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Abstract

More than half a million Mirpuri people, originally from Pakistan-administered Kashmir now live in England. Mirpuri immigrants in the UK are primarily located in Yorkshire. This survey uses questionnaires and observation to evaluate language attitude and use patterns. It looks at the distribution of Mirpuri people in England; language attitudes and vitality; and reports comprehensibility with Pahari/Pothowari dialects in Pakistan. Language attitudes are high and practices that maintain contact with their home country, such as arranging marriages back to Mirpur, are indicators that Mirpuri has high language vitality. Not surprisingly, language use patterns among the younger generation indicate a higher proficiency in English. Data for this survey was gathered from February to March 2003.

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Acknowledgements

The current study was primarily based in Sheffield, South Yorkshire, England. We had been interested in finding out more about the language situation with Mirpuri immigrants in England as we heard about the different factors there: the large Mirpuri population, the potential need for literature and the emergence of a language movement. Almost three years elapsed between the time when we began hearing about the situation in England and when we were able to go. We gathered data for this study between the end of February and the beginning of April 2003.

We appreciate those who helped us, in many practical ways, to complete this survey. They helped to arrange housing, oriented us to life in the UK and introduced us to their Mirpuri friends. Through a network of friendships with Pakistani and Mipuri immigrants, we learned about the language situation in the UK. We visited and learned about the language situation in Bradford. In Dewsbury and High Wycombe, we were able to interview people.

Thanks also to Carla Radloff for her input during this survey. As we began, she was a sounding board during the planning stages. As we concluded survey in the UK with this report, she gave us valuable editorial comments to improve it. All errors, of course, remain our own.

1. Background on Mirpuri speakers in UK

1.1 How Mirpuris came to the UK

The majority of Pakistanis in England come from a small area in Pakistan-administered Kashmir called Mirpur. At least 75 percent of Pakistani immigrants have come from Mirpur (Imran and Smith 1997). Ballard (2002a) writes: "No other district in Pakistan has seen a higher proportion of its population engage in transnational migration than Mirpur, and from nowhere else have a higher proportion of such migrants successfully established themselves in Britain."

Mirpuri is the second-most common mother-tongue in the UK (behind English, but ahead of Welsh and other immigrant languages). A current population estimate for Mirpuris in the UK is between 500,000 and 600,000.[1] While some Mirpuris immigrated to England before the partition of the subcontinent, the migration really began in the 1960s. There were forces from both within Pakistan and from England that encouraged this mass migration.

The force within Pakistan-administered Kashmir was the removal of thousands of people from their ancestral homeland. The Pakistan government built the Mangla Dam in the Mirpur district to help manage water resources and to generate hydroelectric power. While its completion in 1966 was a benefit to the country as a whole, it came with a price to the people in Mirpur. Building the dam flooded many villages and displaced over 100,000 people.[2]

Meanwhile England was having an acute labor-shortage in her textile industry. England offered visas to those who would fill the factory positions. The displaced Mirpuris used their compensation money from their lost lands to cover their travel expenses to England. They would, generally, commute back and forth to their homeland every few years or so.

However, as a recession came in the 1970s, as well as more strict immigration laws, it became more difficult for them to leave the UK and expect to find work again on returning. As a result, by the end of the 1970s it became common for whole Mirpuri families to settle in the UK—although the process of immigration could be protracted over several years. This was one factor causing the Mirpuri population in the UK to explode.[3] New immigrations to the UK were restricted more to dependents of those who had already obtained entry or to those who married visa holders.

The UK continues to be the country where most Mirpuris settle as immigrants. However, as entry into the UK has become more difficult, they have looked elsewhere. Many are in the Persian Gulf. Others have settled in Scandinavia and Europe (especially Germany). Smithers (personal communication, 2001–2003) also knows of some small communities in Hong Kong and Singapore.

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[1] According to the Pakistani ethnic population of UK (2001 Census), there are 747,285 Pakistanis living in the UK. The source for this is http://www.statistics.gov.uk/STATBASE/ssdataset.asp?vlnk=6588.
According to Imran and Smith (1997), "at least 75%" of UK Pakistanis are of Mirpuri origin which makes the total estimate of Mirpuris in the UK over 560,000.
Interestingly, this is about half the total number of Pakistanis living in Azad Kashmir who would speak 'Mirpur Pahari', that is, the population of people living in Kotli, Mirpur and Bhimber in Azad Kashmir.

Population of Kotli District	516,000
Population of Mirpur & Bhimber District	606,000
Total	1,122,000

Source: http://www.gharib.demon.co.uk/ajk/ajk.htm

[2] Ballard (1991) describes in detail the conditions and factors encouraging Mirpuris to emigrate from their homeland.

[3] Ballard (2002b) focuses more on the situation in the UK that encouraged Mirpuri immigrants—even different immigration laws which were designed to hamper new immigration.

1.2 Ties to Homeland

Unlike other immigrants, Mirpuris maintain strong ties to their homeland.[4] Several cultural practices encourage this. One primary factor is the preference and tendency to arrange marriages back to their home country (Ballard 1990). Parents arrange marriages with a spouse in Mirpur because of the cultural practices of marrying a Muslim within the *baradari*.[5] They also want to encourage conservative homeland values in children who may have been affected by western culture in the UK. Also, whether this is intentional or not, finding a spouse in their home country also increases the Mirpuri family population in the UK.[6] Many expect this trend of "trans-continental" marriage will continue. Ballard (1990) writes: "The incidence of trans-continental marriage is not only much higher amongst Mirpuris than Jullunduris (a Punjabi group), but seems likely to remain so for quite some time to come, despite all the obstacles which have now been introduced by the immigration authorities."

Another cultural practice that encourages contact with the homeland is visiting sick relatives and burying family members who die in the UK back in their home country. When we flew to Pakistan in January 1999, the plane stopped in Manchester, England. Among those who boarded the plane, one who sat across the aisle from us was flying his father's body back to his homeland for burial. While Mirpuri immigrants still bury deceased family members in their homeland, they do not practice this as much in recent years. More family members are settling in England so there is no one to visit and pray at the grave in their homeland.

1.3 Language maintenance

Any language will be affected by being pulled out of its context. A natural question is, "How much have the varieties of Punjabi, including Mirpur Pahari, been changed in the UK?" Mike Reynolds (2002) of Sheffield University in South Yorkshire, England investigated language shift and change among Punjabi speakers in Sheffield.[7] He researched 48 members in 10 families, taking questionnaires of each member.[8] In order to corroborate what the family members reported, he also recorded 35 hours of speech in the homes of these families and analyzed language use, counting occurrences of code switching.

According to Reynolds, language loss is slow for several reasons. First, the language is used in the home. Second, there are important social ties across generations that encourage the language to be used. Third, family members routinely have contact with their homeland. He writes: "This meets [some] of the conditions favouring language maintenance by Holmes et al. (1993), namely 'a positive orientation to the homeland' and 'resistance to interethnic marriage.'" They demonstrate language maintenance through types of code switching between generations that are similar in frequency and nature.

Mirpuris also tend to live in communities within the UK that encourage language maintenance. In sharp contrast to other large immigrant populations in the UK (specifically Punjabi speakers from India), Ballard (1990) writes about the type of communities where Mirpuris live. "As is very often the case, [they] live in a neighborhood which is exclusively Asian, … their parents speak little or no English and … the schools they attend are again dominated by Punjabi speakers like themselves. They will have very few opportunities to acquire fluent English from face-to-face contact with fluent English speakers."

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[4] Other immigrants in the UK like Somalis, Kurds, etc. often do not return to their homelands for political reasons.

