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Transitional Bilingualism

**A study of the language experience of some families of
Pakistani origin living in Britain**

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Dedication

To Sadiq, Sophia and Alicia

Abstract

This thesis examines the bilingualism of nine families of Pakistani origin living in England, to gain an understanding of their experience of living through a period of rapid intergenerational language change. The families are all linked to the medical profession and the second generation are educationally successful. The study aims to gain insights into the social and linguistic processes of language shift. It also aims to contribute to understanding of the position of successful ethnic minority young people.

Qualitative research methods are used, including interviews and participant observation and analysis of data is interpretive. A corpus of language use is analysed, focusing on intergenerational interaction and code-switching. Discussion of educational issues draws on policy documents.

The first three chapters constitute the preliminary section of the thesis. They present the research group, the social, linguistic and educational contexts, a theoretical framework and a critical description of the methodological evolution of the study.

Chapters four to nine are data-based and focus on different aspects of the families' bilingualism. Accounts of early language nurture are analysed; bilingual skills and repertoires are investigated and the relationship between linguistic and cultural continuity is explored. A study of in-family bilingual interaction is presented and language education policy and its relevance to family concerns is considered.

The study draws coherence from recurring themes, and insights into the experience of transitional bilingualism. Concern for educational success emerges strongly. The different significance of using the minority languages inside the family and outside is revealed and the importance of long-term developments and cultural continuity is clear. Language education policies do not always reflect the priorities of the families.

The linguistic situation of the families is very unstable but individuals may well take up very different intellectual positions in relation to their linguistic future.

Introduction

The study

This study concerns the bilingualism of members of a number of minority group families in Britain. They are all Muslim families of Pakistani origin who have lived in Britain for many years and in which all the fathers and some mothers work as doctors. The study has a number of different dimensions. It investigates the bilingual repertoires of individuals and families, incorporating Urdu and Punjabi alongside English, and also the language-related experiences and thinking of first- and second-generation family members and their different patterns of language choice and use. It considers cultural dimensions of the lives of the subjects insofar as there may at times be an intimate relationship between language and culture, but there is no simple equation between linguistic and cultural continuity. The study also explores a number of educational perspectives, ranging from accounts of early nurturing of language skills to discussion of recent and current language education policies in England and Wales.

Using qualitative methods, the study sets out to gain insights into the rapidly changing realities of living in a multilingual family situation, often in the context of strongly monolingual sectors of British society. A number of different qualitative methods and traditions are brought together in order to create a multi-dimensional picture. In the course of fieldwork, interviews and participant observation are used and a corpus of recordings of family conversations is analysed. Documentation on education policy is also examined. The methodology is essentially interpretive.

What value may there be in the study of such a particular group? A detailed case study may contribute to the refinement and extension of general principles. There is no exact match between the particular features of one group and those of another but it is only

from particular instances that general principles can be drawn. This study aims to contribute to the literature on the linguistic, cultural and educational experiences of bilingual ethnic minority populations in Britain. An understanding of the language situation of a group of ethnic minority young people and children successfully functioning in the English educational system may contribute to debates on language policy in English schools and to a 'positive image' (Jeffcoate, 1979) of minority group pupils. It is intended also to demonstrate the possibility and value of using a combination of different research approaches in constructing a cohesive study of a single research group.

The study of bilingualism

The present study is based within the academic field of bilingualism but this field is multidisciplinary and 'dauntingly heterogeneous' (Milroy and Muysken, 1995, 11). Contributions come from sociolinguistics, theoretical linguistics, politics, sociology, education, psycholinguistics, psychology and probably others. Many researchers and commentators draw on more than one of these dimensions. A number of books on bilingualism reflect the multidimensional nature of the field though each adopts its own range of emphases (Baetens-Beardsmore, 1982; Grosjean, 1982; Appel and Muysken, 1987; Baker, 1988; Romaine, 1989; Hoffmann, 1991).

It is frequently pointed out in the literature on bilingualism (Grosjean, 1982; Romaine, 1989; Hoffmann, 1991) that functioning in more than one language is more 'normal' than only ever using one language. Different theoretical questions and models may be brought to bear upon the phenomenon of bilingualism in order to systematise preoccupations, societal patterns, linguistic output and skills, ideologies, behaviour, problems and patterns of learning. Bilingualism as a phenomenon may be viewed in very different ways in different communities. In some circumstances, having access to

two languages constitutes 'additive bilingualism' (Lambert, 1977), a desirable condition where knowledge of more than one language is seen as advantageous to the individual concerned, indicating perhaps a higher level of education or an elite position. It is the implicit aim of school-based modern language teaching in England. In other circumstances, bilingualism may be seen as 'subtractive' (Lambert, 1977), associated for the individual or community with disadvantage, having to cope with social, educational or economic demands through a language which is not one's own, living perhaps on the margins of the mainstream society and not able to gain full access to it because of poor communication skills. Such has often been the case for minority group children for whom English is not the first language when entering school in England. As global communications develop, increasing numbers of people feel the need for access to more than one language but the same developments can also be a threat to the continued existence of linguistic diversity and can speed language change.

Language shift and language maintenance

In this study, the concepts of language shift and language maintenance will provide an overarching theoretical framework for exploration and analysis of the bilingualism of the families. Fishman (1964) was the first to point out the potential importance of these concepts for research into language minority groups and the ways in which conflicting social forces for change and conservatism in response to the social context may be expressed in terms of language change. The original theorising has, since then, engendered an enormous amount of interest and exploration by researchers. Many types of study have emerged: statistical and often comparative studies of the extent to which shift has taken place in various communities, discussion of factors conducive to shift or maintenance, analysis of the linguistic features of language contact and shift, debate over language education policy, discussion of the links between ethnicity and language change in minority groups and so on. A review of literature will be presented

in chapter two in order to draw up the theoretical context of the study and to refine the research questions which will guide it.

By definition, language shift takes place over time and is to be seen normally as spanning more than one generation. It is usually represented as a societal phenomenon but individual choices are at the basis of the change and will affect the degree of change. The factors which are conducive to language shift within a minority speech community are in one sense well understood for they are the very conditions of immigration, modernisation and intergroup contact. Nevertheless, the process of shift and the unpredictability of language maintenance continues to stimulate research and new studies reveal new insights. In each situation, different forces may have greater or less influence and expectations of complete shift may be defied.

In the group which is the focus of this research, a shift to English as the language of choice for young people in many sets of circumstances has already taken place. This is not in doubt. But what is of interest is the current transitional situation and the diversity between individuals in the degree of maintenance or development of Punjabi/Urdu. Given the particular nature of the group and the similarity in their circumstances and age, factors which often differentiate groups undergoing language shift such as length of residence or socio-economic circumstances will not be the focus. The study will centre on individual and family experiences and seek to understand the phenomena of change and continuity at a more personal level.

What is also of interest is the linguistic nature of what might be called the transitional bilingualism of individuals and families, the bilingual repertoire which they draw upon within a situation where shift has been rapid and quite extensive and is still in process. Edwards suggests that the focus of researchers into ethnic minority groups, who are often zealously committed to the minority language, should, legitimately, be not only on maintenance but on 'the range of roles *transitional bilingualism* can play for

individual members of minority communities' and on their value and interest (Edwards V, 1994, 190).

Language education policy

The theoretical concepts and preoccupations of language shift and language maintenance are an important forum for educational debate internationally and nationally. There is extensive discussion of different patterns of provision for bilingual education (Byram, 1986; Cummins and Swain, 1986; Spolsky, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988; Corson, 1990; Baker, 1993). Political issues emerge strongly in these discussions since it is clear that children who are bilingual may be disadvantaged by monolingual systems of education. It is also clear that different patterns of educational provision may be seen as exercising influence on the way in which communities and individuals maintain minority languages in their repertoires or shift away from them.

Language education policy for England and Wales makes a very clear distinction between indigenous minority languages - Welsh in this context - and non-indigenous ones (DES, 1988; DES, 1989). It also makes distinctions between foreign languages such as French and German and community languages. Mitchell (1991) and Reid (1988) comment on how unlikely it is, unless a policy is laid down, that minority languages will establish a firm place in the linguistic life of Britain. In the absence of any large-scale educational resources being devoted to any language teaching measure other than English as a second language, Reid argues that

attempts to maintain anything other than 'symbolic' bilingualism among settled, non-indigenous minority populations in England are likely to have only marginal effect (Reid, 1988, 190).

Fishman now argues that scholars are spending too much time on detailing manifestations of language shift and too little on the possibility of reversing shift in

particular situations by the nurturing of appropriate policies or attitudes (Fishman, 1991).

Studies of linguistic minority groups

In-depth studies of the realities of multilingual living for non-indigenous minority group individuals in Britain are still relatively few at the moment. Alladina and Edwards (1991) include brief studies of many minority language groups, both indigenous and immigrant, recognising the need for information on particular groups to contribute to a broader understanding of general tendencies. Accounts are however schematic. Such studies as Agnihotri (1979), Tosi (1984), Romaine (1985), Edwards (1986), Moffatt (1990) focus on particular groups and on particular dimensions of language contact. Recently, the small cluster of sociolinguistic studies completed under the guidance of Milroy in Newcastle of the Chinese community have produced interesting results (Pong, 1991; Huang and Milroy, 1993; Li, 1994) though with little attention given to educational issues.

The richest source of data on minority language use in a number of different areas in Britain is still the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) though findings, of course, are no longer current. The Project investigated patterns of self-reported language use amongst hundreds of secondary schoolchildren and adults in five areas where the number of minority language users is high (Coventry, Bradford, Peterborough, Haringey and Waltham Forest). The survey gives a rich insight into the extent of the use of languages other than English at that time and a glimpse into intergenerational differences in broad patterns of language choice in interactive dyadic situations at home and in school. The researchers involved in the project recognised that it would be desirable to add to the validity of their self-reported, questionnaire-derived data on language use by supporting it with observational research (Reid, personal communication) but resources and time were simply not available. Martin-Jones argues

the need for in-depth ethnographic investigation in order to supplement the surveys (Martin-Jones, 1990).

Internationally, a great deal more time has been spent on study of linguistic minorities. Fishman's early work on minority groups and language loyalty in the US was a very strong influence on subsequent work in many parts of the world (Fishman, 1966). The focus of research may be very variable. It may be on the extent of language shift and whether a pattern of stable bilingualism has been established (Parasher, 1980; Boyd, 1985; Pauwels, 1986; Sridhar, 1988). It may be on linguistic features of language change and variation (Klein and Dittmar, 1979; Bortoni-Ricardo, 1985). The emphasis may be on one language such as Spanish in the United States and the study of different aspects of development of that language and its use (Amastae and Elias-Olivares, 1982). Equally, the emphasis may be on the attitudes that minority language users have towards their languages (Mercer et al, 1979; Ryan and Giles, 1982).

The nature of provision for bilingual education or minority language support within schools or the community is frequently discussed (Spolsky, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, 1988; Baker, 1993). There is also concern with the identification of linguistic or ethnolinguistic minorities in census or survey data (Veltman, 1983; Nelde, 1985; Gorter, 1987). Work on indigenous minorities using languages or varieties which are at risk of dying are numerous (Dorian, 1981; Schmidt, 1985; Dorian, 1989). The agenda for work on minority groups may also be political, whether the minorities are indigenous or immigrant. The situation in Canada has strong political connotations (Edwards, J.D. 1994). The situation in, for example, Catalan, Wales and other European minority communities, may be strongly linked with questions of national or cultural identity, and with the distribution of power or resources (Martin-Jones, 1989a). National language policies accepting or resisting ethnolinguistic pluralism may be a issue of debate (Clyne, 1988).

The variety of focus reflects not only the complexity of the field of study and the range of researchers' interests but in each case, must reflect particularities in the nature of the social, linguistic and educational context. Research into the situation of indigenous linguistic minority groups may sometimes seem remote and the rate of change is usually slower than in an immigrant community but fundamental processes are similar.

The present study

The thesis positions itself within the study of linguistic minorities and rests on a theoretical framework put together from a range of work on bilingualism at both societal and individual levels, with sociolinguistic, cultural and educational dimensions. The logic of focusing on families is that the phenomena of interest to the research are essentially linked to intergenerational developments. This is also recognised in their studies by Li, (1994) and Holmes, (1993). The cultural dimensions of the work relate closely to questions of intergenerational continuity. The assumption is that the family represents the first natural context within which questions of language shift may be pursued because of the importance of intergenerational transmission.

Many studies of minority groups gain access to the younger generation through schools since schoolchildren are more of a captive audience or research population but inevitably, that limits the range of what can be explored. It was possible in this study to draw on ethnographic methods developed for research into families from within Sociology since they offer the possibility of achieving insights from prolonged, in-depth contact through participant observation in family settings (Hughes, 1988; Coffield et al, 1980).

In theoretical terms, the group may be of interest because of a particular combination of features. It is argued by some that the economically and socially successful immigrant groups within a society are least likely to maintain a minority language

(Edwards, 1985; Paulston, 1986a). And whilst they do of course have their problems, Asian doctors are one of the most easily identified successful groups of immigrants in Britain, in professional terms. The forces for shift may be strong therefore. It also seems to be the case from some sociological studies that minority group Muslims are more loyal to their culture than many other minority groups (Taylor, 1979; Anwar, 1985). Commitment to a distinct culture is identified by sociolinguists as a powerful influence for language maintenance (Fishman, 1988; Dorian, 1981; Smolicz, 1984), particularly if the culture is associated with religion. Situations are never one-dimensional of course but these circumstances promise the possibility of interesting concerns.

From the educational point of view, the interest will derive from the opportunity to explore the experience of successful young people and their parents within the British educational system and the implications their experience could hold. The term 'transitional bilingualism' has been much used in the literature to criticise the inherently assimilationist intentions of educational policy over the teaching of language to bilingual children, particularly through 'transitional bilingual education' (Fishman, 1976; Baker, 1990). It is clearly quite inappropriate for authorities to assume that bilingual learners will necessarily make a transition to becoming monolingual in English once they acquire English. But the term 'transitional bilingualism' may also be used to describe the period of language change which may take place within minority groups because of changes in circumstances and language contact. It is in that sense that it is being used here for that period is, as Edwards suggests, relatively rarely focused upon in its own right (Edwards, V. 1994).

The structure of the thesis

The first chapter of the thesis presents the families who are the focus of the study and some of the details of their personal circumstances and family history. As relevant

background to the forthcoming study, information is also presented on the language situation in Pakistan, on migration, on the situation and experience of Asian doctors in Britain, and on some historical dimensions of educational provision for immigrant children in Britain. A review of the theoretical framework of the study follows in Chapter two and the research questions are articulated. Chapter three gives a critical account of the methodology of the research.

The data-based chapters each have their own focus, method and theoretical interest. Whilst Chapter four discusses early language nurture within the families, Chapter five investigates the language skills of both first and second generations and Chapter six presents a picture of patterns of choice in use of English, Punjabi and Urdu of family members. The next chapter, number seven, explores the relationship between linguistic and cultural continuity within the families. Chapter eight focuses on linguistic dimensions of family bilingual repertoires through analysis of a corpus of recorded language. The ninth and last chapter positions the experience of the families within a debate on language education policy in Britain. The conclusion reflects on the combined implications of the different elements of the study and looks to the future.

Chapter 1

Contexts: family, social, linguistic, educational

Introduction

Nine families of Pakistani origin are at the heart of this research and the thesis is rooted in their social, linguistic and educational experiences. Family groups are a logical focus for investigation of social processes which are essentially intergenerational, and the experience of bilingualism during a period of language shift is one such process. Few, if any, substantial earlier studies of language change adopted an approach based on families however. A recent study of language shift within the Chinese community in Newcastle analyses intergenerational differences but uses a very different methodology and does not consider educational issues (Li, 1994).

Research methods are qualitative and an ethnographic approach is adopted for parts of the study. This chapter lays a foundation for the thesis by presenting a range of relevant contextual information. The families are introduced, their histories having been compiled through initial interviews and longer-term field work. Some of the literature on immigration into Britain forms an historical context. The linguistic background of Pakistan, together with the history and characteristics of English in the subcontinent form a linguistic context for the families' current bilingual situation. Finally, an outline of early educational policy adopted in Britain for children whose first language was not English, is presented.

The families: a first portrait

The fathers of the nine families in the research group all attended the same medical school in Pakistan. The majority migrated to Britain in the 1960's and early 1970's and

varying social links have been maintained between them. They live in the Midlands and the North of England. Social gatherings are quite frequent between different groupings and provided opportunities for fieldwork. The major fieldwork extended over nearly two years from February 1990 but contact was maintained over a longer period. Data collected derived from contact with family members in domestic one-family settings and with a range of groups and individuals from within the families in larger social gatherings. More time was spent with some families than with others as the fieldwork developed and offered opportunities but all were important sources of data.

The names of all the families and individuals who figure in the work and some factual details have been changed for reasons of confidentiality. This chapter describes the situation as it was in the first few months of fieldwork; some subsequent chapters will draw on data generated considerably later.

Brief portraits of each of the families present the research subjects. In each case, some facts are included on migration history and residence, family makeup, professional or educational situation and social activity, thematic dimensions of family histories. Each of these dimensions has some importance during the study as impinging generally on language use. One feature of each family has been identified as distinctive within the group as a whole. The range of features had some influence on early sampling decisions but the selection of single features for particular families was also arrived at retrospectively in the light of the ongoing research.

The Durrani family

The Durrani family now live in a Midlands town. When Rashid, the father, first came to England in the early 1970's, he was not married. He went back to Pakistan after two or three years to marry and Aisha came to join him in England. Their three children. Ali, Waseem and Sonia were thirteen, twelve and ten at the beginning of the fieldwork.

Their families are both from the north of Pakistan though not from nearby towns or villages and they have very strong links with their many brothers and sisters and their families. Other family members have also left Pakistan. Some live in America and some in Dubai.

Rashid is a GP and Aisha works in the Health Visitor system. There are few families of Asian origin living nearby although there is a significant population in the town. The sons attend the boys' grammar school and it is hoped that Sonia will go to the sister school. The family lifestyle accommodates frequent family guests. The local Muslim medical association and the mosque provide the main extra-family social contact.

A particular feature of this family's situation was the explicit commitment to continuing, close family links with Pakistan, operating at the level of the younger generation as well as the older.

The Halim family

Mahmoud and Alia Halim first came to Britain in 1965. Characteristically, they did not settle immediately but spent some of the early years working in the Middle East and some in Pakistan. Their first child was born in Britain, the second in Pakistan and the third in Britain. Mahmoud failed the Royal College membership examinations and settled into general practice in a West Midlands town where there is a sizeable Asian community. Mahmoud's background in Pakistan is distinguished and he attended élite boarding schools, originally set up as part of the British colonial establishment. Alia is also from an élite background although her education did not continue beyond school level.

They live in the suburbs, not far from the surgery where Mahmoud works. The house contains many Pakistani carpets and other artefacts. The oldest of the three offspring,

Madiha, was completing primary teacher training at the beginning of the field work period. Her brother Imran had left school and was working in commerce. The third and youngest child, Salman, was still in school. All three attended the local primary and comprehensive schools and had a substantial number of Asian school contemporaries. Both sons have a wide social and sporting network. Salman and Madiha are also very much a part of their parents' socialising with the local Pakistani community. Madiha claimed that she actually preferred being in Pakistan to being in England and is very attached to her grandparents there. Family guests are entertained frequently and the fact that two of Alia's brothers have international business interests helps to bring this about. Imran and Salman had not been to Pakistan for five years at the initial stages of contact.

A distinctive feature in the position of the Halim family is that the 'children's' development has been very diverse, partly because of the physical handicap of deafness in the family.

The Imtiaz family

The Imtiaz family first came to England in 1969 with their two infant daughters. Jamal and Fawzia had had a traditional arranged marriage and were both medically qualified. Both Jamal and Fawzia are from Punjab and both are from relatively poor family backgrounds. During the early years in Britain, they held various hospital appointments and spent time in the Middle East. Now they live in a prosperous area of the Midlands on a small exclusive estate where most of their neighbours are of English origin. The style of their home is much influenced by Pakistan with many rugs and other artefacts in evidence. The large sitting room allows many people to gather together and a second small sitting room allows men and women to sit separately or, during social gatherings, for the young people and children to separate themselves from their

parents. Jamal is often the organiser of social gatherings of families from within this network and beyond.

Jamal works as a full-time consultant geriatrician and Fawzia works in psychiatry but on a part-time and more junior basis. At the start of the fieldwork, both daughters were graduates. Tahira, the older one had studied Biology (having failed to get a place in medical school) and had started working in industry in London. The younger one, Alia, had studied Mathematics, was living in her own small house and was looking for career openings. The family maintains close links with Pakistan. Fawzia has many brothers and sisters, most of whom are still in Pakistan. She worries a great deal about her elderly mother in Pakistan and her mother comes to stay for weeks or sometimes months at a time. Fawzia's frequent visits to Pakistan are usually made alone.

In 1990, it was ten years since Tahira and Alia had been to Pakistan. This relative break in contact on the part of the second generation gave a particular character to the family's experience within the research group as a whole.

The Mansour family

The Mansour family live in the north of England and Ali, the father is a hospital consultant radiologist. He first came to England from Pakistan in 1965 and a year or two later, his wife Samra joined him, their marriage having been arranged in Pakistan. They are first cousins and in that sense, their marriage is typical of many in traditional Pakistani society. They are from the Punjab. Samra did not pursue her education beyond school level and has not worked outside the home during her years in Britain but is in no sense 'house-bound'.

At the beginning of the research, their older son Hameed was reading Law at university. The younger, Afzal, hoped to study medicine after leaving school. Both

sons' schooling has been at a prestigious boys' grammar school. Their house is a large and individually designed home on a small and very select development. No close neighbours are Asian.

Ali and Samra have many close relatives in Pakistan and Samra in particular often visits. Their sons are not such frequent visitors however and family holidays have been to Europe and America.

Samra's relative lack of confidence in dealing with public life in Britain combined with the frequency of her visits to Pakistan characterise this family within the study.

The Masood family

Naseem and Nusrat's families in Pakistan came from the same village. Their marriage was arranged and they settled in Britain in 1963. Things were somewhat different from others in the study because Nusrat had been brought to Britain as a child of ten or eleven and had been to school and lived there since then. She would have liked to continue her education beyond school but her father was unwilling.

Nusrat's family has maintained very strong links with their village in Pakistan, sometimes described by her as their 'caste' or 'biraderi', a network of kin dating back to a common ancestor and characteristic of social patterning in the subcontinent (Anwar, 1985; Shaw, 1988). The many other village members in Britain have maintained a strong commitment to each other.

Naseem is a GP and Nusrat a hospital volunteer. They have two sons and two daughters. Wahid and Jamil have already qualified as doctors, the younger pair are medical students. All four went to local grammar schools.

The close links with the village in Pakistan and the biraderi have been further cemented by the marriage of their elder son to a woman from one of its families. Through Nusrat, the Masoods have the longest migration history in the research group and at the beginning, were the only family with grandchildren.

The Qureshi family

Mumtaz and Fatima came to Britain in 1966 and are both medically qualified. Their first daughter was born in Britain and during the early years, they were uncertain about whether or not they would settle in Britain. They worked in the Middle East and were back in Pakistan for a while when their second daughter was born. In Britain, the parents held a series of hospital appointments although initially, only Mumtaz worked. Both parents are of Punjabi origin, Mumtaz from a village and Fatima from the city of Lahore, and they had both worked for some time in Pakistan before coming to Britain. Now, they live in the North of England where their neighbours are of indigenous British origin and they have relatively little contact with them. Their home has many luxury items from Pakistan - chairs and carpets, tapestries, lamps and ornaments.

Mumtaz is a hospital consultant in psychiatry whilst Fatima works at the clinical assistant level in geriatrics. When the fieldwork began, their older daughter was in medical school and living at home and the other was soon to do the same.

