

# Language, Culture, and Social Relations: Metapragmatic Awareness of Condolences in the Pahari Language

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## ABSTRACT

**Aim of the Study:** Language and culture influence each other and impact the performance of social relations. The research identifies the socio-cultural way of expressing condolences in the Pahari language and factors for attitudinal shift toward expressing condolences by younger and older speakers.

**Methodology:** Following Silverstein's theoretical framework for studying language, culture, and meta-pragmatics, interviews are conducted with Pahari speakers to identify factors contributing to attitudinal shifts, and condolence messages are collected from 60 speakers to identify variations in expressing condolences.

**Findings:** The younger generation has moved far from their traditional socio-cultural way of performing social relations. They use fewer speech acts for providing sympathy, emotional support for the bereaved, and eulogy for the deceased in comparison with older speakers who are more expressive and provide more empathy.

**Conclusion:** It is found that the Pahari language is on the verge of endangerment because of the factors, including migration, tourism, absence of its promotion, unavailability of religious sermons in the Pahari language, its absence at educational institutions and the workplace, and the prestige associated with the Urdu and English languages. These factors impact the way younger and older speakers express condolences in their socio-cultural setting. Older speakers use speech acts which express concern through directives, help, express wishful thinking, give an explanation before offering sympathy, provide sympathy for the receiver, and offer a eulogy for the deceased, inquire about a happening, and share a similar experience. Contrastingly, younger speakers either remain silent or use speech acts to express sympathy, provide eulogy for the deceased, and express wishful thinking.

**Keywords:** Language, Sociocultural Relations, Meta-pragmatics, Speech Acts.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Pakistan is one of the countries where multiple languages and multiple dialects of different languages are spoken. Most Pakistanis are bilingual and multilingual, having knowledge of two or more than two languages. Lewis and Paul (2022) have mentioned that out of 77 languages spoken in Pakistan, 72 languages are indigenous languages. Pahari language is one of the indigenous languages of Pakistan, and it is spoken in Murree, Azad Kashmir, and some areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province with different accents. It is a thousand-year-old language and was used by the people living over the Himalaya Mountains. It is an Indo-Aryan language of the Indo-European family group of languages (Grierson 1918). It could be divided into three further groups spoken in Nepal, Kumaon, and South Asia. Pahari, being an ancient language of South Asia, has remained prestigious across the continent, but in the present time, the indigenous language of Pakistan doesn't have any social, political, or economic prestige. Absence of the government's interventions for the promotion of indigenous languages. In the present time, weaker languages are losing their significance and vitality in their respective communities (Abbasi 2021). Around twenty-seven languages spoken in Pakistan are on the verge of extinction, and 50% of the world's languages would be replaced by dominant languages by the end of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

According to the report (UNESCO, 2012), as far as the speed of language death is concerned, it can be roughly estimated that all over the world, every second week, a language dies, and it happens when a language does not have any speakers to use it (Crystal, 2010). The reasons for the language death include naturalization, globalization, colonization, migration, and personal (Černý, 2010). Hameed (2022) asserts that the unavailability of the indigenous language at home setting and ignorance of the need for language transformation to the future generation result in language death. Markers of shame and lower status are associated with the less powerful indigenous languages of Pakistan; therefore, they are not used frequently at home and in social settings (Rahman 2006).

Loss of language is not only a loss of language, but it is a loss of the whole society and culture associated with that language (Kırmızı 2015). When the language is lost, its culture is dislocated because language and culture have an indexical relationship with each other (Fishman, 2007). They further assert that language associated with culture can express values, concerns, and artifacts more richly, easily, exactly, and appropriately. Boas (1942) considers language as part of culture and provides the idea that the use of language is embedded in the culture. Sapir gives the idea of linguistic relativism and mentions that language influences the worldview and languages do not represent the same reality. Different languages shape societies and interns' different world views. As Boas and Sapir contribute their ideas towards the intersection of language and culture, the present research attempts to study the Pahari language in its socio-cultural setting. The research aims to study the ways of expressing condolences across different Pahari-speaking generations, as Hameed (2022) and Abbasi et al. (2021) have mentioned that the Pahari language is on the verge of endangerment because it is considered a mark of shame and low prestige.