[5] *Baradari* is an extended family unit, a large kinship group which is smaller than a clan.

[6] This practice of marrying spouses from the homeland encourages language maintenance. The cases we observed typically consisted of children who may have adapted culturally to life in the UK and learned English. However, the spouse coming from the homeland spoke little or no English. The couple's children would then learn Mirpuri from one (or both) parent(s). They learned English from other family members and in school.

[7] The language in Mirpur is typically called Punjabi, but it is distinct from Punjabi. Grierson defined a border between Punjabi and the language spoken in Mirpur (and west to Rawalpindi) but that has been blurred by the partition of India and Pakistan (Masica, 1991).

[8] The questionnaire is called a social network profile.

Another factor that encourages separate communities of Mirpuri immigrants is that Islam encourages women to stay at home.

However, being in England does affect the language. Reynolds mentions a new language variety forming in England. Romaine (1984) posited this in her study in Birmingham, England: a mixed code of Punjabi and English. The language use patterns (below) also indicate that the children do seem to become bilingual in both their parent's mother tongue and in English.

2. Current study

2.1 Language of focus

In this report, the language surveyed will be called Mirpur Pahari (and sometimes simply Mirpuri in tables). Most immigrants from Pakistan or Pakistan-administered Kashmir in England speak this dialect. Mirpur Pahari is used to clearly distinguish it from Punjabi, which people speak to the south.

Mirpur Pahari is a dialect in a larger language which we call Pahari/Pothowari. This language area (see Map 3 in Appendix A) extends across the Pothowar plain running from the Jhelum River and the Salt Range northward into Azad Kashmir (including Mirpur), the Murree Tehsil and the eastern parts of the Abbotabad Tehsil. People who live in this area often call their language either Pahari or Pothowari.

People in England with immigrant friends from Mirpur often call the language spoken there, Mirpuri, Mirpuri. We use a similar label, Mirpur Pahari, in the survey to describe the language spoken in Mirpur. However, referring to the language of Mirpur as Mirpuri is a bit of a misnomer. Mirpuri is a label that typically describes the people who come from Mirpur but not the language itself (at least by the people themselves). One person I interviewed told me that there is no such thing as the Mirpuri language. He said that the people in Mirpur speak Pothowari.

This general variety of language names was also identified by Tariq Mehmood, a UK-based author, film maker and social worker. For many years, he has been involved in the language development of Pahari/Pothowari. He said that he does not give the language a single name because those who speak the language call it many different things.[9]

Perhaps because of the multiple labels on the same language, linguists have used labels that the people themselves would not necessarily use. Grierson used a term called Lahnda (from Punjabi for Western) to describe the language variety on the western end of the Punjabi dialect chain. He found it to be a language distinct from Punjabi. However, other labels used by people were too restrictive (that is, they covered too small a language area). This label of Lahnda (or with some linguists, Lahndi) is not used by the people who speak the language and includes more area than is included in the language grouping used in this survey report.

2.2 Goals

This survey focuses on Mirpur Pahari as it is spoken in the UK. In summary, we wanted to find out about the potential need for literature in the language variety spoken by immigrants who have come primarily from Mirpur in Azad Kashmir.

First, we wanted to find out about the distribution of Mirpur Pahari speakers in the UK. We learned about the primary populations from the westerners who are friends with Mirpur Pahari immigrants in the UK. However, asking Mirpur Pahari speakers directly helped explore how aware they were of other Mirpur Pahari speakers in the UK.

Second, we wanted to explore the language attitudes in the UK, that is, "Do the different generations have a positive attitude about speaking their mother tongue?"

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[9] The materials that he publishes use the name Pahari/Pothowari. For example, the alphabet book primer (Mehmood 2002a) is titled "First Pothowari/Pahari Qaida."

Third, we wanted to find out about the language vitality of Mirpuri immigrants: Will future generations continue speaking their mother tongue, or will there be a language shift toward English? Besides asking direct questions, one way of examining language vitality is to observe language use patterns and ask questions. In what domains do people speak their mother tongue? Do young people (especially those born in the UK) use their parents' mother tongue in the same domains as their parents?

Fourth, we wanted to find out about the interest that Mirpuri immigrants in the UK have about literature and literacy in their mother tongue. A related issue is their interest in non-print media.

Finally, we wanted to determine comprehensibility within the Pahari/Pothowari language area. The question behind this goal is "Could Mirpuri speakers in the UK and Pakistan and in their homeland share materials with speakers of other Pahari/Pothowari dialects?"

2.3 Methodology

Primarily two methodologies were used for this study: questionnaires and observation. Observation was used to corroborate language use patterns reported by those from different generations. This was primarily carried out at a Moms and Tots group in Sheffield. Laura observed the languages used between mothers and their children. After her time with them, she took notes on language use patterns.

The questionnaire was designed to answer the questions which were formed from the goals of this study. (See Appendix D for the complete questionnaire and how the questions helped us research the goals of this survey.) Contacts in England would introduce us to their Mirpuri friends and we would ask their friends the questions in an informal interview. We asked questions in Urdu, English or Pahari according to the participants' preferences.

3. Results

The 33 participants who took part in the informal interviews were all living in England, with about two-thirds in Sheffield. Slightly more than half were males. The participants' educational backgrounds and ages spanned a broad spectrum. The vast majority were married and literate. Most of the participants were born in Mirpur and later immigrated to the UK; the average time in England was over twenty years. The details of the demographic information are presented in Appendix C.

There is not a consensus on the language name as Table 1 shows. There are several labels given for the mother tongue of people who come from Mirpur (and adjoining areas). As shown in Table 1, Punjabi is the most common name used, but the language in Mirpur is distinct from Punjabi. Six called it Pahari and another six called it Pothowari. Two called it Mirpuri (although that could have been because we used that name in our survey questionnaire). The one person giving English as a response was someone born in England. However, she seemed to be bilingual in English and Mirpur Pahari.

Table 1: Reported mother tongue of people surveyed in the UK

Mother tongue	Number
Mirpuri	2
Pahari	6
Pothowari	6
Punjabi	14
Urdu	4
English	1
Total	33

3.1 Reported distribution in UK

The first question on the questionnaire was *"Where do people who came from Mirpur (and surrounding areas) live in the UK?"* The question's purpose was to find out the population centers of Mirpuri immigrants. However, we also learned about the population distribution from those who work with the Asian community. A second purpose to this question was to find out how aware the immigrants were of other Mirpuri immigrants in the UK.

From their responses (see Table 2), it seems that they are quite aware of other population centers within the UK. Some mentioned that they had cousins in each of several places they mentioned (up to seven city names). We did not ask the participants all the places where they personally had family, but they did seem to be well-connected.

The population of Mirpuris in the UK is widely distributed. (See Map 1 for the locations of these different cities within the UK.) For those who gave answers which were summarized as "distributed in UK", they gave answers implying that Mirpuris lived throughout the UK. Some of them said, 'every / different towns', 'many cities', 'all of England', 'Derbyshire' or 'Yorkshire'. The cities mentioned six or more times are Birmingham, Bradford, Leeds, London and Manchester.

Bradford has been called the Mirpuri capital city in the UK by some of those who told us about Mirpuri immigrants in the UK. Participants who reported Bradford said that it was 'like Pakistan.' If participants mentioned Bradford in a list of cities, they sometimes emphasized Bradford with qualifiers like 'mostly' or 'especially'.