Mumtaz has no relatives in Britain and Fatima, one brother. They maintain close links with Pakistan and have numerous relatives there with whom they stay on their regular visits. During the period of the fieldwork, they visited four times. They also holiday elsewhere in Europe.

Daughters Sarah and Ghazala went to a selective girls' grammar school. They socialise with contemporaries from school and medical school and with their parents also,

visiting other families and social groupings, mainly Asian. Fatima and Mumtaz have a largely Asian social network.

A particular distinctive element in the Qureshi family is the amount of effort that had been invested in teaching literacy skills in Urdu to daughters Sarah and Ghazala.

The Rahman family

Mushtaq and Shazia Rahman live near Birmingham, in a small town which has a very industrial character but near open countryside. They first came to England in 1966 with the eldest of their three children, Hassan. Uncertain for a long time as to whether they would settle in England Mushtaq finally opted for general practice although he had wanted to do general hospital medicine. Hassan is now a graduate in mathematics and his younger brother and sister, Farah and Samir, were in the sixth form at the beginning of the fieldwork.

Five or six years earlier the family moved into their present home in the countryside. Their current neighbours are British. Relations are very good but social contacts are not close. The house is luxuriously furnished. Shazia has established a small business recently and she spends a great deal of her time working in it, enjoying the social contacts established through it. Mushtaq is very enthusiastic about the countryside and the family enjoys walking and sometimes camping.

Within the research group as a whole, this family appears to have perhaps the least close links with Pakistan.

The Saeed family

The Saeeds are the youngest of the families from within this group. They are also the least well settled in that they have changed their minds several times about whether to stay in England or whether to move back to Pakistan. Both Tahir and Samara are medically qualified and whilst Tahir works in general practice, Samara is in hospital practice, taking specialist examinations in order to work within anaesthetics. They live in a large Midlands city.

Tahir first came to England in 1973 and Samara joined him after their marriage in Pakistan in 1977. Samara has nine siblings, most of whom are medically qualified and a number of whom are working outside Pakistan in Britain, America and the Middle East.

Their first child was born in 1978 and they have four children. The younger children went to a very small independent preparatory school while the older ones were in single-sex grammar schools at the beginning of the fieldwork. The family lives in a pleasant area of the city where neighbours come from varied social and ethnic backgrounds. They are quite close to areas of the city where there are many Asian families, shops and other services. Tahir practises in this neighbourhood.

Tahir and Samara enjoy an active social life. Through local medical and cultural associations and the mosque, they interact with other families of Pakistani origin, their young children accompanying them. Their uncertainty about their country of eventual permanent residence has led Samara and the children to spend protracted visits in Pakistan while Tahir has continued to practise in England.

The Saeeds will be distinctive within the research group as the youngest family with the most erratic migration pattern.

The Sheikh family

Rashid and Razia came to Britain in 1967 and all three children were born here. Rashid is a G.P. Razia has felt that since her youngest child was sixteen, there was no need to be a full-time housewife and has worked part-time for a local firm as a clerk.

Rashid is from Sindh but Razia's family came from the Punjab. At the beginning of the fieldwork, their eldest child and only son, a science graduate, was working in management. Sofia, their older daughter, was in medical school and the younger one, Huma, was planning to study law after completing the Sixth Form. All three had been in selective secondary schools either for sixth form or for the whole of their secondary schooling in the most prestigious independent, fee-paying ones in the city.

Rashid is a partner in a general practice where most of the patients are from the local Asian community. The family's own house is not far from the surgery and is a suburban semi-detached. Rashid is an active member of local Pakistani associations, both of a medical and non-medical character and the family are active socially within these circles.

The Sheikhs are distinctive in their language background and also in the extent of their professional and social contact with the local Asian community.

These family profiles serve to present the main social context of the study. It is against this background that individual and family experiences will be portrayed and discussed.

Immigration

The circumstances which brought the parents of the families to Britain were part of a broad social scene which it is useful to outline in order to provide a social context which will help in understanding their situation.

During the 1960's, there was extensive immigration to Britain from Pakistan as well as from other New Commonwealth countries (Anwar, 1985; Werbner, 1990; Robinson, 1990). Most immigration from Pakistan was from the Punjab region. For the vast majority of immigrants from Pakistan, the main reason for migration was economic. As Anwar's typical respondent put it:

I came here to work for a few years to earn money, to buy some land in Pakistan and then go back and settle there. (Anwar, 1985, 21)

The process of migration from Pakistan was made possible through colonial links and political freedom of movement as well as by economic push and pull. The process gradually became one of 'chain migration' as residents of particular villages and families in Pakistan followed others who had already gone to Britain. Many of the immigrants had already migrated once in their lives - from India to Pakistan as 'mohajirs' or refugees from India at the time of partition. This meant that the idea of the second migration was more readily acceptable. This chain migration led to patterns of settlement in Britain where people from the same places in Pakistan chose to come and live near each other in Britain. Clusters and communities of predominantly Pakistani immigrants developed - in Bradford, Rochdale, Birmingham, Manchester and elsewhere. Many people have now moved away from these locations but the communities there still remain strong. Most of them have access to general practice medical services staffed by doctors who themselves may have migrated to Britain from Pakistan or who are the offspring of migrant families. The fathers of three of the families in this study, Tahir Saeed, Mahmoud Halim and Mushtaq Rahman are general

practitioners in areas where the population of Pakistani origin is very high - in inner city Birmingham, in a smaller Midlands town and in Lancashire. One of the findings of the Linguistic Minorities Project (1985) was that the large majority of ethnic minority people like to have access to a GP who can communicate with them in their own first language. Moffatt (1990), in a study of Pakistani children and families in the North East also discovered that most families went to doctors who were Punjabi or Urdu speakers, claiming that this was helpful and reassuring.

Medical immigration

Doctors migrated to Britain during the 1960's and early 1970's from Pakistan and India because jobs were available in the National Health Service as a result of the shortage of medical manpower. Doctors trained in India, Pakistan and other Commonwealth countries were qualified because the training that their medical schools gave had been based on British models and validated by British authorities. The qualifications issued were therefore recognised as equivalent to British qualifications. A job in Britain was a means of gaining access to improved qualifications. The chief ambition was to gain Membership of the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal College of Surgeons or, later on, the other specialist but more recently established Colleges of Pathologists, General Practitioners and so on. Such qualifications had, and still have, considerable prestige in Pakistan as elsewhere and would help their holders either to attract patients in private general practice or to advance within the national system of medicine.

Very many doctors who came to Britain from Pakistan intended to gain qualifications and return to Pakistan (Anwar and Ali, 1987). Many stayed on however, some because they won jobs which they liked and wanted to keep, some because they married local women, some because they did not want to return after failing to get higher qualifications, some for other personal reasons. Many made decisions based on a

number of factors. Access to good educational facilities for children is cited in Anwar and Ali (1987) and the finding was replicated by respondents in this research.

For many of the first generation doctors in this study the difficulty of becoming well enough established to earn a sufficient income in Pakistan was often a factor which influenced their decision to come. Often, there was also active consideration of whether to go to the United States for enhanced personal and professional reasons. Time was spent in the Middle East by some, working during the early post-qualification years since opportunities for earning higher salaries existed.

Tahir Saeed recalled with some bitterness that the shortage of medical manpower was such in the early days of medical immigration that cars would be sent by hospitals to the airport to collect newly arrived doctors. His present perception that Asian doctors are rather less well treated now than then explains such bitterness.

For many of this group, immigrating to Britain so soon after qualification, the early years in Britain were also the early years of their marriages and of their children's lives and so their decisions about language use occurred before they had much experience of life in Britain.

Anwar and Ali report (1987, 25) that a majority of doctors in their survey of nearly 300 overseas practitioners claim to use English as the main language to communicate with their families rather than their own first language, despite the fact that 82% of overseas doctors are of Asian origin 'whose mother tongue is probably not English'. Their survey obtained responses from doctors from a number of different national groups, the largest group (57%) being from India, others from Pakistan, Bangladesh, Africa, Egypt (5 - 7% each) and yet others from a number of other countries with smaller numbers. In the present study, the picture which emerges is much less clear-cut. The discrepancy may well be due to the use of a methodological approach which has been

able to penetrate further into the realities of people's lives rather than a survey, content with a question about the 'main language spoken with .. families' which makes no distinction between generations and cannot accommodate more than one language. It is also possible that families of Pakistani origin are more inclined to maintain Urdu or Punjabi than some other minority groups are to maintain their minority language. It could also be that changes in attitudes and practices have taken place over the years which have produced a greater enthusiasm for continuity than was felt during the period of the data collection for Anwar and Ali's survey (1981- 82).

The languages

Interpretation of the significance of use and choice of languages must be informed by knowledge about the languages concerned and their historical and present links. In relation to the research families, the experience of Pakistan is crucial. The complexities of the linguistic detail make it possible for respondents in the research group to make assertions which sometimes appear irreconcilable.

Pakistan is a multilingual country and the many languages which are used are associated with regional, social, and educational factors in the profile of individuals. Urdu is now the official national language although it is the first language of only a relatively small proportion of the population. Punjabi is the language which is spoken as a first language by the majority who are from the Punjab region. Sindhi is the regional language of the province of Sindh, Pushto the local language of the North West Frontier province, Baluchi that of the province of Baluchistan and Kashmiri the language of Azad Kashmir . There are many local dialects and varieties of these languages associated with particular districts. English still plays a very important and complex role as a result of Pakistan's colonial history and present policies. Ever since the country was created, the language situation has been volatile and in certain ways, the situation remembered by first-generation respondents was different from the

present one in Pakistan. Change has been taking place both in Britain and 'back home'. Political and social factors have played their part in both contexts.

Urdu

The roles that Urdu plays within Pakistan are very important in developing an understanding of the sociolinguistic dimensions of the country. (Brass, 1974; Russell, 1982, 1986a; Mobbs 1985). It is the mother tongue of a relatively small proportion of the population but is now the official language of education at secondary level and all children learn it in school as the national language. Urdu is the language of literacy and its association with education is strong. Other regional languages are maintained in everyday interaction. Historically, Urdu was associated with the Muslim cause since in pre-partition India, Urdu was the language with which Muslims identified (Brass, 1974). It was the dominant language in the regions where Muslims were most numerous and this was the basis on which it was identified as the national language of Pakistan. It is still the language spoken in a number of regions of India and is intimately related to Hindi which is now the national language of India. In fact, the relationship between Hindi and Urdu gives rise to much more discussion than any other linguistic issue within Pakistan's range of interest (Rai, 1991; Mobbs 1981 and 1985; Katzner, 1977; Russell, 1986) Although the two languages are fundamentally the same in terms of structure and syntax, what distinguishes them linguistically is the presence in Urdu of vocabulary items from Persian whilst for Hindi, it is Sanskrit which has been a source of lexical items. These differences are far more marked in the written, literary language than in the spoken language. The differences are signalled in the written varieties of the languages by the use of different scripts. Whilst Urdu is written using a Perso-Arabic script, Hindi is normally written using the Devanagari script.

In terms of its social significance, Urdu has considerable prestige. In sociolinguistic terms, Urdu is most often the High language in a situation of diglossia. (Ferguson, 1956; Fasold, 1984). The language is seen as literary and poetic, dignified by its traditional links with learning and power. It was the language of the Moghul dynasty that ruled India for two hundred years. It continues not only as the language of daily life for many millions but also as the language associated with a number of poetic art forms (Islam and Russell, 1991). 'Urdu has very deep manners' is the moving perception of an Urdu speaker in a study of attitudes to mother tongues, based in London (Miller, 1983).

Most of the first generation in this study showed awareness of these dimensions and there were regrets:

I would say that if I feel sad about it, it isn't because there is a loss of culture... To me, my children not knowing Urdu, they have lost a beautiful language. (Nusrat Masood)

Both in Pakistan and in the British communities, the language also receives a great deal of attention for its recent developments. Arguments over whether it is being flooded with foreign-derived neologisms to the detriment of its own essential character are frequent. There are countless examples in newspapers, advertising and public signs of English words transliterated into Urdu script and then incorporated in Urdu text.

Urdu's most powerful role however is that of national language of Pakistan, capable therefore of symbolising Pakistani national pride as well as of being a cultural asset and a communicative tool. When Imran Khan was seeking to establish his credentials in resisting neo-colonialism he was reported as 'refusing to speak English and communicating solely in Urdu' (EFL Gazette, March 1995) or, 'On his political campaign trail, pushing an anti-western barrow, Imran Khan has refused to speak English and delivers all his diatribes in Urdu'. (EFL Gazette, April 1995). Such

reporting could be seen as misguided or mischievous in attributing choice of language to attitude rather than to the needs of the audience. But since it is frequently pointed out that Benazir Bhutto's impact on home crowds is hampered by the fact that her Urdu is relatively poor, it is clear that the symbolic and the communicative power of the language is important. Paradoxically, however, within Pakistan, someone called an 'Urdu-speaker' may be seen as not really belonging, who may not have the interests of Pakistan at heart. This is because Urdu is not the mother tongue of most people in Pakistan but is for some. In particular, it is the language of those who migrated into Pakistan from India and who may still be seen as outsiders - the mohajirs. These 'malcontents' in the province of Sindh, were the people who came to Pakistan from Uttar Pradesh, the state in India where Urdu is the local language of the Muslims.

The attitudes of the people in this study towards Urdu and their patterns of use will probably owe something to these background facts. Additionally, Khan (1991) asserts Urdu's very great importance in acting as a symbol of cultural heritage and religion in the present Asian community in Britain.

In contemporary England, Urdu is the Asian language which recruits the highest number of GCSE entries by quite a significant margin. Figures for the entries for 1993 put Urdu at nearly 5000 in the year compared with Punjabi at less than 1500 and Hindi at less than 300 (Verma et al, 1993). In part, this must reflect the prestige of the language as well as the enthusiasm of both first and second generation members for the language to be maintained. The effectiveness of community action in developing teaching initiatives and of schools offering appropriate opportunities are also in part responsible.

Nevertheless, policy and planning by local authorities for the teaching of 'heritage' languages may be based on assumptions that children will gradually lose their capacity

to use their mother tongue and on inappropriate approaches (Reid, 1988; Verma et al, 1993).

Punjabi

Punjabi has a different role in Pakistan. The Punjab is by far the most populous region of Pakistan and is economically dominant. In contrast to the literary role of Urdu, Punjabi is dominant orally. In Pakistan, one can say that Punjabi plays the role of a Low language in a situation akin to diglossia.

Linguists agree that Urdu, Punjabi and Hindi are very closely related and, in most cases, varieties are mutually intelligible (Romaine 1989, 27). However, the distinctions between them are also strong, politically and socially as well as lexically and phonetically. The degree of distinctiveness remains disputed within the linguistic literature (Alladina, 1985; Russell, 1986 a; Khan, 1991). Areas of lexis in Punjabi are different from Urdu and some phonetic features also. There are also widely differing varieties of Punjabi however and therefore assertions about the relationship between Punjabi and other languages can only be made in relation to particular varieties (Mobbs, 1985). In contrast to Pakistan, in Indian Punjab, Punjabi is the first language and is also a language of literacy using the Gurmukhi script. It is, furthermore, the language of Sikh scriptures - Guru Granth Sahib. Indeed, Mahandru (1991), characterising the role and presence of Punjabi in Britain chooses to discuss only its role as the language of the Sikh community.

Punjabi can also be represented as a dialect continuum extending from the southern and eastern areas of Pakistani and Indian Punjab up to the far north of Pakistan and beyond. This continuum embraces Kashmiri and Hindko and many other regional variants, some of which are often named as separate languages.

The status of Punjabi and Urdu in Pakistan therefore differs greatly. Punjabi is less overtly prestigious than Urdu. It is also less standardised and people claim to have problems with understanding the different varieties used by different individuals with different regional origins. On the other hand, it is a language which elicits strong responses of solidarity among its users and in that sense enjoys considerable covert prestige.

There are also those who would argue that Punjabi has been unjustifiably downgraded by public and political opinion in Pakistan, that in the past it had its own fine literary traditions and that to some extent the elevation of Urdu above Punjabi is due to a political elevation of the social urban élite above the more ancient village-based population.

Punjabi is widely used in Britain by people of Pakistani origin since many of the original immigrants from Pakistan came from the Punjab and from Azad Kashmir. For them, it is the variety which can engender feelings of ease. The covert prestige of Punjabi as opposed to Urdu is often observable. Jokes in Punjabi are, within the data, frequently referred to as being untranslatable and also extremely funny. Assertions are made that its capacity for vulgarity is great and also hilarious. At a concert of Pakistani singers, musicians, comedians and dancers, a loud demand was made from the audience to the compère that he should use Punjabi instead of Urdu, the implication being that people would then feel more relaxed. Language 'crossing' between Punjabi and English involving deliberate, often playful and humorous mixing by young people, occurs in multiracial social groups in Britain (Rampton, 1995). It would seem to indicate some perceptions of Punjabi as extending between generations.

In everyday life and interaction, the majority of people of Pakistani Punjabi origin use a variety of language which draws on both Punjabi and Urdu though many may claim to make main use of only one or the other and individuals certainly vary. For this reason,

during the course of this study, I shall often refer to *Punjabi/ Urdu* as the 'normal' code used except when the choice of one or the other is in some way marked. I will also use either Punjabi or Urdu separately when reporting people's assertions about which one they or others are using.

English

English has an undisputed position of importance in Pakistan. This is so in the field of education, amongst the social élite, in the Army, throughout medical education and in other ways.

The history of English in Pakistan and India is complex. The extent to which the contact between English, Punjabi and Urdu has influenced all the three languages is considerable. Within British English, many lexical items have their origins in words from Urdu or 'Hindustani', the name used for the major language of the northern sub-continent of India before Independence. The variety of English identified by Kachru as South Asian English and by many as Indian English is heavily influenced phonologically, lexically and grammatically by Punjabi and Urdu as well as other South Asian languages. (Kachru, 1978; Nihalani et al, 1979; Rai, 1991; Trudgill and Hannah, 1982). Lexical penetration of English into the languages of Pakistan occurs even in the usage of those who would claim to have mastery over only one of the languages.

Contact amongst the languages goes back to the years of British colonial rule over the subcontinent, known then as India but including the large area in the north now called Pakistan. In the 1820's and 1830's, there was considerable preoccupation amongst the British imperialists and the educated members of the Indian establishment about which patterns of education should be developed in India. The colonial tone of declarations of the time may now arouse easy indignation and sound extraordinarily naive, but they are powerful indicators of historical trends.

Early initiatives during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were generally driven by proselytizing missionary zeal. A House of Commons resolution of 1813 argued that

it is the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and ... measures ought to be introduced as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. (Kachru, 1983, 20)

The intention however was to disseminate not only religious but also scientific knowledge through the medium of English. The following quotation is from the letter of Ram Rohan Roy's letter to Lord Amherst, the Governor General of the East India Company of 1823:

We understand that the Government in England had ordered a considerable sum of money to be annually devoted to the instruction of its Indian subjects. We were filled with sanguine hopes that this sum would be laid out in employing European gentlemen of talents and education to instruct the natives of India in mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, anatomy, and other useful sciences, which the natives of Europe have carried to a degree of perfection that has raised them above the inhabitants of other parts of the world (Kachru, 1983, 60)

A hotly debated issue amongst both British and Indians in the early 19th century was whether educational provision for the Indian population should go the way of the 'Orientalist' school of thought or the way of the larger 'Anglicist' school. The Orientalists argued that education in India should attempt to convey European science and progress through the medium of Indian languages and there were scholars committed to the study of the languages and literature of India (Clive, 1973). The 'Anglicist' school won the day however with their arguments for discarding the study or use of Asian languages. Macaulay's assertion that he had never found even an Orientalist 'who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth

the whole literature of India and Arabia' (Clive 1973, 372) probably expressed the feelings of the majority of those forming the policy.

At the time, distinctions were made between the needs and attitudes of Hindus and Muslims in India which may be observed in what was later to become Muslim Pakistan and Hindu-dominated India. Prinsep observed that whilst Hindus desired to learn English 'there was no reason to believe that Muslims in any part of India would ever become reconciled to it' (Clive, 1973, 381). Their own inheritance of Arabic and Persian gave access to a different cultural inheritance from that of the Hindus through Sanskrit. Their own studies of the natural world of science, he observed, were really not much different from those of Europe.

However, the tone of mockery towards Indian culture makes it easy to understand the situation within which Macaulay's famous Minute of 1835 was adopted as policy:

We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern; a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect... to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population (Clive, 1973, 376).

This policy ensured that English had educational prestige and implied international utility. Instruction in English was not seen at that stage as something that would be available to all Indians but to the educated élite who could then perhaps disseminate learning further (Clive, 1973, 352). Attitudes in the first generation of the research group reflect the instrumental success of this policy.

The attitudes of British imperial policy of the Macaulay persuasion towards languages were bound to leave their own diverse legacy amongst the Indian and Pakistani establishments. National language policies since Independence have reflected conflict and compromise. The basic dilemma is that a national language has had to be adopted

which could assert freedom from imperial traditions but English is also deeply rooted and an essential tool for countries and individuals if they are to take their place in the modern international world of education, technology and medicine. Nevertheless, English would not enjoy the primacy of the imperial era.

The relations between empire and imperialist have left in their wake a complex set of attitudes. At the creation of independent Pakistan (and India), the position of English was secure, particularly in higher education and also in the significant sector of the prestigious private schools and colleges of Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Karachi. Medical education has always been in the medium of English and in the early years of Independence medical degrees were validated by the University of London, maintaining a metropolitan link with both institution and language.

The 'context' of languages will be seen to have an impact on this research group, the contemporary situation and on people's language skills, use and attitudes. The association of English with education and science, the association of Urdu with national and cultural considerations, the covert prestige of Punjabi, the linguistic intertwining of English and both Urdu and Punjabi: all of these will be drawn upon in interpreting what is observed, reported and recorded.

Language education policy in England and Wales

During the early days of extensive immigration from New Commonwealth countries, language education provision had to develop quickly. This early policy is incorporated here as the last 'context' for the families in the study.

Many schools needed to accommodate children who had little knowledge of English and they had no experience of this situation. Early 'policy' was to address the situation with direct action. Language Centres were set up in response to the arrival of

substantial numbers of immigrants in a number of areas. Children presented at schools with little or no English were taken to these reception centres, the intention being that they should be taught enough English to undertake the normal curriculum in mainstream schools. Educational provision was decentralised so the pattern could be different in different areas and local initiatives took different forms. The assumption was that children would quickly be able to gain access to all their education through English. Little thought was given as to whether the first language of children also merited attention. There was no public discussion of bilingualism. Children were obviously functioning in more than one language but the underlying assumption seemed to be that the children would be making a transition to an eventual, exclusive use of English, at least for school purposes.

Policy on language reflected the broader policy towards the education of the children of immigrants. The second *Report of the Commonwealth Immigration Advisory Council* in 1964 had stated that

... a national system of education must aim at producing citizens who can take their place in a society properly equipped to exercise rights and perform duties which are the same as other citizens. If their parents were brought up in another culture or another tradition, children should be encouraged to respect it, but a national system of education cannot be expected to perpetrate the different values of immigrant groups. (HMSO, 1964, 10).

Assumptions were assimilationist and logically, in terms of language development, assimilation would mean the development of monolingualism in English.

Not all children of immigrant parentage needed to be taken into special centres and such centres were only available in areas where the number of children needing such provision justified it. Particularly for younger children, the later comfortable approach

of *The Plowden Report* (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967, 71) provided reassurance:

It is absolutely essential to overcome the language barrier. This is less serious for a child entering the infant school. He rapidly acquires, both in the classroom and outside, a good command of the relatively limited number of words, phrases and sentences in common use among the other children. He can then learn to read with the rest by normal methods. (Brown, 1979, 3)

As Watson (1988) points out, the reception centre system was based on the model of the USA who, from the beginning of the twentieth century had made the learning of English a central plank of immigration policy. It is possible to see the flagrant racism of British statements on education in India because of hindsight and so it is also possible to see the assimilationist thinking of the 60's as racist in its approach. No distinctions were made between different cultural groups. It was assumed in statements of national policy that justice would be served by treating all 'immigrants' as having the same needs, whether they were from Punjab, Bengal or Barbados.