Condolences play an important role in reflecting the emotional and social structures of Pahari speaking community. There is limited understanding of how condolences are expressed in their cultural and linguistic context and how this practice is evolving across generations. This research attempts to explore the dynamics of expressing condolences to preserve the cultural heritage of Pahari-speaking communities and to build intergenerational connections across different Pahari speakers. The research aims to explore the ways of expressing condolences by the young and old generations of Pahari speakers in the linguistic and cultural context and to identify the factors contributing to the cultural variations in the ways condolences are expressed in the Pahari language across different generations.

### ***1.1 Pahari Language: Morpho-syntactic and Phonemic Features***

Khan (2017) has done the phonemic analysis of the vocalic and consonantal system of the Pahari language. It is found that the Pahari language comprises four nasal vowels, twelve oral vowels, thirty consonants, and six diphthongs. Its consonant sounds are articulated from seven different places of articulation, including glottal, velar, dental, palatal, alveolar, bilabial, and labio-dental. It contains three

ways of contracting voice, such as voiceless aspirated, voiced unaspirated, and voiceless unaspirated. It is also concluded that the Pahari language does not contain voiced aspirated sounds. Khaliq et al. (2022) have described the morphosyntactic properties of the Pahari language. It is found to have regular verbs which are inflected with the change of gender, mood, tense, number, and aspect. Most of the verbs in the Pahari language are intransitive, while transitive verbs are formed with affixation and vowel modification. The suffix /na:/ is used to form infinitives, and the language contains three participles used as adverbs or adjectives, including conjunctives, perfectives, and imperfectives. Non-inflective and inflective verbs are used to formulate double verbs in the Pahari language.

### ***1.2 Pahari Language Use: Psycho-sociological Factors***

Abbasi et al. (2011) have explored the psycho-sociological factors related to the use of the Pahari language in their anthropological study. They have identified that the Pahari language is in danger of becoming extinct in the future because of factors such as social identity, financial status, gender differences, language shame, and growing social networks. The younger generation also prefers to use Urdu and English because in their educational institutions, they are required to use these languages. Pahari language is neither prevalent in the classroom discourse nor is there any opportunity to learn the Pahari language in the classroom. Pahari speakers are now also mixed with other cultures when they move from their native place, so with their mixed identity, they avoid speaking the language and want their kids also to learn a second or foreign language. At the same time, the government also does not take any strict action for the promotion of indigenous languages. Abbasi et al. (2021) have collected data from three generations of Pahari speakers. It has identified that Pahari speakers have a negative attitude towards their language, and they want their kids to learn Urdu and English because of high marketability, economic value, and prestige. People who use the Pahari language are downgraded, and they are considered less civilized, less intelligent, and having less income. Moreover, the new generation is also hesitant to continue the Pahari language as a symbol of their identity. The last resort for the use of the Pahari language is the home domain. The research suggests that there is a need for revitalization of the language for its survival, and awareness regarding the use of the Pahari language should also be provided to the public.

### ***1.3 Pahari-speaking English Learners: Challenges***

Khan and Qadir (2012) have examined the problems faced by Pahari English learners. They have found that Pahari English learners face difficulty in pronouncing four different English consonant sounds that are not present in the Pahari inventory. These consonance sounds are pronounced in the native Pahari accent. “English dental fricatives /θ, ð/ are replaced by dental stops /t̪, d̪ /, while palatal voiced fricative /r/ and bilabial approximant /w/ are replaced by voiced palatal approximant /j/ and labio-dental fricative /v/ respectively.” (Khan and Qadir, 2020). Abbasi, Khan, and Shafi (2024) have done an acoustic analysis of the Pahari language to identify implication and modification strategies used by speakers and their position of onset and coda when they use the English language. It is identified that for speaking English, language learners use a split pattern and they insert /e/, /ɪ/, /ʊ/, and /ə/ at the coda and onset position when they use English clusters which are not present in their native language. Similarly, certain clusters are present in both the Pahari and English languages, but Pahari speakers cannot speak those clusters; contrastingly, some clusters are not present in the Pahari language, but learners can speak these clusters effectively. Pahari speakers also convert some monosyllabic English words to try syllabic words, for example, /grim/ is pronounced as /girim/ (Abbasi et al. 2024). Pahari language speakers have been living in Britain for many years, but the language is not enjoying official minority language status because it is considered an unintelligible dialect of the Punjabi language (Hussain, 2015).

