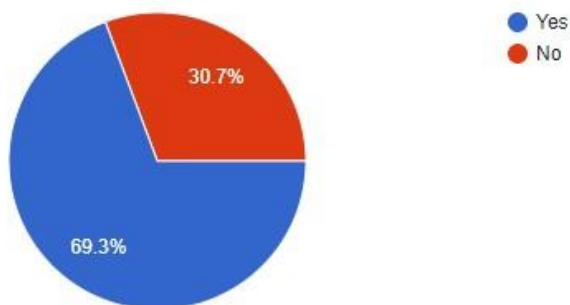
The mother tongue of Shina speakers is under severe pressure and threat due to influence of English and Urdu. The younger generation is more tilted towards English because of the opportunities in job market. At the same time the educated class is aware of the dangers the regional languages are facing including the Shina language. In response to the question asked regarding their opinion related to the loss of mother tongue majority of the respondents i.e. 66.7% reported that the loss of mother tongue entails loss of Identity whereas for 59.8% respondents the loss of mother will entail loss of culture. This indicates that Shina speakers take Shina language as a marker of their identity as most of them equated losing Shina with the loss of identity.

This can also be linked to the responses related to speaking pure Shina as most of them claimed to speak pure Shina when in reality they do not do so. It is their affiliation and connectedness with the mother tongue which makes them use it outside the home even when it is the marked choice. Most of the respondents i.e. 68 % considered the loss

of language as the loss of identity. This indicates that even if Shina speakers are well aware of the low prestige of Shina but still the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is dear to them.

Figure 4.11 Speaking Same Language at Home

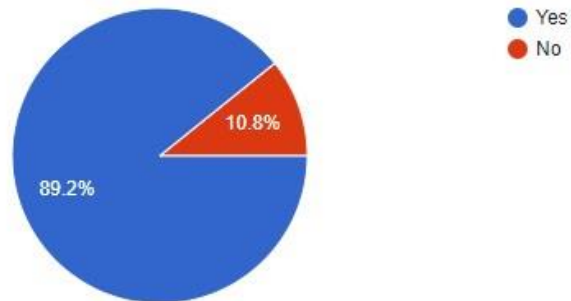
11) Do you speak the same language with everyone at home?



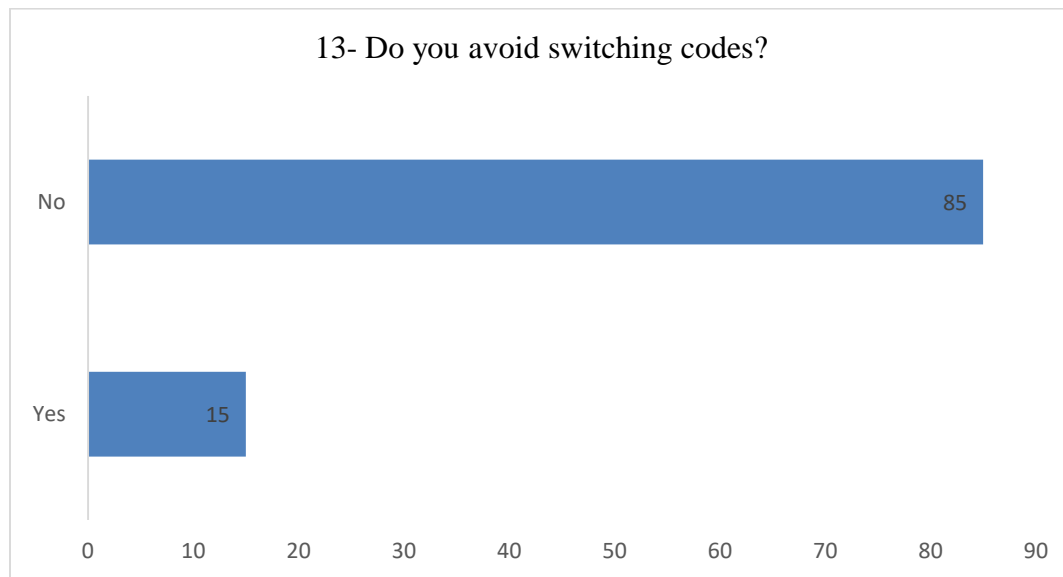
In response to the question asked regarding the use of same language at home 69.3% respondents reported that they use Shina language with everyone at home whereas 30.7% respondents reported that they do not use the same language with everyone at home. This supports the findings of the interviews that Shina is preferred for indoor usage as most of the respondents have established a relationship with the closed ones in Shina language. In other words, core Shina identity is reflected at home whereas 30.7% of the participants seem to prefer a mixed Shina, English and Urdu identity at home. This is the identity which is preferred most of the time by respondents in all data i.e. Questionnaires, Interviews and the analysis of conversations.

Figure 4.12 Code-Switching

12) Do you switch codes?



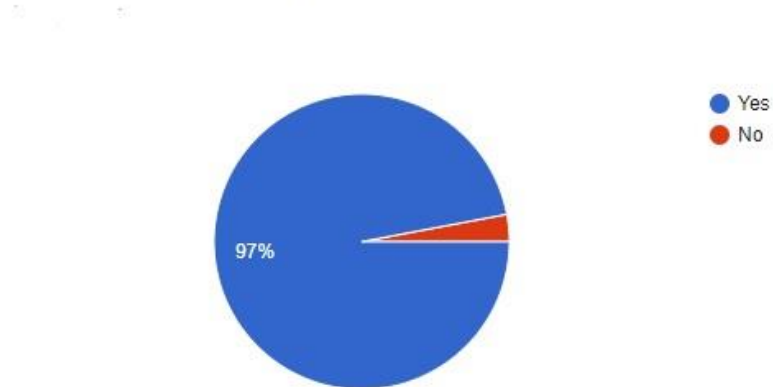
People who are multilingual switch from one language to another language. In response to the question asked regarding the switching of codes in conversation 89.2% respondents reported that they switch codes in their conversation and 10.8% respondents do not switch codes in conversations. The responses to this question further strengthens the findings of the interviews that multiple language are used in multiple and creative ways by Shina speakers to project multiple and mixed identities.