Table 2: Reported Mirpur Pahari speaker distribution within the UK

Area of UK	# mentions
Distributed in UK	6
Did not know	2
Birmingham	14
Bradford	14
Barnsley[a]	1
Dewsbury	1
Glasgow	2
Halifax[c]	2
High Wycombe	2
Keighley[d]	1

Area of UK	# mentions
Leeds	6
Leicester	1
London	8
Luton	3
Manchester	10
Milton Keynes[b]	1
Nottingham	1
Oxford	1
Sheffield	4
Total	84

[a] Barnesley is 15 miles north of Sheffield.

[b] Milton Keynes is 15 miles northwest of Luton.

[c] Halifax is close to Bradford.

[d] Keighley is a town close to Bradford.

3.2 Mirpur Pahari language vitality and attitude in the UK

3.2.1 Language vitality

Questions two and three provide some measure of language vitality. The answers to these questions should show how long people believe their language will be spoken in the UK. People generally have a very strong view of the vitality of their language.

Question two is *"Do young people gladly speak Mirpur Pahari?"* The answers to this question indicate that a majority of young people are glad to speak their mother tongue (see Table 3). Some indicated that it was a factor in group identification. Two indicated some reluctance when they gave their answers, saying that about half had a positive attitude toward speaking their mother tongue and half did not. One

said that he, personally, had a positive attitude toward Mirpur Pahari but that other people were different. There was a total of 21 (68 percent) positive responses of 31 responses given.

Seven said that young people do not gladly speak their mother tongue (three of these were under 40 and four were over 45). Of those who answered 'no' and elaborated on their answers, they said that young people would use a mixture of both their mother tongue and English. One said that children would speak to their parents in Punjabi, but otherwise they use English. However, one stated strongly that children do not speak Punjabi in England.

Our observation was that the second generation generally seemed bilingual. Those who came to England as small children or who were born in England, switch naturally between their parents' mother tongue and English. (They would speak with an English accent distinctive to the area where their families have settled in England.) Some did seem to prefer speaking in English but, by-and-large, most of them were happy to speak Mirpur Pahari and pleased with our attempts at communication in their language.

Question three *"Will children grow up to speak Mirpur Pahari?"* also had a positive majority response (see Table 3). There were a total of 22 (71 percent) positive responses of 31 given. Of those who elaborated on their positive responses, they indicated that children would speak both Mirpur Pahari and English. One indicated that the use of Mirpur Pahari would be limited to communication with parents. Another said that Urdu would also be used by the younger generation. Our observation, however, was that if people did not know both Mirpur Pahari and Urdu, they knew only Mirpur Pahari.

About 26 percent (eight participants) said that children would not grow up to speak Mirpur Pahari. Of these eight, six participants were over 40. When asked what will happen to their children's children, some did say that Mirpur Pahari will not be spoken as much because it will not be necessary. Some of these participants had a bleak perspective on the future of Mirpur Pahari in the UK. They said that "It is difficult and (the language) grows weaker day-by-day." One said that the language would be mostly finished within two generations. A reason given for children's use of Mirpur Pahari is to communicate with their parents. If all family members became bilingual, Mirpur Pahari would not seem so necessary. However, there is also the continuing custom of arranging marriages in Mirpur, a factor which also encourages language maintenance within the family, as non-English speakers join a family unit. Some of the participants indicated that there are areas of England, primarily Bradford, where they said that Mirpur Pahari would be maintained for a longer time.

Table 3: Language vitality (responses to questions 2 and 3)

	Response				
Question	Yes	Some	No	NR[a]	Total
2. Do young people gladly speak Mirpuri?	21 (68%)	3 (10%)	7 (22%)	2	33
3. Will children grow up to speak Mirpuri?[b]	22 (71%)	1 (3%)	8 (26%)	2	33

[a] NR indicates no response.

[b] Two of those who answered 'yes' to question 3 expressed some doubt about their children actually speaking it.

We also overheard conversations between parents and children where parents, especially, expressed the desire to maintain and even develop a knowledge of languages from their homeland. Sometimes parents exhorted their children to learn to read and write with the Urdu script, perhaps taking a course at the mosque. One set of parents asked me to write a simple Urdu sentence. When I was able to do so, they told their college-aged son, "See! Even he can write in Urdu." However, while it does help to maintain roots to their parents' homeland, some of the younger generation do not seem to want to learn to read and write the Urdu script; they do not see much practical benefit to their lives in the UK.

3.2.2 Language attitude

Questions four and five provide some measure of language attitude (see Table 4). Parents' hopes for their children's speaking ability are not limited to only speaking Mirpur Pahari. That is, parents hope that their children will maintain use of their mother tongue while learning English and perhaps Urdu.

Question four is "*Would you want your children to speak Mirpur Pahari*?" The overwhelming majority (28 out of the 31 giving responses, or 90 percent) said that they would want their children to speak Mirpur Pahari. Some comments also demonstrated a positive attitude toward Urdu as well as English. Two of those who said 'no' also said that they would prefer that their children learn Urdu rather than Mirpur Pahari. One of those who said 'yes' said that if she herself knew how to speak Urdu, she would teach her children to speak Urdu. Some of those who said 'yes' had expectations that their children would use Mirpur Pahari in the home.

The answer to question 5 "*Is it a good thing to speak Mirpur Pahari*?" is also overwhelmingly positive. There were 29 positive responses out of 32 given (29/32), or 91 percent. In fact, only two of the negative responses to these questions showed a consistent measure of negative language attitude. Responses which were inconsistent follow. One said that she would want her children to speak Mirpur Pahari but that she did not think speaking Mirpur Pahari was a good thing. The other one said that he would not want his children to speak Mirpur Pahari but thought that it was a good thing to speak it.

Some of the participants also demonstrated positive attitudes toward Urdu with their answers to question 5. Two of those who said 'no' preferred that their children speak Urdu. The same lady, who said that she would teach her children Urdu if she could speak it, said that she wanted her children to speak Mirpur Pahari but that she thought Urdu was better because it showed more respect.

Some of the participants' elaborations shed some light on the uses of Mirpur Pahari. Mirpur Pahari is seen as useful for group identity with friends, so that English people cannot understand what they are saying,[10] and because they need it when they travel back to Mirpur. One said that speaking Mirpur Pahari is for the betterment of humanity.

Table 4: Language attitude (responses to questions 4 and 5)

	Response			
Question	Yes	No	NR	Total
4. Do you want your children to speak Mirpuri?	28 (90%)	3 (10%)	2	33
5. Is it a good thing to speak Mirpuri?	29 (91%)	3 (9%)	1	33

3.3 Language use patterns

3.3.1 Within family

The language use patterns reported in the family reveal a predominant use of the mother tongue, which decreases with the age of the family members with whom they speak it (see Table 5). If you look at the MT (mother tongue) and English columns of Table 5, you can see this pattern emerge as the numbers decrease down the MT column and increase going down the English column. A clear majority of the participants use their MT[11] exclusively with parents (30/33, or 91percent) and grandparents (32/33, or

[10] The same participant thought that English was also useful so that his parents would not know what the children were saying.

[11] We have used MT to denote the vernacular non-Urdu language used by speakers from Mirpur and the Jhelum area. They have referred to their language as Punjabi, Pahari and *hamari* or *apni zuban* (our language). The term Mirpuri is predominantly used by British English speakers, although some survey participants from Mirpur in

97 percent).[12] Among siblings, 70 percent (23/33) use the MT and 15 percent (5/33) report using a combination of the MT with either English or Urdu. Only two participants report using English exclusively.[13] Children reportedly use the most English among themselves. However, in at least two cases, we observed participants' children using their MT more than they reported in the questionnaire. One lady said that her children often use English but she tells them to use their MT in the home.