Soon, the system of Language Centres produced dissatisfaction. For many children, progress was slow and it seemed that they would be kept out of mainstream schools for a long time. Parents were upset and teachers worried. The segregation which was manifestly a product of the system seemed in many ways undesirable. Children were falling further behind their age group in broad curricular terms while receiving only general language training. Various local initiatives developed. Some provision for the teaching of English as a second language was moved into the mainstream schools and thought was given to the provision of a broader curriculum within an intensive language programme. But the realities of the situation continued to challenge the skill and resources of local authorities.

At the level of national policy, a less hardline assimilationist approach appeared in the DES Report on *The Education of Immigrants* when it was stated that

the education service should help promote the acceptance of immigrants as equal members of our society ... (while also) permitting the expression of differences of attitudes, beliefs and customs, language and culture...which may eventually enrich the mainstream of our cultural and social tradition. (DES, 1971, 120)

The House of Commons Select Committee on Education argued that immigrants should 'not be expected to get rid of all their own customs, history and culture', but balanced the picture by asserting that 'those who come here to settle must, to some extent, accept the ways of the country' (HMSO, 1973, 34). Some local authorities appointed specialist advisers or teams to organise appropriate provision whilst some made little special effort. During this period therefore, valuable pioneering work was undertaken within some authorities whilst others relied on minimal support and hoped for the best: rapid transition to monolingual competence in English (Bourne, 1989).

The Bullock Report, (DES, 1975) entitled *A Language for Life*, was the policy document which represented a significant landmark in giving expression to a more positive view of bilingualism. It reflected current thinking about language across the curriculum, and argued the case for seeing language as a set of skills which all pupils needed to develop in order to cope with the demands of study and work rather than primarily as a fund of literary and cultural heritage. Current theories on language and class, language development and functional approaches to language provided a multi-disciplinary theoretical base for later applied research (Lawton, 1975; Bernstein, 1971; Halliday, 1973). The value of bilingualism was acknowledged:

The importance of bilingualism, both in education and for society in general, has been increasingly recognised in Europe and in the USA.... Over half the immigrant pupils in our schools have a mother-tongue which is not English ... Their bilingualism is of great importance to the

children and their families, and also to society as a whole. In a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world we should see it as an asset and one of the agencies which should nurture it is the school (DES, 1975, ch.20).

The *Bullock Report* was significant in that it brought together reflections on the teaching of mainstream English and discussion of principle in the teaching of English as a second language. But over the years, there has been a singular lack of co-ordination of policy between the three main areas of language education: the teaching of English as first language, the teaching of modern foreign languages and the teaching of English as a second language. Historically, special interests have shaped the issues under debate in these different curriculum areas. Underlying conflicts have often been commented on (Byram 1989; Mitchell, 1991). Neither first language nor foreign language teachers were prepared appropriately for the demands of bilingual pupils. Specialist teachers of English remained strongly committed to the teaching of Literature and developed a 'creative' rather than an analytic approach to language. Modern language teachers were developing new active methods for the teaching of language skills which would be needed in the 'Common Market'. Pedagogical skills were strained by the extension of the teaching of modern languages across the ability range.

Personnel recruited in the early days to take responsibility for teaching English as a second language had often gained some experience overseas in teaching English to speakers of other languages. Additionally, teachers who were strongly committed to supporting the broad welfare of the minority group children in schools were recruited. Commitment rather than special expertise in matters relating to language education was often a condition of entry (Derrick, 1966; Brown, 1979).

This fragmentation of professional involvement and expertise in language education between different interest groups prevented any mutually beneficial influences from

developing. It was both a cause and an outcome of failure to develop a consistent national policy for language education. The lack of such a policy has, of late, been frequently commented upon (eg. Stubbs, 1995; Thompson, Fleming and Byram, 1996; Brumfit, 1995.)

Conclusion

This chapter has given an account of the families in the research group and of a number of contexts which will be important in the different sections of the study. These social, linguistic and educational frameworks will all have bearing on the issues and interpretations presented and it is the integration of the different dimensions which gives this research its own distinct character in theoretical and methodological terms.

The next chapter will explore the theoretical models and perspectives which will be drawn upon in order to formulate the questions and problems that the study will address.

Chapter 2

Theoretical models and perspectives

Introduction

The dynamics of change when languages and language users come into contact have always been of interest to linguists. Phonetic, syntactic and morphological developments were for a long time the major focus. It was the achievement of Weinreich (1953) to broaden the analysis to take some account of the social context within which languages in contact were being used and thus to focus on speakers and the choices they were making rather than exclusively on linguistic features. In that sense, his work on languages in contact was one of the early foundations on which sociolinguistics as a whole has been built (Appel and Muysken, 1987). Another foundation was laid at about the same time with Haugen's early study of a language minority group (Haugen, 1953, 1956). In his studies of Norwegian immigrant communities in the United States, he was able to establish clear relationships between linguistic manifestations of contact between languages and the speakers' social context. He was the first major analyst of the linguistic outcome of modern immigration by a particular national group to a society which provided economic, social and educational pressures towards change. The prime emphasis was on certain linguistic features of change, for example relexification and code-switching, but Haugen included discussion and evidence of the views, histories, lifestyles and institutions of his subjects as providing the context and source of motivation for maintaining Norwegian and also for moving into ever more exclusive use of English.

The Norwegian Language in America (Haugen, 1953) established what was to become the point of departure for many more studies of multilingual situations: 'the bilingual's dilemma'.

Americans have taken it for granted that 'foreigners' should acquire English and that a failure to do so was evidence by implication of a kind of disloyalty to the basic principles of American life. In general, they (scholars) have not even found the problem interesting, much less vital... Bilingualism has been treated as a necessary evil, a rash on the body politic' (Haugen, 1953, 1-2)

The need to change these kinds of official assumptions, particularly when they underpinned the pattern of educational provision made for children of ethnic minority background, became a major theme of language education policy discussion in America and also, later, in Britain.

Haugen's comments are apposite to the British situation.

It is even possible that the stress on 'correct English' in our schools, with its accompanying schoolman subservience to the dictionary as the bible of good usage, may be a reaction to the deep-seated bilingualism of American life (Haugen, 1953, 4).

His vision was one of social and linguistic factors as being intimately intertwined to the extent that 'even when the bilingualism is gone, its effects linger on' (Haugen, 1953, 3). This suggests that within a community which has moved far away from use of its original language, identifiable features may still be present in their language repertoire, a language 'residue' perhaps or a symbolic role for the language within the lives of members of the community.

Haugen's accounts of the various manifestations of change in the linguistic repertoire of his study group have charm, insight and individuality. The voices of respondents are heard through some of his reports; his own inside knowledge as an American of Norwegian origin gave him access to information and understanding. Over many years exploring the lexical manifestations of changes in patterns of use and the patterns and systems of code switching engaged in, it became very clear that a well-developed mastery of Norwegian was an increasingly rare phenomenon in second or third

generation migrants. A transition into different patterns of language use was being made. The institutions of the majority society - education, the administrative structure, working conditions outside rural settings - all encouraged a shift towards English. And of course, developing a mastery of English, the majority and official language of America, was essential for the Norwegian community. The uncertainty was whether Norwegian could persist. Community institutions such as the Norwegian Church, community preoccupations with preserving Norwegian cultural identity, together with life generally in remote, rural settings, appeared to be factors which nurtured continuing use and command of Norwegian among the second generation. But Haugen did not attempt to construct a fully developed theoretical model of the conflicting pressures for maintaining or abandoning use of a community or traditional language in a minority, immigrant setting for his preferred focus was on the linguistic features of change. Most of the elements were evident in his observations and reports and his fieldwork approach is an interesting foundation for the subsequent work of researchers adopting an ethnographic approach in investigating language shift such as Gal(1979) and Dorian (1981).

In effect, Haugen was exploring a period of transitional bilingualism without using the term. He deplored the assumptions being made by the majority community that Norwegian would simply disappear. However, he was writing before the 'politicisation' of bilingualism and before bilingual education had begun to develop and the notion of bilingualism as being a temporary or transitional phenomenon as 'politically' incorrect.

Bilingualism and the ethnography of communication.

The basic principle of the ethnography of communication, asserted by Hymes (1962) is that language use can only be interpreted and analysed by reference to the cultural context in which it occurs. The intellectual roots of the ethnography of communication are in anthropology. The aim of Malinowski (eg 1922, 1932) was to gain insights into

aspects of social behaviour in particular cultures through long participant observation and on occasion, the focus was on the use of language as giving access to insights. Hymes was primarily concerned to use context in order to gain insight into language.

The notion of the speech community is a key concept within this approach (Romaine (1982)). The speech community is essentially the unit of social organisation which orders the norms and varieties of language use between its members. The possibility of membership of more than one community offers a useful focus for the investigation of language contact arising from contact between communities (Saville-Troike (1982)).

The concept of communicative competence is also central to the ethnography of communication. Hymes developed the concept to analyse the ways in which individuals draw on knowledge of context and language to speak appropriately (Hymes, 1962, 1968, 1972). 'Communicative competence' has been widely developed and exploited in many areas of linguistics and applied linguistics. Within this theoretical framework, individuals may be seen as having command not of a language or languages but of a verbal or linguistic repertoire. Hymes argued strongly that linguistics should concentrate not on a formal and idealised system of language but on repertoire, the language resource available to individual speakers. Unifying the language knowledge that individuals may have into a single concept of repertoire is a way of conceiving of bilingualism as a normal and potentially enriching condition. Within a repertoire which draws on more than one language, an individual may have a 'specific configuration' (Weinreich, 1964, 79). It may be based on the relative proficiency in the languages, initial socialisation and language learning and emotional involvement of the individual. It may also derive from the usefulness of the languages in communication and social interaction, and on their literary or cultural prestige (Dorian, 1981,95). An individual's bilingual repertoire may be a resource which allows cultural flexibility and choice of language in response to particular social or cultural need and sensitivity.

Study of language use within this framework identifies communicative events and communicative acts as the focus of analysis. The interpretation of a communicative event will focus on ways in which participants, topic, setting, purpose and mode of communication and the social and cultural context influence what is said. Communicative acts represent single interactional functions such as greetings, leave-takings, requests, explanations, commands and so on. Identification of the cultural significance of particular communicative acts is one legitimate focus of the ethnography of communication.

The relationship between the concept of a speech community, sharing a language, and other notions of community based, for example, on common place of residence, may not be straightforward. Hoffmann (1991, 175-6) points out the distinction between bilinguals who are part of a multilingual community where most people draw upon a similar range of language resources, and bilinguals who live amongst a monolingual community but are bilingual as a result of migration, marriage or having bilingual parents. The language choice of these two types of speakers will be determined by different sets of social and linguistic factors. In the present study, neither first nor second generation members can be exclusively placed within this dichotomous typology but issues of community membership are important.

The ethnography of communication is, in disciplinary terms, a purely qualitative approach to investigation of language use. Fasold's verdict (1990) is that it can penetrate to the heart of the relationship between language and user in a way which other approaches cannot. Whilst the visibly scientific rigour of the work of, for example, Labovian quantitative sociolinguistics, may not be present, the insights from high quality ethnography guide the development of sociolinguistic theory more powerfully than other approaches. He argues that other approaches seek to identify

sociolinguistic universals, but the discipline is still a long way from being able to establish many.

The principles of the ethnography of communication act as a foundation for many developments in sociolinguistic analysis. The present study draws on them at several points in interpreting data in relation to bilingual skills, patterns of language use, cultural and linguistic continuity and the text of bilingual interaction.

Language maintenance and language shift

The concepts of language maintenance and language shift are very important in this study. Fishman (1964) identified them first as a field of enquiry worthy of study within the sociology of language. A systematic approach could, he suggested, provide a theoretical framework within which the conflicting pressures on language use in a bilingual community could be identified and their effects measured.

The establishment of these concepts drew on the work of Haugen and Weinreich but Fishman brought together information and insights from research on a range of minority groups in language contact situations to develop the concepts. He worked within a sociological framework rather than as a linguist looking only at linguistic features of language. He articulated theories relating to language maintenance and language shift - long term processes of change governing patterns of choice in situations of language contact, necessarily involving bilingualism. If the essence of all sociolinguistics is the study of variability of choice made by speakers between languages or linguistic varieties, language shift and language maintenance are the 'long-term, collective results of language choice' (Fasold, 1984). Language shift means that a community moves away from using a language or variety because of the pressure on the community from the language contact situation in which they live. Typically, over a period of years, individuals in different generations make more and more use of an

incoming majority language and gradually stop using a traditional community language:

One may look at language shift as a special case of language change in which the 'variants' are entire languages in the community's repertoire. (Romaine, 1982, 120)

Forces leading to shift can be resisted: language maintenance represents the situation within which a minority language community does resist and continues to use a language which would seem to be threatened by a majority language.

Fishman proposed the model as a perspective for studying developments within minority, bilingual language communities. Enquiry needed to investigate changing patterns of self-reported language use, social, psychological and cultural dimensions of situations, and the degree of shift within communities, in order to reach a fuller understanding of the pressures and processes involved. Fishman's early studies of shift and language loyalty within immigrant communities in the United States (Fishman, 1966) became models for many later studies (eg. Lieberman, 1972; Paulston, 1986a).

Language shift takes place where people within a speech community are bilingual but a pattern of stable, societal bilingualism has not been established. Intergenerational changes develop. The stability of diglossia (Ferguson, 1959), where different languages or varieties have clearly separate roles and functions and people draw on them as they are able and as appropriate is not present. Bilingualism is necessary for people who want to be able to participate in all areas of public and private life in a situation of diglossia. Unstable bilingualism is more characteristic of situations where it is only minority groups who need to be bilingual or where the functions of two languages overlap. In a situation of diglossia, two languages are used with absolute predictability, each in different domains. If shift is taking place, the incoming language penetrates domains of language use which were previously reserved for the traditional language.

The 'domain of language use' has been used in order to identify patterns of language choice in bilingual situations. A 'domain' is a theoretical construct which groups together clusters of factors such as role relationships, location, topic and times. Domain analysis has been very extensively used in studies of language choice and provides a useful way of describing the distribution of languages or varieties in a given situation, despite certain disadvantages of inflexibility or misleading neatness (Fishman, 1964, 1968, 1972a.).

Factors conducive to language shift

At one level, research to identify a range of factors conducive to shift within a community has been successful whether the minority is indigenous or immigrant (Fasold 1984; Appel and Muysken, 1987). Reasons why immigrant communities should acquire the majority language of their new host country are obvious. Migration therefore, either of a community away from its language base, or of a more powerful language group into a community, is a phenomenon frequently leading to shift. In rural areas, industrialisation, urbanisation and the development of communications are important. The language used in education within a community will have a powerful influence on the patterns of language use of the children who attend school. If people need to learn a new language in order to get jobs or to be economically successful, they will, and the economically-related language may eventually take precedence. Social mixing and intermarriage between communities may be conducive to shift. Mass culture in a majority language may also contribute a force for shift. The factors thus agreed are essentially the circumstances of migration, modernisation, increasingly wide communication, mass education and economic activity. In sociolinguistic terms, a situation where bilingualism exists in a community without diglossia is susceptible to language shift.

Changes in patterns of use are likely to take place over three generations among immigrant groups. The classic model is one where first-generation immigrants may maintain the habit of using their first language for most purposes and second generation members of the community operate easily in both languages, with the traditional language being preferred in domestic situations and the incoming language of the majority community being preferred in work situations, education and other contexts outside the minority community. Third generation members will very often shift to exclusive use of the majority language (Fasold, 1984; Wardaugh, 1986; Appel and Muysken, 1987). The study of languages in contact has, at this point, become the study of languages in conflict and indeed the conflict model of language contact, representing languages as competing for the allegiance and 'patronage' of language users, with minority languages often cast in the role of the overpowered, devalued and outnumbered, has continued to be a very important one (Martin-Jones, 1989a; Martin-Jones and Romaine, 1985).

It is never possible however to predict with certainty the outcome of a situation of language contact. Shift is not inevitable. The pressure of loyalty to a minority or traditional language can be very strong. Whilst shift and maintenance may seem to be opposite poles and conflicting forces, not every conflict turns into a battle until the death of the weaker language.

Factors enhancing language maintenance

'Language maintenance' is worthy of study when conditions for shift would seem to be present but shift does not occur - at least not entirely. The converse of circumstances listed as favouring shift may obviously act as a force for maintenance. Where there is little language exchange, economic activity, geographical movement and so on, the situation will not be conducive to shift. If maintenance is to be seen as a positive

movement however, in the face of circumstances which might otherwise favour shift, then other factors are involved.

The degree of cultural distinctiveness of the immigrant group is often cited as associated with language maintenance (Paulston, 1986b.; Fasold, 1984). The greater the extent to which members of a community live only within the bounds of that community, the more distinctive their lifestyles are likely to be from those of the host community and the more likely the maintenance of the community language for intracommunity use.

Barth (1969) argued that the maintenance of 'boundaries' between ethnic groups depends on dichotomous distinctions between cultures:

the nature of continuity of ethnic units is clear: it depends on the maintenance of a boundary... the fact of continuing dichotomisation between members and outsiders allows us to specify the nature of continuity and investigate the changing cultural form and content (Barth, 1969, 14).

Barth's concern was with cultural continuity and distinctiveness in general, not only with language but looking at linguistic continuity within such a broad cultural framework is enlightening. Barth proposes a basis for categorisation of distinctive features:

The cultural contents of ethnic dichotomies would seem analytically to be of two orders: i) overt signals or signs - the diacritical features that people look for and exhibit to show identity, often such features as dress, language, house-form or general style of life and ii) basic value orientations: the standards of morality and excellence by which performance is judged (Barth, 1969, 14).

Whilst identifying language use as a potentially public signal of identity, he is also concerned to see cultural values as distinctive features, contributing to group identity. This association of the public or visible signal with underlying or implicit features of the lifestyle of a particular group provides a useful basis for investigating the

relationship between linguistic and cultural dimensions of group identity. Using these concepts, the question of whether language change also involves cultural change or whether language maintenance is closely related to maintenance of cultural distinctiveness may be explored.

One powerful element of a group's cultural distinctiveness may be religion. Association of a language with religion is conducive to linguistic conservatism in the liturgical domain (Gal, 1979) and religious conservatism of an extreme form is associated with incapsulation and language maintenance as in the Old Order Amish and Pennsylvanian Dutch (Huffines, 1980).

Discussions of language loyalty of minority groups may associate patterns of retention with questions of identity, nationalism and ethnicity (Fishman, 1977).

Another important force for maintenance may be the playing of traditional, home-based and community-centred roles by women which will tend to slow the process of change because of the impact on children's socialisation and development (Fasold, 1984; Lieberman, 1972). Other factors favouring maintenance may be status, demographic size and institutional support (Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977). The higher the status of a language in an individual's repertoire, the less the chance of it being pushed out. The larger and more united the number of people who make regular use of a language, the less likely it is to be dropped. The greater the support from institutions such as education, community programmes and official, public domains of use, the smaller the possibility that the language will cease to be used. In education, if status is afforded to a minority language by its presence within the school curriculum, or by positive attitudes towards bilingualism, maintenance will be supported.

Research may identify the social features which correlate more powerfully with shift or maintenance in particular groups (Paulston, 1986a). Smolicz (1984) argues that it is possible to identify certain aspects of culture as constituting 'core values'. If a language

itself is a 'core value' for a community, then the chances of it continuing to be used are greater since it thus has symbolic as well as functional weight and power. In such cases, the speed of shift would be slowed down or stopped and cultural continuity would be dependent on linguistic continuity.

The study by Holmes et al.(1993) of three minority communities in New Zealand was able to confirm a number of these insights. The findings identified several factors for maintenance linked to intracommunity relations: regular interaction, residential contiguity, resistance to inter-ethnic marriage, support for community language schools and religious organisations. In addition, use of the minority language in the home and a positive attitude towards the language and the 'homeland' were cited.

Much may be understood but outcomes in particular situations are still unpredictable (Appel and Muysken, 1987). It can be argued that maintenance is a more interesting challenge to investigators than shift since circumstances where shift takes place are more numerous and more fully documented (Saville-Troike, 1982). Insights from ethnographic studies of communities might provide a deeper understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of language maintenance in contact situations where shift would seem to be very likely.

The process of shift

The process of shift continues to be documented. (Appel and Muysken, 1987). A community must be bilingual during the process of shift. The movement by the incoming language into domains of language use reserved earlier for the traditional language will be observable. Breakdown of a diglossic situation may be taking place and functional specialisation between languages may be lost. If shift is advanced, parents will not pass on their own first or community or heritage language to their children. At a linguistic level, heavier borrowing of lexical items from the incoming

language by the community language than in the other direction will be apparent. Labov's fundamental principle in sociolinguistics is also applicable in identifying what constitutes evidence of language shift:

The simplest data that will establish the existence of a linguistic change is a set of observations of two successive generations of speakers - generations of comparable social characteristics which represent stages in the evolution of the same speech community (Labov, 1972).

In most studies investigating language shift in particular communities, the underlying questions are the extent to which shift has taken place, the speed with which it has happened and whether the minority language will survive and continue to be used. Indicators of shift may be looked for in self reported patterns of use, perhaps from censuses (Gorter, 1987; Nelde, 1985; Veltman, 1983) or in linguistic features such as phonetic variation (Pauwels, 1986; Boyd, 1985). Comparison with earlier data or data from different age groups can indicate gradual change.

The implication of many studies is that shift and maintenance are mutually exclusive. It is arguable however, that the transitional bilingualism to be found in operation in many communities could be long-term and very variable rather than inevitably near-terminal. The possibility of a reversal of shift is also mooted in some discussions, to be brought about by appropriate educational planning and policy changes (Fishman, 1991; Baker, 1993). Intergenerational continuity of language use within the family is seen as crucial if shift is to be reversed and a language maintained (Fishman, 1991).

Large- and small-scale case studies of linguistic minorities, using quantitative approaches to study of language maintenance and shift have been numerous in many parts of the world : Australia (Clyne, 1982), the US (Sridhar, 1988; Garcia et al, 1988), India (Parasher, 1980), Sweden (Boyd, 1985) to name but a very few.

However, outcomes remain unpredictable. To reach beyond the level of insight gained by comparative studies which consider variables such as first language, length of

residence in a country, ethnic origins, religion, marriage statistics, social class and educational support and provision, investigations which differentiate within a community between sub-groups or individuals may be useful.

An ethnographic approach to language shift

Gal (1979) announced her study of the patterns of contact between Hungarian and German in the town of Oberwart in Eastern Austria as the first ethnographic study of the phenomenon of language shift. In it, she looked beyond the dimensions of language use which could be measured or counted and considered the specific social context of language choice and use by individuals. The study's contribution to understanding of the phenomenon of language shift is widely recognised.

Gal lived within the small town for some months and as she developed familiarity with the community, was able to explore patterns of socialisation and language use in depth. Historical developments in the town were investigated as an important part of the context of change, as were people's perceptions of the two languages used in the community. Hungarian was associated with traditional values and lifestyle, the language preferred by those who had maintained a peasant way of life and a social network associated with that lifestyle. German was the language associated with change, modernity and an urban lifestyle, preferred by those who went to work in the town, chose to move away from 'peasant' living and most importantly, who maintained a social network associated with their 'urban' lifestyle.

Individuals, however, were the focus of Gal's research. By investigating a number of individuals and families, she was able to establish a picture of the range of patterns of language use which were in operation in the town. Different individuals made different choices of language, despite the fact that they all lived in the same community, shared the same linguistic and ethnic origins and belonged to the same religious denomination.