### ***1.4 The Pahari Language: Tonal Patterns***

Khan (2020) has done the tonal analysis of the Pahari language, and it is found that mid, low, and high tones are present in the Pahari language at the lexical level. Furthermore, these tones are characterized by low-rising, high-falling, and mid-level intonation patterns. It is observed that high tone is separated from

other tones with shorter duration, while low tone is separated from other tones with breathy phonation. Phonation and intensity distinguish low tone from mid tone. Duration distinguishes high tone from other tones; however, final velocity assists in distinguishing low tone from other tones. Asghar et al. (2023) have mentioned that Pahari is an endangered, under-resourced, and undocumented tonal language. It is comprised of three discrete level tones: low, mid, and high. The research endeavors to automatically identify the phonological constructive tones in the Pahari language.

After studying already existing research related to the Pahari language, it is found that previous researchers have contributed to the phonetics, syntax, and morphology of the Pahari language. This contribution includes doing phonemic analysis, examining consonant and vowel sounds, defining morpho-syntactic properties, examining tones at the morphological level, exploring taboos used in the language, exploring psycho-sociological factors associated with the use of the Pahari language, and describing problems faced by Pahari English speakers in using the English language. In this available context, it is found that there is a need to conduct research in the Pahari language through a cultural perspective, and it should be examined that, during the current scenario of the Pahari language, where it is not widely used by the young generation, how social practices are performed across different generations of the Pahari language. Particularly, it is necessary to highlight the inseparability and uniqueness of the Pahari language, culture, and its cultural ways of performing social practices. There is a need to revitalize the distinct cultural features of the Pahari language to provide awareness among the young generation of the Pahari language.

## **2. METHODOLOGY**

Silverstein (2022) has integrated language, culture, and social relations in their study of language, culture, and meta-pragmatics. Culture cannot be studied or sensed directly. It cannot be studied without analyzing its impacts on and in discursive interactions. They have given the idea of rituals and have mentioned that rituals are dependent on time and space, and the interpretation of their meaning and signs is embedded in a culture. “Particular expressions, verbal and otherwise, happen to occur at any moment in some particular language used among some particular community of practice in characteristic social acts” (Silverstein, 2022, p. 47). They have proposed that linguistic choices used by the speakers are intertwined with cultural norms, and it is through language that social identities are constructed. They have mentioned, “By ethno-meta pragmatics, I mean the locally group-relevant, sometimes even verbally explicit, culturally embedded evaluation of how indexical work as they do” (Silverstein, 2022, p. 116). Meta-pragmatics is the study of language in communication, and it determines the ways through which speakers use and interpret utterances, statements, and speech.

### ***2.1 Data Collection and Analytical Framework***

The data is collected from participant observation and interviews. Ten funerals are attended to observe the interaction of language speakers. Interactions of the people are recorded, and 60 condolences are extracted with equal participation of male, female, old, and young Pahari speakers. The collected data are analyzed through the semantic functions of condolences classification (Kuang, 2015), which includes expressing concern through directives, expressing sympathy, expressing wishful thinking, helping, eulogy for the deceased, explanation before offering sympathy, sympathy for the receiver, and eulogy for the deceased, and expressing uncertainty. Interviews are conducted from 5 older Pahari speakers to understand the factors contributing to the cultural variation of the use of language for expressing condolences. Interviews are analyzed using Braun and Clark’s (2012) model of thematic analysis, and patterns are extracted from the data, and the data is summarized and organized rather than analyzed. Braun and Clark (2012) categorize themes into two types: semantic and latent themes. Semantic themes provide the explicit meanings from the data, while latent themes are extracted to understand the speaker’s underlying ideas. Condolence messages of 60 older and younger speakers are collected, and speech acts are categorized into different semantic types using Kuang’s (2015) classification of condolences. This classification includes expressing concern through directives, expressing sympathy, expressing wishful

thinking, helping, eulogy for the deceased, explanation before offering sympathy, sympathy for the receiver, and eulogy for the deceased, expressing uncertainty, and silence.

### 3. DATA ANALYSIS

In the following sections, analysis of the interviews and speech acts data is presented:

#### 3.1 Interviews: Analysis

Five interviews from Pahari speakers were conducted, and the data were analyzed using Braun and Clark’s (2012) model of thematic analysis. All the interviews are coded based on semantic themes and latent themes, and patterns occurring frequently in all the interviews are identified. Semantic themes that are extracted from all the interviews provide information related to the importance of condolences, traditional and cultural practices, expression of sorrow through verbal and nonverbal communication, common expressions used to share condolences, religious practices, shift in the pattern of expressing condolences over the period, and factors contributing to the change in attitude and practices of Pahari speakers. Latent themes are provided in the form of tables, and they are also summarized.