Table 5: Language use in the family (questions 6 and 7)

	Participants' Language Use								
Relationship[a]	MT[b]	MT (obs)	Urdu	Urdu/ MT[c]	English	Eng/ MT[d]	NR[e]	NA[f]	Total
6a. w/ grandparents	30 (97 %)	2	1 (3%)	—	—	—	—	—	33 (100%)
6b. w/ parents	28 (91 %)	2	2 (6%)	—	—	1 (3%)	—	—	33 (100%)
6c. w/ siblings	21 (70 %)	2	2 (6%)	1 (3%)	2 (6%)	4 (12%)	—	1 (3%)	33 (100%)
6d. w/ children	15 (55 %)	3	3 (9%)	—	3 (9%)	8 (24%)	—	1 (3%)	33 (100%)
7a. among children	6 (24 %)	2	—	—	13 (40%)	6 (18%)	3 (9%)	3 (9%)	33 (100%)

[a] The number preceding the relationship is the question number on the questionnaire.

[b] MT stands for mother tongue. MT (obs) means that a language other than mother tongue (either Urdu or English) was reported but we observed participants using the mother tongue.

[c] Urdu/MT indicates a mix of Urdu and their mother tongue.

[d] Eng/MT indicates a mix of English and their mother tongue.

[e] NR (no response) means that the question was not asked of the participant because of time constraints.

[f] NA (not applicable) means that the participants reported that they did not have siblings or children. Some participants may have given an answer for children's use because they have nieces or nephews in the house.

There are some common dynamics that change language use. One is the custom of parents arranging marriages for their children with partners from Mirpur. One 25 year-old man said that he uses mostly English. However, his wife had just come from Mirpur after they were married and she would speak Pahari with their son (now a newborn infant). To communicate with both his wife and his parents, everyone else in the household must use Mirpur Pahari.

We also observed cases where the wife knew English but the husband did not because he had recently come from Mirpur. He spoke Urdu and Mirpur Pahari but no English. These types of arranged marriages where one of the spouses come from Mirpur are very common in England according to both our Mirpuri and western contacts in the UK.

Lothers and Lothers (2007) reported that their mother tongue was Mirpuri. The national Kashmiri coalition calls the language Pahari.

[12] Perhaps one reason why participants may have reported higher use of their mother tongue with older relatives is that their contact with grandparents and parents may be (or may have been) in Mirpur. This would especially be true of older participants. However, participants under 60 were, on average, less than 18 when they came to the UK. This implies that many probably came with their parents, if not their grandparents. See Table 18 in Appendix C—Demographic summary for more details.

[13] Use of the mother tongue (MT) is the combination of reported use of the MT and observed use of the MT, or labeled as MT(obs) in Table 5. Use of a mixture of the MT with either Urdu or English is the combination of the Urdu/MT column and the Eng/MT columns.

3.3.2 Within community

Within the community the language use is more varied, although in all areas a majority report using the MT or a mixture of the MT with Urdu and English. According to Reynolds (2002), community ties like the ones in Table 6 are less significant in number and influence than kinship ties. Some report using Urdu or English with neighbors or Urdu with immigrants from India at the mosque. The seven who were classified as NA (not applicable) for their usages with friends were probably from questionnaires taken in English where that question was unintentionally omitted. Since those seven were comfortable doing interviews about the language in English, they would most likely report using a mix of the MT and English with their friends—or even just English.

Within these community ties the language used is dependent on the situation and participants said they can determine which language to use. For example, even with someone they have not met, they report that they can usually determine correctly which language to use based on the style of clothing and how someone carries himself or herself. One said that she would use a mixture of Urdu and Mirpur Pahari with educated Mirpuris in the UK but just use Mirpur Pahari with the uneducated. As a general rule, participants assume that they must use Mirpur Pahari with the older Mirpur generation but could speak English with the younger generation. However, younger, bilingual people who could choose between English and Mirpur Pahari often use Mirpur Pahari to identify with their peer group.

Table 6: Language use in the community (question 8)[a]

	Participants' Language Use								
Relationship	MT	MT (obs)	Urdu	Urdu/ MT	English	Eng/ MT	NR	NA[b]	Total
8a. w/ neighbors	14 (49 %)	2	3 (9%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	4 (12%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	33 (100%)
8b. w/ shopkeepers	16 (55 %)	2	3 (9%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	33 (100%)
8c. in mosque	16 (55 %)	2	3 (9%)	2 (6%)	—	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	5 (15%)	33 (100%)
8d. w/ friends	11 (40 %)	2	1 (3%)	3 (9%)	1 (3%)	3 (9%)	5 (15%)	7 (21%)	33 (100%)

[a] Except as noted, the conventions in this table are the same as in Table 5. See the table-notes for Table 5 for further explanation.

[b] NA (not applicable) on 8a and 8b means that the participants did not live in areas where they could use their mother tongue with neighbors or shopkeepers. On 8c it means that the participant did not go to the mosque. In an earlier English version of the questionnaire, we had 'other' instead of friends. Seven participants did not think of using their mother tongue with friends.

Some participant observation in a mothers and toddlers group corroborates the continuing use of Mirpur Pahari. Laura met six mothers, one grandmother and three staff people in this group. These women ranged in age from 20–43. She was able to observe both their language use with each other and with their children under five during six hours of the children's playtime. Their language use is summarized in Table 7. The majority of mothers in the group used only Mirpur Pahari (five of seven). Of the Mirpuri mothers who were fluent in English, one used only English, one used English with the staff members only and one used English with her child only. Only one of eight Mirpuri children used English, the one whose mother used only English with him. Most of the children seemed to respond to both the English commands used by the staff and the Mirpur Pahari commands used by their mothers or other women. These women are mostly friends and neighbors whose children go to school together—but there are no clear kin relationships among them. This mothers and toddlers group could be considered a small picture of language use for women in the broader community. The fact that most communication with

toddlers and young children in this group takes place in Mirpur Pahari is one indication that the language will continue to be used in the home.

Table 7: Spectrum of language use and ability in the Moms and Tots group among mothers, children and staff (Sheffield, England)

	With Mirpuri women and children, specified group uses…		
	Mirpur Pahari only	Both Mirpur Pahari and English	English only
Group	Five Mirpuri mothers	One Mirpuri mother, One Mirpuri staff	Two British staff members One Mirpuri mother One Yemeni mother
Mirpur Pahari ability	Fluent	Fluent—both use with other women	None (staff members) Fluent (mother)[a]
English ability	None (2) Limited (2) Fluent (1)—uses English with staff	Fluent—both use with children	Fluent

[a] One of the staff members reported that this mother was fluent in Mirpur Pahari. However, her fluency was not directly observed.

3.4 Attitudes toward Mirpur Pahari literacy and literature

The participants' attitudes toward mother tongue literacy were quite positive (see Table 8). 23 out of 29 participants who gave answers said that they would like to learn how to read in the mother tongue. When it came to the participants' children, they were not so positive: only 16 out of the 29 of the participants who gave answers wanted their children to learn how to read their mother tongue. Those who were interested in literacy did not give any explanations. However, some of those who were not interested in mother tongue literacy offered more vocal explanations.

The reason parents would not want their children to learn how to read their mother tongue was because it does not seem to offer much benefit to their children. Of the four parents who gave explanations for their 'no' answers, four said that Urdu was better and three of these also said English was better than the mother tongue for their children to learn how to read. One of the parents said that it would be useful for the children to learn how to read their mother tongue—but more useful for them to learn Urdu and English.

The participants who gave reasons why they were not interested in mother tongue literacy for themselves gave similar answers. Of the two who gave explanations for their 'no' answers, one said that in the UK, English was better. The second said that he preferred Urdu because their mother tongue is difficult to write and not taught in school.

