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Bilingual Identity of Pashtoon Immigrants: Insights from Lahore

Abstract   The aim of this article is to examine the ways through which the immigrant Pashto speech community constructs their bilingual identity in the multicultural settings of Lahore. The participants for the research were selected through purposive sampling technique. The data of the study was collected via interviews from 10 adults of Pashto speech community, who have been living in Lahore for more than five years. The study is based on the philosophy of Spolsky's (2004) Language Policy Framework, which considers language practices, beliefs and management as different ways of constructing identities. The nature of the data is descriptive and qualitative, and thematic analysis was used while the data coding was performed through Atlas.ti software. The findings revealed that the Pashto speakers use their first language (Pashto) in their home environment to maintain their language, identity and culture while using Urdu and English outside their home domain at their workplaces.

Key Words: Bilingual, Identity, Language Practices, Language Belief, Language Management, Multicultural

Introduction

The purpose of the present study is to investigate how the immigrant Pashto speech community forms their bilingual identity through language in the multicultural settings of Lahore. The study probes their identity as revealed and reflected in their language practices, language beliefs and language management. The focus of Khan (2011, 2014, 2019, and 2020) was on the social factors and the grammatical aspects of Pashto-English codeswitching where Pashto was the Matrix language and English was the Embedded language. But, this study is based on language, and identity perspective, which maintains that language works as a building block in the formation of identity, and we create an identity through language use (Petrovic, 2015). According to Hogg and Abrams (1998), identity is an enterprise of self and group membership, and language is a site where it can be constructed, so language and identity are inseparable. Language choices are acts of identity and instrument of forming social identity (Fuller, 2007).

Under certain social circumstances, identity as a process can be maintained or transformed, such as in the case of migration when different languages are in contact. Migrated minority often has limited access to the linguistic capital in comparison with the majority because the linguistic asset is usually related to the dominant majority language. In order to become a part of the mainstream, the minority should have the grasp on majority language to get social benefits and mobility opportunities so during this process minority's language, and identity can be maintained or altered (Nyuyen,2018). The term 'language contact' alludes to the context where two or more than two languages or dialects, no matter they are in spoken form or written, have any relationship or not, exist at the same time or in the same place where the users speak or write these distinct linguistic varieties in certain environments in an alternative way (Weinreich,1953, Bussmam, 2000, Thomason, 2001a). Language contact is related to the communication between speakers of varied languages, and language varieties and such kind of interactions in multilingual societies work as catalysts for language change (Gao, 2017).

The products of language contact are code-switching and bilingualism/multilingualism. Khan (2014, 2015, 2016. 2017) discussed the different aspects of Pashto-English code-switching. The main focus of Khan (2014) was on the grammatical outcomes of Pashto-English code-switching. The

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research was carried out in the context where Pashto was the dominant language of the speech community of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The study conducted by Khan (2018) revealed that Pashto is the dominant language and is responsible for the morphosyntactic frame to Pashto-English bilingual data. However, the present study is conducted in multilingual settings where Urdu and Punjabi, along with English, are the dominant languages of the speech communities in Lahore.

The outcome of language contact is bilingualism because in such situations, the speakers of different languages, particularly with different L1s, come in contact with each other during their conversations (Myers-Scotton, 2006). According to Myers-Scotton (2006), bilingual means being able to make minimum use of two or more languages which may be based on the capability of reading and writing but most essentially the ability to speak. It can be said that 'bilingualism is the ability to use two or more languages sufficiently to carry on a limited casual conversation" (Myers-Scotton, 2006).

Myers-Scotton (2006) says that there are certain conditions under which the phenomenon of bilingualism happens, such as close proximity and displacement.

Migration has long been considered an important factor in language contact and change, and multiple studies have given elaborated descriptions of different ways in which economic and social dislocations and macro-social causes of migration contribute to language contact and change which has an effect on the identity of migrated communities in due course (Fishman, 1991, Hornberger & Molina, 2004, Choi, 2015, Nguyen (2018)).