Figure 4.13 Avoidance of Code-switching

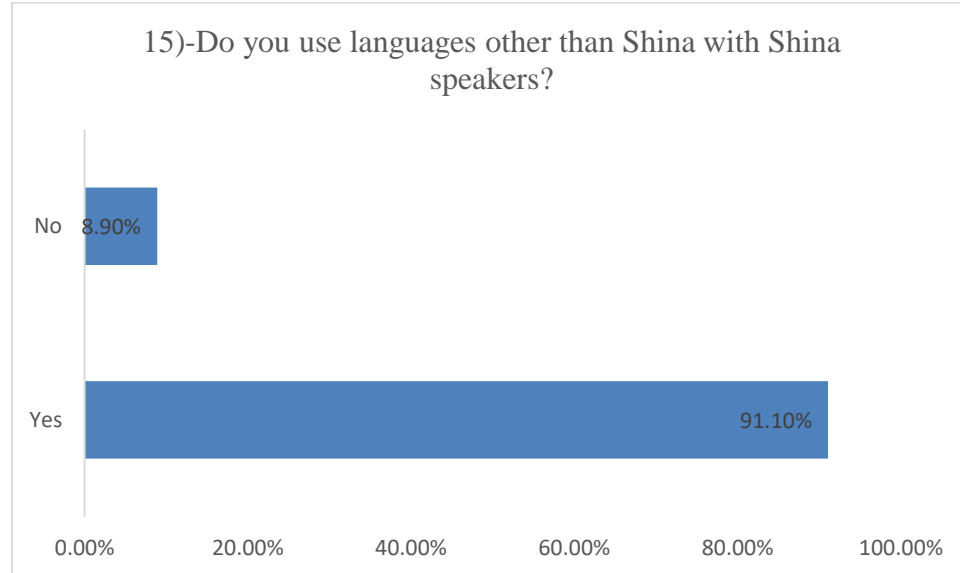
Most of the respondents in response to avoiding switching codes shared that they do not avoid switching codes which indicates that Shina speakers have become habitual of switching codes due to multilingualism. Only 15 % of the respondents shared that they do avoid switching codes. Those who shared that they avoid switching codes were asked to share the contexts and interlocutors with whom they avoid switching codes, most of them shared that they avoid switching codes with elders especially parents whereas 15 % were of the opinion that they do not avoid switching codes with anyone or in any context.

Figure 4.14 Multilingualism

14) Is being a multilingual a requirement?

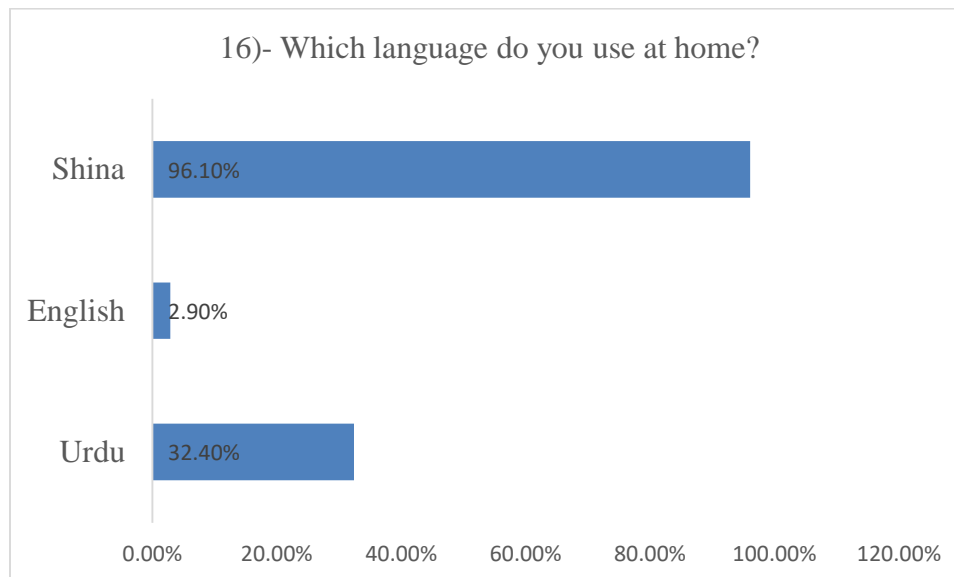


Almost all of the participants i.e. 97% shared that for them being a multilingual is a must whereas only 3% of the participants did not think so. As Gilgit-Baltistan is a multilingual area and majority of the people speak more than one language so in daily interactions people need to interact with each other in multiple languages according to the sets of rights and obligations established. Therefore, being a multilingual is a requirement for the people living in this region.

Figure 4.15 Language Use with Shina Speakers

In response to the question related to selection of a code with Shina speakers 91.1% of the participants shared that they do use languages other than Shina with Shina speakers. When asked to share the details they said that in formal contexts they use Urdu and English with Shina speakers. In informal contexts and especially with friends and people of the same age group Urdu, English and Shina are used simultaneously.

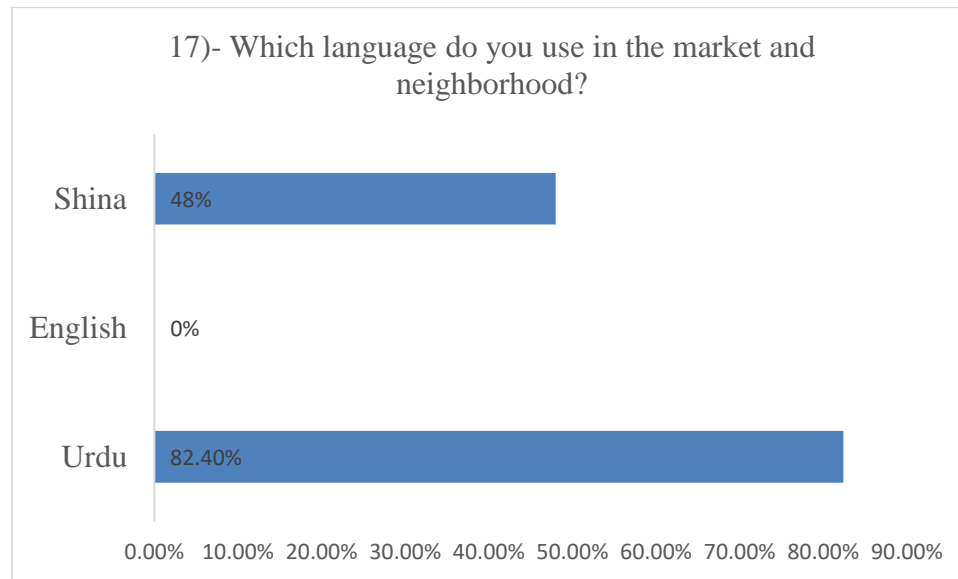
The responses to this question indicate that Urdu and English are the unmarked choices in the formal contexts whereas a mixed set of rights and obligations exists between multilingual Shina speakers in informal contexts with friends.