Certain tendencies were clear, for example for the young to use more German, associated with an urban lifestyle, as opposed to Hungarian, associated with a peasant lifestyle. However, individual variation also emerged within generations.

The theoretical problems which Gal articulated as the focus of her study were rooted in a view of language shift as 'an instance of socially motivated language change' (Gal, 1979, 2), which is taking place in countless communities world wide given that 'the use of two or more languages within one community is the rule rather than the exception in the world today'. She argues that

it is not, as some have suggested, a larger or a more complex combination of factors which will yield a satisfactory solution. Instead, the process of language shift should be seen within a broader framework of expressively and symbolically used linguistic variation. (Gal, 1979, 3)

Gal acknowledges Goffman's view of speech as part of a speaker's linguistic presentation of self (1959) and attributes to it some interpretive force. She also recognises the usefulness of Barth's view of linguistic differences as emblems of group membership or symbols of group values (Barth, 1969). Both contribute to her analysis of the significance of language choice and variation. She sees the most influential element in the process of shift or maintenance as being the social networks within which people move which set the pattern of social contacts of an individual, forming the mechanism by which change is disseminated. Individuals with very similar backgrounds and circumstances may have developed different patterns of language use owing to their differing social networks.

The essence of Gal's contribution is really methodological. She demonstrates that local circumstances and individual experiences, accessible to a researcher only through close contact, are the real motivators for shift or maintenance. Her observations on the links between marriage patterns and language change, for example, makes clear the

compelling force of particular local circumstances. This emphasis on social context is the ethnographic force of the study. It is misguided to search for patterns which are identical in different situations; the general principles can only be sustained by the contribution of case studies each seeking out its own special dynamic.

Although language shift and language maintenance were presented by Fishman as concepts for which data from whole communities would be necessary, Gal views the phenomenon as having its roots firmly planted in individual decision making. It is observation of particular circumstances and individual differences which enables an understanding of the broader movement to be developed.

Study of patterns of language choice at the level of the individual may seem particularly important when multilingual individuals are not living in a geographically well-defined community and when they move between different language communities, as is the case with many members of immigrant minority groups. There has been no equally substantial ethnographic study of an immigrant minority until recently. Li's study (1994) does not cover exactly the same ground. It is a finegrained study of the process of shift within a particular cultural context but presents that context as background rather than as an active force within the study. Nor does the use of social networks prove quite so revealing as in Gal's study, since the degree of variation within generations was significantly less than in Gal's case and the more obvious intergenerational differences were unsurprising. Neither Gal nor Li incorporate discussion of any educational factors in their studies.

Haugen's work had influenced Gal. He had travelled within his research communities in the US, using the languages that interested him, asking for reports and intuitions about language use from respondents. He had also been able, as a member of the broad community himself, to use introspection and reminiscence as a source of data. Gal already had family connections with Oberwart but had to reside within the town for

several months in order to establish a satisfactory relationship from which to be able to gather valuable ethnographic data. Her methodology owed much to anthropology and the ethnography of communication. She argued that self-reported data on choice between languages can be very reliable:

It is common for natives of bilingual communities to distinguish and label their languages ... and to be able to accurately report at least some of their own usage patterns. In addition, they recognise that the languages provide symbolic representations of subgroups and activities within the community.' (Gal, 1979, 11)

The number of ethnographic studies of language shift is still limited. There has been no flurry of studies on a par with the many which followed Fishman's seminal theoretical work and early studies, probably because such studies are very time-consuming!. Many studies argue however that the ethnographic element in their approach is used in order to validate self-reported data (Gibbons, 1987; Moffatt, 1990). There have been calls for such studies to be undertaken in order to supplement existing data on patterns of language use in situations of shift.

There is a need for such studies to investigate the impact of particular encounters or agents which spearhead change or conservatism . In some studies the locus of shift, the point at which the process of change may be observed, is seen to be sibling interaction - verbal encounters where the minority language may be abandoned altogether (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985; Gal, 1979). By using conversation analysis key encounters of intergenerational disagreement have also been identified as a site of shift (Li, 1994). But a locus for maintenance within interactive situations has not been suggested.

Language obsolescence

The logical extreme outcome of language shift may be language death. If a community stops using a language, then the language may cease to exist. Many languages have already disappeared and the years preceding such an event have, of course, seen members of a community gradually shifting over to use of another language. It is clear that many of the preoccupations of researchers looking at speakers of dying languages are the same as those of researchers looking at immigrant groups who are ceasing to use their community language. The language of an immigrant community may not, of course, be at any risk of dying insofar as it has a body of speakers elsewhere in the world but for individuals, families over two or three generations and communities the process of loss may be observed. Shift and loss or death are points along the same continuum (Clyne, 1986).

A foundation stone of the developing field of language obsolescence studies is that of the gradual disappearance of East Sutherland Gaelic from amongst small town communities (Dorian 1981). Changes took place in patterns of use which were profoundly associated with the historical and social context of use and with attitudes associated with the language. By focusing on those dimensions, a powerful ethnographic analysis of the situation emerges. Three of the five chapters of the study are devoted to the history of the area, its people and its language, people's reminiscences of language use and attitudes, reported attitudes and observations about the lifestyle of the speakers and semi-speakers of East Sutherland Gaelic.

An ethnographic approach was adopted in data collection over a number of years as the researcher became a member of the community herself. The study had three main foci. The linguistic focus was on the changing grammatical and morphological features of East Sutherland Gaelic. The sociolinguistic focus used long term qualitative

investigation which provided the main substance of the study of people's choices, feelings, opinions, patterns of use and memories in relation to the use of Gaelic and of English. The ways in which people had or had not tried to nurture the use of Gaelic by their children provided a further focus since transmission of language between generations is of such key importance.

Extensive further work on obsolescence in indigenous languages has developed, and the languages of immigrant minorities have also been investigated from this perspective (Dorian, 1989). Most importantly for the present investigation, studies of language obsolescence are situated, by definition, in a context where language shift is taking place, where languages are in contact, where generational differences are clear and where the use of a weaker language is being eroded by an incoming stronger language. People may have moved a long way towards discarding use of the mother tongue and children may be under pressure to conform to monolingual norms amongst their peer group. Parents may have lost confidence in the value of transmitting their mother tongue to their children. Patterns of language nurture have a major impact on the way children develop their language repertoires. The language of diminishing use is less well-mastered by younger generations. Many of the factors listed as conducive to shift may be in place but it is the particular research focus on the later stages of language change which gives the field of obsolescence studies its own character. Dorian (1989: 8ff) identifies 'skewed performance' as an important focus. The term refers to the imbalance between language skills which is often observable in the competence of an individual in a situation of language shift or obsolescence. Competence in understanding outstrips competence in speaking; competence in oral skills outstrips literacy skills. Dorian makes further use of this notion in arguing in her own study the importance of what she calls the 'semi-speaker' of Gaelic. A 'semi-speaker', a member of the 'working margin' of the speech community, is still able to participate in community language use because of an understanding of the social implications and

appropriateness of key speech events. This makes a contribution to the continuing use of the community language (Dorian, 1982).

Dorian also identifies the phenomena of abrupt transmission failure or 'tip' and of 'persistence against seemingly high odds' as important. The latter encapsulates her assertion that in a sense, it is retention or maintenance which is more in need of investigation than obsolescence or shift:

When the circumstances which favor one language over another in a language-contact situation are rather overwhelming, it seems to me that explaining resistance to shift demands more of our attention than explaining language shift. (Dorian, 1980, 92)

Dorian individualises the factors involved in maintenance in such situations, and suggests that they may be factors of personality or history. In her study, she identified individual characteristics which seemed to favour maintaining the use of Gaelic against the odds as positive exposure to a language loyal kinsperson, experience of 'exile', and an outgoing personality. Explanatory rather than predictive force is attributed to these features, but the principle of acknowledging the influence of different personal histories or attitudes is a valuable one.

Language shift and language nurture.

Of prime importance in any situation of potential language shift is the transmission by parents to children of the parental language. (Fasold, 1984; Romaine, 1989; Fishman, 1991). Parents are obviously a major language resource for their child's language development. If parents decide therefore that passing on a language to their children is not worthwhile, the language will not form part of the child's early language repertoire and is unlikely to develop as a language for everyday use. Failure by parents to transmit to children the language of their heritage is clearly identifiable in particular communities as a late stage in the process of language shift. Such a decision is only

possible if another language is available and parents themselves need to be bilingual to follow this pattern.

In the literature on individual children's development of bilingualism, most case studies have been completed by parent-linguists (Leopold, 1939; Hoffmann, 1985; Arnberg, 1987). In Britain no detailed study exists which focuses on children developing a South Asian language within their family. Studies which do exist were largely undertaken in school settings, for example Agnihotri (1979), Moffatt (1990), and Thompson (1994, 1995) also conducted studies based in infant classrooms, looking at the very early stages of bilingual development.

A typology of bilingual settings for the nurture of children's bilingualism in the home has been outlined by Romaine (1989), drawing on Harding and Riley (1986). It takes into account a number of features: the native language of the parents, the language of the community at large and the ways in which parents decide to communicate with their children. They involve different permutations of parents sharing or not sharing the same first language and of family policies resolving to use the same or different languages with the children as with each other. There is also variation in terms of the broader context and whether the bilingual family is in an unusual or a common situation. Most reported histories are of early stages of bilingual development, conducted by parent-linguists and often within situations where bilingualism is not the norm and where élitist or additive bilingualism is being nurtured.

The parents of the families in the present investigation are bilingual; sectors of the community may be bilingual and parents code-switch and mix languages rather than holding them separate. This profile meshes satisfactorily with Romaine's type six setting, least well researched but characteristic of multilingual communities (Romaine, 1989).

An alternative framework for analysing the context of children's bilingual development at home focuses on necessary elements for success (Hoffmann, 1991). She argues that there are four main requirements: children need to be exposed to both languages, to experience a consistent distribution of languages, to feel a genuine, practical need to use both languages and to have some positive social or community support in relation to each language. Such a combination of factors may be a natural product of circumstances but is perhaps more likely to be a result of careful planning and more difficult to guarantee as children spend more time outside the home.

Analytical approaches to bilingual interaction

Code-switching

For some linguists, the study of bilingualism means study only of text: the language used during bilingual interaction. When the focus is on the way in which speakers move between languages, then the study is of code-switching which Gumperz defines as

the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.
(Gumperz 1982: 59)

A number of distinct analytical approaches have been developed to explore code-switching but fundamentally, there are two major directions. These run parallel in many ways to study of discourse involving use of more than one variety of a single language (this perception was the motivation for the original use of the term *code* within 'code-switching', to cover both language and variety). One approach is to consider the communicative function or social implications of switching. The other is to consider the linguistic dimensions of the switching, with a possible focus on structure, phonetic features, lexical items, syntactic features or discourse features. Put another way,

analysis may be concerned with why code-switching takes place. It may also be concerned with the question of what linguistic form switching takes.

The linguistic challenge has been to analyse linguistic constraints on switching and the linguistic outcomes: the ways in which grammars may be reconciled or syntactic rules accommodated within an utterance drawing on two linguistic systems. Functional approaches have sought to gain further insight into the communicative intentions or attitudes of users of code-switching and its expressive potential. Questions of why switching takes place may relate to the resources of the languages involved as well as to the linguistic resources and communicative intentions of speakers.

Linguistic approaches

In exploring the linguistic forms of code-switching, linguists have developed means of distinguishing in essence between switching involving more and less 'intimate' levels of the mixing of systems. Appel and Muysken (1987) and Romaine (1989), following Poplack (1980) distinguish between three kinds of switching. *Tag-switching* involves the least intimate contact between languages, when a phrase or word is inserted into an utterance at a point where it is not subject to the syntactic control of the rest of the utterance. For example, in an utterance such as: *Everything will be OK, n'est-ce pas?*, the French *n'est-ce pas* may be classified as a tag-switch. *Intersentential switching* involves switching languages at a sentence or clause boundary and implies a closer mixing in the sense that significant parts of the utterance must be in accordance with the two linguistic systems. *Intrasentential switching* involves the speaker in switching between languages within the space of a sentence or utterance. It implies a more intimate mingling of systems than intersentential insofar as syntactic rules of two linguistic systems have to be reconciled in combination. Analyses may use the notion of there being a *base* language or *matrix* language within utterances and a second or embedded language (Myers-Scotton 1993). The analytical focus may be on linguistic

constraints operating on switching and on the points within an utterance at which switching takes place and which might seem to stimulate the switch. It is also possible to take the clause rather than the sentence or utterance as the organising unit, establishing a distinction between *alternational* switching at clause boundaries and *insertional* switching within them (Huang and Milroy, 1995). Capacity to engage in the more and less complex patterns of switching may give an indication of individual levels of competence in using languages (Romaine, 1989). The greater the competence, the more complex the switching.

Functional approaches

Ethnographic traditions in the study of code-switching were established in the work of Sankoff (1972) and Blom and Gumperz (1972), linking code choice with social factors and then extending the same model into the detailed study of code-switching. An early distinction between *intimate* and *emblematic* code-switching made by Poplack (1980) drew distinctions between switching involving integration of different linguistic systems and switching which was grammatically less embedded but which seemed to signal a desire to express a degree of loyalty to or interest in the 'weaker' language.

Blom and Gumperz (1972), in their early innovative work on code-switching in Norway between varieties of Norwegian established a distinction between *transactional* switching, governed, for example, by a change in the overt dimensions of a speech event and *metaphorical* switching which derived from underlying attitudes, social intentions, and the desire to achieve a particular communicative effect.

This distinction is the basis on which a great deal has been built in the analysis of code-switching. Transactional switching may be seen as governed by changes in the immediate social situation - changes of participant within a group, immediate interlocutor, change of topic of interaction, change of place. Metaphorical switching

between languages can be bound up with a sense of identity, cultural preoccupations, perceptions by individuals of their 'membership' of different groupings and with interactional purpose. It can, for example, be interpreted as representing a desire to be humorous (Gumperz, 1982; Rampton, 1995), a desire to remain neutral in a conflict situation where classification may hold social dangers (Myers-Scotton, 1983), a wish to be aggressive (eg Rampton, 1987) and a desire to go against the wish of an interlocutor and to signal a dispreferred response (Li, 1992). All these and others have been the focus of interpretive functional analysis.

Gumperz (1982, 75-84) also proceeded to analyse and identify conversational code-switching in terms of discourse functions. The discourse functions that he identified include clarification and emphasis, reporting or quotation of direct speech, to mark interjections or act as sentence fillers, the qualification of messages and the specification of an addressee. These discourse functions are added to in other analyses. For example, Fasold (1984) points out functions recurring in different studies: the use of switching to add authority to an utterance, its use to give the point of a narrative or mark its end and its use in order to deliver a reprimand or to control a child. Whilst Gumperz' functions manifest some overlap between formal and functional definitions, an interpretive approach to patterns of switching can provide valuable insights into the social functions of patterns of bilingual language use and will be used in this study.

Non-reciprocal language use

Not all mixing of languages in a conversation takes place because of individual code-switching. 'Non-reciprocal language use' (Dabène and Moore, 1995) is also a feature of much bilingual interaction, where one participant in the interaction uses one language and another, a different language. This pattern is quite common between generations in a minority group. Linguistic competence in both languages is necessary for both participants in such interaction but they are manifested differently and may be very

different in range. The implied skill as well as the demonstrated skill of participants may be the focus of analysis of such interaction.

Code-switching and code-mixing

It may be useful in analysing bilingual discourse to be able to make a distinction between the use of single lexical items from one language within another and switches involving other kinds of alternate use of two languages within the same utterance or conversation. The term code-mixing may be used for this single-item switching (Hoffmann, 1991) although there is no general agreement over a precise meaning for the term.

The long relationship between South Asian languages and English has led to a situation where there is substantial mixing of English within Punjabi and Urdu. This is recognised by probably all users of Punjabi/Urdu in Britain as something which is part of their language use. Romaine quotes a Punjabi/ English bilingual of Indian origin talking about his linguistic behaviour:

I mean, mā khād cana mā ke, na, jado Punjabi bolda e, pure Punjabi bola wsi mix kārde rene a. I mean, unconsciously, subconsciously, kārī jane e, you know, pār I wish, you know ke mā pure Punjabi bol sādā

Translation:

I mean, I myself would like to speak pure Punjabi whenever I speak Punjabi. We keep mixing. I mean unconsciously, subconsciously, we keep doing it, you know, but I wish, you know, that I could speak pure Punjabi.

(Romaine, 1989, 112)

It is also true that these may be preoccupations in Pakistan itself where English has had an important impact on Punjabi and Urdu. A lot of English lexis is incorporated within the spoken language, and, in written Urdu text, transliterations of many English words,

names and titles appear. In the spoken English of bilinguals, there are also many items of Punjabi/ Urdu.

The fact of this intimate relationship between Punjabi/Urdu and English is apparent in the corpus of language use and it is possible, on occasion, to distinguish between mixing of English within Punjabi/Urdu as part of using that code and mixing within an utterance for another reason.

Code-switching and linguistic competence

It has been a point of principle in many contexts to make clear that the use of two languages is often indicative of a richer rather than a poorer linguistic resource or communicative repertoire. It is still often assumed by the monolingual that mixing of languages is indicative of a rather loose hold on either - and that bilingualism which does not hold languages separate and independently fully fluent is an aberration and a dilution. Within many multilingual contexts, this has been very forcefully contested (Martin-Jones and Romaine 1985). Poplack (1980) argued that the more fluent mixer of codes was also the more fluent user of both codes - in her terms, the balanced bilingual. The less fluent mixer may of course be a less fluent user of one or both codes - in Poplack's terms, the unbalanced bilingual. Within education, discussion of bilingualism has also pointed to the greater degree of language awareness or cognitive flexibility that would seem to accompany bilingualism among children (Romaine, 1989).

It has been argued by recent studies of code-switching that certain forms of switching can be related to different levels of competence in the languages being drawn upon. As implied above, code-switching which involves the speaker in intrasentential switching implies a firmer grasp of the two systems independently than that which is only

intersentential. Within the investigations of Huang and Milroy (1995) and Li (1994), the greater the number of occurrences of alternational switching, the more likely it was that the speakers involved had a less firm grasp of Chinese. More alternational switching was observed within the discourse of those speakers - inevitably the younger generation - who were further along the road to language shift.

In a study of transitional bilingualism, second generation members are unlikely to be equally competent in both languages and patterns of switching are likely to be affected.

Language shift, language maintenance and language education.

Educational policy may play an important part in influencing developments leading to language shift or language maintenance in multilingual situations. Resourcing the teaching of minority languages from the public purse is likely to help maintenance of skills in those languages and to enhance their image. The lower the position of minority languages within the social and educational hierarchy, the more rapidly they may disappear from the repertoires of speakers.

Analysis of policy and practice in England and Wales in relation to language education has argued that policy is inconsistent with practice and, in general, incoherent. (Watson, 1985; Cameron and Bourne, 1988; Martin-Jones, 1989b). It does not take account of realities 'on the ground' (Cheshire, 1995). Although curriculum documents profess commitment to multilingualism and the development of skills in languages other than English, it is still possible to argue that

Britain is often recognised as a country with profoundly monolingual assumptions and a widespread apathy towards learning other languages (Stubbs, 1995, 25).

Since recent policy has lent theoretical but little financial support to minority languages in Britain except Welsh, it has also been argued that the chances of anything beyond a symbolic bilingualism being maintained by most minority groups is remote (Reid, 1988). Viewing language as a symbol may attribute cultural significance and in some ways an enriched importance to that language. Equally however, it is likely to result in the use of the language being limited to ritualised and irregular occasions only.

A conflict model of language maintenance and language shift, as argued by Martin-Jones (1989), may interpret the opposing tendencies as conflict for power and resources (Grillo, 1989). In education, it is possible to see policy positions favouring one or the other tendency as conceding power in that direction.

In the British context, assumptions about monolingualism being the norm for children in British schools must be seen as militating against minority language maintenance. National Curriculum discussion claimed that planners

should... take account of the ethnic diversity of the school population and society at large, bearing in mind the cardinal point that English should be the first language and medium of instruction for all pupils in England (DES 1989, section 10.1).

This would seem to suggest, perhaps unintentionally, that all children should be encouraged to shift away from languages other than English which might have been acquired at home, despite the professed support for 'ethnic diversity'. Support for minority languages would however reinforce their position and chances of being maintained by giving them status as well as space.

The debate has gradually broadened as international perspectives have been brought to bear upon it and as discussion has become more public and explicit (Brumfit, 1995; Mitchell, 1991). It is still the case however that the teaching of English, of community

languages and of modern foreign languages have approached their work in inconsistent ways. Attitudes to multilingualism in Britain and to the needs and capacities of bilingual pupils constitute one such inconsistency.

Language rights

The international debate on linguistic human rights, led by Philipppson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995), represents an increasingly influential policy position, with some relevance for Britain. Applied linguists are challenged to consider how education systems can contribute to the promotion of more just multilingual societies:

Linguistic wrongs occur when languages are marginalised and deprived of resources or recognition, when language shift is imposed on individuals and groups (Philipppson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1995, 484).

The concern of the language rights activists is with both indigenous and immigrant minorities, although it is recognised that policy makers may make very clear distinctions between them. This is the case for policy in Britain towards Welsh on the one hand and minority community languages on the other. Language rights are also threatened in post-colonial situations where a strong language - often English - is used in public life to the detriment of the role and status of local languages which are increasingly confined to the home (Pennycook 1994; Philipppson, 1992).

The basic assertions of the linguistic human rights case are that, within the language policy of a country, the rights should exist to identify positively with the mother tongue and have that identification respected by others, to learn the mother tongue, including at least basic education through the medium of the mother tongue and to learn at least one of the official languages of one's country of residence.

All those rights exist currently within the British context at policy level but the emphases of the list do not seem to coincide with the realities of the situation either practically or in the prestige associated with different languages. The perspectives are useful however in interpreting policies and reflecting upon their implications.

Linguistic capital

An alternative theoretical perspective for analysing issues of language and minority education is presented by Corson (1993), using the concepts of Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1991).

Bourdieu established the concepts of cultural, academic and linguistic 'capital'. He argues that individuals acquire from their upbringing and early experience their 'habitus', a set of 'dispositions' which generate individual behaviour and responses, style and presentation. These may be viewed, metaphorically, as 'capital', with a particular value in the metaphorical 'field' or 'market' of society and its institutions. Schooling also contributes to the early experience. The 'cultural capital' of an individual will have symbolic value in the 'market' of society to the extent that it harmonises with the view of the powerful as to what is valuable. The transmission of power and position within a society will take place through a process whereby those in power accord approval and position to those who are identified, through their practices, as having valued 'cultural capital'. In this way, institutions are reproduced in their own image. 'Linguistic capital' is based on the language acquired during early development and 'academic capital' also has roots in early family experience as well as schooling.

In other words, an individual's mastery of language, skills or knowledge will have more or less value in society, depending on the extent to which those in power accord recognition to them. Specifically, the 'linguistic marketplace' of a society fixes the value

placed on different forms of linguistic capital - in effect, mastery of different languages or varieties.

Corson (1993) finds this a useful concept in discussion of the way in which language minorities negotiate their way through the educational system in a country and whether bilingual skills are valued. If schools operate as if all children have equal access to the same resources, the inherent risk is that distinctive variety and competence will be undervalued and recognition given only to the mainstream.

In this study, we shall be reflecting upon the experience of individuals from minority language backgrounds who have achieved success within the educational system. It will be valuable to reflect on the ways in which they have been able to negotiate their way through systems in which their cultural and linguistic capital was in some ways distinct from that of the established majority.

The scope of the study

The study of bilingualism is most productively approached from an interdisciplinary basis and the present study is built on one. The range of perspectives presented in this chapter constitute the theoretical framework within which the study of the group of families is conducted.