**Table 1: Importance of Condolences**

Participant No.	Showing empathy	Providing emotional support
1	Understand the grief of another person	Try to give support to the bereaved family
2	Share feelings with the family	Make them feel that they are not alone
3	Mutual understanding with the bereaved family	We are with them and will help them
4	To become a participant in the grief	Create a sense of unity through expressions
5	feel the grief of a bereaved person	Realize to them that they are not alone in this

Expressing condolences in Pahari culture is important for showing empathy and providing emotional support to the bereaved family. Five participants provided the opinion that sharing the grief of the bereaved family is important. It is necessary for them to understand the feelings of the bereaved person and to consider his grief as their own grief. They also feel sad when they participate in the funeral sessions. Four participants provided the opinion that Pahari speakers also provide emotional support to the bereaved person by telling them that they are not alone in this grief. They use different expressions to make the bereaved person feel that the deceased person is equally important to them as well, and they are equally sad about his death. They help the bereaved person to heal their grief by using different expressions and by telling the stories of other deceased people. One of the participants mentions that for promoting the sense of unity and solidarity, it is important to understand the grief of the family in the Pahari community.

**Table 2: Traditional and Cultural Practices**

Participant No.	Communal gatherings	Frequent visits to the house for prayer	Social support	Support by sharing goods	Physically involved in the activities of the occasion
1	Everyone must gather in the house of the deceased	Local people visit every day and try to console the	Arranging food is the responsibility of neighbor’s	We visit them with the food	Neighbors take responsibility for all the activities
2	People	People spend	People together	People take	Physical

	immediately reach that house	most of the time there	contribute to the burial and grave of the deceased and prepare food.	milk and sugar to the house	involvement in attending to the guest by neighbors is necessary
3	If you don't visit on that day, the person who lost their loved one complain to you.	Spending more time with the bereaved family	Individuals take responsibility for giving dinner, lunch, and breakfast to the guests.	Taking something to support the bereaved family in a difficult time is important.	Relatives take charge of attending to guests
4		Visit there for offering praying for 3 days	It is not good that they should cook for 3 days	Close relatives share money with the bereaved family to meet expenses	People help them in managing things, such as serving guests
5	Seeing the face of the deceased is important.	Visit them every Thursday for dua.			People voluntarily work on that occasion.

For identifying traditional and cultural practices, some of the factors related to communal gathering, social support, and support by providing goods, and physical involvement have seemed to be prominent within all interviews. It is found that visiting the House of the deceased on the day of the funeral is important in Pahari culture. The bereaved family is annoyed when people who are close to them do not visit them during the funeral day to express condolences, and it is also considered a culturally offensive act. All the participants hold the opinion that people frequently visit the bereaved family to show solidarity with them. This visit varies among different people; for example, people who are close relatives spend most of the time in the house of the deceased, while local people visit that house every day. In some parts of the culture, it is the norm that people must visit every Thursday. Two participants have shared their experience that the bereaved family gets annoyed when they do not visit the family, after the funeral day, for condolences. It is also revealed that in Pahari culture, people also support each other socially, and they do not allow the bereaved family to cook something in their house for guests.

In different parts of Pahari culture, local people, some individuals, or someone from their relatives arrange food for their guests. It is also important that local people and close relatives living nearby do not eat anything from the House of the deceased; they arrange food for the guests who come from far-flung areas. Participants mention that by doing this, they feel that they are equally participating in the grief of the bereaved family. Four of the participants have mentioned another cultural practice of taking food, sugar, or milk to the House of the deceased person; however, some people also provide financial support to the bereaved family. Neighbors hold a significant position on such occasions. Neighbors and some of the relatives actively participate in the arrangements of the funeral. Two participants have mentioned that if neighbors are not collaborating with the bereaved family, they are socially segregated in the future, and people don't like to visit their house. An uncooperative attitude from neighbors is considered an offensive cultural act, and it is a sign of disrespect. One participant has mentioned that neighbors and relatives must forget their disputes and quarrels during the occasion of someone's death. It can be said that it is not only the words through which the Pahari people express their condolences, but also express their condolences through their practices and actions.