Figure 4.16 Language Use at Home

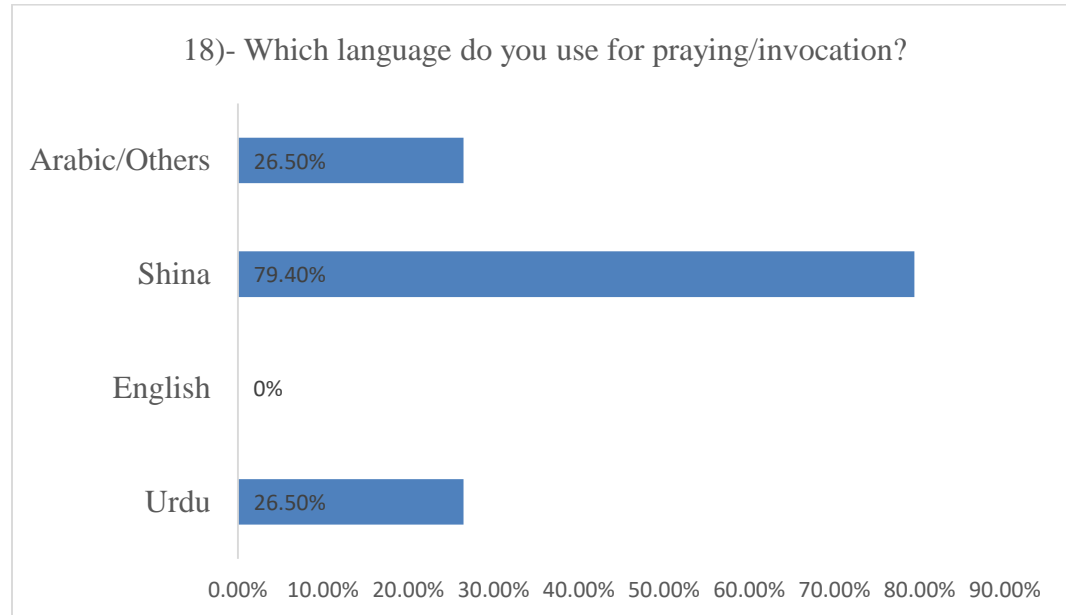
Majority of the respondents i.e. 96.1% shared that they use Shina at home. This strengthens the findings of the interviews that Shina speakers prefer to use Shina thereby to project a pure Shina identity in closed circles and in intimate relationships especially with people at home and friends. A good number of participants i.e. 32.4 % indicated the use of Urdu at home whereas only 2.9 % of the participants claimed to use English at home. This finding of questionnaires also seems to be in harmony with the findings of the interview that young multilingual Shina speakers use code switching and mixing and have become so much used to this style of speaking that they do not try to avoid doing so in any context or with anyone.

Most of the participants i.e. 96.1 % shared that they use Shina at home. In response to one of the previous questions respondents had shared that home is the only place where they avoid switching codes. This intensifies the findings of the questionnaire that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker is foregrounded at home as very intimate and close relationships are established in the Shina language.

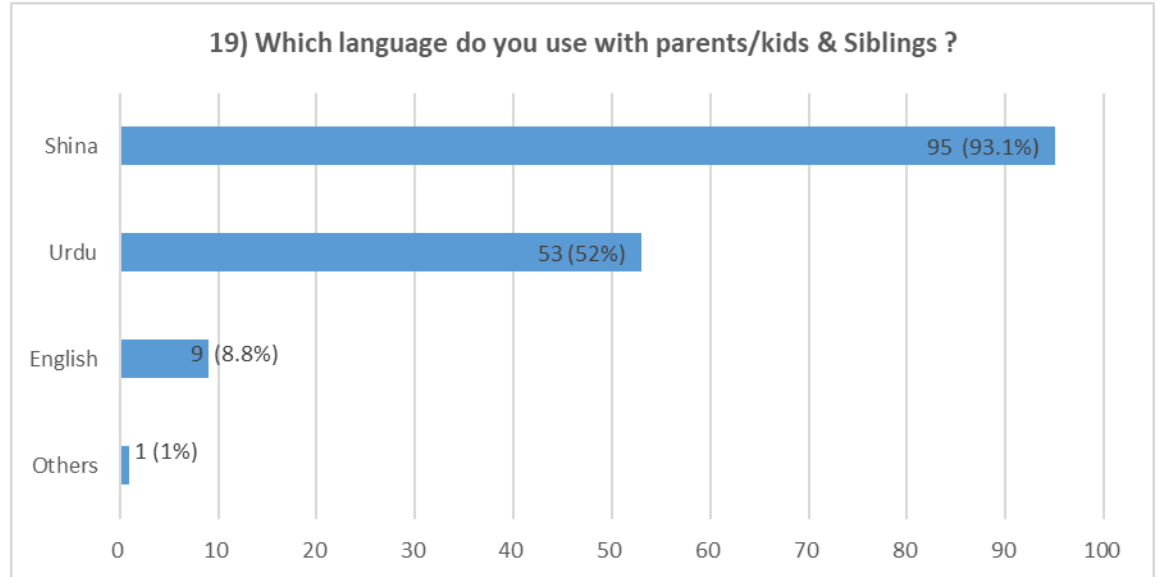
Figure 4.17 Language Use in Neighbourhood and Market



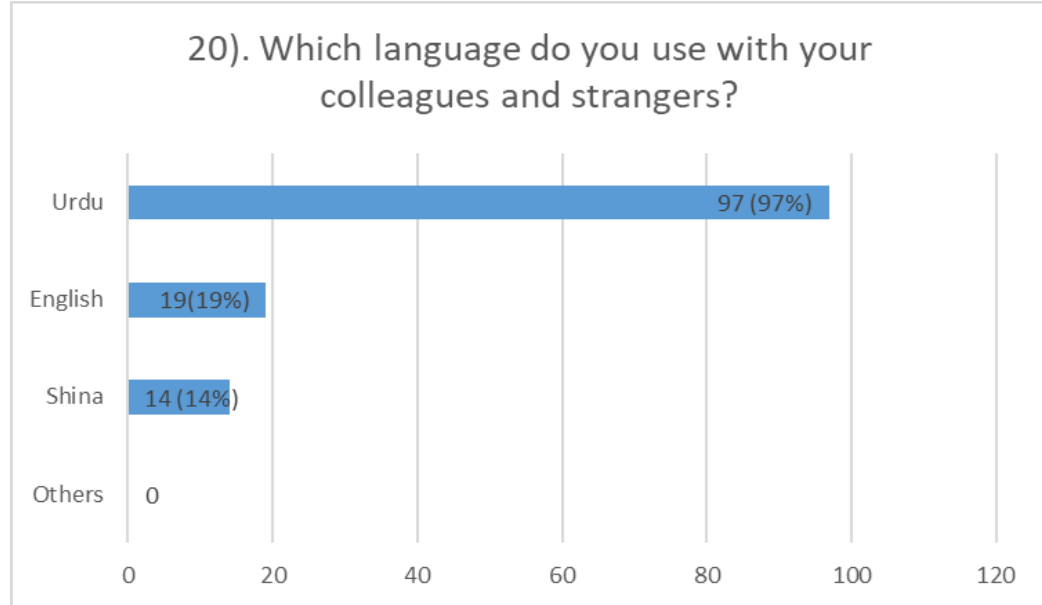
Beside English and Urdu as official and national languages, six other regional languages are being spoken in Gilgit-Baltistan. While responding to the question regarding the use of language in the neighbourhood and market majority of the people responded that they use Urdu language. This shows the significance of Urdu in the lives of Shina speakers. The results show that 82.40% respondents use Urdu language while 48% use the regional languages whereas English is not used in markets.

Figure 4.18 Language Use for Prayers

The people living in Gilgit-Baltistan are practicing Muslims and they regularly offer prayers. In response to the question regarding the use of language for praying and invocations, most of the respondents were of the view that they convey their wishes to God in their mother tongue which is 79.40 % while 26.5 % respondents were of the view that they use Arabic and Urdu language for praying. This indicates that Shina is preferred for expressing anything which is very personal and intimate. In other words Shina language is foregrounded in invocations whereas English is completely backgrounded.