The experience of migrating in order to take up professional medical work necessitated use of English for most professional purposes for the families. It was fully expected that children would use English at school and there was no question about the need for all members of the family to have as good a mastery of English as was possible. All the young people in the research group have moved along the road to shift; this is not disputed. Does that simply mean then that these economically successful and middle class families will readily relinquish use of their first language, in line with the assertion

of Edwards (1985) that this is the norm? Or do they strive to maintain bilingualism, as Bloomfield (1935, 56) argued, many years ago, was often the case in such families? In many contexts, middle class families may be the most ardent in nationalist or language maintenance movements (Fishman, 1964; Williams, 1987; Lambert and Taylor, 1997).

Within this situation, where theoretical tensions are numerous, the study seeks to gain insights into the nature of the transitional bilingualism which is a part of both the process and the product of language shift. Through analysis and interpretation of a wide range of data generated during the fieldwork, it will investigate the development, the nature and the use of bilingual repertoires, their social functions and their linguistic character. The relationship between cultural continuity and linguistic continuity will be examined and the educational perspectives of the situation will be considered.

Research questions and the structure of the study

The issues which have emerged during this chapter underpin the research questions around which the study is organised. The approach adopted aims to create a multidimensional picture of the bilingualism of the families in the research group. The questions are:

- i. What approach did parents take to the nurture of children's early language development?
- ii. What intergenerational and individual differences exist between people in terms of their bilingual skills and competence?
- iii. What intergenerational and individual differences exist in the way people use their bilingual repertoires?

- iv. What is the relationship between cultural continuity and linguistic continuity?
- v. What patterns of choice and switching take place in bilingual interaction in domestic settings?
- vi. How can the educational experience of the families be interpreted in relation to language educational policy in Britain?
- vii. What insights have been gained into the experience of living in a period of transitional bilingualism?

The first six questions give rise to a number of subsidiary questions which are dealt with in the respective chapters. The overall aim is to develop an answer to the final question and to gain insights into the experience of living in a situation where the forces for language shift and language maintenance are in operation and the realities of linguistic behaviour can be observed. The interdisciplinary approach allows emerging themes to be reinforced by evidence from more than one theoretical framework.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the range of theoretical concepts on which I draw in this study and I have identified research questions relating to those concepts. The refinement and specification of the questions was, however, a gradual process which started before any fieldwork had been undertaken and continued throughout most of the fieldwork. Methodological considerations were also important in arriving at the final formulation of questions and the following chapter gives a discursive and analytical account of the evolution of the study from a methodological standpoint.

Chapter 3

Evolution of the study and issues of methodology

Introduction

During the course of this study, I came to a very clear understanding that

... social research is not just a question of neat procedures but a social process whereby interaction between researcher and researched will directly influence the course which a research programme takes.... Accordingly the project, and the methodology, is continually defined and redefined by the researcher... In these terms, researchers have constantly to monitor the activities in which they are engaged. Nowhere is this more essential than in the conduct of field research, which is characterised by flexibility.... (Burgess, 1984, 31.).

This chapter traces the evolution of the study.

Establishing an approach

Initial access to the research group predated the beginning of the research because of personal contacts and relationships. The British-based alumni of one Pakistani medical school had established a society in England in 1984 primarily as a means of facilitating social contacts between members and their families. My husband was the first chairman of the society and my family and I had taken part in various social activities organised by the society prior to the beginning of the research project in late 1989. Since the society was set up, I had become gradually aware of the opportunities it offered to gain insights into aspects of bilingualism.

Initially, the broad intention was to investigate a number of these multilingual families, most of whose children were, by conventional standards of examination success,

achieving well in the educational system. There was a gap in the literature in relation to the study of high achievers and research could perhaps make a small contribution to 'positive images' of minority groups, acting as a balance to the dominant image prevalent at that time of minority group underachievement.

I was interested in gaining a broad picture of the life of families. So far as theoretical issues relating to bilingualism were concerned, it seemed that focusing on a homogeneous group of families would make it possible to go beyond such variables as class, ethnic group and country of origin, often reported as correlating with, and explaining, particular patterns of language shift, maintenance and use. The families were geographically scattered and it was clear that they would not constitute a community in the sense of living in proximity with each other. However, in the sense of sharing cultural orientation, heritage and a broad linguistic profile, they did seem to be members of the same community and also speech community.

Studies of the multilingual experience of other groups revealed a range of methodologies and findings. The apparent certainties of surveys and other quantitative approaches had their appeal and would have been feasible since I had details of more than a hundred families with whom I could at least make contact. Early exploratory fieldwork and continued reading refined my focus however. Whilst it was not difficult to generate statistics on any group, the theoretical uncertainties about routes, patterns and experience of change and motivation for language retention were much less well understood. The relationship between linguistic and cultural continuity had received relatively little attention in England and there were few interdisciplinary studies, paying attention to linguistic, social and educational dimensions of the experience of linguistic minorities.

I made an early decision that qualitative approaches and field-based research would enable the focus and methods to develop and evolve during the course of the research

as data were collected. The quality of the work of Gal (1979) and Dorian (1981) was a strong influence. They had considered both linguistic detail and social context and I was persuaded that in the case of my own group, it was important to consider both. The decision also reflected Gal's approach insofar as most of her data were derived from members of eight families.

However, rather than drawing only on discussion of linguistic research in a social context, I found it more useful to set my methodological decision-making into the broader framework of qualitative approaches to social research. Doing so clarified the decisions to be made and set the foundations of the research within a wider world of social enquiry. I used the methodological writings of Burgess (1984), Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Schatzman and Strauss (1973) in order to make initial decisions on the general procedures of the research. Within that approach, the language-focused methodological guidelines of Fasold (1984), Gumperz (1982), Milroy (1987) and Saville-Troike (1982), could be contained and interpreted.

Access to the broader methodological literature also led to contact with ethnographic studies of small groups of families (Coffield, 1980; Hughes, 1988; Lewis, 1959). These proved useful. They had no language or educational focus but methodological procedures for participant observation and data analysis were very helpful.

Initially, I considered following up fieldwork with a quantitative study of attitudes of a much larger group in order to test the validity of observations. This plan was abandoned later but useful data were generated from piloting a questionnaire.

So far as the educational dimension of the work was concerned, a great deal of the research into bilingualism has, justifiably, been concerned with understanding and meeting the needs of children of minority language groups who have language-derived

problems in school. Linguistic problems of pupils may also be used at times to disguise discriminatory institutional practices. Little attention has been given to the situation of bilingual learners who appear to have no immediate linguistic problems but whose multilingual family background distinguishes their situation from that of the monolingual majority. Yet an educational system which values the multilingual and multicultural heritage of the country in which it operates needs to take account of the needs of such learners. Nothing is to be gained from overlooking the situation of the successful (Delamont, 1992). I set out therefore to try to relate the thoughts, educational experience and language behaviour of the research subjects to language education policy and practice.

During the early stages of the research, in terms of Mason's approach to 'qualitative researching' (1996), I had to define my ontological position. I came gradually to see that I was interested in finding out what experiences people had had in nurturing their children's language, how exactly the family used their bilingualism with each other, how well developed people's language skills were and what features of the subjects' social or cultural practice could be seen as significantly related to minority language use.

The initial selection of families took into account a number of factors. I chose ten families at first: a small enough number it seemed for in-depth work and yet large enough to allow for drop-outs and for substantial data to be assured. One family cancelled arrangements for planned meetings during the early fieldwork however and the remaining nine constitute the research group.

The sample was essentially opportunistic in the sense that they were available through existing acquaintanceship. The sampling was defensible insofar as all families except one included two generations (there was a young grandchild in one family) and they belonged to the same group of alumni. I also had in mind some early speculative

working hypotheses. Thus I identified families where all the mothers were of Pakistani origin but with some variation in levels of education and ease with English. I also identified families which, between them, included younger children as well as the more frequent late teenagers and also gave a balance of sons and daughters. These dimensions built in the possibility of some comparative observations being made. Considerations of convenience and feasibility led me to identify families whose homes were in two major geographical areas although none were near neighbours.

Selection also took account of existing knowledge of some individuals in the sense that I thought certain individuals would act as key informants (Burgess, 1984) and potentially good providers of continuing social contact. The first negotiations for access took place in February 1990 and in order to gain access, I needed to negotiate separately with each family.

Early fieldwork

The fieldwork took place in three overlapping phases. The early phase, lasting about three months, included access negotiations and a first round of interviews, combined with some participant observation. The second phase involved extensive participant observation spanning some eighteen months. During this period, further interviews also took place. The third phase focused on the collection of a recorded corpus of language use in the homes of two families.

Access

Milroy et al. point out some of the challenges of fieldwork in study of language use:

Ethnographic linguists like Gumperz (1982) and Hymes (1972) have repeatedly emphasised the sensitivity of language to situational context. Situational context is a complex construct, where participants, including auditors, are often seen as the key component.. This seems to call both for field methods which reduce the prominence of the investigator, and for analytic procedures which account for his/her interactional role (Milroy et al. 1991, 288).

Gaining access to minority groups may also be problematic for an 'outsider' linguist. Milroy (1987) refers to the difficulties that can exist in gaining access to Asian groups in Britain when questions about background may appear threatening to security vis-a-vis immigration authorities (Milroy, 1987, 50) or when male researchers may encounter problems in domestic access (Milroy, 1987, 81). Such circumstances have led to the fact that most language-based research on Asian 'communities' has generally used data collected from children and adolescents who are accessible through school settings (Romaine, 1985; Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985).

The question of who can and should write about minorities, here linguistic minorities, may be controversial. Discussion centres on whether insiders or outsiders have the advantage, the insight, the commitment or the right. Some would argue that only the insider can fully understand that a culture is inevitably diminished and changed if the minority language does not survive (Dorian, 1994) and that only an insider can empathise with the situation (Alladina and Edwards, 1991). Others would argue that only an outsider can achieve objectivity. The issues may be bound up with political issues of minority rights or authority within minority communities (Edwards, J. 1994; Grillo, 1989).

Byram (1994) argues judiciously that

... the insider/ outsider origin has no relevance, even though... there are those who claim that outsiders cannot know or feel for a minority unless they are insiders.... Insofar as the original outsider has to

participate in order to understand, there are practical limitations because there are practical limitations on participation. Insofar as the original insider has to become a systematic observer of that which is taken for granted and familiar, there are also limitations but of a different kind (Byram, 1994, 133-4).

My own position as researcher within this group was potentially well-balanced in the sense that in some ways I was an insider and in some ways an outsider. I was an insider insofar as I was a member of the social group by virtue of being married to one of the alumni. I was an outsider insofar as I was not from Pakistan and did not share ethnicity therefore. Nor was I able to draw on the same bilingual repertoire. With some people also, there were differences of education and professional level. Furthermore, I did not know most individuals well at the beginning of the fieldwork.

My position had other characteristics. For example, Anwar, researching families of Pakistani origin (Anwar, 1985) recorded the impossibility of gaining access to women within groups of families. As a woman, I had opportunities for in-depth work with the women in the families. Although a shared level of education is responsible for lowering some of the barriers, it would not have been possible for a man to have access to the sort of opportunities that I have enjoyed for in-depth work with the women in the families involved. The obverse is to some degree true: that I have had less opportunities for work with men. However, since women were often very ready to talk about their children, access to them gave insights otherwise impossible to gain. They were probably better informed than fathers would have been at least about the early language development of their children since in all cases, they had spent far more time with the children. I was able to draw on biographic commonality and shared concerns during discussions. As Finch (1984) was able to benefit from this kind of identification in interviewing clergy wives, I was able to benefit from the solidarity created by elements of common knowledge, concerns and experience.

In seeking access to families, I needed to give an explanation of my purposes. This demanded careful consideration in order to maintain the quality, spontaneity and authenticity of data. Naturally, I was ethically constrained to be fairly open and needed to provide a rationale which was appropriate for the research subjects. At the beginning, the particular challenges seemed to be the fact that privacy was highly valued and that it seemed difficult to change an existing social acquaintanceship into a relationship of researcher/ researched. The relative sophistication of the subjects, sometimes involving very clear ideas about what research entails also seemed a constraint.

I offered the explanation, initially to mothers, that, as someone professionally involved in both education and language matters, I was interested in finding out about children's language. In particular, I pointed out that so often, discussion of the education of minority groups in Britain focuses only on problems and failures. In relation to language matters, that has meant looking at the problems of children whose English is inadequate to cope with the demands of school. What I was interested in doing was to find out about the way in which their family's children, as successful second generation individuals had dealt with using Urdu and /or Punjabi as well as English. I suggested that it could only be to the advantage of all members of minority groups to highlight positive achievements of some young people.

The individuals with whom I negotiated initially were, without exception, positive about the idea of being informants. The initial request was simply for the opportunity to come and talk to family members about the ways in which different languages figured in their lives. I negotiated with the mothers of four families at social gatherings, with five by telephone, and with one on an aeroplane to Pakistan!

Interviews

First negotiations for access had taken place in February 1990. During the course of the next four months, interviews took place with nine families. With just one exception, the interviews were conducted at the home of the family; the exceptional one took place at my house. The people present at the interviews varied. Both parents were present throughout in seven cases and in the other two, the father came and went. At least one second generation member was present each time, usually more.

These interviews were exploratory. I had a number of topics to introduce in each interview. I planned to ask parents about their children's early language development and level of skill and whether they remembered any 'policies' they had adopted towards bilingualism or any key events. I wanted to raise similar topics with second generation members. I wanted to discuss people's ideas on the importance or otherwise of maintaining Punjabi and Urdu within the family or elsewhere and their accounts of how they saw their daily lives in terms of which language they used when.

These interviews were semi- or loosely structured. They functioned in effect as 'conversations with a purpose' (Burgess, 1984, 102). They were planned to take place in such a way that different directions could be pursued if and when the discussion led towards them. In keeping with Mason's principles on the desirable characteristics of qualitative interviewing (1996, 38), the interviews adopted a relatively informal style and a thematic, topic-centred or narrative approach. Data generated from the interviews were epistemologically very valuable. Interviews were recorded and each lasted between one and a half and two hours. Both transcriptions and accompanying fieldnotes were a major source of evidence. Further interviews, set up during continuing fieldwork with individual mothers or with young people, had a range of

purposes. Some aimed to talk to family members not present at the first round; some aimed at gaining more specific information; some aimed to achieve respondent validation for developing theory.

Near the end of the initial interviews, I also piloted a questionnaire. At that stage, I was still considering the possibility of conducting a survey in the last phase of my research in order to explore language attitudes or in order to generalise some observations. I speculated that it could be useful therefore to pilot a range of questions which could subsequently be put to a greater number. The questionnaire was a methodological diversion in the sense that I abandoned the idea of conducting a survey but it gave some help in clarifying focus and strategies and also in generating some data which were useful in exploring bilingual skills. In the terms of Schatzman and Strauss (1973), it could be seen as having helped in 'getting organised' even if its information-eliciting powers were limited.

When the questionnaire was used, it was always produced after the interview and with the explanation that it was a pilot questionnaire. Some people filled them in immediately and when that happened, the attendant conversation, (also recorded), which incorporated reflections upon the questions, often proved more revealing than the written response. Individuals approached it with varying degrees of seriousness, ranging from worry about putting the 'right' answer to a lighthearted 'What shall I put down for you Mum...?' from Tahira Imtiaz to her mother Fawzia. Since situations were very informal and people were moving in and out of conversations, some people did not complete one but promised to do so later and let me have them. However, not all were completed. The mothers with less formal education on the whole opted out, almost certainly through lack of self-confidence.

One benefit which the questionnaire brought was that some subjects took it a little more seriously than what they perceived as just conversation. As scientists, they found

the methodology of questionnaires more familiar. Some said that they looked forward to knowing the typicality of their own answers.

Early evolution of the study

During this early fieldwork, the 'first days in the field' (Geer, 1964), reformulation of questions and perceptions was constant. Some extracts from writing done during this phase, indicate preoccupations.

I was for example concerned with using the early contacts for establishing longer-term access :

... the question I now need to consider is how I should organise the rest of my field work. .. what should be the frequency and target of subsequent visits and encounters. It is essential that I should not come to be perceived as intrusive and that I gather the data I need before the end of September... Continuing access to families already visited is not likely to be a problem provided the spacing of visits is seen as socially acceptable...

In fact, it subsequently became very clear that the period of fieldwork would need to be considerably longer in order to achieve acceptable spacing of social encounters and to generate the required data. The underlying nature of the relationships meant that social obligations were most appropriately observed if visits had a genuinely social dimension. I devised many ways of satisfying these conditions but the intensive style of visiting of, for example, Coffield et al (1980) - where members of a research team visited families frequently, establishing for themselves the role of supporter in dealing with social problems - would never have been possible. In order to observe the principle of reciprocity, it was essential to allow for social initiatives from the families.

Regular small family and larger group gatherings became a very important source of data. I was also constrained after the 'September' referred to in the fieldnotes by my own very part time availability.

These preoccupations with relationships and reciprocity figured frequently in the notes:

In most of the fieldwork encounters I have been involved in so far, I have had the role either of guest or hostess as well as researcher. This creates certain obligations although of course, as Schatzman and Strauss emphasise, almost any fieldwork puts the researcher into a position where s/he is beholden to somebody for having granted access and can always be shown the door if in some way s/he oversteps the boundary of what is acceptable social behaviour.

Without doubt, the 'insider' dimensions of my role, because of the previous experience it has given me of contact with families from the whole group helps in my processing and interpretation of information and my understanding of context... Familiarity can also be a problem however. Firstly, it is my real desire not to alienate myself from acquaintances by adopting an explicitly outsider stance of 'You're an object of investigation'. Also, it would be unacceptable for me to appear intrusive, to pose a threat to privacy or to make any kind of declaration of intent to analyse people's life style. It is vital to maintain the feeling that there is reciprocity in the relationship for contact to continue.

As I see it, an explicit focus on language and education appears to set acceptable limits to the research. It also fits with informants' knowledge of my professional interests. I have in the past been able to

be of use to several families by supplying information on education, university entrance, teacher training and so on. Now, as a result of discussion, I find that some parents are keen to discuss how to bring up children bilingually!

Another aspect of the evolution of the study was the question of defamiliarisation.

There may be problems also in maintaining the necessary degree of objectivity in field work. If one is participating as just friend or hostess, it seems impossible to reply both naturally and neutrally, if any social dynamic is to be maintained, to questions, opinions, information and comment about mutual friends, husbands, daughters-in-law and so on. I have therefore allowed myself genuine participation whilst attempting to be an observer as well.

During the early days, I was also hoping to be able to make recordings of language use and had not yet anticipated all the problems. The evolution of ideas on this point is recorded:

Problems relating to making recordings are proving a challenge. I have made some hours of recording of adult discussion in order to provide data for study of patterns of switching. Technical (and slighter social) problems were encountered. For example, two conversations in the same room led to unclear recordings with overlap. I have accepted that it will/would be very difficult to obtain recordings of children using a bilingual repertoire in naturalistic situations. Perhaps I will be able to conduct informal sociolinguistic interview with the help of a bilingual interviewer, using the approach of Gal as a model.

In fact, these same questions continued to be problematic for many months until the new strategy of asking families to record themselves in order to generate data was decided upon in the summer of 1991.

Early writing also indicates that anticipated problems did not always turn out to be real.

I expected some reluctance on the part of informants to be 'accessed'. Such has not been the case so far. Most parents have responded with great interest, some because they remember early experiences with their children, others because they see the present situation as unsatisfactory. Some are currently involved in decision-making about what languages to use with a young child or, in one case, grandchild. Most feel that it is a good moment for publicising successes of young people. Many in the last two or three months have heard of recent results from London showing ethnic minority children to have gained the highest marks in examinations and to have outperformed indigenous children. (Children of Indian origin were top of the long list, those of Pakistani origin were fourth.)

Hypotheses

In writing about early fieldwork, I also took stock of expectations I had formulated both from reading and observation. This helped to refine the research questions and decision making about data collection and data analysis during the course of the

fieldwork. The following extracts from early writing give insights into the evolution of the work.

I hypothesised informally at the beginning:

-that the pressure for language shift was strong in all families because of social mobility and the fact that they were living in neighbourhoods where there were few other families of similar background (Edwards, 1985; Dorian, 1981; Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985; Haugen 1969).

-that a strong force for maintenance within a family would be a relatively low level of competence in English in the mother (Lieberson, 1972; Fasold, 1984).

-that most second generation individuals made some use of P/U at home (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985; Fishman, 1972, 1989)

-that young pre-school and primary school age children, being more at home, will have 'better' P/U than older ones

-that closeness of contact with family in Pakistan by the family would be a strong force for maintenance

-that preoccupation with Pakistani identity would be a strong force for maintenance (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985; Fasold, 1984).

- that conservative patterns in life style regarding, for example, food, religious observance, would tend to be reflected in conservative language patterns, ie, in maintenance of P/U. (Fishman, 1977; Fasold, 1984; Gal, 1979, Haffines, 1980)

- that maintaining P/U would never be the first consideration of parents when considering the educational or other needs of their children

Thus far, I have had to reformulate some of these hypotheses marginally and some extensively. I am also adjusting my view of what priority I should give to different dimensions of the situation, because of what appear at this stage to be the dynamics of the situation as a whole.

What I had not anticipated was:

- the diversity of language background of parents with apparently similar language skills. There are discrepancies between the attitudes of different parents to the different languages. People are also very conscious of changes that have taken place in their own attitudes.*
- the speed of change and shift in some families and the readiness of some parents to accept children's dropping of Punjabi/ Urdu as inevitable*
- the extent of conservatism in life style amongst some families and feelings of cultural distinctiveness (and the relative lack of conflict that it appears to cause with the younger generation.)*
- the difference between the functions served by Punjabi/ Urdu for the two generations.*
- the fact that apparently, use of Punjabi/ Urdu by younger people is sometimes a very conscious move, often for purposes of politeness.*
- the wide-ranging attitudes towards other sections of the Pakistani and the Asian 'community' in Britain .*

Some of these perceptions were subsequently to develop into themes emerging from the fieldwork, others became less important. Whilst some of the 'unexpected' observations became integrated into broader analyses (for example the identification of the different functions of Punjabi and Urdu), others became important as major themes. The lack of stability of the language situation led me to take serious account of

reminiscences and to look for evidence of short-term change. The perception that politeness was sometimes a reason for using Urdu led to the development of the theme of distinctions between public and private dimensions of bilingualism. Attitudes towards other sections of the Asian community were to be an indicator of attitudes towards maintaining use of Urdu/ Punjabi. It became clear generally that most of my early hypotheses did find some expression in the experience of the families but the situation was much more dynamic than I had been able to anticipate. Insights into experience and processes did not lead to neat statements of cause and effect.

Echoes from fieldnotes resonate through the remaining sections of this chapter. When they were written, reflections were still fragmented, not sufficiently ordered for themes to be clear. Data from interviews and this early phase of fieldwork were very important in clarification of questions and themes and in identification of useful analytical concepts.

During the early period of the research, I also made a visit to Pakistan, and another soon after the observation of the families had finished. On both of these visits, I recorded a number of observations and experiences with a view to clarifying some of the issues raised by observation of cultural characteristics. I was fully aware that a brief visit in unrelated circumstances could contribute only indirectly to insights. The visits were useful however in enriching my understanding of certain aspects of the transition that first and second generation had made and in developing my linguistic skill. They were also useful indirectly, in providing a topic of conversation with many people during the fieldwork. Responses to any observations I made or stories I recounted often generated interesting data.

Continuing fieldwork

The first phase of field work merged gradually into a second phase as I embarked on a long series of encounters with members of the research group in different contexts and groupings. During this period of about eighteen months, I engaged in participant observation, writing up fieldnotes on all occasions. I also set up and recorded further interviews. Finally, I was also able to record an adequate corpus of language in use in family contexts.