South Asian Migration Report (2017) has highlighted many causes and effects of internal migration in Pakistan. It says that Pakistan is home to the world's 10th largest labor force, with an estimated population of 191.7 million. National economic growth has been unequally distributed across the rural and urban areas. Similarly, social infrastructure investment is concentrated in or around metropolitans disproportionately, while rural communities receive inadequate development spending (Burki et al. 2015, Naveed et al. 2012). SAMR (2017) highlights the facts that with regard to rural and urban areas, the difference of development between and within provinces is marked by the unbalanced access to healthcare, schooling and employment opportunities which has become the cause of internal migration. Wage rates are higher in urban areas, and diversification in labor market is paralleled by the rise in internal migration such as interprovincial and rural-urban. In addition to that other causes of internal migration include the ongoing war against terrorism in FATA (part of Khaber Pakhtoonkhwa since 2018) and the poor law and order situation in Khaber Pakhtoonkhwa were almost 3.2% people had to leave their homes. The people of KP are called Pathans (Pashtoons).

The Pathans are defined by the Pashto language, and it is spoken by the Pathans who belong to the regions of Khaber Pakhtoonkhwa, FATA (merged in KP since 2018)) and Afghanistan. Pashto is a part of the East Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian language family. It is closely related to other Iranian languages such as Persian, Kurdish, and Balochi. It is somewhat less closely related to Indo-Aryan languages such as Urdu, Punjabi, and Sindhi; and more distantly related to other Indo-European languages (David, 2014). Pashto is the second most important Iranian language after Persian.

In the context of migration, an article was published by BBC Urdu (Baloch, 2018) which says that the Afghan migrants in Karachi have shown their concerns regarding the loss of their Pashto and Persian languages in their young generation. The old generation of Afghans does not understand Urdu. In the same way, the new generation (aged 10-25) does not comprehend Pashto and Persian as there are more tendencies among them to speak Urdu. Their parents said that when they go back to visit their country, they feel 'deaf and dumb' because they cannot communicate with local people. By considering this issue, one of the respondents has opened a school in that area to teach Persian to the young generation so that it may not have difficulty to communicate and to get livelihood when they return to their country. Afghan migrants are not sure when they will go back to Afghanistan, but the school is getting more admissions these days because the elders find it the only way to maintain not only their language which is an instrument to communicate and to get livelihood but also to maintain their identity and culture. No doubt that a language is an operative tool, along with that; it has a whole culture which the migrants can share even if they are far away from home. It is the damage and deprivation of their larger, social assimilation that irks the migrants and their affiliation with their language and identity.

Lahore is a metropolitan city, so it attracts people from different parts of the country who find varied livelihood opportunities and other amenities of life in this city. Due to better law and order

situation in Lahore as compared to the other areas of Pakistan, people consider it a better place to live and earn. This has made Lahore a multilingual place so the Pashto community in Lahore may face the problems related to their language and identity construction. According to Crable (2010), language is a central component in identity constitution and identity is created by humans through language. Individuals represent themselves through their language and their relationships with several groups in society. When the young generation of Pashto community leaves their home environment, they start to interact within other situations and settings in which the language of the majority is used to communicate which can be Punjabi or Urdu in Lahore.

Literature Review

In the area of bilingual identity construction, Nguyen (2018) conducted research on Vietnamese ethnic minority students. In order to find the answer to the problem, the data was collected from several semi-structured interviews taken from college students. The researcher has used the combination of two theoretical frameworks such as Fielding's Bilingual Identity Negotiation Framework (2015) and Spolsky's Language Policy Framework (2004) with some modifications to investigate the bilingual identity of minority students in Vietnam. The findings showed that in their language practices and beliefs, their identity worked as a process of maintenance and transformation. The students who were able to maintain their language were successful in their identity preservation and vice versa. However, for some of them, the development of transformation was stronger, which posed the question of their first language conservation and their ethnic identity ultimately. In addition to that, ethnic-cultural factors proved very important among the other factors for their language and identity maintenance. Their community had a strong influence on their ways of managing and giving value to their language and identity.