Figure 4.19 Language Use with Parents and Siblings

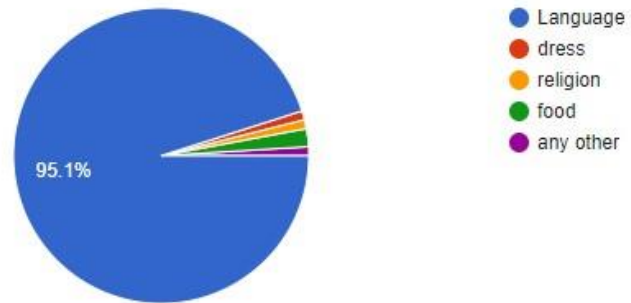
In response to the question asked regarding the use of language with parents and siblings 95% of the respondents responded that they speak Shina language with parents, children and siblings at home. It seems that Shina speakers prefer using their own language with their closed ones as they feel more connected therefore they prefer using Shina language with their parents, children and siblings.

Figure 4.20 Language Use with Colleagues and Strangers

While commenting on language use with colleagues and strangers most of the respondents i.e. 97% shared that the unmarked choice at the workplace is Urdu which seems natural as it is the national language of Pakistan and a lingua franca. The next language in the hierarchy is English as its usage was reported by 19% of the respondents where as 14 % of the participants also reported that they use Shina with colleagues and strangers. The responses to this question indicate that all three languages are used simultaneously by the Shina speakers where the frequency of usage of Urdu seems to be at the top where as there is not much difference in the frequency of usage of English and Shina.

Figure 4.21 Shina Identity

21) What is central to shina identity?



95.1 % of the respondents considered language as central to Shina identity where as the other markers of identity like food, dress, religion etc. were also considered by rest of the 4.9% respondents.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings, conclusions and recommendations drawn after the analysis of the interviews, questionnaires, conversations and FM recordings. The findings of this qualitative study can be generalized in similar cultural contexts as the ethnographic studies are context dependent.

The researcher tried to reduce sample bias and subjectivity by carrying out both quantitative and qualitative analysis. Along with carrying out interviews of the people from different professions and diverse areas of Gilgit, natural conversations were also recorded in different contexts. This provided the opportunity to analyze the construction of identity at multiple sites. In this study only those Shina speakers were interviewed, recorded and given questionnaires to fill who could speak both Urdu and English along with Shina due to judgmental sampling.

5.2 Findings

Several main questions characterized the objectives and design of this research study on identity construction of the Shina speakers. The basic underlying questions, of course were, how do multilingual Shina speakers project their linguistic identities through marked and unmarked choices during interaction? Which Identity markers become salient

in different contexts? Which factors play a role in the establishment of RO sets in interaction? To find out the answers of these questions, this research utilized different data collection tools like questionnaires, interviews, recordings of conversations and FM recordings were collected to triangulate the data. The findings of this study answers the research questions by shedding light and contributing towards an enhanced understanding of the significance and the purpose of this study.

To find out how multilingual Shina speakers project their linguistic identity in interaction, questionnaires, interviews, conversations and FM recordings of the multilingual Shina speakers were analyzed.

5.2.1 Findings of interviews

The data analysis of interviews revealed that Shina speakers construct their linguistic identity through code-switching and code-mixing. Most of the Shina speakers showed an inclination to use only Shina at home, especially with parents, so the construction of a core Shina identity is preferred at home. The unmarked choice at home is Shina. This finding is also supported by Bailey (2002), as according to him language is directly related to identity construction and a person's mother tongue is the channel that categorizes him or her. Most of the respondents shared apprehensions regarding the future of Shina language and culture. Shina speakers equated the loss of Shina with the loss of identity and they would not like that to happen at any cost. This phenomenon is an all-too-common threat in most of the other indigenous communities in the world as well. The loss of indigenous languages, culture and identity has been a topic of research in the field of sociolinguistics in recent times (See Hale et al., 1992; Krauss, 1996; Henze and

Davis,1999; Fishman, 2001). This indicates that it is the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker which gives them a feeling of connectedness and their very existence.

The analysis of the data indicates that Shina speakers ardently want to preserve the linguistic identity of Shina speakers due to the strong bond of affiliation with their mother tongue but they are able enough to ascertain the myriads of benefits offered by English language due to which most of the respondents gave the status of the most important language to English. In the selected population of this research most of the respondents considered Shina language as central to Shina identity, but few of the respondents also considered food and dress as central to Shina identity as well.

Another interesting finding which emerged from the analysis of the data is that the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker becomes important or is foregrounded when they are within the region i.e. Gilgit due to the presence of speakers of other regional languages. Whereas the regional identity i.e. Gilgiti is foregrounded when they are in other cities of Pakistan as that is how Shina speakers or speakers of other regional languages of Gilgit Baltistan are identified by the people over there. Though they revealed during the analysis of interviews that the term Gilgiti refers to all the residents of Gilgit and not only Shina speakers. As referred by Radloff and Backstrom (1992), Shina speakers studying in different colleges and universities in other parts of Pakistan join with other students from Hunza, Yasin, Nager and Baltistan with different linguistic and ethnic backgrounds to form student or political organizations. It has been observed that these organizations often attach the name ‘the Karakoram’ after the famous mountain range of the region to their association’s name. The name of this famous mountain range ‘Karakoram’ symbolizes the regional identity of these student unions.

Almost all of the participants shared that they cannot speak pure Shina as English and Urdu lexical items have become an inevitable part of their lexicon whether consciously or unconsciously. In response to a question related to the context where they avoid code-switching, a good majority of Shina speakers shared that they try to use only Shina with their parents and grandparents.

Analysis of the data revealed that the process of identity construction for multilingual Shina speakers starts from home where most of the respondents construct the linguistic identity of a Shina speaker which may be called pure Shina identity. The in depth analysis of the ethnographic data revealed the construction of a pure Shina identity with much closed ones and in group members. The boundaries of the in group members appeared to be very rigid as most of the Shina speakers refused to accept anyone as a member of the Shina community who has learned Shina but is not a native Shina speaker by birth. They considered the knowledge of cultural norms also as an important factor in making one a member of the Shina community.

The analysis of data revealed three types of Shina identities. The first and foremost is the construction of a core Shina identity in interaction. The analysis of the data as discussed above revealed that multilingual Shina speakers construct this type of identity in close networks and most of the time at home even within the same interaction. Most of the participants who are educated multilingual Shina speaker shared that they use Shina only with their parents and grandparents and use Urdu and English with their siblings even at home as some of them explained that they do not feel connected if they use any other language with their parents. The native Shina speakers also reported that they use Shina for praying or invocations and anyone who learns Shina cannot be

considered a member of Shina community, so core Shina identity is something related to the origin and being expressed through the mother tongue in close networks.

The second type of identity which is revealed while interviewing the participants is a mixed Shina, English and Urdu identity which the researcher also noticed emerging in both formal and informal contexts at educational institutions, homes and markets. The respondents also shared that they prefer to use Urdu with Shina speakers not known to them, out of courtesy they respond in Shina if someone not known to them addresses them in Shina and then switch back to Urdu and they stick to Shina if the addressee is an elderly person and does not speak Urdu.

The third type of identity constructed by Shina speakers is a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity which is projected by Shina speakers at home, public places, offices or any other site where they feel the need to project that despite being educated/having a high status they still value their Shina culture and identity.