**Table 3: Expression of Sorrow through Verbal or Non-verbal Communication**

Participant No.	Funeral chants	Verbal communication	Non-verbal communication
1	In the past, people were singing funeral chants.	Take information about the deceased and advise the bereaved family to be patient.	Remain silent and show expressions of sorrow.
2	Women used to say “Kalma” before the deceased	Talk about the deceased one, and give him to the will of God	Hug the person, petting on the shoulder, and showing sad expressions
3	Old women gather to sing Pahari funeral chants in front of the deceased	Advising the bereaved family about the concept of death	Putting a hand on the arm, hand, or shoulder
4	Funeral chants are no longer used these days	Words are important; they matter a lot	Remaining silent or quiet is also a way to show sorrow
5	During the occasion, males speak loudly, saying “la illa ha.”	People often advise the bereaved family to stay strong and have some patience.	Extracting sorrowful sounds from the mouth, such as humming or sighing.

In the Pahari community, sorrow is expressed through verbal and nonverbal signals. This includes expression of sorrow through funeral chants, stories of the deceased, and different kinds of gestures. Three participants have mentioned that in the past, women used to sing funeral chants in front of the deceased along with other religious practices. These chants in the form of elegies were part of the Pahari community. These days, these elegies are no longer part of condolences, and the younger generation has now forgotten the importance of singing elegies. It is found that these elegies are not transferred to the next generation. Two participants have highlighted religious practices performed in the Pahari community. They have mentioned that men and women used to recite “kalima Laillahailalla”, and they read verses of the holy Quran in front of the deceased.

All the participants provide the opinion that during a funeral, people usually talk to the bereaved family, and they ask about the deceased person by sharing their memories, stories, and good moments that they have shared with the deceased when he/she was alive. People talk about his good attitude, behavior, and manners by praising his/her personality. They also advise the bereaved family to stay strong and peaceful in the face of this loss. They provide bereaved families with some evidence from their religion for explaining the concept and importance of death. They advise him to accept this loss by considering it as the will of Allah Almighty. They together pray for the deceased, demanding his highest place in Jannah. Three participants hold the opinion that in the Pahari community, remaining silent nowadays is also part of expressing condolences. Two other participants highlighted those nonverbal gestures like humming, sighing, petting, hugging, and putting a hand on the shoulders, arms, and hand as ways of expressing condolences. Women express condolences in front of the deceased by crying and hugging each other. They also discuss the life of the deceased and ask about the reason of his/her death.

**Table 4: Religious Practices**

Participant	Offering funeral prayer	Performing prayer practices
1	Everybody wishes to attend the funeral prayer	People gather to recite and pray together
2	Offering a funeral prayer symbolizes sorrow and sympathy	Read the holy script and chant with finger counters

3	If someone much closed one does not attend the funeral prayer, the bereaved family complains about it.	Praying together for the departed soul
4	Offering funeral prayers is mandatory for relatives, friends, and neighbors.	Necessary to join collective prayer also important to show solidarity.
5	It also represents people's solidarity with the bereaved family.	People gather to recite and pray together

Five participants hold the view that there are two ways of expressing condolences in a religious setting, these include “namaz-e-janaza” and “dua”. They have mentioned that all the friends and relatives must attend the funeral prayer (namaz-e-janaza). People attend it to show solidarity and sympathy with the bereaved family. Their participation in it is considered as their participation in the grief of the bereaved family. Collective or individual “dova” in front of the bereaved family is also considered another way of expressing condolences. If people do not attend dova or namaz-e-janaza, the bereaved family gets annoyed, and they tend to complain to them about not attending the prayer and not sharing their grief. People also feel embarrassed if they are unable to attend namaz-e-janaza or dova.

**Table 5:** *Condolences: Common Expressions*

Participant No.	Pahari expression	Translation
1	Allah Sabar da	Allah give patience
2	Inna lilla hi va innalilla rajion	Religious expression
3	Allah ni Marzi	God’s will
4	Ka hoi sakna	Nothing can be done
5	Allah ni cheez si je	It was God’s thing.

The table provides some of the examples of expressions used by the Pahari community to express condolences to each other. The translated version of these expressions is also given in the table. These expressions are provided by the participants from the Pahari community, who were interviewed to identify condolences patterns used in the socio-cultural settings of the Pahari community.