In the recent past, bilingual or multilingual family language policy has created interest worldwide. For example, King and Fogle (2006) explored the ways through which parents structure their family language policy for the promotion and conservation of bilingualism. Okita (2002) and Barkhuizen (2006) researched that the task of minority language transfer is emotionally demanding. Luykx (2003) declared family language policy as a kind of language ecology, and in that situation, children are both objects and agents at the same time. Throughout the world, there are various issues in bilingual homes pertaining to family language policy such as Tannenbaum&Berkovich, (2005) worked on how much important are the emotional relationships among the family. The influence of the ideologies of parents, their plans of supervision and their choices of linguistic items have been investigated by many researchers (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2002; De Houwer, 1999; Dopke, 1988; Fries, 1998).

Li, X (1999) says that when you are away from your native country, your language and culture, there is a chance to lose the feel of your first language. However, it all depends on the parents how much importance they give to their first language, when, where, how frequently and with who they interact in their first language and what they relate to their first language, specifically, when it is marginalized in a new culture. In this way, they present a model in front of their children which enable them to maintain their language and identity. Verhoeven (1987) stated that ethnic minority children follow the linguistics examples of their parents along with the support from the neighbourhood and it all depends on parents' attitudes with respect to first language maintenance and second language acquisition.

Significance of the Study

The present study will inform about the language practices and beliefs of Pashto speech community and the ways they construct their identity and adjust themselves in a distant social context.

Research Question

The study aims to answer the following question:

How do the speakers of Pashto community construct their bilingual identity through language in the multilingual settings of Lahore?

Methodology

Theoretical Framework

In order to address the research question, the Spolsky's (2004) Language Policy Framework has been used which says that the concepts of language practices of the speakers, their language beliefs and attitudes and their language management are three modes of identity which act by means of language. Spolsky's (2004) framework has three components such as language practices, language beliefs and language management (Fig 1). According to the framework, language practices are repeated and noticeable choices of distinct linguistic varieties and characteristics, and it is what speakers do with their language. Speakers create their own specific self-image and relationships with others in various ways when they use their language. As far as the language beliefs are concerned, they are related to the prestige or value given to linguistic variety. They are about appropriate language practices in certain contexts. Speaker's attitude toward different languages can automatically show their self-identification as a speaker of a particular language and their relationship to that specific community. Spolsky (2004) describes that language management is the policies applied by the individuals on themselves to cultivate or tailor their own language habits under intervention from others.
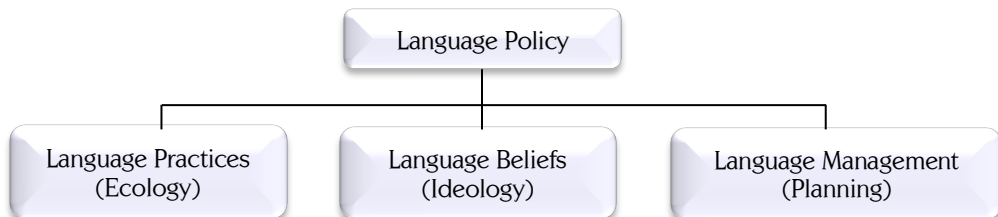

Figure 1. Language Policy Framework (Spolsky, 2004). Reprinted from Language Policy: Hidden Agenda and New Approaches. Routledge. (Shohamy, 2006, p.53)

Sampling and Demographics

The present study is qualitative and descriptive in nature. The purposive sampling technique was used to collect the data because the focus was on a particular community with a specific purpose in mind. The data was gathered from Lahore, which is a metropolitan city and provincial capital of Punjab province.

The population of the study was based on 10 adults of immigrant Pashto speech community who have been living in Lahore for more than five years. It included 7 males and 3 females (Table 1). The male participants had varied kind of professions while females were housewives as it is not thought appropriate in Pashtoon culture to expose their females to the outside world for earning and this is the responsibility of male Pashtoon mostly to take care of the bread and butter of their families. Their culture is another reason and limitation that less Pashtoon females were available for this study.

Data Collection Instrument

The data was collected through interviews. The interview questions were based on Spolsky's (2004) Language Policy Framework, which describes that language practices, language beliefs and language policies are three forms of identity which work through language. There were 6 interview questions related to the area of research. The interview questions were open-ended and had the capacity to generate detailed answers. In addition to that, the demographic information of the participants was also collected at the beginning of every interview (Table 1).

Data Collection Procedure

The empirical data from the participants was collected through interviews. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and took them into confidence before taking the interviews, and all the ethical considerations were taken into account (Webster, Lewis & Brown, 2014).