The detailed analysis of the data gathered to study the construction of identity at the workplace revealed that both English and Urdu are the unmarked choices at the workplace and Shina is a marked choice but most of the respondents still use it in informal situations at the workplaces as it gives them a sense of belonging. The respondents of the study also demarcated formal and informal situations at the workplace. The formal situations included classrooms, conference room and offices where as informal contexts at the workplace included having tea at the café and any informal discussions between the colleagues.

The analysis of the data revealed the construction of a mixed Urdu and English identity in formal contexts at the workplace and the construction of a mixed Shina, Urdu

and English identity in informal context at the workplace. Shina has no place in formal contexts. The analysis of data revealed that English is a marked choice in the market whereas Shina and Urdu are the unmarked choices. The national language Urdu was found to be an unmarked choice in both formal and informal contexts.

Shina speakers construct a core or pure Shina identity at home as almost all of the respondents shared that they only use Shina with their parents and grandparents. Further they deliberately avoid switching codes at home. Whereas some of the respondents construct a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity with siblings. Pure Shina was also constructed in close circles and anything related to emotions and feelings is also expressed in Shina as almost all of the respondents reported that they use Shina while supplicating to the Almighty to grant their wishes.

Most of the population is multilingual in Gilgit, but elders specially grandparents do not approve of code-switching and code mixing due to their desire of keeping their language and thereby their identity pure.

People who live in far flung areas of Gilgit Baltistan appear to have closer affiliation with Shina as compared to the ones who reside in Gilgit or have moved to other parts of Pakistan or even abroad for the purpose of education and job. Young generation does not hold fast to a single language identity relationship perhaps because of their wider exposure to other cultures and languages. It is only in close circles that they prefer to project only Shina identity.

Suppression and enhancement of identity was found to depend on the context and communicative purpose which foregrounded one particular linguistic identity while back

grounded the other. While on other occasions, the simultaneous construction of multiple identities was also observed.

5.2.2 Findings of conversations and FM recordings

Qualitative data of conversations revealed that English and Urdu are the unmarked choices in both formal and informal contexts, whereas Shina is a marked choice in formal contexts. It further indicated that when norms do not specify any unmarked choice, Shina speakers use a mixture of Shina, Urdu and English and thereby project a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity. The same identity is projected by Shina speakers in informal contexts. Shina speakers establish multiple sets of rights and obligations in informal contexts.

In formal contexts Shina speakers project a hybrid Urdu and English identity and Shina identity is back grounded, whereas on other occasions, like class and work-place, they project the linguistic identity of an English speaker only. Shina speakers in formal contexts establish a dual set of rights and obligations by using both Urdu and English. The analysis of qualitative data showed that English and Urdu are used for making arguments and for persuading others.

Shina was frequently used in the markets especially while asking for a discount. Shina and Urdu were found to be the unmarked choices in the market whereas the usage of English was limited to the insertion of few lexical items. During the analysis of conversations recorded in the market it was noticed that when RO sets do not specify any unmarked choice Shina speakers initiate the conversation in Urdu and thereby foreground the national identity. Topic of discussion also influences the RO set as the data revealed

that anything personal is expressed in Shina and discourses related to professional life are expressed in English and Urdu.

Multiple ways of constructing linguistic identity were found in this study through the creative use of linguistic practices of code switching and code mixing. According to the context, Shina speakers were sometimes found to act like monolinguals by using Shina only thereby projecting a pure Shina identity by deliberately avoiding code switching and code mixing with their parents and grandparents. Woolard (2004), criticized Markedness Model on the pretext that code-switching is strategic and is not always a conscious choice. Code-switching may be unconscious but the data in the current study showed a regular pattern in code-switching and mixing as it revealed that while talking about academics and jobs, Shina speakers mix Urdu and English whereas to express anything personal, Shina is preferred. The regularity in the patterns of code mixing and switching indicated that it may be conscious or they have become habitual of using the languages in their repertoire or to mix them. Though switching or mixing of languages may be conscious or unconscious, but avoidance of code-switching in certain contexts and with certain people seems to be deliberate.

Whereas on other occasions they constructed a mixed Urdu and English identity most of the time in professional and educational contexts. Yet in other contexts a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity is constructed most of the time with friends and peers. This is similar to Bailey (2007)'s study which revealed that Dominican Americans use code-switching for negotiating their social identities. Arnett (2007) found similar results in his research on hybrid identities that a bicultural identity may develop due to globalization or people may develop hybrid identities.

The factors which seem to affect the RO sets in interaction include multilingualism, context, topic and educational level of the interlocutors. According to Sfar and Prusak (2005), identity is constructed through social practices and the factors which affect RO set include social roles, norms and context. Multilingualism, context, interlocutors, topic and educational level also need to be included in the list on the basis of this research. It is generally believed by the social scientists that many factors such as language, ethnic groups, nationality, race, physical appearance i.e. dresses, interests and religion shape the identity of people. All these factors affect the peoples' identity in different ways.

Most of the Shina speakers were of the view that they switch codes from Shina to Urdu and English according to the situation, context and roles in their daily life which support Meads' (1934) views of identity construction.

One of the questions was about the identity markers employed by the Shina speakers in different contexts to construct their identity. The analysis of the data shows that different identity markers which become salient according to the context include: dress, traditional woolen cap, accent, physical appearance and complexion.

During the present research, the researcher observed that in Gilgit-Baltistan, like in any other multilingual region, people switch codes due to various reasons and to perform multiple functions. These code switches are both marked and unmarked choices as described by Myers-Scotton (1982) in Markedness Model. Any multilingual person in a high position in a formal context may use an expression from a regional language like Shina just to show to the people around that no matter what, or despite the social distance

between them he or she is still one of them. In the same way a person may not use the regional language at all either to maintain distance or impose authority.

While analyzing the data of FM recordings, it was noticed that in Urdu programs, anchorpersons project a mixed Urdu and English identity, but in the middle of the conversation, they do share a comment in Shina to indicate that they are in-group members. The anchorpersons select the code according to the background of the caller as if a student calls, they use English. They use English and Urdu to express displeasure and to indicate distance as regional languages indicate an intimate set of rights and obligations.

Shina speakers in formal contexts establish a dual set of rights and obligations by using both Urdu and English and establish multiple sets of rights and obligations in informal contexts. Analysis of FM recordings also indicated that selection of a code depends on the topic and educational background of the interlocutors. In a program about people with disabilities, all the professionals invited used Urdu and English and did not even utter a single word in Shina.

It was noticed by the researcher that when the tone of any program becomes serious and quite formal, the anchorpersons initiate a new set of rights and obligations by either playing local music or songs and by making a comment in Shina. Some of the callers requested to play a Shina song by using Urdu, though the un-marked choice was Shina. This can be connected with the findings of interviews where Shina speakers shared that they use Urdu with other Shina speakers not known to them. The analysis of FM recordings showed a quick change in RO sets especially when anchorpersons receive

calls. It further showed that English is preferred for identifying problems and for sharing facts and figures.

5.2.3 Findings of questionnaires

Following are the findings of quantitative data analysis:

The quantitative data revealed that 73% of the participants shared that they use Shina outside their homes so they consider it an appropriate language for outdoor usage. This is in contrast to the findings of interviews which indicated that Shina has a limited usage outside home. Shina is the most preferred language at home according to quantitative data analysis as 69.3 % of the participants shared that they use Shina at home.