**Table 6:** *Condolences: Shift in the Patterns*

Participant	Yung generation	Old generation
1	Have fewer contacts and attend the funerals	Having close community ties, people had strong relations
2	Prefer to stay quiet and don’t use any funeral chants	We’re singing funeral chants and Kalma in front of the deceased
3	Are not so expressive	Talk about the deceased and share their stories
4	Community-based committees look at the funeral-related things	Community support from individuals is less
5	Mostly prefer to pray and leave the house	Must share extensive memories of the deceased
6	Use less Pahari language	Use their own language
7	Use expressions from the Urdu language to express condolences, and some use code mixing.	Prefer to express in their own language.
8	Only pray and express less.	They were putting a white cloth on the rooftop to show that somebody had died here.

The above table provides the differences between the older and younger generations of Pahari speakers in expressing condolences. It is found that the older generation had strong community bonding and connections in comparison with the younger generation. People of the older generation consider it mandatory to attend funerals because of their community ties, and they consider it Part of their cultural activities. The younger generation of Pahari speakers have less contacts and connections; therefore, they visit the funerals quite rarely. The older generation of Pahari speakers is more expressive. When they visit the House of the deceased, they share their stories, memories, and experiences which they share with the deceased. They also ask about the reason of death of the deceased and give advice and show sympathy by expressing their thoughts, experiences, and insights. The younger generation of Pahari speakers prefers to stay silent when they visit the bereaved family. They show their condolences by producing short expressions and by offering a collective prayer. It is also found that the older generation used to sing elegies of the Pahari language in front of the deceased, while these elegies are rarely found nowadays and are completely unknown to the younger generation. Participants have mentioned that the community support from the part of neighbors and relatives was a socio-cultural norm in the past. All the relatives, neighbors, and villagers were collectively participating in the activities. They also come up with food and financial support for the bereaved family. They used to consider it one of their cultural ways of expressing condolences. This pattern has changed now because the younger generation prefers to give responsibility for funeral arrangements to community-based committees. These committees are nowadays responsible for all the activities and arrangements of the funeral. These include preparing a grave for the deceased, preparing food for the guests, managing activities for the funeral, and serving people who visit the bereaved. These committees also provide financial assistance to bereaved families. Another important factor is the use of language in expressing condolences. The older generation used to express condolences in their own Pahari language, while the younger generation expresses condolences in the Urdu language. Participants have provided the view that in most of the younger generation use a code-mixing strategy, for example when they produce small expressions, they mix Urdu language with Pahari language.

**Table 7:** *Change in Attitudes and Practices: Common Factors*

<b>Factors for Attitudinal Shift</b>	
Influence of other languages	Movement of people towards cities
A large number of people are coming to the area to live	Influence of tourist resorts
Absence of promotion of the Pahari language and culture	Interaction and influence of people with diverse cultures on people with Pahari culture
Absence of the Pahari language in the curriculum	Absence of the Pahari language in educational institutions
Local markets are influenced by diverse cultures because of tourism	Requirement of the Urdu and English language at workplace
Use of the Urdu and English languages for higher prestige	Religious sermons are delivered in the Urdu language, which were previously delivered in the Pahari language

Some of the factors that contribute to the change of cultural norms and practices amongst Pahari speakers are mentioned in the table given above. Participants have mentioned that Kashmir and Murree have been tourist resort from so many years. Most of the people from the nearest places visit there to spend some time. Some of the people have all so move to this area for business purposes. This leads to the interaction of different cultures and languages within the Pahari-speaking community. Participants have also mentioned that Pahari speakers have also moved towards cities within the last thirty years. In this way, they have gone away from Pahari speaking community, and their younger generation has faced the

problem of language loss because they have spent most of the time away from the socio-cultural setting of the Pahari Language.

Participants have viewed that there is an absence of promotion of the Pahari language within the Pahari-speaking community. Curricula and educational institutions do not promote the Pahari language. Students are required to use the Urdu or English language within the educational institutions. They do not have the Pahari language as a subject. The government also does not contribute significantly to the promotion of this language. Even in the offices, instead of the Pahari language, the Urdu language is continuously used. Moreover, in the past, religious sermons were given in the Pahari language, but these days they are given in the Urdu language. This also contributes to the shift of the Pahari language and the attitude of its speakers. Most of the people do not teach the Pahari language to their children; rather, they prefer to teach English or the Urdu language. The reason is that English and the Urdu language are considered as symbol of higher prestige, respect, and solidarity, while the Pahari language is associated with low prestige. For this reason, people prefer to use Urdu or English when they communicate with each other. In this way Pahari language is now just a part of some of the families who are still living in the socio-cultural setting of the Pahari language and who want to promote their language.