The interview questions were based on Spolsky's (2004) Language Policy Framework related to the participants' language practices, language beliefs and language management. The questions were asked in the Urdu language because all of the participants were able to understand Urdu, which is the national language of Pakistan; however, they were free to answer in any language. The same set of interview questions was used for every participant. The interviews were conducted through phone calls and face-to-face because of the COVID-19 issue. It was not an easy task during this pandemic to convince and approach the people for the purpose of data collection. The researcher tried to get the data when the government eased the lockdown in different areas of Lahore. All the SOPs regarding pandemic were followed during face-to-face interviews. During the data collection procedure, all the responses of the interviews were recorded and then transcribed later. The time of each interview session was 30 minutes, and every participant gave the interview once.

The data was collected with the help of the researcher's supervisor, who himself is a Pashtoon, and he has been living in Lahore from the last thirteen years. He was also among the participants of the study. With the help of her supervisor, the researcher explored the Pashtoon immigrant families in different areas of Lahore such as Wapda Town, Valencia Town, Johar Town, Model Town, Township, Shadman and Walled City.

Table 1. Information About Participants

Participants	Gender	Age	Marital status	Ethnicity	Education	Occupation	Other Languages	Area & duration of stay in Lahore
P1	Male	48 years	Married	Pashto	Graduation	Business	Pashto, Urdu, English, Punjabi	Shadman 18 years
P2	Male	47 years	Married	Pashto	PhD.	Teacher, Researcher	Pashto, Urdu, English	Model Town 7 years
P3	Male	38 years	Married	Pashto	MS	Teacher	Pashto, Urdu, English	Johar Town 9 years
P4	Male	45 years	Married	Pashto	PhD.	Teacher, Researcher	Pashto, Urdu, English	Wapda Town, 13 years
P5	Male	33 years	Married	Pashto	MS	Teacher	Pahto, Urdu, English	Valencia Town, 10 years
P6	Male	47 years	Married	Pashto	PhD	Teacher, Researcher	Pashto, Urdu, English	Township, 15 years
P7	Male	42 years	Married	Pashto	Intermediate	Business	Pashto, Urdu	Walled City, 16 years
P8	Female	42 years	Married	Pashto	Intermediate	Housewife	Pashto, Urdu	Shadman, 18 years
P9	Female	43 years	Married	Pashto	Graduation	Housewife	Pashto, Urdu	Wapda Town, 5 years
P10	Female	40 years	Married	Pashto	Intermediate	Housewife	Pashto, Urdu	Walled City, 16 years

'P' stands for participant

Data Analysis Procedure

The data were analyzed by following different phases of thematic analysis. According to Boyatzis (1998), thematic analysis is a method to identify, analyze and report patterns (themes) within data. It

not only organizes and describes the data in rich details but also interprets many aspects of the research topic by going further ahead. The thematic analysis provides theoretical freedom which makes it a useful and flexible research tool which has the capacity to give a rich, detailed and complex data account (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The following phases of thematic analysis have ensued for data analysis.

Phase 1: Familiarization with the Data

After collecting the data through interview questions, the researcher transcribed the data into written form to conduct a thematic analysis. After the transcription of verbal data, the researcher familiarized herself with the data through repeated reading in order to search the meanings and themes from the data and checked the transcripts against the original recordings to get the accuracy. During the reading process, the researcher marked the ideas for coding.

Phase 2: Generation of Codes

After a thorough reading, the researcher gathered the ideas of interest from the data which were important to get the answer to the research problem. Then the codes were derived from the data, and the coding was performed through Altas.ti software by taking into consideration the theoretical background of the study. Through coding, the interesting features of the data were put in a systematic way. The process of coding is a part of the analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Phase 3: Search for Themes

During this phase, different codes were sorted out and put into the potential themes and sub-themes through Atlas.ti software by consulting the theoretical framework of the study.

Phase 4: Review of Themes

This phase is about reviewing the themes. It was checked whether the data within themes was meaningfully coherent, and there was a clear distinction between themes. It was made sure if the thematic map accurately reflected the meanings present in the data as a whole and the representation was according to the theoretical background of the study.