My style of participant observation was somewhat akin to that of Hughes (1988) who, in researching step-family relationships, played the role of friend of the family and occasional visitor in order to gain access to the data she sought. During these months, as well as visiting individual families, I was present at a great many social events where members of the research families as well as other people were present. This was a period when social contacts between families and individuals within the alumni association flourished - across both generations. Gatherings organised by the association and individual members within it were always of family groups, including children and young people. Other people beyond our nine target families were also involved. By definition however, all the families had Pakistani fathers but one or two families included European mothers. Events included informal gatherings of four or five families in one home, usually on Sundays and involving an elaborate lunch. There were also a number of larger gatherings to which many more of the membership of the society had been invited and which took place in various public venues such as hired church halls or community centre halls or hospital premises. I attended some festive occasions, two marriages and a Silver Wedding party (a cross-cultural celebration!).

I also took a number of social initiatives in inviting families to small group events in my own home which were then reciprocated. Numerous contacts and visits to families in

their own home either alone or accompanied by my own family members thus took place. I participated in various excursions and activities.

The approach adopted put me into two roles: that of participant and also that of participant-as-observer. All the families who had been interviewed were conscious of the fact that I was involved in research and on subsequent occasions, enquired about its progress. People also assumed, however, that the main thrust of the continuing research would be through extending the number of interviews with other families and using questionnaires in order to collect more data. I did organise some further interviews with particular individuals from the families during this period in order to generate additional data but my main sources of data were the informal visits and social events in which I was participating, adopting also the role of observer.

Given the nature of the events, I could not take notes during the encounters but relied heavily on memory and recorded information and observations on leaving. I wrote notes up in full either at the end of the day or the next day.

In fieldnotes, I used the the headings of Schatzman and Strauss (1973) and bore in mind the procedures of Coffield (1980) and Hughes (1988) in recording details of events, personal reminiscences, observations, opinions, daily life. On every fieldwork report, I noted date, place and attendance and under the headings of Descriptive Data, Informational Data (following Schatzmann and Strauss) and Observed Language Data I recorded the rest. Descriptive Data incorporated an account of the events that took place during the period of contact; Informational Data, which usually turned out to be the longest section, recorded what I had learned from conversation. These sections in the earlier days incorporated a range of information. During the continued period of observation, there was greater specialisation and specificity.

In writing notes on Observed Language Data, I was also following the method of Dorian (1981) and Gal (1979) who gathered data on language use, attitudes and reminiscences from informal social contacts over a long period and were able to observe patterns of language choice in a range of social contexts and some episodes where code-switching seemed to have particular social significance. The ethnography of communication depends essentially for its insights on the researcher being alert to what is being said and how (Saville-Troike, 1982) and I took heart from sources such as Blom and Gumperz' study of code-switching in Norway (1972). I was still seeking a way to obtain good quality tape-recordings. Theoretical and methodological notes appended to most entries drew on concepts and reading identified at each stage as relevant to the analysis. The format of the fieldwork reports can be found in Appendix 2.

The social occasions, contacts and meetings that constituted the fieldwork were documented over a period of a further eighteen months, until December 1991. During that time, I encountered all nine families repeatedly but some - the Qureshis, the Saeeds, the Imtiaz - more than others. The total number of social events or encounters reported on over the fieldwork period was sixty.

The principle of reciprocity during this period was satisfied by the social interaction and initiatives undertaken. The fact that I was still conducting research was secondary in the subjects' eyes to the fact that I was a friend and part of an established social network and the fieldwork proceeded therefore in very congenial circumstances which created their own problems of achieving defamiliarisation and objectivity. Occasionally, I suffered some pangs of guilt as I wrote up fieldnotes, in the same way that Hughes did in her work with stepfamilies (Hughes, 1988). It seemed as if my recording of information given in conversation or of observations of social occasions set up for social reasons was indicative of insincerity on my part. But I consoled myself that the 'positive image' intentions of the research would not be betrayed, that confidentiality

would be guaranteed by the mode of reporting and that I too was sincere about the friendship dimensions of relationships.

Another ethical issue related to confidentiality. Early in the research period, I had needed to win consent for interviews in the context of family visits and so had needed to give something of an account of the focus of the research. Frequently afterwards, during social gatherings or visits, people - particularly the women - would question me in order to find out what other people had said. They wanted to know if I saw them as 'typical', if other people's children perhaps spoke more Urdu than their own. Fieldnotes made frequent references to this dimension of the research during that period. This questioning I encountered did contribute to my developing perception that if one's child had a good command of Urdu, that would be a point of pride, a symbolic gesture of loyalty to traditional values by both generations. However, I found I needed to protect the privacy of informants within the company of other informants. The pseudonyms that were planned for the written version of the research were not of course available for discussion within the group of families who were all acquainted with each other.

This question of privacy figured in some of my methodological fieldnotes:

The importance of discretion is borne in upon me increasingly - the ethics of researching within a group where people know each other. Questions are asked of me about other people - and in a group where secrecy is so much a feature of everyone's life, breaches of discretion would be extremely serious. In one sense, a language focus is relatively non-intrusive but in another, it can seem to be rather delicate, linked with questions of loyalty perhaps.

A later note touches the same question but also shows how interpretations could emerge from methodological issues:

It seemed clear today that group discussions within such company is not always an effective means of getting at people's real ideas. Despite the fact that relations are very good, there is a clear feeling that you are careful about what you say because others might not approve. And when it is a question of something intimate and not jokey - and the children's use of P/ U would sometimes seem to fall into that category - you want to create as positive an impression as possible of the extent to which the children are loyal to traditional ways.

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I have been asked what my eventual findings were. In answering, I have usually started by referring to the reasons why skills in Punjabi/Urdu are valued for second generation members. Informally, this has given me the possibility of using some respondent validation for interpretations made but this issue of confidentiality did cause some concern.

Continuing evolution of the study and issues of analysis

In the first round of interviews, the questions I had introduced to the conversations were about links with Pakistan, the language 'history' of individuals of both generations, feelings about different languages, patterns of language 'behaviour', social activity and relationships, contact with the Asian community, school and education, and religion. The categories had been selected for their importance within theory of

language maintenance and shift and bilingualism and because I hypothesised their relevance to this group.

In the fieldnotes from participant observation, the first stage of coding marked out entries relating to these same organising categories.

During the period of the fieldwork however, certain perceptions developed. For example, as my observation and understanding of how far shift had gone for many people, a corresponding interest grew in the ways in which the families maintained cultural distinctiveness without any obvious or explicit links with patterns of bilingualism. I was learning a great deal about people's preoccupations, assumptions, activities and family life and in that sense building up understanding of the pressures and context of patterns of language use.

It was also borne in upon me as the participant observation proceeded that since a great many of the young people in the families I had talked with were in their late teens and early twenties, marriage was a major preoccupation. In social gatherings or contacts of any sort, I tended to spend a great deal of time talking with the women or the woman of the household and the subject of marriage, - other people's weddings; the weddings of the children of known families; other people's arrangements - was a favoured topic of conversation. The difficulty of arranging satisfactory marriages in this country or in Pakistan was much discussed.

The strength of family links with Pakistan was also something which became increasingly apparent and this clearly had a link with the question of language competence of the younger generation. I also observed with increasing interest the ways in which young people interacted with adults from other families since it seemed that the 'public' use of Urdu by some in the second generation was different from that in their homes.

The extent of the commitment to educational activity and success of children, as indicated in the conversation of the mothers, also emerged or was confirmed.

As the fieldwork proceeded and familiarity increased, and as I reread the text of interviews and field work, I added to the categories in retrospective coding and in dealing with incoming data. The extra categories used were decided on the basis of frequency of reference and my perception of their significance as themes and insights emerged from continuing involvement in the ongoing fieldwork.

The indexing related eventually to references to Pakistan and evidence of a continuing relationship; explicit or implicit feelings of cultural distinctiveness from the 'English' ; events and observations relating people to the wider Asian community; references and events revealing the importance of the family unit; allusions to and events relating to marriage; references to and observations of male/female distinctions or roles and references to or events relating to religious issues or observance. The recurring use of certain speech acts such as greetings and leave-takings in Urdu was observed and the use of particular naming systems. It was feasible to observe these even when recordings were not possible and they appeared to have symbolic significance.

As the fieldwork proceeded, sampling of events was influenced by this increasing focus on particular themes and the theoretical notes referred increasingly to them. Coding of the interview and field work data developed gradually. The slow pace of this phase of the fieldwork made it possible for ideas and interpretations to be developed alongside the visits, although the slowness was also very frustrating. At a later stage, after the majority of the fieldnotes had been written on the participant observation and after intensive reading and rereading, I laboriously transferred onto file cards hundreds of references from the notes with dates and occasions recorded, in order to create a card index related to each of the categories I was using. The main purpose of these card-entries was to bring together references to or events relevant to particular issues and

make them accessible for systematic analysis and thematisation, with access to the whole of the fieldwork data to confirm or undermine developing interpretations. Later, these would be drawn upon both in contextualising data on dimensions of bilingualism and in constructing chapters. (Unfortunately, I did not use a software package for these purposes, which could perhaps have saved much time!)

Collecting the corpus

The third phase of the fieldwork, the collection of the corpus of language in use, raised its own set of issues. Studies of language shift do not necessarily incorporate linguistic analysis of the text of language in use. However, in order to investigate the transitional bilingualism of the group, I wanted to incorporate an analysis of the realities of how speakers used their languages and moved between them. At my request, two families each recorded twelve hours of family interaction in my absence.

The difficulties of obtaining a useful corpus of natural language data for sociolinguistic analysis are well known. The key issue is of authenticity:

the problem of collecting in an accountable and principled way, linguistic data which is reasonably characteristic of speakers' normal behaviour' (Milroy, 1991, 288).

The alternatives are either to use controlled interviews or to make long recordings of more naturally encountered language use in order to observe typically occurring features. I chose the latter approach.

The challenge of how to obtain the corpus remains the same whatever the linguistic focus of the analysis and whether it will be on quantitative or qualitative lines. Ethnographic investigation of language (eg Gumperz 1982; Hymes, 1972; Auer, 1984, 1992) is primarily interested in the relationship between the language used and the

social context of the linguistic event. Logically therefore the notion of control and manipulation of situations of language use has to be rejected. Means must be found of recording naturalistic data to which access can only be gained by fieldworkers accepted in the target community. Participant observation provides a way in, looked at in terms of basic investigative principles but it needs to be translated into particular practical strategies for the purposes of making recordings.

Particular issues arise when the analytical focus is on choice between languages rather than choice between varieties of a single language. Milroy et al. point out that

Although the observer's paradox was originally phrased with reference to monolingual communities, it afflicts investigations of code-switching in bilingual communities in a particularly acute form where the sense of ethnicity is strong and the investigator is not an 'insider'. Moreover, bilingual code-switching is much more 'visible' than the kind of style-shifting studied by Labov, although the social motivations underlying it are likely to be similar (Milroy, Li and Moffatt, 1991, 288-289).

By way of illustration, they discuss the differences between the role it was possible for an ethnically distinct researcher to adopt in classroom observations of bilingual children (Moffatt, 1990) and the one adopted by Li in investigating the Newcastle Chinese community by adopting 'covert' strategies available to him as an ethnically similar individual (Milroy and Li, 1990).

This range of issues had to be considered within the present study in making decisions about methods for gathering a corpus of recorded language use. Eventually, two families (the Qureshis and the Saeeds) were asked to record themselves over a period of two or three weeks and over a number of occasions. I was not to be present when the recordings were made. I discussed with them when and where several family members were most often gathered together. For the Qureshis, the suggestion was around the table at meal times; for the Saeeds, the best choice was weekend mornings or the period of time after the children came home from school when they were usually

all together, with their mother, in the sitting room and kitchen doing homework, playing or talking. The families were provided with recording equipment and invited to switch on the equipment for longish periods whenever they wished. The two families who were involved each provided twelve hours of recordings. The length of the recording phase was intended to allow time for the whole process to become quite familiar and therefore to minimise inhibitions. It would also have been difficult to ask for significantly more without imposing too heavily on people's cooperation and good will. This phase began in the late summer of 1991. With a third family, the Durrani, who had intended to participate, serious illness intervened and the recordings were not made.

As participant observer within the fieldwork as a whole, my role as researcher had developed by that point to the extent that I was neither an outsider nor entirely an insider. I had built up a situation of mutual confidence which enabled me to request cooperation. I recognised however that my presence within a group still meant that speakers often used English so that I could be involved in conversation when they might otherwise have used Punjabi/ Urdu. When in a large group, it was possible for me to observe sometimes the switches between languages taking place within dyads but it was not possible to make recordings. These were the reasons I wanted the recordings to be made in my absence.

The approach adopted acknowledged the family situation as a natural one for both intergenerational and individual variation to be observed. Further, I had observed increasingly that patterns of bilingual interaction were different in different families. The central importance of the family unit was clear in general terms and is built into the structure of the study. However, the tradition within studies of language use in ethnic minority populations has often been to think in terms of the speech community as being equivalent to the ethnic community. For these subjects however, given their residential conditions away from areas of dense Asian population, the family base is of primary

importance as the provider of input in Punjabi/Urdu rather than a broader community base. At the linguistic level, this means that there are elements in common with the increasing number of studies of individual bilingual children where there is no 'minority community' present to influence behaviour (Romaine, 1989; Saunders, 1987; De Jong, 1986). Furthermore, intergenerational interaction appeared to be a locus for second generation members to use Punjabi/Urdu if they made any use of it at all. Such an investigation would also be an opportunity for validating self-reported patterns of choice and use at home.

So far as practical methods were concerned, the literature provides a number of examples of recordings of bilingual interaction being made in the absence of the researcher in order to maximise authenticity. Gal (1979) frequently left her recorder running while choosing to absent herself from family situations. Edwards (1986) asked subjects to discuss certain topics and then deliberately left them alone to do so. Gibbons (1987) gave recorders to his students and asked them to tape themselves in conversation and then to transcribe. The use of radio microphones has also allowed researchers to record children's language use without an intrusive presence (Moffatt, 1990; Rampton, 1987). This happens most easily, however, in a particular kind of power relationship, usually teacher/pupil, and was not appropriate in the circumstances. Any recording strategy has to be technically feasible and technical developments in recording equipment have had a significant effect in making it easier to capture natural language. In this situation a PZM microphone and a small recorder were used which allowed events around a room to be picked up accurately. The absence of a researcher or of a video camera made it impossible to contextualise analysis within direct observation of people. The recordings of one family took place during August and September and of the second family in November and December of 1991.

Procedures and analytical approaches

The corpus of language data is thus made up of twelve hours of recordings from each of the homes of two families, the Qureshis and the Saeeds. The passages which were selected for transcription satisfied, together, a number of conditions. Within them, several members of the family were present. A range of topics of conversation was covered including the characteristic medical topics among the Qureshis and school-related ones among the Saeeds. They represented stretches of reasonably continuous talk. Finally, they incorporated what seemed, after listening to the whole corpus, to be typical examples of interaction within those families. This last judgment also drew on extensive earlier observation and participation within the families.

The transcription, done with the help of two bilingual assistants, made use of a rough phonemic script for Punjabi and Urdu developed for this transcription as a somewhat simplified version of the script used in Russell (1986), supplemented by reference to Shackle (1972). Eventually, the transcriptions of passages with translation where necessary amounted to 75 pages. This is the text from which most material quoted is taken but some observations relating to particular details derive from other parts of the corpus as a whole and is acknowledged as such.

I developed an analytical approach which examined several dimensions of the bilingual interaction. The main focus was on patterns of code-switching but attention was also paid to structural characteristics of the switching, code-mixed lexis and the nature of non-reciprocal interaction between generations. The analysis also revealed evidence of particular facets of language awareness.

In order to analyse patterns of code-switching, I chose to adopt a functional model which would allow me to focus on the social functions of interaction, in keeping with

the overall concerns of the study. Adopting this approach was also appropriate for the scale of this part of the study: I needed to be able to comment on specific instances of code-switching without having to analyse a very large corpus for quantitatively validated findings. I chose to use this approach rather than conversation analysis because my aim was to provide explanations for motivated code-switching rather than insights into the structure of natural conversation. Also, given the circumstances of the recordings, I did not have access to the level of contextual detail such as position, movement or gesture used in some conversational analysis (Auer and Di Luzio, 1991).

Gumperz' early functional model provided useful starting points (Gumperz, 1982, 75-84). He identifies five conversational functions for code-switching: quotation, addressee specification, interjections, reiteration and message qualification. Reiteration, that is to say repetition of a message, is seen by Gumperz as serving possible functions of confirmation, emphasis or 'reformulation'. However, it could be argued that 'reformulation' is not a function. In my corpus, I identified examples of three of these categories: the use of switching in reiteration, switches for quotation of direct speech and switches for interjections. However, Gumperz' categories are based on both formal and functional definitions and I wished to focus consistently on social and communicative functions of switching. Some functions in the present corpus could not be adequately characterised by Gumperz' model.

Further study of the corpus led to the devising of a modified model. Some functions realised by code switching within this corpus were closely related to Gumperz' categories. First, the communicative function of 'confirmation' or 'clarification of meaning', often but not always by means of reiteration, was established as a motivation for a code switch. Secondly, switching for 'dramatic or expressive effect' was identifiable, particularly in the contributions of the Qureshi parents, both accomplished raconteurs. The function of 'quotation' is also significant, either in the form of direct or reported speech. I also identified a function of 'cultural framing' within which a number

of interjections, fillers and discourse organisers could be grouped as realising the function. The use of switching for discipline in relation to young children was identified as realised in different forms.

Within first generation contributions to intergenerational discourse, these functions together could be seen as contributing to a global function of didacticism. The second generation member who used code-switching used it often for communicative efficacy - to prevent communication breakdown or to support lexical insufficiency.

Gumperz' perception that speakers using more than one code operate them as a 'we-code' and a 'they-code' (Gumperz, 1982) was not observed in the corpus in the sense of language choice indicating conflict in the relationship between interlocutors. Auer warns that:

The often-invoked characterisation of language as a 'they-code' and a 'we-code' tends to be used as an a priori schema imposed on code alternation data from outside. It is ... too gross and too far away from participants' situated, local practices in order to be able to capture the finer shades of social meaning attributed to the languages in a bilingual repertoire (Auer, 1991, 333).

Nevertheless, in defining the function of 'cultural framing', I wanted to recognise the way in which the incorporation in largely English utterances of items such as fillers, discourse organisers or interjections does sometimes add to the interaction a distinctive cultural dimension, characteristic of the family repertoire as a whole. This feature was echoed in the substance of some of the family conversation by an occasional glimpse of a them/us perception of the 'English'.

Some observations on grammatical characteristics of switches - whether they constituted tag-switching, intersentential or intrasentential switching - contributed to the understanding of individual patterns of use. Also observable were the language skills and the language awareness of younger members of the family.

Commentary on the code-mixed lexis in the corpus recognises the extent to which Punjabi/ Urdu very frequently incorporates features of English. This 'classical' mixing was a particular feature of first generation speech in the corpus. It is theoretically interesting to consider whether particular instances of mixing or switching are examples of this long-term pattern or of a switch within an individual utterance for another reason.

Within Gumperz' analysis, no distinction is made between code-switching within the space of a single utterance and non-reciprocal language use and no significance is attached to the use of different languages by participants in a conversation. A number of commentators do make a distinction however (Dabène and Moore, 1995; Hoffmann, 1991). Non-reciprocal language use is a frequent feature of the interaction in this corpus and is presented in the analysis as evidence of levels of language skill as well as for what it shows of patterns of code switching.

The analytical portraits of the bilingual interaction of the Qureshis and the Saeeds were built on these bases.

Achieving an integrated analysis

An inherent challenge of this thesis was that of interdisciplinarity. The coherence of the projected study depended on my being able to draw on a wide range of theoretical concepts relating to bilingualism in order to analyse and interpret data of different kinds.

The use of multiple strategies in field research is widely accepted (Burgess, 1984; Mason 1996). Using different kinds of data may make it possible to achieve a degree of triangulation within a study, reinforcing the validity of findings by arriving at them

along more than one route. In this case, triangulation was sought, not by involving more than one researcher or more than one mode of analysis of the same data, but by generating different types of data for investigation of the same research problems, questions and emerging themes. This makes an important contribution to the validity of the study.

The challenge lay in the integration of analysis of the different types of data. I needed to draw on theoretical concepts from the different fields of the sociology of language, the ethnography of communication, discourse analysis, education policy and elsewhere, all within a broad, qualitative approach to social research.

It was in the final shaping of the research questions and the plan of the thesis that the integration was effected and in adopting the notion of *transitional bilingualism* as a unifying framework. Whilst different chapters would draw on different ranges of data and different theoretical concepts, the plan as a whole represented a statement of key dimensions of the situation, interconnected by a network of related and recurring themes. In the first chapter I would present family portraits and contextual information necessary for interpretation of subsequent chapters. The presentation of theoretical concepts in chapter two would need to be eclectic and thematically governed and also establish a rigorous theoretical foundation for the study. Choosing to focus on language nurture and language skills in the first two data-based chapters would allow me to draw on interview data and fieldnotes and to introduce key themes relating to education and the instability of current bilingualism. The picture in chapter six of the way people use their bilingual repertoire would draw almost equally on interviews and fieldnotes. Cross-sectional indexing between them would allow me to discuss and interpret both reports and observations of patterns of choice. Themes which emerged related to distinctions between in-family and more public bilingualism, the communicative and symbolic uses of the bilingual repertoire and the instability noted in the previous chapters was echoed. A chapter on the relationship between cultural and

linguistic continuity seemed the best way eventually to write up an interpretive account of fieldnotes from participant observation which gave the fullest social and cultural background to the transitional bilingualism of the families. An ethnographic approach identified themes related to cultural distinctiveness and to cultural continuity which enlighten the broad discussion of language shift and maintenance. It gave rise to further development of themes which had emerged earlier. The distinction between in-family bilingualism and use of bilingual skills outside the family was reinforced within an analysis of the importance of the family institution. The influence of long-term cultural and linguistic patterns on people's lives and language was further emphasised. Concerns about education, relationships with other sections of the Asian community and the impact of individual dispositions all emerged strongly to echo interpretations in other chapters.

Giving over one chapter to analysis and interpretation of the corpus seemed the best way to accommodate the specialist demands of the analysis of text. Knowledge of the individual families and the adoption of a functional approach to the analysis made it possible to incorporate the chapter within the network of themes. More evidence of instability, rapid change, individual differences and the centrality of the family unit emerged. The importance of educational concerns was again confirmed. The participant observation had provided useful information on family contexts and relationships.

Education and its importance ran as a theme throughout the fieldwork. It was a starting point for the study and in interviews, informal talk and action, the importance attributed to it was obvious, both in relation to bilingualism and in terms of the preoccupations of families. I took many opportunities during field work to talk about children's experience, to gather recollections, find out people's ideas and ambitions and their accounts of choices made. Examination of mainstream documentation and discussion of language policy in relation to bilingualism in order to relate it to this

evidence, acted as the basis for the final chapter on educational dimensions and interpretations of the situation.

This was how the plan for the final thesis tried to bring together the multiple strands and analytical approaches to constitute an interdisciplinary study.

Conclusion

The validity of this research is internal and is supported by the multidimensional nature of the study. The different dimensions of the work each have their own framework but findings contribute to broader themes and the insights from the study as a whole depend on their coherence.

It has taken a long time for the study to be completed, due to circumstances with no immediate bearing on the research and there have been certain benefits. Continuing occasional contact with most of the families has given me a longer-term perspective than anticipated. I have drawn upon this in the conclusion and it has also contributed to the validity of the study.

In this chapter, I have given an account of the evolution of the study and rationalised the methodology adopted. Methodological issues and observations will receive further attention at a number of stages within the study. The next chapter is the first fully data-based one and presents an account of parents' earliest experience of bilingualism with their children. Drawing on data from some of the early fieldwork, the chapter will give a first glimpse of themes which recur at many points during the thesis.