One of the participants gave a long explanation to both of us about why she thought Mirpur Pahari mother tongue literacy was not worthwhile.[14] She said that if someone really wanted to become literate in a Pakistani language, they will become literate in Urdu. She believed that it was not really worth the trouble to become literate in the mother tongue because (1) Punjabi dialects were so close to Urdu that Urdu was quite easily learned and (2) exposure to Urdu was quite common through the media. As an example, she said that her mother was very uneducated, but could understand all of the Urdu or Hindi

[14] As a little demographic background, she has spent most of her life in England. She came when she was a child and is now in her 40s.

movies. She did not see much of a market or need for mother-tongue literacy. She also pointed out that since it requires so much effort and focus for people over 20, they probably will not have the opportunity to become literate.

Table 8: Attitude toward Mirpur Pahari literacy and literature
(questions 9, 10 and 11)

	Response				
Question	Yes	Maybe	No	NR	Total
9. Do you want to learn how to read your MT?	23 (79%)	1 (4%)	5 (17%)	4	33
10. Do you want your children to read your MT?	16 (55%)	2 (7%)	11 (38%)	4	33
11a. Have you seen/heard of literature in your MT?	14 (48%)	1 (4%)	14 (48%)	4	33
11b. Would you like to see literature in your MT?	18 (67%)	2 (7%)	7 (26%)	6	33

About half of the participants who gave answers for question 11a (14/29) had heard of or seen something written in their mother tongue. Sometimes they were not specific about what they had seen. However, some mentioned that they had seen informal writing, like friends trying to write to each other. Others said that they had seen materials published like stories or novels, poetry,[15] newspapers, magazines and children's stories. See Appendix E at the end of this report for some of the materials that have been published in Pahari/Pothowari.

When we asked them if they would like to see literature in Mirpur Pahari, two-thirds of those giving answers (18/27) were definitely interested. Some of these indicated specific materials they would be interested in namely, dramas, stories,[16] essays, songs, digests and newspapers. The subjects they were interested in are things about God, math and science, books on learning a language and books on how to sew. Two participants were interested in materials on learning a language: one had a general interest in language learning and one participant specifically wanted something about learning English. One wanted to see literature in Mirpur Pahari so that his children would be able to communicate with relatives.

Those who were not interested in literature in Mirpur Pahari seemed to have preferred Urdu. For some, the preference for literature in Urdu comes from the reality that literature already exists in Urdu. Some consider Urdu to be better for reading and writing.

3.5 Attitudes toward Mirpur Pahari non-print media

There is a much clearer preference for mother tongue non-print media than mother tongue literature. In Table 9, of the participants who gave answers, 92 percent (24/26) were interested in more mother tongue non-print materials. The same participant, who gave us the lengthy explanation about why Mirpur Pahari mother tongue literacy was not useful, was quite positive about non-print media. She could easily see her mother, for example, benefiting from and enjoying recorded materials in Mirpur Pahari.

Participants reported that there are a variety of materials currently available. More than one participant reported general categories of non-print media: five mentioned songs, two reported films and two reported poetry on tape (that is, *Saif-ul-Maluk*). Religious types of non-print media included a

[15] Three of the participants mentioned that they had seen *Saif-ul-Maluk*, a book of poetry. However, the language variety may be somewhat different than Mirpur Pahari.

[16] Four participants mentioned stories. The rest in this list of Mirpur Pahari literature interests were only mentioned once.

maulvi's preaching, the Quran, the names of God and an explanation of the Quran. Others reported broadcast forms of media including the news, prime TV at 9 p.m. and BBC Asia network which broadcasts in Mirpuri/Punjabi in the evenings.

For question 12a, several participants said that they were interested in songs, religious materials and resources to teach children. Of the seven reporting interest in songs, a few said they were interested in CD and DVD media. One specifically mentioned that he would like music videos. Of the four reporting interest in more religious materials, they reported interest in the teaching of the prophets, reciting the Quran and teaching about the Quran. Topics of interest included materials about loving your neighbor, parables and building community. The two who wanted mother tongue materials specifically for children said that they wanted them for teaching children so that children would retain their mother tongue.

Table 9: Attitude toward Mirpur Pahari non-print media (question 12)

	Response			
Question	Yes	No	NR	total
12a. Have you heard of/seen non-print media in your MT?	18 (62%)	11 (38%)	4	33
12b. Would you like non-print media in your MT?	24 (92%)	2 (8%)	7	33

3.6 Language perception

In order to assess the perceived similarity between UK Mirpur Pahari and varieties of the language in Pakistan, we played segments of two stories from Pakistan. One story was from Murree (village of Aliot) and the other one was from Gujarkhan (village of Mandra). After playing the story, we asked the participants if the language of the story was (1) the same as their language, (2) a little different or (3) very different. Their responses in Table 10 indicate a preference for the Gujarkhan story. When the responses for the two stories were identical (that is, either they thought both stories were in the same language as theirs or both a little different from theirs) we asked which of the two stories was closer to their own. In five of six cases, they chose the language of the Gujarkhan story as a variety closer to their own than that of the Murree story.

Table 10: Language perception of recorded stories

	Language perception				
Story	Same	A little different	Very different	NR	Total
13a. Murree story	9 (29%)	21 (68%)	1 (3%)	2	33
13b. Gujarkhan story	21 (68%)	9 (29%)	1 (3%)	2	33

We expect that the people from Mirpur in the UK should have a very high comprehension of materials in the Gujarkhan dialect because they describe the language sample they heard as being so similar to their own speech. By way of comparison, in Lothers and Lothers (2007) we evaluated the language comprehension and language perception of the dialect spoken in Gujarkhan by the people from Murree. Their comprehension of the language spoken in Gujarkhan was over 90 percent.[17] Even with this high comprehension, none of the participants in Murree thought that the Gujarkhan story was in their "own language". However, 64 percent of the Mirpur Pahari speakers we surveyed in the UK thought the

[17] Recorded Text Tests (RTTs) were used to evaluate language comprehension.

language of the Gujarkhan (Mandra) story was exactly the same as their language, so we suppose that their comprehension would be even higher.[18]

We noticed a more positive response to the story from Gujarkhan than the Murree story. Several of participants laughed when they heard this Gujarkhan story. When we asked them why they were laughing, one said she talked the same way as the storyteller did on tape. Another said that she had never heard her language on tape before. Some participants also knew that the story was from the Gujarkhan area when we asked them if they had any idea where it was recorded. Some even thought that the language could have been from Mirpur. In contrast, one response to the story from Murree was that it sounded more like an isolated dialect.

In spite of the high degree of identification with the language samples, especially with the Pothowari sample, UK Mirpur Pahari speakers, when asked if they knew any Pothowari or Murree Pahari speakers, did not respond clearly (see Table 11). As was seen in Table 1, only about one-fifth of the participants call their own language "Pothowari". So when asked if they knew anyone who speaks Pothowari, they did not identify as closely with the name of the language as they had with the sample of that language. The results of their perceptions of the language names are summarized in Table 11. More people considered Pahari to be the name of their own language than Pothowari, a result opposite to their assessment of the language samples.[19]

Table 11: Perception of language name[a]

	Language perception					
Language name	Same	A little different	Very different	Unknown	NR	Total
14. Pothowari	7 (24%)	12 (40%)	4 (13%)	7 (23%)	3	33
15. Pahari	10 (33%)	13 (43%)	2 (7%)	5 (17%)	3	33

[a] 'Unknown language' means that the participant reported that he had never heard the language. NR (no response) means that we did not have the opportunity to ask the participant his opinion about the languages.