Phase 5: Define & Name Themes

In this phase, the themes were refined and defined by consulting the data again. For every individual theme, a detailed analysis was conducted, and the story related to that particular theme was identified and considered how it was appropriately related to the overall story which the data was showing regarding the research question of the study to avoid too much overlapping between themes. The sub-themes were also refined in the same way.

Phase 6: Production of Analysis Report

This phase is about write-up of the thematic analysis. The write-up of the analysis included the data extracts and the description and interpretation of the data by linking it to the research question and the claims present in the existing literature related to such kind of studies.

Findings

This section contains the findings of the study.

Language Practices

The participants use multiple languages according to the context such as in and outside their homes. Their language practice and identity are mainly inspired by interaction factors such as their communication topics, styles, interlocutors and their language performance (Figure 1).
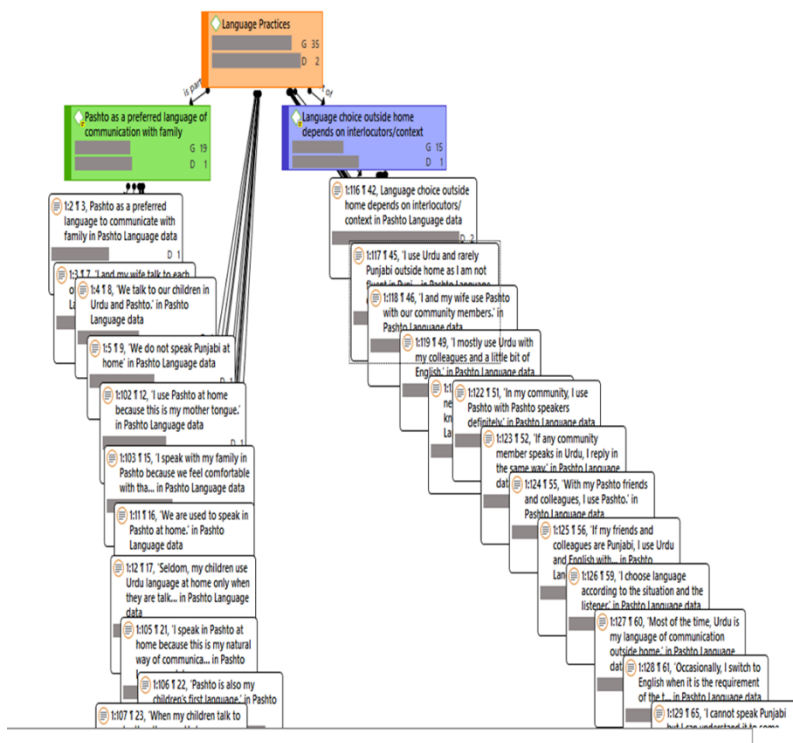
Figure 1. Thematic map and Quotations in Atlas.ti (Language practices)

Pashto as a Preferred Language of Communication with Family

Many participants informed that they prefer to speak Pashto with their family members at home while living in Lahore such as in the following excerpts taken from interviews, the participants 6 and 4 expressed their opinion in this regard.

P6: 'We prefer to use Pashto at home because we do not want our children to forget Pashto. We transfer Pashto to our children with conscious effort.'

P4: "This is my personal belief that we should talk to our children only in Pashto because if they forget their language, they will lose their culture and identity."

According to them, this is a natural way of communication for them as it is their mother tongue, and they are at ease when they talk in Pashto. They feel that their family is a traditional domain to speak Pashto, and they should transfer it to the next generations. They enjoy Pashto songs and poetry because it is related to their culture, which gives them pleasure, and they cannot leave their culture. However, sometimes while communicating with their children, they have to switch in Urdu because children are bringing Urdu from school to home.

Language Choice Outside Home Depends on Interlocutors/Contexts

The participants informed that their language choices outside home depend on the situation, context and the interlocutors.

P2: "I speak Urdu with my neighbors because they don't know Pashto and I don't understand Punjabi. However, I use Pashto with Pashto speakers definitely.'

P5: "When sitting in a mixed ethnic group, we usually use Urdu to accommodate our Punjabi brothers. I cannot speak Punjabi, but I understand it to some extent so I can reply in Urdu. On my workplace, I use Urdu and English."