The projection of an English identity is a marked choice at home. The unmarked identity at home is the identity of a Shina speaker. 95 % of the participants shared that they use Shina with parents thereby indicating that Shina identity is preferred with close relations. Bloom and Gumperz (1972) found similar results while studying code-switching in Norway. He found that people of the community use Ranamal (a local dialect) with family and friends, whereas Bokmal (national dialect) is used with outsiders. The analysis of quantitative data revealed that Urdu and English are the unmarked choices at the workplaces in Gilgit-Baltistan. 90.2 % of the participants shared that they use Urdu at the workplace whereas 63.7 % shared that they use English. Only 15.7 % of the participants shared that they use Shina at the workplace. This is similar to the findings of interviews that Shina has a minimal usage at the workplaces but still it is there so Shina speakers project a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity in informal contexts at

the workplace. In other words, Shina is a marked choice in formal contexts at the workplace and an unmarked choice in the informal contexts at the workplace.

Quantitative data revealed that most of the respondents prefer the construction of a national identity at the workplace. The identity of an English speaker comes next whereas 14 % of the participants also showed preference for the projection of Shina identity at the workplace

Quantitative data analysis showed that young Shina speakers are not very rigid about Shina identity as 54.5 % of the participants did not consider it important to marry the same language speaker whereas 44.6 % considered it important. Though the majority of the participants showed a positive attitude towards other language speakers but surprisingly more than half of the participants refused to accept anyone who has learned Shina and is not a Shina speaker by birth as member of Shina community.

English was given the status of the most important language by 41.2 % of the respondents whereas 36.3 % considered Shina as the most important language. 29.3 % of the participants however shared that Shina, Urdu and English are equally important for them. Quantitative data analysis revealed that Shina speakers project a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity with age mates.

5.2.4 Findings of participant observation

The researcher observed that young Shina speakers in informal contexts like family gatherings construct a mixed Shina, Urdu and English identity, whereas, elderly Shina speakers construct a hybrid Shina and Urdu identity. Participant observation of formal contexts like class-room revealed the construction of two types of identities. Shina

speaking students construct a mixed Urdu and English identity for communicating with each other, whereas for presenting anything, they construct the identity of an English speaker. Shina identity is backgrounded in class being a marked choice. In the markets of Chilas, the researcher observed the construction of a pure Shina identity. Shina was found to be an un-marked choice in the market. It was also observed that Shina speakers prefer to use Shina with spouse and Urdu with kids. Participant observation also indicated that Shina speakers choose their codes according to their addressee.

5.3. Conclusion

The study was undertaken to find out how Shina speakers construct their linguistic identities during conversations with multiple languages at their disposal. The phenomenon of identity construction is a versatile and a complex process. In the simplest words, it is a sense of belonging to a particular category, culture, ethnic or linguistic group, clan, region or a nation. The Shina speaking community is one of the biggest speech communities in Gilgit-Baltistan which has its own culture full of ethno-linguistic diversity. The culture of the Shina speakers is on the verge of extinction. The loss of the culture of Shina speakers will entail the loss of their identity.

The Shina speakers use several languages in their communication because of different socio- cultural, historical and economic reasons such as migration, education, urbanization, globalization and colonization in the past. People switch from one language to another language in their conversation and this switching can serve as an index of their identity as it reveals their status, power, prestige, authority and social background. Like other heterogeneous groups, the Shina speakers communicate with other group members

by choosing a language from their linguistic repertoire. This research showed that these language choices are not accidental rather they are produced by different factors which emerge from the communicative system of the Shina community.

The data revealed that in multilingual societies like Gilgit-Baltistan it becomes even more important because switching to English or Urdu from Shina language may depend upon the competence of the addressee, level of formality or informality, a change in situation or setting and cultural and social reasons. In multilingual settings language choice of the participants depends on identity negotiation, construction and indication of connection and solidarity with individuals or groups.

It was observed that regional identity depends on many factors such as landscape, culture, ethnicity, the built environment and more importantly the dialects of different languages spoken in the particular region. The concept of belonging to a particular region may propagate a sense of identity which will always challenge the other hegemonic narratives. This sense of belonging to a particular region serves as a binding force among the members of the society in the time of crisis. It was also observed during this research that the Shina speakers often refer to themselves by a geographical destination where they live such as Chilasi, Kohistani, Gilgiti and may not name their language Shina and use an adoption of a geographical designation.

Gilgit-Baltistan is home to heterogeneous cultural, linguistic and ethnic groups. Historically this region had a social and governance structure indigenous to the region. The local indigenous system enabled people to negotiate their linguistic and cultural diversity in the past. In culturally, linguistically and ethnically diverse communities of these regions, the politics and narrative of single identity at the cost of multiple identities

can prove disastrous for the society. To ward off negative fallouts of diversity, it is important to negotiate linguistic, cultural and ethnic pluralism which can enrich all the communities living in the northern Pakistan by accommodating each other.

The data analysis shows that members of the Shina speech community in Gilgit-Baltistan demonstrate pragmatic attitudes towards adoption of languages of science and technology such as English and Urdu as these languages are associated with power and prestige. This attitude poses a severe threat to their mother tongue due to which their identity seems to be under the pressure of dominant global cultures and languages.

Multilingualism has led to the projection of multiple identities. This means that identity of Shina speakers undergoes a continuous process of change due to the process of negotiation and language learning in different contexts. It was also observed that multilingual Shina speakers switch codes which results in switching identities according to the context and interlocutors. These switches are both marked and unmarked choices as described by Myers-Scotton (1993). Shina speakers have to learn both Urdu and English in order to successfully conduct their daily activities be it professional or personal.

Literature was approached to see how researchers in the past had taken identity studies. It was found that no work is available on the identity construction of Shina speakers. This study will add to the body of knowledge on identity construction and attempt to fill this research gap. The study has contributed to the maxims of Markedness Model that people construct a mixed identity by mixing languages so a mixed identities maxim can be added. Factors related to identity construction and identity markers also need to be added in the maxims of Markedness Model as this study revealed that identity

construction depends on multilingualism, educational background of interlocutors and the relationship as well as the level of formality and informality between the interlocutors. The first objective of the study was to investigate the identity construction of Shina speakers through marked and un-marked choices. The study found that Shina speakers utilize the three languages in their linguistic repertoire i.e. Urdu, English and Shina creatively in a number of ways. Shina speakers construct a pure Shina identity at home, with parents, siblings and close friends. They also manage to create some space for creating pure Shina identity in informal contexts at the workplace and in informal contexts, pure Shina identity is foregrounded by the Shina speakers.

It was found that language use is very much dependent on the context as well as the interlocutors. It was found that in informal context Shina speakers construct a mixed Shina and Urdu identity where as in formal contexts a mixed English and Urdu identity is constructed. The unmarked choice at home, in market, for praying and communicating was found to be Shina most of the time and both Shina and Urdu sometimes. Whereas the unmarked choices at workplace i.e. offices, classrooms, for presentations and meetings are both Urdu and English. It was interesting to see that Urdu has become an unmarked choice in both formal and informal contexts.