Chapter 4

'We did what we thought was best': bilingual upbringing

Introduction

Over the years since they first came to Britain, all the parents of the research group have watched their children grow up with a language repertoire different from their own. In retrospect, how did it happen? What had parents envisaged? How did they decide on the ways they would nurture their children's language development? Did they plan for bilingualism? The first research question is addressed in this chapter - the approach parents took to the nurture of children's early language development. The discussion draws on data generated during the first phase of the field work, largely through interview. The purpose of the chapter is not to evaluate approaches in terms of which is best and most effective in developing English or maintaining Punjabi/Urdu. It is to gain a full understanding of people's memories of the early stages of their children's bilingual experience.

Language shift, by definition, takes time and investigation of the process is likely therefore to include retrospective elements. Accounts of the past given by parents were the major source of evidence for this part of the study. As de Vries (1992) argues, there is no logical alternative in studying the experience of language shift in migrant situations unless the research process is to extend over very many years.

First, I shall present the way in which the parents of three different families approached the language 'nurture' of their children, their language background, strategies,

priorities, the pressures they experienced and some outcomes. The biographically-based accounts serve as a way of presenting data on three families. Themes can be highlighted because of their significance within the study as a whole. I shall then discuss the ways in which their experiences may be echoed in those of other families and interpreted at thematic and theoretical levels.

The Durrani family

Rashid and Aisha Durrani have thought much over the years about their children's language development. Ali, Waseem and Sonia , at the ages of fourteen, twelve and ten have some competence in Urdu alongside their fully developed command of the English typical of their age group. Rashid and Aisha themselves both have excellent English but they remember that they always wished, when their children were small, to nurture their ability to use Urdu.

Rashid and Aisha were both brought up to use Urdu in their families. Rashid's father used Urdu with his children, although he used Punjabi with his wife, indicating a lower level of formality. Aisha's parents adopted a family policy of using Urdu with their children rather than Punjabi when the partition of India and the establishment of Pakistan took place. She remembers that this was presented to the family as something worth doing as an expression of pleasure and pride in the new Muslim country.

Our parents took up this policy of favouring the national language and started speaking in Urdu. And if you go to the Punjab now, I think most of my nephews and nieces, they speak between themselves and to others in Urdu.

With Ali and Waseem, Rashid and Aisha spoke only Urdu when they were very young. Ali developed confidently. When, on occasion, he had to be left with an English-

speaking neighbour as a baby-sitter while Aisha helped in the surgery, they made a point of writing down for her a few key words in Urdu that Ali might need her to understand and they remember that she learned a certain range of vocabulary in Urdu by looking after Ali that way. They remember with amusement that the neighbour's son, six or seven at the time, used to pretend to be using Urdu, making 'nonsense' sounds and that he used to ask Ali 'questions' that way. When, as a two year old, Ali played with neighbours' children who spoke only English, Rashid and Aisha remember trying to explain to those children that if he did not always seem to understand what they were saying, it was because he was used to another language at home.

The first 'problem' they met was that Waseem, their second son, two years younger than Ali, was rather slow in developing speech. He mixed certain sounds and still could not form sentences by the age of three. A visit to the speech therapist led to the advice not to speak Urdu with him but to use English if he was going to be ready for school at the appropriate time. Having sought specialist advice, they felt obliged to pay heed to it so, for a while, they made a conscious effort to use English with Waseem whilst trying also not to change family patterns totally.

We did what we thought was best. We wanted them to speak Urdu but we didn't want to make things difficult for later and we were worried about Waseem...

Looking back, they feel that it was probably not the right thing to do but accept that the advice was well- intentioned. At that same time, Ali was beginning school and therefore encountering English from his companions and teachers. During the next year or two, Ali developed English outside home and continued to develop some Urdu at home. He was able to switch between languages in order to address different people appropriately. Waseem's language development improved as he grew older and he used English for talking most of the time at home. His parents feel that he never had Ali's

ease with language generally but he did well in school in English and at home seemed able to understand what was being said in Urdu.

In the meantime, Sonia, their baby sister, was being nurtured in Urdu. As she developed her early language skills, she used to complain about her brothers using English which she could not understand. Once she started going to school, she learned English very quickly but for quite a while her fluency in Urdu as a young child was much admired by other families - and her mother recalls it with modest pleasure:

Sonia, up till three, was Urdu-speaking... I was with her in a gathering and she was talking to me and Dr Saeed, a consultant psychiatrist, he looked and he was so jealous he said, 'How can she speak so?'. I said 'I don't know, I'm not boasting about it but so far...'

Now, Rashid and Aisha still try to use Urdu very often to talk to the children, the children all understand it very well but they tend to reply in English to their parents and use English amongst themselves. However, regular visits to Pakistan and particularly good relationships with two large families of uncles, aunts and cousins provide great motivation for maintaining some skills in Urdu. Aisha also reports that within the home, the children often mix in words of Urdu with their English: she sees this tendency as creating a particular family code, a way of talking which they think would be surprising to outsiders but which they enjoy and laugh about together. *'Have you done istree (iron) my trousers?'* or *'Come on, khanna (dinner) is ready'*.

Aisha tried conscientiously to teach the children some writing skill in Urdu, feeling it should be helped by the fact that they have read the Koran in Arabic and are therefore familiar with a very similar alphabet. She feels that she did not have much success however. The children can write their names in Urdu but not much else. Life always

seemed too busy, the boys in particular were much more interested in football and cricket and the teaching was not pursued. Everyday life impinged definitively:

Ali's the sort who wants to put his foot in everywhere! He's in school rugby, school hockey, I mean we can't go anywhere... cricket is worse because it's the whole day... That's how our Saturdays get tied up... So on top of that, to enforce Urdu is not on. He did start it but as they grow older you can't have that much hold, if you like. One or two years back, I bought him the nice Urdu initial books from Pakistan. But some of the objects and some of the things he has not seen in this country.

The business of everyday life and school, a lack of any compelling immediate need for the language skills and minor intercultural mismatches all seem to be obstacles to developing further skills, particularly literacy ones, in Urdu.

The Qureshi family

Mumtaz and Fatima Qureshi were already in England when their older daughter Sarah was born in 1969 and whilst they moved away from England again during the next two or three years, they had decided to settle here by the time Ghazala, the second daughter was a toddler. Mumtaz had come to Pakistan from East Punjab as a young teenager and always used Punjabi with his family. He has a strong sentimental attachment to his Punjabi origins and a high regard for old Punjabi literature and civilisation. He is also very enthusiastic over Moghul literature in Urdu. Fatima grew up in Lahore, used Punjabi within her family as a child but went for a while to a private English- medium school. After five years she transferred to a government school but had already fallen behind in Urdu and never caught up. Her literacy skills in Urdu are relatively weak but in English are extremely strong and she laughs when she recounts

stories of her school days and how she avoided Urdu teaching and eventually took only science subjects through the medium of English. With each other, Mumtaz and Fatima have always used Punjabi but they are conscious that they mix in elements of Urdu and English as do so many Pakistani Punjabi speakers.

When they had their children, they deliberately adopted a policy of spontaneity: they would not make a conscious effort to use only English or Urdu or Punjabi with the children but would simply draw on their resources naturally.

We never made up our minds to speak in either English or Urdu all the time... we never intentionally tried to speak to them in any particular language.

A decision that they did make, however, as the children reached school age, was to develop the children's literacy skills in Urdu. The practice was established of Mumtaz teaching them reading skills in Urdu using reading primers brought from Pakistan and then further books obtained in Manchester. From the age of about five or six, this was established in the family and although as young children they would sometimes try to avoid this regular practice, Sarah and Ghazala claim they came to appreciate it later on, at secondary school stage.

Initially it was just like doing anything extra, you resented it.. When it was time for Urdu when we were younger we would try to get out of it just like anything else. But then when you start realising that if you don't do it, you won't know it.

When they were in primary school in their own residential area, there were no other children with the same language background but at secondary school, a selective girls' school within the city, things were different. The school drew pupils from a wide area and many pupils were from areas where there were large numbers of Asian families.

Sarah and Ghazala realised that these girls had much better developed command of Urdu and Punjabi than they did themselves and they became more interested in their home study of Urdu. Sarah passed GCE O level examinations in Urdu and Ghazala the GCSE.

The parents use mainly Punjabi for home conversations, the language in which they feel most at ease and informal. They also mix languages freely. Sarah and Ghazala have developed rather different patterns from each other. Sarah uses Punjabi/Urdu much more readily than her sister who tends most often to use English in responding to Punjabi/Urdu from parents whilst at home. They can both use Punjabi/Urdu as appropriate when the family visits Pakistan as they do fairly frequently and some family links there with cousins are quite close.

The Rahman family

Mushtaq and Shazia Rahman remember that when their older son, Hassan, was a small child, their expectation was that at home, Punjabi and Urdu would continue to be the main languages. This now seems to have been a long time ago! They do remember it very clearly, however, because Punjabi has always been what they use with each other and still do, and was the normal language used within their families. Shazia, ever modest, knows also that she felt her own English to be less good than she would have liked, largely because her level of formal education in Pakistan was much lower than Mushtaq's.

When Hassan was very young, they were unsure of their future plans and thought that they would probably return to Pakistan to live there. They were thus very keen to develop his Urdu in order to equip him for Urdu-medium education there.

Those were the days that we wanted to go back. So naturally that was important or else (he) wouldn't have been able to cope with schools.

Besides, they had not come to England until Hassan was two years old and he was already speaking Punjabi/Urdu well for his age. Once he started at nursery school however and started watching television, his parents recall observing a growing enthusiasm for using English.

Some anxiety arose over Farah however, their second child and only daughter. She was several years younger than her older brother who was therefore well established in school and using English consistently when she was born. She seemed to be a particularly quiet child, to the extent that her parents began to worry about whether she was in some way being held back in her language development.

At that time we thought it was a good idea that they should learn both languages. So when she was born we started with Urdu and at the age of two she wasn't talking too much, she was a bit quiet sort of girl and we realised she was confused Hassan speaking English and then on the TV and everywhere else English and we were talking Urdu and so the result was she was quiet. When we realised, we started speaking English with her and she suddenly took off.

They were also advised informally by medical friends that this might indeed be the cause of her apparently slow speech development.

During this same period however, believing that it was very likely they would return to settle in Pakistan because of job-related matters, the concern about Hassan's prospects grew. They began to try to teach him basic literacy skills in Urdu which he would need in Pakistan. He himself remembers this phase since he was eight or nine at the time and

can clearly recall feeling that he did not want to learn, that this was something being forced upon him and so he did not cooperate. His parents were puzzled at the time as to whether he did not understand or was simply unenthusiastic.

Shazia: He was reading very well actually but our impression was that he didn't know what he was reading. We used to ask him 'What are you reading, can you translate it into English?' and he said no he didn't understand but obviously he knows now.

Hassan: Yes, well, it's just that if you have anything rammed down your throat you tend to resist it, well some people resist it and I did.

It came as something of a deliverance in their view therefore when the decision to stay in England was made. They were no longer anxious about Hassan's preparedness to cope in school in Pakistan; Farah's speech was developing quickly and with their infant second son, they decided that whilst they would continue to use Urdu and Punjabi between themselves, they would simply expect him to develop English as his older siblings now seemed to be doing.

So then with the youngest one, we didn't bother to teach him Urdu.

The 'children' now declare they know and use very little Punjabi or Urdu. Furthermore, although Shazia has a very close relationship still with her sisters and other family members in Pakistan, the 'children' have not visited for a long time. Shazia and Mushtaq continue to use Punjabi normally between themselves. And Shazia, perhaps a little wistfully, declared her feeling that:

I mean I feel quite strongly that they should be able to speak a little bit so that when they go back they can talk to grandparents and everybody and that's it, not more than that.

Analysis of case studies

Family situations in these brief studies were in many ways similar: parents were bilingual, couples shared fairly similar language backgrounds with each other, all families were living in an English-dominant situation. Association with family in Pakistan was mentioned in all families as an important reason why children should be able to use Urdu. Everyone gave priority to children's educational prospects in the broadest sense: their normal language and cognitive development within the family as well as their school-related needs.

However, these factors influenced the parents' thinking and decision-making in somewhat different ways. The strength of association with family in Pakistan had great importance for all the Durrani and Qureshis but in the Rahman family, it was Shazia alone who maintained the strongest associations. Parents' own language background also differed in its impact. The Durrani parents have retained some sense of zeal about the use of Urdu from its identification with the founding of Pakistan. The Qureshis' teaching of literacy skills in Urdu to their daughters is supported by Mumtaz's great regard for the literary traditions of Urdu and, in the past, Punjabi. Although Fatima Qureshi lacks those literacy skills herself, she is pleased to see her daughters acquire them. For the Rahmans however, Shazia's lack of confidence in English made her anxious to ensure that the children's English would develop confidently.

The Rahmans and the Durrani are very conscious of having adapted their patterns of bilingualism as the years have passed, particularly when they encountered problems. The Qureshis feel that they have been able to stick to a family strategy and have not encountered significant problems. For the Rahmans and the Durrani in particular, the impact of children's language development on each other is seen as having been very strong.

Children's individual traits and personalities were also attributed with important influence - shyness, resistance to pressure, general language aptitude, busy concerns with sport and other hobbies for example.

To what extent is the experience of the three families echoed in that of the other families in this study ?

Nurturing bilingualism: the broader picture

Romaine (1989) classified family contexts for the development of childhood bilingualism and pointed out that the commonest and yet the least well-researched type is where both parents share similar bilingual skills, where sections of the community are bilingual and where parents mix and switch between languages. These features are recognisable in the family contexts examined here. They are the conditions of a minority group living in a multilingual context where parents are themselves bilingual but the particular contexts may vary.

Hoffmann, however, (1991, 45) discusses childhood bilingualism and tries to establish some generalisations which are valid for everyone. She identifies four main requirements for its development: exposure to both languages; consistency of language experience; a perceived need by the learners for both languages and support from the communities associated with both languages.

In analysing the family situations from this group, I will refer to both sets of perspectives: Romaine's concern with context and Hoffmann's greater concern with the process of bilingual development. As was the case with the three sample families, both consistency and variety are observable. A number of themes emerge which reappear in later chapters.

Instability

The picture which emerges overall is one of inherent instability - a major recurring feature of the transitional bilingualism being experienced. A number of different outlooks and experiences have already been presented. Bilingualism has been nurtured in a variety of ways but few felt they had the 'right' approach. Change is rapid and many changes happen because of immediate circumstances and pressures and the need to respond to them. There is however a longer-term process in operation which derives from the current and historical language situation in Pakistan and the patterns of parental bilingualism.

When couples first came to England, during the early years with young children, nobody had really worried in advance about language problems children might face. Since parents themselves were bilingual, there seemed to be no reason why the children should not also become so, though of course there would be differences. They were familiar with Pakistani patterns of language use. English was associated with education; Punjabi or Urdu and often a combination were used at home and very widely; English elements occurred frequently within Punjabi and Urdu. These patterns were taken for granted and seen as in many ways replicable in Britain. Parents did not actively worry about whether children would develop Punjabi or Urdu at home but most assumed that a certain amount would be learned. Mothers Shazia Rahman and Samra Mansour were anxious because they felt that their own English was not very good and this would make them less able to prepare the children for the world outside. During the early days in Britain, most families were uncertain about whether they would be staying in Britain, going back to Pakistan or, sometimes, moving on to America. Working out a policy for a long-term plan of bilingual development for children was simply not part of the thinking. Nobody considered adopting strategies for nurturing bilingual skills by regulating exposure to languages or consistency of

patterns of use - two of Hoffmann's (1991) key requirements. Nobody tried, for example, to link one language to one person or to adopt any of the other elaborate strategies for prioritising bilingual development discussed by Romaine (1989), Saunders (1987) or Fantini (1985). Furthermore, everyone was exposed to a situation where there was no social support from the majority community for the development of Urdu or Punjabi. Educational policy statements of the 1960's, influencing the 1970's, made this clear. Thus, another of Hoffmann's 'requirements' was not met. Two of the conditions of Romaine's context-type were in place: parents were bilingual and they mixed their languages. Contact with other families in similar situations was at that stage very variable, since everyone was moving from one short-term job to another in different parts of England, as was normal at a junior level in the medical world. Some also spent short periods overseas during those early days.

Dorian (1981) observed a gradual reduction in the use of a traditional language within a community and she saw parents who had lost confidence in the value of transmitting their first language to their children because of its increasingly limited role in their circumstances and its low prestige. There may have been echoes of such attitudes among the families here but generally, it was not so much a question of not seeing value in passing on Punjabi/ Urdu, but being in a rapidly changing situation. Migration was recent; it was difficult to predict future moves; there was no body of older people with similar experience to give advice on specific issues and indeed issues themselves were not clear. Social instability for the parents was reflected in fluctuation in patterns of language use.

The instability of the situation in which the families have lived for a long time is a recurring feature in several of the coming chapters.

Educational priorities

Generally, educational needs were given greatest importance. Echoing the priorities of the Rahmans and the Durranis, most parents remember that their main concern was to make sure that the way the children were developing their language skills would prepare them for school success.

All parents justified the strategies they adopted for children's language nurture with the sentiment of the title of this chapter: we did what we thought was best. 'Best' was always judged with reference to educational opportunities and needs: what was needed to do well in school and what was needed to develop well in general terms.

For many Asian doctors, (Anwar and Ali, 1987) the prospect of being able to get good quality education for their children was one of the reasons for deciding to stay in Britain and it is entirely consistent therefore that parents wanted to be doing the right thing by the children's education. Once children had passed infancy, this sometimes meant choosing to use English within the family in order not to confuse children who were hearing English on the television or in nursery school or from siblings, knowing also that at school, English would be the medium of instruction.

If these seemed to be in conflict with other, perhaps more sentimental considerations such as contact with relatives, then the educational needs were usually given priority whilst hope remained that any resulting problems could be addressed later.

In other types of bilingual family contexts, (Romaine, 1989) where carefully controlled situations of, for example, restricting the use of one language to one adult, the successful nurturing of bilingualism is itself an educational priority for the parents and often a social 'novelty', a family phenomenon rather than a community-based one.

In the families here, the educational priority at the early stages was not given to the nurturing of bilingualism.

The commitment to a broader vision of educational success could also mean getting swept along by the day-to-day pressures. In the Masood family for example, the mother, Nusrat, remembers that although she had tried hard to use Urdu with her children at an early age and had tried to teach them to read some Urdu, once the eldest, at the age of seven, had to do some examinations, it always seemed that there were too many other pressures for them to be able to find time for home lessons in Urdu as well.

I did in the early days teach them the alphabet and the sounds and so on But then I gave up the spoken language with them for it was impractical... We were living in an environment where there was no other Urdu or Punjabi speaking children around in hospitals and I was the only one who they were in contact with who spoke that. I mean that was a lot of odds against it... Then I thought well if I teach them Urdu at this stage, I am teaching them a totally different language to English and they are learning ABC as well at the playschool or in primary school. Whether I am right or wrong I don't know... I felt that I might confuse their little minds, that was my own way of looking at it... And I thought well, when they are about seven I will start them with the religious education and with the Urdu. So I shelved it with that idea. But then, when they became seven, they were preparing for their exams and so on... And so it got left and left and left and then I thought well when they've done their O levels....

The reference to a lack of contact with other families in a similar language situation shows that at that stage, there was no minority community support for bilingualism.

The fluctuation of plans and the generally optimistic procrastination make clear that consistent exposure to and experience of both languages was not what the children received!.

There was an echo of similar pressures in the past from all other families although a variety of experiences was recalled. When Mahmoud Halim expressed regrets at his eldest son's limited Urdu, Imran challenged him to justify why he sent him as a child for elocution lessons in English! The Qureshis on the other hand did confidently pursue the teaching of Urdu and use of Punjabi and Urdu.

Even when parents were wondering how to adjust their use of English or Punjabi and Urdu with children, they did not often consider adjusting their own patterns of language use between themselves. Exceptionally, the Masoods felt that Nusrat's greater fluency in English (she had lived in England for some years earlier) could help Naseem to develop his own language confidence and career and so they resolved to use more English. Also, in the Imtiaz family, Jamal and Fawzia remember thinking they should use English increasingly with the two daughters Tahira and Alia in order to avoid the burden, as father Jamal put it, of always having to translate mentally between Punjabi or Urdu and English. For most parents however, there was no thought of strategically planning for a pattern of family use which necessarily involved everyone using the same language all the time. Multilingualism in the home continued therefore, providing continuing exposure for children to Punjabi/Urdu even if consistency was often absent.

Dealing with problems

In retrospect, it was often when problems developed that parents focused on language matters and thought hard about specific strategies. Decisions needed to be made and justified by reference to the situation at the time. As with the Durrani's, where advice

from a speech therapist persuaded parents to favour the use of English and the Rahmans where professionals gave similar advice, so the teachers of Salman Halim, who is deaf, advised that the whole family should try to use English so that he would learn to lip-read more easily and effectively. The Qureshi and the Mansour parents also recall frequent advice by friends, especially with a background or connections in psychiatry, that two languages could confuse children. This evidence echoes accounts in Romaine (1989), Saunders (1987), Baker (1988) and elsewhere of 'official' disapproval or perception of danger being meted out by, for example, doctors and educational advisers. The position of the families here has a particular interest insofar as they themselves were living within the professional world of the advisers and felt thus that the advice had to be taken seriously. Being already bilingual themselves, they were in a position to make choices and to consider the possibility of various combinations of languages and choices. Beyond the early stages of their children's lives however, their own bilingualism does not always seem to have convinced them that their children could or needed to develop similarly. Their own language background and long-term perceptions associated English with educational success and had an impact on decision making. Priorities, whether expressed or not, lead to particular courses of action. Again, the carefully constructed schemes reported by, for example, Hoffmann (1991), Saunders (1987), De Jong (1986) and Romaine (1989), prioritising the development of bilingualism, seem very different.

Many parents recalled problems but not quite everyone. Indeed Mumtaz Qureshi dismissed other people's problems as excuses. He argues now that some parents did not nurture their children's bilingualism for three reasons:

Two or three reasons I would say. Number one, sheer laziness. That is the easy way out. They don't want to bother. Number two I think is this self confidence, inferiority complex. They think English is better. Number three, propaganda. A lot of people ... have told all our friends

that children will get confused if they are taught more than one language. With child psychiatrists saying that, I would not accept it but there may be some people who probably think it may be right...

As was seen in the case studies, the Qureshi children appeared to have no problems with their language development. These strong opinions also act as a reminder of the importance of individual traits, personalities and preferences in causing different choices to be made. Dorian (1981 and 1989) pointed this out clearly in investigating circumstances where 'persistence' in using a threatened language seems to be 'against the odds'.

Rapid change and long-term developments

All parents are conscious that since their children were small, changes have taken place which they had not anticipated. All were able to talk about the ways in which their children's relative ease with English and with Urdu and/or Punjabi had changed. Some had seen early skills atrophy and some felt they had seen early promise fail to materialise or early problems resolved. Hoffmann's (1991) condition for successful childhood bilingualism of consistency of language experience was for the most part not satisfied.

Almost without exception, there was agreement that younger children in the family were influenced by older ones in moving towards using English more frequently when they were all young. The first child might have been quite confident and fluent at an early age in Urdu or Punjabi but when he or she started going to school and learning English, the influence that had on the second and subsequent children was often to make them want to use English too. The difficult decisions usually had to be considered at that stage. Decisions were not of course always clearcut or suddenly imposed. More often, it has been perceived in retrospect that without clearcut

decisions being made, different patterns of use gradually began to emerge within the family. For those families whose children were not developing a clear mastery of Urdu or Punjabi, it was at this stage that parents sometimes began to worry about whether the children would be able to use Punjabi or Urdu well enough to enjoy links with family relatives back in Pakistan.