Due to the mixed ethnicity environment in Lahore where Pashtoon immigrants are in the minority, and Punjabi speakers are in the majority, Pashto speakers do not get sufficient opportunities to use their native language outside their home domain. They have to choose their language according to their context during their outside-home interactions such as they use Urdu and English in their professional environment which has an influence on their way of communication and their performance of language; hence, institutions or workplaces are significant social factors in this regard. While living in Lahore, they can interact in Urdu because of its status as a national language and their language choices are due to the impact of their surroundings.

Language Beliefs

The Pashto speakers showed different attitudes toward the languages. Most of them have a positive attitude about Pashto as their mother tongue, and they linked Urdu and English as languages of utility and opportunity (Figure 2).
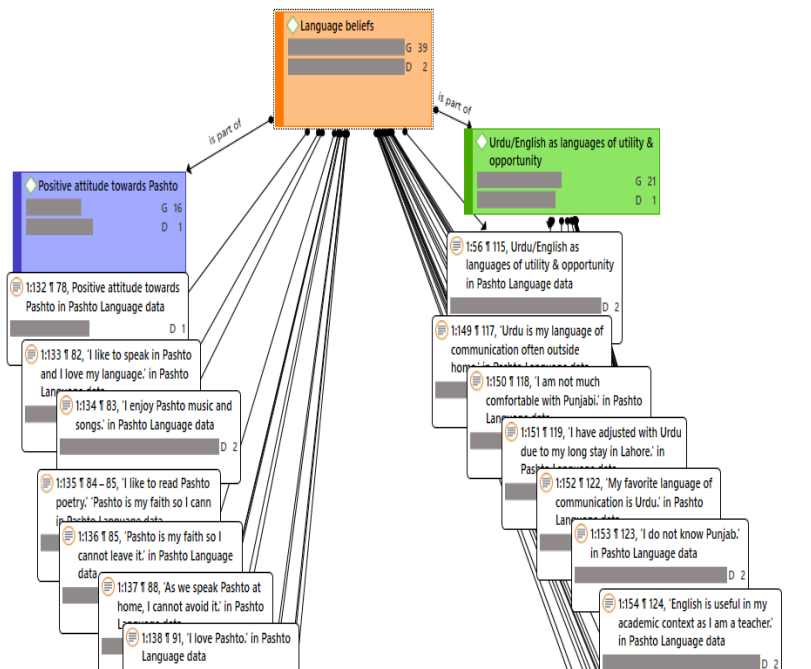

Figure 2. Thematic map and Quotations in Atlas.ti (Language beliefs)

Positive Attitude toward Pashto

When talking about the value of their L1, the participants said that Pashto is a part of their cultural and traditional values. They were of the opinions that they want their young generation not to forget Pashto as it is their mother tongue and runs in their blood, and they are proud of their language.

P4: "I try to speak Pashto with my children at home. In my opinion, one must carry one's own identity."

P3: My father is a Pashto poet, so my feelings are associated with this language. Pashto is a norm for us which carries many codes such as honor, dignity, respect, etc."

It is revealed from the excerpts of participants 4 and 3 that the Pashtoon immigrants have deep feelings toward their mother tongue no matter how distant they are from their native environment. They want their children to remain attached to their roots. They think that Pashto is a symbol of their identity and has a rich culture in it. It is their integrative motivation that they want to carry their language with themselves even in the multilingual settings of Lahore.

Urdu/English as Languages of Utility & Opportunity

Among the main languages spoken in Lahore (Punjabi, Urdu & English), almost all the participants confirmed that Urdu is the most useful for them for social contact and mobility. As Urdu is a national language, it is commonly spoken and understood in society. For example, participants 3 and 6 said:

P3: "Urdu is the only language which makes my communication successful in the context of Lahore. I can communicate through Urdu easily, so I don't feel the need to learn Punjabi. I have Punjabi neighborhood, and we are Pashtoon; however, we communicate in Urdu with each other"

P6: "I think Urdu has its utility because almost everyone can understand it. It is helpful to widen my social contacts and move around."