Table 12 summarizes the differences between the participants' perceptions of the recorded stories and their perceptions of the language name. The first column of numbers is a tally of the responses where their evaluations of the story in Pahari or Pothowari and the corresponding language name are the same. The next two columns of numbers show the instances where they thought the story was in a language more similar to their own or when they heard the language name, they thought it was more similar to their own language.

More than half of those giving responses to the questions about the Pahari story and the language name Pahari (14/24) had the same response to both. That is, they thought both the language of the Murree story and the language Pahari was the same as theirs, a little different or very different. Almost a third (7/24) thought the Pahari language name was more similar to their language than the Pahari story from Murree. While they strongly identify with the language name Pahari, they do not generally identify their language with the variety used in the Murree story.

This response makes sense when one considers two factors. First, many of the people from Mirpur refer to their own language as Pahari. Second, Pahari spoken in Mirpur is somewhat closer to the

[18] One potential contributing factor to their strong identification with the Gujarkhan dialect could be that they are immigrants in a foreign land and are identifying with something from their home country. However, it still seems that the Gujarkhan dialect is quite similar to their dialect from Mirpur.

[19] One might ask, "Why were these language samples selected?" The goal of the survey was to investigate the possibility of a language variety which would serve the people from the Murree Tehsil to Mirpur. The primary concern is not the language name they put on this language. The people themselves use a variety of language names even though they come from the same area and speak the same language. See section 2.1—Language of focus for more details.

Gujarkhan variety of Pothowari than it is to the Pahari spoken in Murree. Wordlists analyzed in Lothers and Lothers (2007) show a lexical similarity metric of 80 percent between the languages spoken in Mirpur and Murree and a similarity metric of 84 percent between Mirpur and Gujarkhan.

The response to Pothowari shows less agreement than the response to Pahari. Less than half of the participants (8/22) had the same response to the Gujarkhan (Pothowari) story and the language name, Pothowari. More people (11/22) thought the Pothowari language name was more different from their own than the language of the story. The second column shows that the variety of Pothowari used in the story is perceived to be closer to their language than they perceive the language name Pothowari to be. While they strongly identify with the Pothowari story from Gujarkhan, they do not generally identify their language as Pothowari. This result highlights the ambiguity in the variety of language names used (see 2.1—Language of focus).

Table 12: Language perception corroboration summary

	Participant thought the...				
Language	Story and language name were equally different from MT	Story was more similar	Language name was more similar	Unknown[a]	Total
Pahari	14 (58%)	3 (13%)	7 (29%)	9	33
Pothowari	8 (36%)	11 (50%)	3 (14%)	11	33

[a] Unknown in Table 12 means that the participant either had not heard someone speaking the language or they had not listened to the story. In either case, these participants are not included in the percentages because a comparison of their perceptions of the stories' similarity versus the language name labels could not be evaluated.

4. Summary and Recommendations

Pahari/Pothowari, an Indo-Aryan language in the Punjabi dialect/language chain, is spoken in the Pothowar plains north of the Salt Range. The northwest border of the language extends from Rawalpindi/Islamabad to around Nathiagali and as far to the north and east as the Pir Panjal mountains.

Besides Pahari/Pothowari, people refer to it with a variety of names. A broader label which (unlike Pahari/Pothowari) includes Hindko is Western Punjabi. Grierson labeled Western Punjabi as Lahnda, a Punjabi word meaning 'western', but no mother-tongue speakers refer to their language as such.

In England, immigrants who speak this language come primarily from the district of Mirpur. Many of them would describe themselves as Kashmiri. This report focuses on their dialect especially as it is used in the UK. We use the label Mirpur Pahari to distinguish the dialect we researched as the dialect spoken by those from the area in and around the district of Mirpur. Within England, members of the language group have settled primarily in Yorkshire (especially in the cities of Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham and Sheffield). Settlements are also reported in High Wycombe and London.

4.1 Language vitality and attitude

Language vitality of Mirpur Pahari is high in the UK. 68 percent (21/31) of those giving answers believe that young people gladly speak their language. 71 percent (22/31) believe that children will grow up to speak Mirpur Pahari. There were some who were pessimistic about the future of the language: 1/31 (3 percent) was ambivalent and 7/31 (26 percent) were negative. However, there are factors that encourage ongoing language use: group identity with the use of Mirpur Pahari, strong ties to family in their homeland and the custom of arranging marriages back to their homeland.

Language attitude is more positive than reported language vitality. About 90 percent (28/31) wanted their children to speak Mirpur Pahari. About 93 percent (29/31) also reported that using Mirpur Pahari is a positive thing.

4.2 Language use patterns

Mirpur Pahari is used extensively in the family. The older generation primarily uses Mirpur Pahari with the reported use decreasing with the age of the person conversed with. Children have the highest use of English. This seems to indicate that there may be language shift towards English but the children will likely maintain fluency in Mirpur Pahari as well as English. There is still a desire that children use Mirpur Pahari and some parents have set rules accordingly in the home.

Within the community, Mirpur Pahari is still used extensively. About half the participants who gave answers report exclusive use of Mirpur Pahari with neighbors, shopkeepers, friends and in the mosque. The other half reports using Urdu, English or a mixture of English and Mirpur Pahari in these domains.

4.3 Attitude toward Mirpur Pahari literacy, literature and non-print materials

We investigated participants' interest in Mirpur Pahari literacy, literature and non-print media. Of those who were surveyed, most expressed interest in non-print media (24/26, or about 92 percent). 79 percent of the participants (23/29) expressed interest in becoming literate in Mirpur Pahari. However, interest dropped to 55 percent (16/29) when it came to literacy for their own children in the mother tongue.

4.4 Language perception

Finally, we investigated their perceptions of different language varieties. They strongly identified with the story from Gujarkhan with 68 percent (21/31) thinking it was in exactly the same language as theirs. In contrast, only 29 percent (9/31) thought that the story from Murree was in exactly the same language as theirs.

However, people responded differently to the labels Pahari or Pothowari. Gujarkhan is considered by many to be a Pothowari area. However, 50 percent (11/22) thought the language of the Gujarkhan (Pothowari) story was more similar to their mother tongue than the language label Pothowari. This is in contrast to their responses to Pahari—only 13 percent (3/24) thought the language of the Murree Pahari story was more similar than the language label Pahari. Perhaps this is because many residents of the Mirpur district call their mother tongue Pahari as well.

4.5 Implications and further work

From this survey work in the UK, a picture of how Mirpur Pahari is used among immigrants in the UK has emerged. This survey has also highlighted some directions for future language development and research.

Mirpur Pahari is a language that continues to be maintained in the UK. English does affect language use patterns, especially in the younger generation. However, for many, Mirpur Pahari is the predominant language of communication. With cultural customs such as maintaining close ties to Mirpur (and to Mirpuri family within the UK) and arranging marriages back to the homeland, the preference for Mirpur Pahari is a trend that will most likely continue.

While the Mirpur Pahari immigrants in the UK number over 500,000, they speak a dialect within a larger language group, Pahari/Pothowari. This survey in the UK sought to answer which language variety would be suitable for them. In this survey, Mirpur Pahari speakers strongly identified with the dialect of Gujarkhan—many thought it was their own dialect. In Lothers and Lothers (2007) the people who speak Murree Pahari in Pakistan did not identify so closely with the Gujarkhan dialect and yet their comprehension was over 90 percent. The implication is that any literature development or non-print media development in the Gujarkhan dialect would be easily extendible to Mirpur Pahari speakers in the UK, Pakistan, and Mirpur.