The second objective of the study was to find out the factors that influence the RO sets in interaction. The factors which seem to play a role in establishing RO sets include; context, topic, interlocutors, educational level and multilingualism. The last objective was to find out the identity markers employed by Shina speakers to identify themselves in different contexts. Identity markers which become salient in different contexts include; language, dress, accent, appearance and complexion.

To conclude this ethnographic study about the identity construction of Shina speakers, it can be said that multilingual Shina speakers on certain occasions act like monolinguals to project a pure Shina identity whereas on other occasions they switch or mix multiple identities. They manipulate the linguistic resources at their disposal in order to be a particular person at a particular time or a totally versatile personality thereby changing, switching or mixing world views.

The present study is one of the pioneering researches on the identity construction of Shina speakers by a researcher who is also a native Shina speaker. The study focused on the phenomenon of identity construction of Shina speech community. As Shina is an oral language without any written record of its folklore until the arrival of the British in the region. The British political agents compiled a few number of folksongs, sayings, and folk tales using the Roman script. It is pertinent to mention here that the non-availability of the written material on the Shina language, its culture and literature made the task of the present research quite hectic, difficult and lengthy.

This study is new in the sense that the collection and analysis of data added to the maxims of Markedness Model. On the basis of this study, we can add a mixed identities maxim as Shina speakers mix Shina, Urdu and English to index mixed identities. This study also explored the factors which influenced the establishment of RO sets in interaction, which include context, topic, multilingualism and educational backgrounds of speakers. These factors can also be included in Markedness Model. The present research also found that there are other identity markers as well along with language which become salient according to the context. These identity markers like physical appearance,

complexion, attire and accent can also be included to extend Omoniyi's (2007) idea of a code which includes dresses, customs, age, dance etc.

This study will pave a way for other researchers and scholars who are interested in knowing the culture of these mountainous areas of linguistic, cultural and ethnic diversity. On the basis of experience and findings of present study, some recommendations are made to help future researchers in conducting socio-cultural and linguistic research in these areas.

5.4. Recommendations

The cultural and linguistic ecology of world is constantly evolving and changing as a result of migrations and globalization and so is the case with Gilgit-Baltistan. The linguistic globalization and use of English and Urdu in Gilgit-Baltistan has blurred the lines between what is considered a local and a global language. In multilingual societies like Gilgit-Baltistan where linguistic codes co-exist, the intrinsic relationship between languages and identities plays a decisive role in the society. In such situations people feel the need to negotiate their identity through their language choice. The process of identity construction and negotiation in different socio-cultural environments is a socially constructed process and a hybrid mechanism. Different linguistic identities are constantly created and negotiated on a personal level between the self and other in a multilingual environment.

In such a scenario, new identities are constructed based on languages, ethnicities and regions which are affecting different societies across the globe. Even the indigenous mountainous communities of Gilgit-Baltistan are not immune to these new trends. On

one hand the emergence of identity based discourses is empowering the local mountain communities; it can also potentially lead to inter-ethnic and inter-communal conflicts over different issues if left unchecked.

In order to promote and maintain linguistic plurality, flexible policies should be introduced by policy makers that respect the ethnic and linguistic practices of minority speech communities. It is important to realize the value of linguistic diversity so minority languages like Shina should be maintained and supported for national integration.

Teachers must inculcate a positive attitude towards the minority languages like Shina, so that the promotion of national and international identities must not alienate multilingual Shina speakers from their core Shina identity.

Recommendations for the Future Researchers:

- The mountainous region of Gilgit-Baltistan provides a unique opportunity for the social scientists in the field of research due to its multilinguistic or multicultural nature and its ethnic diversity. Along with the other speech communities, the Shina speech community has a rich cultural heritage. Besides identity construction of Shina speakers, the history, cultural heritage and folklore of Shina and other speech communities living in northern part of Pakistan should also be researched and documented.
- The study focuses on Shina speakers in three campuses of KIU, markets, workplaces and family gatherings in some areas of Gilgit-Baltistan. Further study involving a larger population and more institutions and regions should be carried out to add to our understanding of Shina speakers' identity construction.

- Exploring the role of gender in identity construction within the same population can be another comprehensive study, as gender was not taken as a variable in this study. A gender-wise study of identity construction will explore whether there is any significant difference or similarity in the way male and female Shina speakers construct their linguistic identities during interactions in different contexts. Future researchers can study the identity construction of male and female Shina speakers which would add another perspective to this research.
- The study reveals that Shina speakers are aware of the low prestige of their language which may give them a sense of inferiority. So teachers should find ways to allow for the expression and affirmation of identities within the classroom.
- Linguistic identity construction of children and elderly generation also needs to be studied.
- Research should also be carried-out on other oral languages and literature of Gilgit-Baltistan such as Balti, Khuwaar, Burushaski, Wakhi etc. which have a rich treasure of oral heritage. This heritage will die out if not documented and preserved.
- One of the recommendations of this research is for Shina writers to make a rigorous effort to develop a standardized writing system of their language. This will result in the preservation and acceptability of Shina literature. Buddruss (1985) and few other foreign writers have compiled some Shina vocabulary and an anthology of literature such as poetry, prose, drama, folktales and folk sayings. Some of the local writers such as Zia (1986, 2010), Taj (1989), Kohistani and Schmidt (1996), Radloff and Shakil (1998) and Shakil (2004, 2013) have worked on grammar and writing system of Shina. Shina Language and Cultural Promotion Society (SLCPS) was established

in Gilgit which in collaboration with Frontier Language Institute (FLI) Islamabad had been trying to develop writing system of Shina. These collaborations need to be further strengthened on a wider scale including the university students and researchers of department of linguistics. This will help in documenting and preserving the language, literature and culture of Shina speech community.

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ANNEXURE A

DVD of Interviews, Conversations and FM Recordings

ANNEXURE B

Questionnaire/Interviews

ANNEXURE - B.

Questionnaire/Interview

Gender: Male
 Age: 22
 Education/Occupation: B.S (Hons)
 Languages that you know: English, Urdu, Shina, Arabic, Farsi, Pashto

1. Do you speak pure Shina?
 a) Yes
 b) No

Reason for doing so
Be cause I donot know pure Shina. As we are living in Pakistan so we have to speak English first and Urdu. That's why I cannot speak pure Shina.

2- Do you use Shina outside your home/Institution?
 a) Yes
 b) - No
 c) - Reasons for the above choice?
I use shina outside home, because in Gilgit, people usually speak shina as their mother tongue.

3- Which languages are spoken at your workplace?
 a) Urdu
 b) English
 c) Shina
 d) Explain why?
Urdu, Eng, Shina are all spoken at my work place because Eng is used by shina words by teachers and for any explanation, all the categories used Shina.

4- Which languages are spoken in formal contexts like offices, meetings, classrooms etc?

- a) English
- b) Urdu
- c) Shina
- d) Any other (specify)

5- Which language is spoken in informal contexts like market, street, hospital etc?

- a)- Shina
- b)- Urdu
- c)- English
- d)- all

e) Reason for the above choice

Urdu is used by educated people mostly
 Urdu is used by uneducated people mostly
 Urdu is used by all people

6- Is language a consideration for marriage? Do the partners need to speak the same language?