The participants 4 and 5 thought that Urdu and English are significant to have a good future for their children and are necessary for their own work. Such as:

P4: "I'm a linguist, so every language is important for me. However, English is the most useful language for me because my carrier is based on it. Being a teacher and a researcher, I have to do all my work in English. I prefer my children to focus more on learning English because it is valuable in the job market."

P5: "Urdu is very effective for me because, during teaching, I use Urdu to teach concepts to my students. However, at times, I use English during the lecture. I give respect and value to the Punjabi language, but I don't feel its necessity."

The above-mentioned data showed that the Pashtoon immigrants think that Urdu and English are the languages of utility and opportunity for them in the multilingual settings of Lahore. They have connected both of these languages with their socialization, progress and success in society. The participants have expressed their instrumental motivation in learning both of these languages.

Language Management

This section explains the participants' management of their language practices and beliefs when their home domain, community, institutions and workplaces are involved, and they have an influence on them (Figure 3).
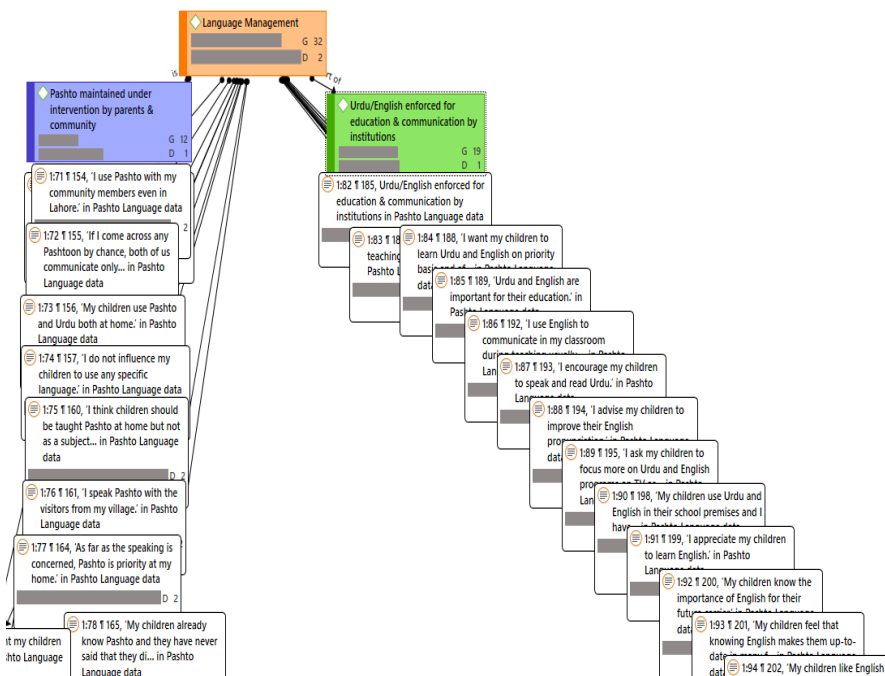

Figure 3. Thematic map and Quotations in Atlas.ti (Language management)

Pashto Maintained at home Under Intervention by Parents & Community

The participants informed that mostly they prefer their L1 as a mean of communication in their home environment and among Pashto speech community in Lahore because it is their habit and natural way of communication. It is their practice and custom to use L1 in family communication, and they want to carry it with themselves.

P4: 'As far as speaking is concerned, Pashto is a priority at my home. My children already know Pashto, and they have never said that they dislike it, although they personally like English more than Pashto.'

P5: 'I never want my children to abandon Pashto. Whenever we visit our native village, my children have to communicate in Pashto there because this is our tradition and everyone talks in Pashto in my native area.'

The above-mentioned excerpts of participants 4 and 5 show that the participants' attitudes toward their L1 are vital social and cultural factors to motivate their children to use Pashto in their native domains. The use of their L1 keeps them connected with their indigenous people in their villages or native areas. It shows that they want to be in touch with their culture no matter how far they are from their original places and have a desire to maintain their own identity being Pashtoon.

The attitude of participant 1 revealed that he wants to maintain Pashto while speaking with his community members in Lahore, which can be a source of harmony with his community. In addition to that, he wishes his children to be equipped with the tools to become part of mainstream society and know languages which are important to move easily outside their home and community.