This survey highlighted the need for materials in Pahari/Pothowari. Among Mirpur Pahari immigrants in the UK, the need for mother tongue literacy and literature is not so clear: the older generation often did not have the opportunity to receive an education in their homeland and the

younger generation (that is, those born and raised in the UK) has generally received an education in English. While the younger generation speaks Mirpur Pahari, at least some among them are not comfortable with the Urdu script. Perhaps an alternative for Mirpur Pahari speakers in the UK would be the use of a Romanized script.

The need for and interest in mother tongue non-print media materials is much less ambiguous. An interest was clearly expressed for films, music and recorded teaching and stories in the mother tongue. These materials would not only be useful in the UK, but also in their homeland.

Appendix A. Maps

Map 1: England, Scotland and Wales showing some reported locations of Mirpur Pahari speakers (Leapman 2001).

Map 2: Pakistan showing inset for Pahari/Pothowari language area (Map 3).
Adapted from Rensch, Halberg and O'Leary (1992).

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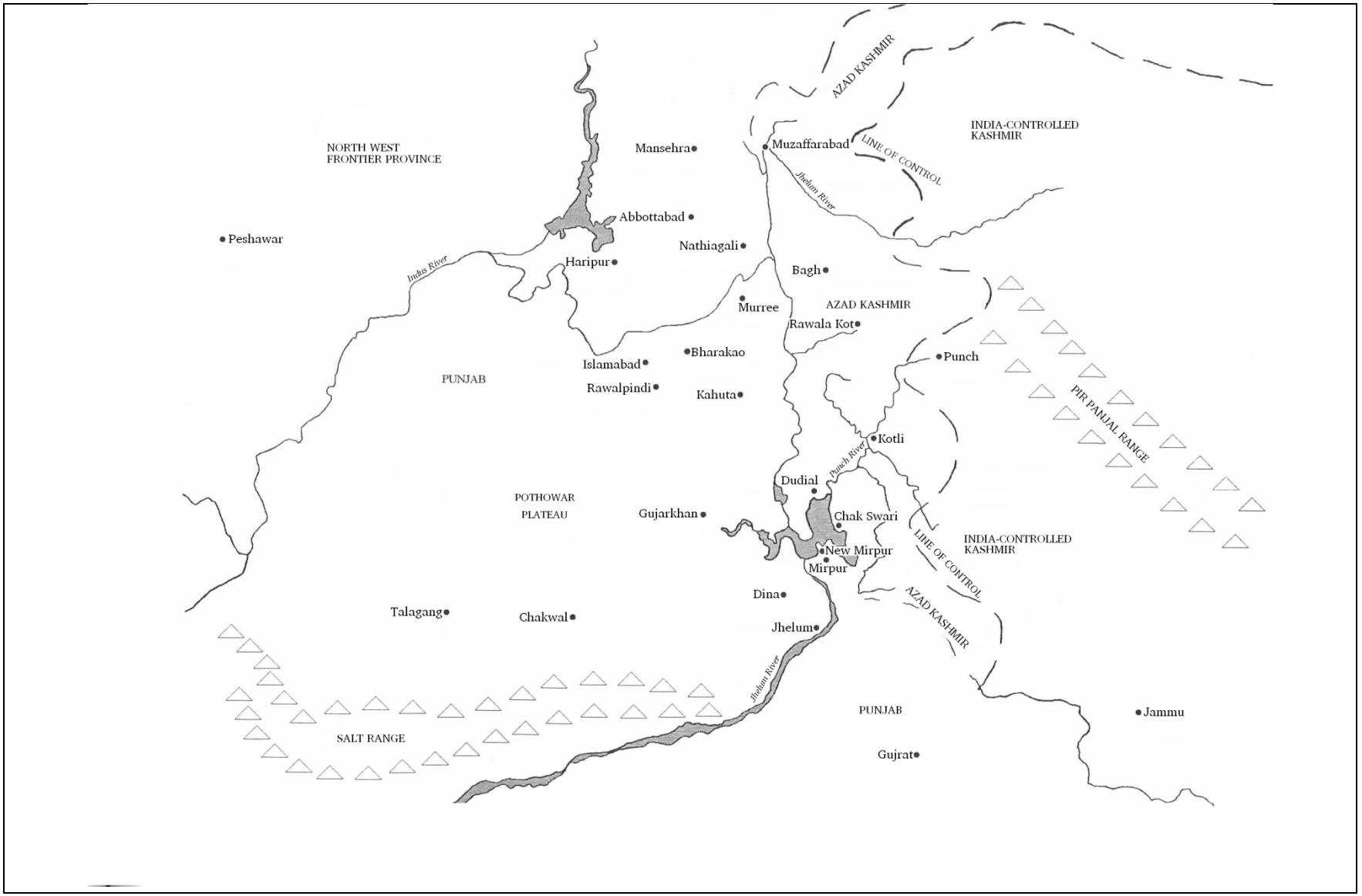
Map 3: Pahari/Pothowari language area. Adapted from Himalaya Nelles Map (1998).



Appendix B. Abbreviations

Table 13: Abbreviations used in report

Abbrev	Meaning
MT	mother tongue
NA	not applicable
NR	no response
UK	United Kingdom
Eng	English
obs	observed

Appendix C. Demographic summary

The questionnaires were collected in England. Table 14 shows the cities in England where these various questionnaires were taken. Almost two-thirds of them came from Sheffield. Sheffield and Dewsbury are in Yorkshire about five hours north of London. High Wycombe is about one hour northwest of London. See Map 1 for the location of these cities.

Table 14: Where questionnaires were taken

City	Number
Dewsbury	4
High Wycombe	10
Sheffield	19
Total	33

We wanted to interview both men and women during this study. We found that it was much easier for Laura to be involved in the survey (and for us to have input from women) in the UK than in Pakistan. The number of men and women are summarized in Table 15.

Table 15: Gender summary

Gender	Number
Male	19
Female	14
Total	33

There is also a good mix of educational backgrounds represented in this survey. We interviewed people who range from being unable to read and could only speak Mirpur Pahari, to people educated in British universities. Educational background is summarized in Table 16.

Table 16: Summary of educational background

Education	Number
None	8
Primary	6
Matric	10
Above matric	9
Total	33

Most of the people interviewed were in the range of 25 to 39 years old. However, some were as young as late-teens. A few interviewed were around 70. The ages of participants are summarized in Table 17.

Table 17: Summary of participants' ages

Age	Number
Below 25	7
25 to 39	13
40 to 59	8
Above 59	5
Total	33

The age of the participant on his or her arrival in the UK is summarized in Table 18. The average age of arrival in the UK is less than 18 for participants who are currently under 60. More than likely, many of these would have also come to the UK with their parents, and possibly, their grandparents.

The younger the participant, the lower his average age is on arrival in the UK. This reflects the trend, which mushroomed in the 1970s, of whole Mirpuri families immigrating to the UK—and an increase of children born in the UK to Mirpuri immigrants. The column 'Number Born in UK' indicates how many participants within that age group were born in the UK. Of the four participants born in the UK, all of them are under 40 years of age. While the minimum age in the '40 to 59' age group is 0, this one participant was not born in the UK but immigrated with her parents as an infant.