- a) Yes
- b) No

c) Reason for the above choice

If the partners know the language of each other, then it will be a happiness for them. If they don't understand then there will be difficulties for them.

3

7- Do you consider someone who is not a native speaker of Shina a member of your community if he knows Shina or has learned it?

a) Yes

b) No

c) Reason for the above choice

Most of my friends are here in
Gilgit and they has learned it better in.
Be cause they spend couple of years in Gilgit.

8- What do you call languages other than Shina as Urdu and English?

a) National

b) Foreign

c) Second

9- Specify which language is called what in your community?*

a) Urdu

b) English

10- Which is the most important language for you?

a) Urdu

b) English

c) Shina

d) all

e) Give reasons why?

Be cause it is our national language
and i love to speak urdu. But the
official language is english. But i still want
to speak english.

11- What the loss of mother tongue will entail?

a) Loss of culture

(4)

b) Loss of identity

c) Any other

12- Do you speak the same language with everyone at home?

a) Yes

b) No

c) If yes what is the reason of using the same language with everyone at home?

If no when and why do you need to switch code?

Because in our homes every one easily understand our mother tongue.

13- Do you switch codes?

a) Yes

b) No

d- With whom and in what context do you switch codes?

14- Do you avoid code-switching?

a) Yes

b) No

c) Reason for the above choice

15- Which personality traits do you associate with mixing languages?

- a) Cosmopolitan personality
- b) Educated
- c) friendly
- d) Any other
- e) Reason for the above choice

Be cause we are living in global
village and every one want to
mix words of other languages to
the another.

16- Does code-switching define you in any way?

- a) Yes
- b) No
- c) Explain how?
 - i) It shows that you are an educated Shina speaker
 - ii) It has nothing to do with your personality
 - iii) It is essential for everyday business
 - iv) Any other? Explain

17- Is being a multilingual a requirement?

6

Yes

No

Reasons for the above choice?

Because if we want to do trades with people then we should know their language. It will be a benefit for us.

18- When and why did you learn each of the following languages?

a. Shina

from birth and from home and from my village.

b. Urdu

In the school.

c. English

In the school, college and

19- What are the advantages of being a multilingual?

You can do business and trades with other people. Interact better. Share information and ideas. Knows the culture of various people.

20- Do you use languages other than Shina with Shina speakers?

a) Yes

b) No

7

c) Reason for the above choice

No cause - sus - office - language is
 English and - national - is - Urdu - so
 we have to speak these languages
 also.

21- How do you recognize/identify other Shina speakers who are not known to you?

from their tone, pitch and their
 speaking style.

22- Which language do you use in the following contexts?

- a)- Home ----- Shina
- b)- Neighborhood ----- Shina
- c)- Praying ----- Arabic / Shina / Urdu
- d)- Market ----- Urdu / Shina

23- Which language do you use with the following relations?

- a)- Parents/kids ----- Shina
- b)- Siblings ----- Shina
- c)- Colleagues ----- Shina / Urdu / English
- d)- Strangers ----- Urdu / Shina / English

24- What is central to Shina identity?

- a) Language
- b) Dress
- c) Religion
- d) Common ancestry
- e) Any other

8

25- How do you define China identity?

China speakers, help use to identify
 China speakers as well as China
 identity. or

We define China identity as 'speaking
 China language with all the requirements
 like pitch, tone, flow and body language.
 Also dress, way of speaking, culture are
 important for identification of China.

ANNEXURE C

Interview Questions

Research topic: Identity Construction of Shina Speakers: An Ethnographic Study

Gender ----- Education/Occupation----- Age -----

Languages that you know-----

Do you speak pure Shina?

Do you use Shina outside your home/Institution?

Which languages are spoken at your workplace?

Which languages are spoken in formal and informal contexts?

Is language a consideration for marriage?

Do you consider someone a member of your community if he knows Shina or has learned it?

What do you call languages other than Shina?

Which is the most important language for you?

What the loss of mother tongue will entail?

Do you switch codes?

Do you avoid code switching? If yes when and why?

Does code switching define you in any way?

Is being a multilingual a requirement?

What are the advantages of being a multilingual?

Do you use languages other than Shina with Shina speakers?

How do you recognize/identify other Shina speakers who are not known to you?

Which language do you use in the following contexts?

- Home
- Neighborhood
- Praying
- Market

Which language do you use with the following relations?

- Parents/kids
- Siblings
- Colleagues
- Strangers

What is central to Shina identity?

How do you define Shina identity?

ANNEXURE D

Observation Sheet

The main objective of the Sheet is to record and observe the contextual use of different languages by the respondents.

Date

Time

Location

Context		Participant	Language Use		
Formal	Informal		Shina only	Code-switching	Code-mixing
RO Sets			Marked Choice	Un-marked Choice	

ANNEXURE E

Field Notes

Mandi Chilas
Jun 2017

12am

It was a bright sunny day. The shops were crowded but the number of customers was less. Most of the people were just talking to each others. The researcher felt awkward as well as there were no females.

Almost everyone was using the local dialect of Shina and the researcher did not find any insertion of English and Urdu lexical items. There were pathan hawkers too who could be easily identified through their attire.

The researcher went to a hotel along with family to take tea. The waiter took the order by using Urdu. There were two more families in the hotel who were already taking tea. One of the family was conversing with each other in Urdu but their appearance and accent was indicating that they are not Shina speakers. The family also included

two first kids. It was interesting
to observe that the couple was
using Shina with each other
& Urdu with their kids.

3

April 2017

KIU Main Campus Class BS 5th

Course: Communication Skills

The researcher chose to observe her own class of communication skills as a participant observer.

The class was divided into groups and there were five students in each group. The researcher gave them the topic "Role of hard work and luck in our lives" to discuss.

The students were asked to discuss the topic with their group members for almost twenty minutes in English. After twenty minutes they were asked to stand up and share their views.

While the students were discussing the topic, the researcher moved from group to group, sat with them and also added to their discussions. It was observed that though the students were having the discussion in English but they were also using Urdu for directing each others to contribute

to the discussion. It was interesting to notice that when the researcher sat with them they tried to use English only and also asked about certain vocabulary items.

When the students were individually asked to stand up & speak on the topic all of them used English which is the unmarked choice in class.

ANNEXURE F

Signed Consent Form

Annexure - C

Consent for Participation in Research

Name of the Study: Identity Construction of the Shina Speakers: An Ethnographic Study

Purpose: PhD Research

I hereby agree to participate in the Research study by Ms. Shamim Ara Shams from National University of Modern Languages Islamabad, Pakistan. The document specifies the terms of my participation through being interviewed or observed.

1. I have been informed sufficiently about this research work and my participation has been clearly explained to me.
2. My participation in this research is purely voluntarily without any explicit or implicit coercion whatsoever to participate.
3. I allow the researcher to take notes during the interview and she may also record it to be later transcribed and analyzed.
4. I have the right not to answer any question if it makes me feel uncomfortable.
5. I also have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time.
6. I will not be identified by my actual name in the write-up and that my confidentiality as a participant in the study will remain secured.
7. I have read and understood all points and statements in this form. All my queries related to my participation are answered satisfactorily. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

Participant's Signature: _____

Researcher's Signature: _____