### 3.2 *Speech Acts: Analysis*

By analyzing 60 condolence messages of young and old Pahari speakers, 214 semantic types from older speakers and 90 from younger speakers are identified based upon the categorization of Kuang (2015). The following chart shows the frequency of semantic types of the selected data.

**Table 8:** *Semantic Types*

<b>Categorization</b>	<b>Frequency utterances of old speakers</b>	<b>Frequency of Utterances among young speakers</b>
Expressing concerns through directives	21	5
Expressing sympathy	26	17
Expressing wishful thinking	30	10
Offering Help	17	6
Eulogy for the deceased	24	14
Explanation before offering sympathy	20	6
Sympathy for the receiver and eulogy for the deceased	17	5
Expressing uncertainty	10	5
Silence	0	9
Sharing similar experiences and eulogy for the deceased	17	3
Inquiring what happen how it happened	18	6
Expressing sympathy through general comments	14	4

### 3.3 *Expressions: Varying Modes*

The data analysis testifies to various modes of expression, which are elucidated as follows:

*Expressing Concerns through Directives:* These expressions are used to uplift the spirit and to provide solace to the bereaved. The mood of these expressions is imperative. 21 expressions from the older speakers and five expressions from the younger speakers were found in the sample. The examples of these samples include “Allah Sabar da, Sabar karo, Bardash karna pasi, rona na”.

*Expressing sympathy:* The sample contained 26 instances of sympathy-related expressions from older speakers, while 17 expressions were used by younger speakers. These expressions are semantically

loaded with feelings of sympathy, and they show that the speakers are equally participating in the loss of the bereaved. Some of the instances of such expressions include “afsoos va gee, bht afsoos va g, bass g, Khubar sunni Jan nikli gai”.

*Expressing Wishful Thinking:* For seeking absolution from God, these expressions are used by the Pahari speakers to pray for the forgiveness and peace for the deceased in the life hereafter. These expressions include “Allah maff kara, Allah o jahan acha kara, Allah junnat ich jaga da, Yadan naal rahsan.” Older speakers use these expressions quite often. The sample shows the availability of 30 instances from older speakers, while ten instances from younger speakers related to expressing wishful thinking.

*Offering Help:* Seventeen instances of helping by older speakers and six by younger speakers reveal that older speakers aid the bereaved family quite often in comparison with younger speakers. Expressions which they frequently use for helping include “Assan tusan nal yan, sari loor va dasya, dasya koi cheez chaini hoi ta”.

*Eulogy for the Deceased:* “Baray ajaz banda sa g, Kuthan pulna va, Kuthan pulnian onan nian gallan, Oo naak log saa, Oo changay banda sa” are used to describe and praise the deceased. Older speakers use more eulogies with the frequency of 24 expressions, while younger speakers use fewer eulogies with the frequency of 14 expressions in the sample.

*Explanation before Offering Sympathy:* Explaining offering sympathy is also a part of Pahari culture. The older generation has used 20 expressions while the younger generation has used 6 expressions to explain the scenario before providing sympathy. Examples of such expressions include” ma alan sunya, khabar suni jan nikli gai, phon soni pata laga.

*Sympathy for the Receiver and Eulogy for the Deceased:* These expressions are used to praise the deceased and provide sympathy to the bereaved as well. There are 17 expressions from older speakers, while 5 expressions from younger speakers are related to this type, which include “Allah sabar da onon ni kami pori ni hoi sakna, onon na namul badal koi na bus Tosan sabar karo”.

*Expressing Uncertainty:* These expressions are used when speakers, because of sorrow, do not exactly know what to speak. These expressions include “Ka akhan g, bus ka hoi sakna”. The data shows 10 instances spoken by older speakers, while five expressions were produced by younger speakers.

*Silence as the Expression of Sorrow:* One of the ways of expressing sorrow is to remain quiet. This non-verbal expression is used by the younger generation with the frequency of nine speakers. These speakers do not show sympathy through their verbal expressions.

*Sharing Similar Experiences and Eulogy for the Deceased:* In the data, 17 instances of this type are associated with older speakers, while three are associated with younger speakers. Through these expressions, speakers describe the stories and memories associated with the deceased, and they glorify the good attitude, behavior, and personality of the deceased. For example, “O vala kuthan muri achna g, Miki akhsnay sa, sara nal julna sa.”