P1: 'I use Pashto with my Pashtoon community members in Lahore. If I come across any Pashtoon by chance, both of us communicate only in Pashto. My children use Pashto and Urdu both at home, and I don't influence them to use any specific language at home. I think it is equally important for them to know Urdu because they need to be seemed polite when they are talking to a person other than a Pashtoon speaker. They should know how to use languages correctly.'

The participant 1 believed that Urdu communication skills are essential for his children to be in line with society in their current place of residence. The parents' attitude is imperative to motivate their children to learn and use languages according to the requirement of context and interlocutor. Hence, the parents' efforts have an impact on their children's language practices and beliefs.

Urdu/English Enforced for Education & Communication by Institutions

The language policies of institutions are an important social factor to implement and manage the language of their students and employees. From the following excerpts of the participants 2 and 5, it is obvious that the participants felt it an obligation to use English and Urdu for instruction on campus as a policy of their institutions. In order to ensure their survival, the participants have to adopt the vital languages in their workplaces.

P2: 'I've to use English for teaching purposes on campus. I want my own children to learn Urdu and English on priority basis and after that, focus on Pashto because these languages are important for their education.'

P4: 'My children use Urdu and English in their school premises, and I've no objection on it. I appreciate my children to learn English, and they know the importance of English for their future carrier.'

P5: 'During the lecture, I use both English and Urdu to facilitate my students.'

P6: School policy has an influence on my children, and I ask my children to use English where it is needed.

From the above-given excerpts of the participants' 2, 4 and 6, it is indicated that being parents; they have instrumental attitudes that are helpful for their children to learn the languages of practical values which are a prominent social factor (Ng and Wigglesworth, 2007.

Discussion & Conclusion

The aim of the present study was to explore the ways through which the Pashto speech community in

Lahore construct their identity. Through purposive sampling technique, the empirical data was collected from 10 adult Pashto speakers who had been living in Lahore for more than five years. The theory and concepts behind the study were related to the Spolsky's (2004) Language Policy Framework. The data were managed and analyzed through Atlas.ti software.

The findings of the study showed that the participants form their identity as a process, and during that process, they not only try to preserve their own identity but also try to align themselves with the mainstream identity. Through their language practices, the participants use the Pashto language in their home and family domains while they mostly use Urdu and English with non-Pashto speakers outside their home domain and at their workplaces by keeping in view the situation, context and interlocutor. Their language beliefs are related to their integrative and instrumental motivations by giving values to their L1 and Urdu/English, respectively. While managing and coping with their language practices and beliefs under external interferences and involvements, the participants adapt themselves according to their home and community environment and put their efforts to preserve Pashto language. They also familiarized themselves with the shared and common circumstances of their institutions and workplaces and struggled to assimilate with them.

The participants' languages such as Pashto, Urdu, and English and to some extent, Punjabi work as their resources to form their multi-layered bilingual identity. According to Chen (2016), in multi-layered bilingual identity, both preservation and transformation are included in their self-identity and affiliation with a group. The participants informed that they do not feel any conflict between different languages and cultures and between their own identity and affiliation with the mainstream identity. It can be said that they do not feel the need to leave their L1 and their L1 culture to make progress, rather, they maintain their L1 and L1 cultural values and participate and contribute in the multilingual and contemporary circumstances of Lahore by creating their bilingual identity which is an entirety of varied values according to Nyuyen and Hamid (2017). Their identity is formed in a continuous negotiation process in which they do the practice to make their own decisions regarding their language practices, beliefs and management under the intervention of subtractive ideologies of language (Chen, 2016, Bartolome, 2015).

Therefore, it can be pointed out that even if there are language and culture conflicts at the social level, there can be a well-balanced synchronization between the conservation of ethnic identity and mainstream identity in an individual in specific social settings; hence, the conflicts between multilingualism and national solidarity can be avoided. As Gibbons and Ramirez a92004) said that it is substantial to form well-defined and robust beliefs that bilingualism and national identity are not mutually exclusive. Park (2008) believed that there is a need to create socially positive attitudes toward all languages and mutual respect between them and there should be no discrimination between dominant or minority language so all languages should be extensively established and appreciated.

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