Table 18: Age of participant on arrival in the UK[a]

	Average Age	Min Age	Max Age	Number Born in UK	Standard Deviation	Sample Size	Age Estimated
Below 25	9.5	0	19	2	9.7	6	1
25 to 39	15.3	0	28	2	9.2	13	0
40 to 59	17.4	0	36	0	12.1	7	3
Above 59	31.4	21	51	0	11.7	5	2

[a] The last two columns, 'Sample Size' and 'Age Estimated' reflect the fact that we were not able to get answers to all of the questions. The 'Sample Size' does not correspond exactly to the sample size in Table 17 because we were unable to get the arrival dates of two of the participants. 'Age Estimated' indicates how many participants in each age group needed age estimates: we did not have the opportunity to ask their ages during the interview.

Table 19 is a summary of the marital status of the participants. More than three out of four are married. When participants who were raised in England married, it is likely that their spouses came from Pakistan as adults.

Table 19: Marital status of participants

Marital Status	Number
Married	26
Single	5
Divorced	1
Widowed	1
Total	33

Overall, the literacy rates are quite high (see Table 20). Five are unknown because when we suspected that they might not be literate, we did not ask, since they already seemed a little uncomfortable with being interviewed. Of the six who are illiterate, four are women. Three of them had come from Pakistan within the last five years to marry into families in the UK.

Table 20: Literacy rates among participants

Literate	Number
Yes	22
No	6
Unknown	5
Total	33

Most participants, however, have been in the UK for many years as shown in Table 21. The average is 21.3 years with a (fairly high) standard deviation of 14.2 years. There is quite a range in the time participants have been in the UK. One of the participants has been in England for only six weeks (0 years). At the other end of the spectrum, one has been in the UK for 48 years. The median years of residence in the UK (middle number in the list of participants) is 19 years. The mode (most common number of years) is 15.

Table 21: Years settled in the UK

Statistic	Years
Average	21.3
Standard Deviation	14.2
Minimum	0
Maximum	48
Median	19
Mode	15

Most of the participants emigrated from a relatively small area close to the Mangla reservoir in Mirpur. Kotli, also in Azad Kashmir and near the Mangla reservoir, is the birthplace of six of the participants. Seven participants were from the Pothowari areas of Pakistan. Only four participants were actually born in the UK.

Table 22: Birthplace

Birthplace	Number
Mirpur	14
Pothowar Plain[a]	7
Kotli	6
UK	4
Other[b]	2
Total	33

[a] The Pothowar Plain category includes the Pothowar area in the Rawalpindi and Gujarkhan districts of Pakistan. Participants were born in Rawalpindi (3), Gujarkhan (2) and Jhelum (1).

[b] One participant was born in Tanzania but came to the UK as an infant. One was born in Gujrat.

Appendix D. Questionnaires

D.1 How questionnaires are used to meet survey goals

The questions in the questionnaire were used to answer questions that came from the goals of this survey. Table 23 summarizes how the questions try to explore different goals of the survey. Some questions may have application to more than one question. If so, they are shown in **bold** type (see questions 2 and 7). Question 2 indicates both MT attitude and vitality because the attitudes of the younger generation toward their parents' mother tongue also indicate how long the language will be spoken. In the same way, question 7 investigates language use among children—but it also indicates whether members of the younger generation currently speak their parents' mother tongue (language vitality).

Table 23: How questions in questionnaire were used to meet survey goals

Issue	Question number
Distribution of Mirpur Pahari speakers in the UK	1
Language attitude	**2**, 3, 4, 5
Language vitality	**2, 7**
Language use	6, **7**, 8
MT Literacy attitude	9, 10, 11 (11 is also awareness of MT literature)
MT Non-print media attitude	12
Language variety comprehension	13a (perceived similarity of story from Murree) 13b (perceived similarity of story from Gujarkhan) 14 (reported similarity of Pothowari) 15 (reported similarity of Pahari)

D.2 English Questionnaire

Questions about Pothowari/Mirpuri

Name: _____

First language: _____ Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female Age: ___

Birthplace: _____ Family: _____

Marital status: ☐ Unmarried ☐ Married Other: _____ # of children: _____

Education: _____ Can you read? ☐ Yes ☐ No If so, in what language? _____

Where have you lived?

Place(s): _____ _____ _____ _____

Years: _____ _____ _____ _____

Where did your family live in Pakistan? _____

When did your family come to England? _____

Have you returned to Pakistan from England? _____ For how long? ___

1. Where else do other Mirpuri speakers live? _____

2. Do young people gladly speak Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No

3. Do you think kids will grow up to speak Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No

4. Do you want your children to grow up to speak Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No

5. Do you think it is a good thing to use Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No

6. In your family, what language do you use with...

   - grandparents _____
   - parents _____
   - brothers/sisters _____
   - children _____

7. What language do your children (or children in your family) speak with each other?

   _____

   If not Mirpuri, can your children understand Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No

8. Outside your family, what language do you use with...?

   - o neighbors _____
   - o shopkeepers _____
   - o people at the mosque _____
   - o friends _____
   - o other _____ _____

9. Would you like to learn how to read Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No

10. Would you like your children to learn how to read Mirpuri?: ☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Have you heard of or seen any literature in Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No. If so, what?

    _____

    Would you like to see (more) Mirpuri materials written? ☐ Yes ☐ No

    If so, what kinds of things: _____

12. Have you heard of or seen any audio or video materials in Mirpuri? ☐ Yes ☐ No

    If so, what? _____

    Would you like to see (more) Mirpuri materials on tape or video? ☐ Yes ☐ No

    If so, what kinds of things: _____

13. Please listen to these stories and then answer the question:

    Is this story: ☐ in my language, ☐ a little bit different of a language,

    ☐ completely different language?

    Comments:

    Is this story: ☐ in my language, ☐ a little bit different of a language,

    ☐ completely different language?

    Comments:

14. Do you know anyone who speaks Pothohari? ☐ Yes ☐ No

    Do they speak: ☐ my language, ☐ a little bit different language,

    ☐ a completely different language?

15. Do you know anyone who speaks Pahari (that is spoken in Murree Pakistan)? ☐ Yes ☐ No

    Do they speak: ☐ my language, ☐ a little bit different language,

    ☐ a completely different language?

Appendix E. Mother tongue materials

E.1 Printed materials

Chahal, Arshad. 2002. *Kokanbir*. Islamabad, Pakistan: Modern Book Depot. (all text in/about book in Persian/Arabic script).

Mehmood, Tariq. 2001. *Clever jackal*. Rawalpindi, Pakistan: Neelab Printers.

Mehmood, Tariq. 2002a.[20] *First Pothowari/Pahari Qaida* (title in Persian/Arabic script). Jhelum, Pakistan: Praala Publisher and Chitka Committee.

Mehmood, Tariq. 2002b. *Run jackal run*. Manchester, UK and Jhelum, Pakistan: Praala/Chitka and Praala Publishers.

E.2 Internet resources

http://www.babyfriendly.org.uk/parents/printing.asp
An article in Mirpuri on the importance of breast feeding

http://www.bgfl.org/bgfl/custom/resources_ftp/client_ftp/ks1/science/pda_body_parts/mirpuri.htm
A language learning web site with basic words in Mirpuri (body parts)

http://www.bgfl.org/bgfl/custom/resources_ftp/client_ftp/ks1/community_lang/eal_survival/mirpuri/index.htm
Common phrases in Mirpuri—a "survival guide"

http://jumtree.co.uk/shermuqabla/
Pothwari music

http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00731b0
Mirpuri news program

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4J23ZchaY2M
Mirpur Pothowari basic words/phrases

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Potwari_language
About Mirpur Potwari

http://meramirpur.com/language.html
Basic phrases in Mirpuri

E.3 Non-print media resources

"Talking about miscarriage" (audio cassette) from Miscarriage Association. Wakefield, West Yorkshire, UK

[20] The date is taken from the launch of the primer which was held on February 23, 2002.

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