*Inquiring What Happened and How it Happened:* Inquiring how and when the deceased's death occurred, and in which circumstances the deceased was living, is also a part of Pahari culture. The data reveals 18 expressions uttered by older speakers, while six expressions were uttered by younger speakers. This shows that older speakers inquire about the death of the deceased quite often. These expressions are “Kis tara vaji, kadoon ni gal e, kis tara va g.”

*Expressing Sympathy through General Comments:* General comments such as “nafsa nafsi na door ya g, Moot ni ki tarteeb ni g, Changa g chalo khidmat kiti ya g, Allah ni cheez si Allah sami kinda” are also used to express sympathy. Overall, 14 expressions from older speakers and four expressions from younger speakers are found in the data, revealing that older speakers also expressed their sympathies by making general comments and by providing examples from their personal lives.

#### **4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

This study aimed to identify the ways through which Pahari speakers express condolences in their socio-cultural context and factors contributing to the shift in cultural ways of expressing condolences. By analyzing the speech acts of older and younger Pahari speakers using Kuang (2015) classification, it is found that older speakers express concern through directives, express wishful thinking, help, provide eulogy for the deceased, give explanation before offering sympathy, provide sympathy for the receiver and eulogy for the deceased, share similar experience and eulogy for the deceased and inquire what happen and how it happens. On the other hand, younger speakers express sympathy, express wishful thinking, provide a eulogy for the deceased, and prefer to remain silent. This shows that the older generation tends to use more expressive speech acts for expressing their emotions and sympathy with the bereaved; however, younger speakers use very few speech acts and prefer to remain silent.

Results obtained from interviews reveal that Pahari speakers use condolences to show empathy and provide emotional support. In their cultural practices, frequently visiting the bereaved, communal gathering, and social support through different ways are important. They show sorrow through different verbal and non-verbal expressions, non-verbal include humming, silence, and sighing. Their religious practices include funeral prayers and frequent religious prayers, which are mandatory to be attended by everyone. The old generation has close community ties and has strong relations to support the bereaved. They used to sing elegies as funeral chants and talk about the deceased by sharing their collective memories with them using their native Pahari language. However, the young generation has less contact, and they rarely use their native language. They attend the funerals rarely, forget elegies, prefer to stay quiet, prefer to use the Urdu language, and seem to be reserved in their relations.

The factors contributing to this social change of expressing condolences within Pahari culture are migration, tourism, absence of promotion of the Pahari language, unavailability of religious sermons in the Pahari language, absence of the Pahari language at educational institutions and the workplace, and prestige associated with the Urdu and English languages. Social identity, financial status, gender differences, and language shame also contribute to endangerment of the Pahari language (Abbasi et al. 2011). Its speakers have a negative attitude about their language and motivate their kids to use English and the Urdu language because of high marketability (Abbasi et al. 2021). Pahari language is under resourced, undocumented, and endangered tonal language (Asghar et al., 2023), and it comprises low, mid, and high tones (Khan, 2020).

#### **5. CONCLUSION**

The research has identified the socio-cultural ways of expressing condolences in the Pahari language and factors leading to a change in the attitude of expressing condolences amongst Pahari speakers. It follows Silverstein's (2022) concept of language, culture, and meta-pragmatics as a theoretical lens for integrating language, culture, and social relations in the context of the Pahari language. Thematic analysis of interviews is conducted using Braun and Clark's (2012) model, while speech acts of older and younger speakers are classified using Kuang's (2015) model of condolences. It is found that the Pahari language is on the verge of endangerment because of the factors, including migration, tourism, absence of promotion of the Pahari language, unavailability of religious sermons in the Pahari language, absence of the Pahari language at educational institutions and the workplace, and prestige associated with the Urdu and English languages. These factors impact the way younger and older speakers of the Pahari language express condolences in their socio-cultural setting. Older speakers use speech acts which express concern through directives, help, express wishful thinking, give an explanation before offering sympathy, provide eulogy for the deceased, provide sympathy for the receiver and eulogy for the deceased, inquire what happened and how it happened, and share a similar experience eulogy for the deceased. Contrastingly, younger speakers use speech acts to express sympathy, provide eulogy for the deceased, express wishful thinking, and prefer to remain silent.

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