I mean I felt quite strongly that they should be able to speak a little bit so that when they go back they can talk to grandparents and everybody. Without it, they would be sort of lost or not liking it there.
(Razia Sheikh)

Hindsight leads parents to other conclusions about what factors most powerfully influenced themselves and their children during the early years. Several parents now feel that a turning point occurred when children realised that they, the parents, did in fact understand and could use English. The children had simply not been conscious of the notion of choice being available when they were very small and used to using Urdu or Punjabi at home. Naseem Masood's experience was a common one:

.. as soon as they knew that we can speak English, if we asked them in Punjabi or Urdu, the answer would come back in English... And as they grow, they go away from it ...

This echoes another of Hoffmann's 'requirements' for bilingual development in childhood: that the child must perceive the need for a language to be used. Here, the condition is not satisfied and parents acknowledge that knowing English themselves made them potential non-transmitters of Urdu or Punjabi. Many whose children have not developed Urdu or Punjabi very far, regret the fact and children may also do so. People recognise that the children from less educated backgrounds within the Asian community speak Punjabi better than their own children, partly because their own

parents' mastery of English was sometimes limited. No parents saw their own children as ever having needed special attention in school on linguistic grounds. However their attitudes towards mother tongue teaching in schools for young children from the broad Asian community with little English vary from enthusiasm to regretful recognition of the need for it on utilitarian grounds.

Changes of attitudes in the children themselves were observed with a more positive attitude to the use of Urdu or Punjabi sometimes developing in the late teens after a period of using only English or as a result of school contacts between themselves and young people from other sections of the Asian community. As Fawzia Imtiaz said in some irritation of her daughter Alia's remarks:

*Now she says she would like to learn some. Before, she would say
'What's the point? Nobody understands it.!'*

Parents' awareness of change extends to their own language skills also. The speed of change has been very rapid.

There has been a longer-term process of change in operation as well. The language situation in Pakistan provided the basis for change. The long-term relationships between Punjabi, Urdu and English created a language contact situation open to rapid change. Most parents themselves developed bilingual skills long before coming to Britain. The association of English with education in Pakistan was bound to have an impact on decision-making in situations where education was a priority. Logically, such a situation would be conducive to shift towards greater use of English if living in an English-dominant situation. The ways in which longer-term processes of change provide a context for rapid recent changes are multiple and recur regularly in this study.

Recent change is also seen by first and second generation members in the public awareness of issues related to bilingualism, the way in which bilingualism is viewed and valued, the importance of nurturing it, and the way in which schools might accommodate or nurture it. It is a fact that discussion and publications in this area have become far more numerous and higher-profile, aimed sometimes not at academics but giving advice to parents who want to raise a child bilingually (Baker, 1995). Because of this, some parents now say that they would have been more confident in insisting on using Punjabi or Urdu at home if only they had had such encouragement before. Indeed, Ali and Samra Mansour consciously adapted the family norms with their younger son, aged fourteen at the end of the fieldwork. Having been convinced by public discussion that bilingualism can bring positive educational benefits, they adopted a policy of using Urdu as much as possible, whilst with their elder son, some ten years older, they 'conscientiously' cultivated English. They saw Samra's relative lack of ease and confidence with English as an advantage since it made her use of Urdu with her younger son more authentic.

Experience and opinions vary greatly however. The Saeed family with the youngest children in the research group still find children pushing towards using only English. The Masoods now have grandchildren and have been arguing amongst themselves about appropriate policies for them. Grandmother Nusrat and the young mother want to make full use of Urdu in the early years but the young father Wahid objects and argues that priority must be given first to the development of English.

*He (the grandson) did very well to start with and spoke mostly Urdu...
And then English words crept in. And then, after a little while my son
said 'Mum, what's this? I don't want him to learn Urdu because he will
not speak good English then because he will be bilingual and I don't
want him that. I would rather he spoke good English than bad Urdu
and bad English. You can teach him Urdu or Punjabi or whatever after*

but let him grasp English first.

In this case, Wahid is apparently pursuing the same line as his parents did in putting broad educational development first. Clearly, he has not been persuaded of the value of early bilingualism! Nusrat has moved on however. As a grandparent, she is ready to play a role in nurturing Urdu and the future might conceivably allow this. However, the grandchild is not likely at the moment to develop bilingual skills to any significant level, according to Hoffmann's criteria.

Bilingual upbringing

In this exploration of the ways in which parents nurtured the bilingualism of their children, we have observed that Hoffmann's four requirements for successful childhood bilingualism to develop were not consistently met (Hoffmann, 1991). Exposure to languages has fluctuated, community support for bilingualism has not been directly perceived, children themselves have seen no need to be bilingual. In exploring this context, the type Romaine sees as common but under-researched, certain themes have emerged.

The constant linguistic instability of living in such a situation is remembered clearly and is still being experienced by some. Changes have been numerous and rapid; longer-term processes of change have continued. Problems and pressures have been numerous also and can be seen as having influenced family decisions. The first condition for language shift to take place - bilingualism within the parental generation - was already in place in the early days. Theoretically therefore, it would have been possible for parents not to nurture Punjabi or Urdu at all with their children. But evidence is available that all parents at the early stages of their children's lives did nurture these skills to some extent.

A key conclusion is that importance was given at every stage to educational considerations. In the earliest days of parenthood, parents used Punjabi or Urdu, as seemed natural to a domestic setting between themselves. Thoughts of school soon impinged however and long- standing assumptions about the role of English for educational purposes derived from Pakistan also prevailed. Once circumstances arose within families which seemed to suggest that developing English was an educational priority, using it at least some of the time at home seemed desirable. Given such circumstances, it would have needed courage and a specific commitment to bilingualism to take the risk of not following what often seemed like the natural sequence of adapting to children's own tendencies. Certainly, resisting guidance from professional advisers about the benefits of using only English would have been very difficult since it invariably presented children's educational advantage as the major aim and priority.

There is significant variety of experience and thinking among the families. Pressures and contexts may have been similar but responses to them have varied. Given the similarity of social situation and family background, greater similarity of priorities and outcomes might have been anticipated. Whilst many studies link variability in language use and the rate of language shift with social class, age, gender and ethnicity, here, the differences have to be seen as more narrowly concerned with individual circumstances and opinions. Dorian (1981) attributed explanatory power to particular personality traits and relationships when explaining resistance to language shift in some individuals. She suggested that extrovert personalities, enjoying a strong relationship with a 'language-loyal kinsperson' (such as a grandparent) or who have had to live away from the language community for a while were disposed to maintain the home language. Although I have not sought to identify individual personality traits, individual priorities do clearly differ.

These aspects of transitional bilingualism are further explored later. Further sections and chapters also consider the ways in which, even when parents had made decisions not to pursue the development of children's Urdu or Punjabi when they were young, the life of the families continued to be multilingual and the linguistic repertoires of the children continue to incorporate significant dimensions of Urdu and Punjabi.

Conclusion

The data for this section on language nurture derived largely from reminiscences of the past by first generation members. It is likely therefore that information had to some extent been 'rewritten' and shaped by hindsight and distance but recognising this does not invalidate the evidence. The conclusions drawn from it derive from very clearly consistent findings and it has also been possible to relate the broad outlines of remembered decisions and behaviour to observation of present patterns of language behaviour within families. Furthermore, during the course of field work, it was possible to cross-check informally between different family members the accuracy of information given. The evidence was gathered from situations where in-depth familiarity and repeated encounters lend weight to its validity. Finally, this section of the research is only part of a larger whole and other data will contribute to the overall findings.

Chapter 5

'They can always pick it up':

Language shift and language skills

Introduction

An analysis of the language skills of successive generations is a logical element in a study of language shift. It is also possible to 'measure' bilingualism in terms of the level of skill development in two or more languages (Romaine, 1989). After the retrospective accounts of language nurture in the previous chapter, I shall now look at the levels of language skill described in accounts of the present situation in order to address the second research question which asks what intergenerational and individual differences exist between people in terms of their bilingual skills and competence.

Investigating language skills

As Grosjean (1982) and Hoffmann (1991) point out, there may be considerable problems in assessing bilingual proficiency in a formal way. Tests may fail to account for the fact that bilingual and monolingual competence differ and that an individual will not necessarily be able to draw at will on either language for a particular purpose. Measuring competence from recordings of language use on the other hand, may fail to take into account context and interlocutors which must always influence a bilingual's choice of code. These problems are considerable if judgments are going to be made about the relative proficiency of bilinguals and monolinguals in mastery of a language.

In this study, however, I wanted to find out how people assessed their own language skills. It was not a question of trying to identify inadequacies but of exploring how people saw their levels of competence, as one dimension of their bilingual repertoires.

It was through interviews that I first elicited information about language skills. It was often the natural accompaniment of discussion of family policies of language nurture and their outcomes. I asked parents to rate, on a simple four point scale similar to that used by researchers on the *Linguistic Minorities Project* (1985) the different skills of their children and themselves. I also asked older second-generation members to do the same for themselves. The tables below represent the answers given. Comments on them also draw on data from informal discussions and observation.

The basic questions asked of both first and second generation were on how they rated their own proficiency or that of their individual children in English, Punjabi or Urdu. How well do you or your children understand the spoken language and speak it, understand the written language and write it? People were asked to give a score for each language from a four-point scale of 1 for very well, 2 for fairly well, 3 for not very well and 4 for not at all.

All parents were asked the questions in relation to themselves and their children and within the second generation, about half of the 'children' were asked to record scores in relation to their own skills, if they were over the age of fourteen, and if they were available.

In the following tables, I have given raw numbers because of the relatively small numbers involved and the nature of the observations being made. The first table presents the assessment by the first-generation members of their own language skills:

TABLE 1 : First generation skills - assessed by themselves																	
		Understanding				Speaking				Reading				Writing			
Levels	→	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Languages	↓																
Punjabi		17	1	0	0	15	2	1	0								
Urdu		18	0	0	0	14	4	0	0	15	3	0	0	15	2	1	0
English		15	3	0	0	14	4	0	0	15	3	0	0	14	4	0	0

(n = 18)

The table indicates that everyone has well-established skills in Punjabi, Urdu and English, according to their own self-assessment. The individual who claims less than very good understanding of spoken Punjabi is of Sindhi origin and he also rates his speaking skills lower. Only one other gives herself a lower-than-best score for the spoken language. In Urdu, everyone is confident of their understanding though more feel some lack of confidence in their oral skills. Educational background explains the few lower scores for reading and writing which are nevertheless still on the positive side of the scale. The one person who gave herself a 'negative' score in writing is Fatima Qureshi who spent her formative school years in an English-medium establishment and never needed to catch up with Urdu when she switched to a government school because she opted for science rather than Urdu studies. So far as scores in English are concerned, most are high. The few who opted for lower scores are all women except that one man assessed his listening and speaking at level two.

No score has been recorded in relation to the reading and writing of Punjabi because of the role of Punjabi in Pakistan. Some people did make a point however of arguing that they were to some extent able to read and write Punjabi through use of Urdu script.

The picture here then is one of a group of people with well-established bilingual skills.

Table 2 records parental verdicts on their children:

TABLE 2 : Second generation skills as assessed by parents																
	Understanding				Speaking				Reading				Writing			
Levels → Languages ↓	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Punjabi	0	7	8	7	0	2	9	11								
Urdu	2	14	5	1	1	12	6	3	0	2	1	9	0	2	0	20
English	22	0	0	0	22	0	0	0	21	0	1	0	21	0	0	1

(n = 22)

The difference between the scores attributed by parents to themselves and to their children is very great. For the latter, 'perfect' scores for English contrast greatly with scores for Punjabi and Urdu. Listening skills are more highly-developed than oral skills in both. There is a distinction being made between scores relating to Punjabi and those relating to Urdu. Higher scores for comprehension and for use of the spoken language are attributed for Urdu, the prestigious national language, often more formally used, than for Punjabi. Whilst parents acknowledge no skill at all in Punjabi for several second-generation members, the only one who has no understanding of spoken Urdu is Salman Halim who is deaf and only two others have the lowest score for speaking. So far as literacy skills are concerned however, the exceptions are those with any score other than the lowest.

The picture is a varied one. These young people have for the most part developed literacy skills only in English and their competence in English far outweighs their competence in Punjabi or Urdu. However, their involvement with the minority languages means that in Urdu at least, there is positive capacity to comprehend and use

languages means that in Urdu at least, there is positive capacity to comprehend and use the language. Whilst scores for listening comprehension in Punjabi are positive for roughly a third of the young people, scores for speaking are almost all on the negative side of the scale. Half of all the young people are judged by their parents to speak no Punjabi at all and only two are seen as having any real skill in speaking it. Yet several of the parental couples claim to use Punjabi most of the time between themselves and to prefer doing so if possible with their friends. It would seem that young people have had greater success in acquiring Urdu.

Table 3 gives scores based on self-assessment of second generation young people but the number of people involved is smaller for reasons of age and availability. Table 4 gives the parental assessments of the same eleven young people for comparison.

TABLE 3: Second generation skills : 11 individuals assessed by themselves																	
		Understanding				Speaking				Reading				Writing			
Levels	→	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Languages	↓																
Punjabi		3	2	5	1	0	1	5	5								
Urdu		5	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	1	1	1	8	1	1	0	9
English		11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0

(n = 11)

TABLE 4 : Parental assessment of skills of second generation individuals self-assessed in Table 3																	
		Understanding				Speaking				Reading				Writing			
Levels	→	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Languages	↓																
Punjabi		0	5	5	1	0	2	5	4								
Urdu		1	4	5	1	0	4	3	4	0	2	0	9	0	2	0	9
English		11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	11	0	0	0

(n = 11)

In Table 3, the scores in English are 'perfect' and the score generally is more positive for Urdu than for Punjabi. Literacy skills are restricted to the same two individuals. One person (Samir Rahman) assesses himself as having no ability to comprehend spoken Urdu although his parents attributed to him a higher score. In Table 4, it emerges that most young people give themselves a more positive assessment than their parents do. The disparity is particularly marked in relation to skills in understanding the spoken language. Not a single parent rates the listening comprehension of a 'child' as very high in Punjabi and only one 'child' is credited with very well-developed listening skills even in Urdu. The young people themselves have a more optimistic outlook and five rate themselves at the highest level for understanding spoken Urdu. The scores do not derive of course from an objective test but everyone is estimating only those they know very well and on the basis of vast experience and a simple scale. The discrepancies could well relate to unrealistic self-assessment by the young, application of rigorous standards of accuracy by parents, uncertainty on the part of the young about the distinctiveness of Punjabi and Urdu or perhaps a desire on the part of most of the young to present a positive attitude towards Punjabi and Urdu.

Looking at the overall picture which emerges from these simple figures, enormous differences between the repertoires of first and second generation are apparent. There are only two young people with minority literacy skills. For all young people, the listening skills in Punjabi and Urdu are better developed than all other skills and whilst the level of proficiency in speaking varies quite widely, it is invariably less well-developed than listening skills. In the case of every single young person skills in English are better developed than skills in Punjabi or Urdu. This we know may not have been the case in the early years of childhood of some individuals but it has been the case for as long as every young person or child can remember. It is only of the youngest child in the Saeed family, four years old, that his parents can say that relatively recently, his Urdu was better than his English.

Among parents, skills are well developed in English and also in either Punjabi or Urdu or both. In the space of only two generations therefore, shift has been rapid and there is no indication that bilingualism is stable within the families. The tables have served to display this clearly.

In order to interpret this evidence of transitional bilingualism, however, I shall draw on other field data to explore themes which emerged.

'They can always pick it up'

Language skills fluctuate. Instability was a theme in the previous chapter and from a somewhat different perspective, the theme re-emerges here as people comment on the changes which take place in young people's skills. The 'scores' given are a necessarily imprecise perception of skills which are not consistently displayed. A trip to Pakistan for example, or the prolonged stay in the home of a relative from Pakistan, can have a noticeable effect on these fluctuating skills. The Saeed family had spent several months in Pakistan a year or so before the field work began:

...up to last year, Maryam could speak very good Urdu, and she could read as well and she started writing as well. But then a few weeks ago, I heard her talking over the phone to her grandmother, I mean she was asking me 'Mummy, what does it mean and how should I say it?' That was the time I realised she was losing her Urdu... (Samara Saeed, speaking of her twelve- year-old daughter).

Several mothers report that children are able to get by amazingly quickly once they are in Pakistan. "Within one week she can speak fluently...." claims Razia Sheikh on behalf

of her daughter Sofia and although this is necessarily hard to ascertain it is not disputed in conversation. Razia is generally optimistic in this sense:

I don't know, I might be wrong but if these children go back home and stay there for about three months, they can always pick it up very quickly. Because what is it they have been listening to from their mother and father for years and years? I give the example of my children. I went back home and I thought it would be really difficult but they could communicate with my mother and with the servants. Communication with the servants was really difficult but they knew what they wanted and they tried to explain it.

Aisha Durrani spoke of her ten-year-old daughter Sonia similarly:

I think when they go home, it's amazing how quick they pick up Urdu. Within a week, all three of them are speaking Urdu... but Sonia is shy - two years ago when we went back, I was very keen to see how she was talking and I had to hide behind the door when she was talking to her cousin.

Shazia Rahman remembers how quickly daughter Farah appeared to re-learn her Urdu:

She was speaking very nicely within the month... And then the moment she came back, gave up again.

The Durrani family paid a visit to Pakistan during the period of the field work and urged me to come back to the house afterwards to see how much better all their children (fourteen, twelve and ten at that point) spoke Urdu than they had during earlier visits.

Other fluctuations may come from different sources:

I think I know more Punjabi now than I did when I was younger. I think I understand it better now because you have started speaking to me in Punjabi now.

said Alia Imtiaz, aged twenty-two, to her mother.

Not surprisingly perhaps, parents' own language skills can also seem to atrophy:

Well you know, we've been here now 25 years. And if I sit down to write something in Urdu, I always forget how to spell it. I have to get out the dictionaries which are English to Urdu... (Alia Halim)

The fluctuation in skills was commented on by parents in all families during interviews. Subsequently, it was mentioned during conversations by several people who said they had started thinking about it more since the interviews. Samara Saeed brought an elderly lady from Pakistan to stay for several months to help her in the house and commented on how the children now had to learn to talk to her in Urdu. A young woman came to stay with the Mansour family for six months after having accompanied their sick relative to England as a servant and similarly, her impact on the language skills of Afzal was noticed.

In theoretical terms, distinguishing between language loss and failure to acquire language is important in looking at the process of language shift. (Fasold, 1984; Grosjean, 1982; Hoffmann, 1991). Failure to acquire the weaker language during the early years makes it very unlikely that the language will be transmitted to the next generation in the home and may indicate a later stage in the process of shift. Loss of a

language once known indicates rather that individual patterns of use or lifestyle have changed. It is less definitive than failure to acquire; retrieval of the language may be possible and passive competence will survive active production for some time.

In the case of young people in this study, both language loss and failure to acquire have resulted from circumstances . Some individuals are keen to learn; some become keen to learn; some are willing to learn only when necessary. But there is a general sense among most parents that things could change and that what has been lost could be retrieved.

Currently, policy debate often mentions the possibility of reversing language shift (Fishman, 1991; Baker, 1993), and retrieving language skills that have diminished in an individual (Clyne, 1997). There are hints in this situation that the possibility of future improved learning of Urdu exists.

Other people's children

Another recurring theme in talking to parents was the admiration they have for the children of other families whom they know, almost invariably amongst less prosperous sections of the Asian community, who have a fluent mastery of Punjabi/ Urdu as well as English.

You know a lot of the second generation,.. the sort of one who works in a factory or are unemployed.. They can speak Urdu and English but at the same time they speak their own Mirpuri language as good as English... That class they are speaking both languages very well.

(Samara Saeed).

I was passing the other day in Birmingham and I found a group of fourteen- or fifteen-year-old English-born boys who had hair shaved up to their earrings and split jeans and talking only Punjabi like I only hear at home in Pakistan. ... And then, two minutes later when I came down the escalator another group exactly the same speaking in English with a broad Birmingham accent. (Mumtaz Qureshi)

In his general practice surgery, Rashid Durrani observes that among his patients, second generation people who have their own , third generation, children still use Punjabi with the very young ones. He attributes it largely to the fact that their parents did not learn English:

My feeling is that the reason is because the first generation came and they didn't need to speak English, because everybody that was living in that area spoke Punjabi, shopkeepers speak Punjabi. If you go to Marks and Spencer you don't have to speak any language... and since they are still living in the same situation, I think now the grandmothers and all children are actually more fluent.

He sees this as something which has marked his own family off as different:

Now we had this bad habit of using English outside, ninety per cent in the city... and I think this is where probably our children missed on learning with Punjabi...

Naseem Masood agrees but refines the verdict:

Even those children of those parents who do not speak English, when it comes to explaining themselves properly, they always switch back to

English. Even though they might be quite fluent in speaking the Urdu or Punjabi... They will be quite at home about the action things 'do this, do that, I want to go there, I want to meet somebody' and superficial talk like 'How are you?'. When you ask them 'How do you feel?', when you start talking to them at an intellectual level and in intellectual terms, you will find that they will be stuck.

Considerable ambivalence was shown on many occasions about whether people identified with the broad 'Asian community' in Britain. Frequently, people wanted to distinguish between themselves and other Pakistani families in the country. In sociolinguistic terms, the question is raised whether it is justifiable to see everyone as in some way belonging to the same speech community.

'We did try'

Tables cannot reveal what might have been! Nevertheless, people often talked about it. Whilst only the Qureshi second generation now have literacy skills in Urdu, four other sets of parents had tried to teach them to their children. The Masoods and the Durrans had failed to find time. The Sheikhs made similar claims. As Razia remembered:

I used to teach them reading and writing when they were between seven and eleven. But after that, when they took their exams, the pressure was so much on them. No time at all...

The older children of the Saeed family also developed literacy skills in Urdu while staying in Pakistan.

A very few people had tried to make use of language classes offered in the local community but nobody stayed with them for very long. Sofia Sheikh looked back on her attempts at about sixteen:

I went to a school for a while, for just about two or three months...to read and write. I mean they asked me if I studied it for a year I'd be able to take the 'O' level in it but the thing is it was all voluntary and the people who were teaching us weren't professional teachers so, I mean, they were doing the best they could but they couldn't really explain to you the things you wanted to know..

Yet people do recognise the importance of literacy skills. Many references were made to the fact that reading the Koran had given second generation members some familiarity with Arabic script from which the Urdu script is derived.

'We do try'

Nevertheless, whilst the parental generation admire other people's children and justify their past decisions sometimes with regret, there may be contradictions in their behaviour. This is a final theme. Sarah and Ghazala Qureshi complain that their polite efforts to use Urdu with parental friends are not always successful.

There are people like uncle Masood who always speak in English to us and when we keep replying back in Urdu eventually he gives in. That's happened a lot... They start speaking in English even though they know very well that you can speak in Urdu and it's easier for them to speak in Urdu, often the Urdu is a lot better than their English so it would be easier for them to speak in Urdu..... Often especially the men, but sometimes the ladies... Rubina Shah, her English is quite poor and yet

she will say 'How is the course?'. She can just about get the sentence out but she will speak it in English to me; she won't speak in Urdu which would be a lot easier for her.... There is a preconception that you should try English first because they are young. They don't always think 'Oh yes, this is one that can speak Urdu'.

(Sarah Qureshi)

Other young people reported similar discouragements.

Questions surrounding the 'authenticity' of the Urdu/ Punjabi produced by second generation members recur in more than one guise. Tahira and Alia Imtiaz discussed it:

Alia: It's difficult to understand accents. That's another thing: you understand your parents but if you see Punjabi on television or somebody else is speaking to you it's not the same.

Tahira: I get some Asian guys talking to me because they think I'm a doctor or something or a medical person. They speak to me and it's so difficult.

The issue is essentially one of the level of competence in the language that is needed to be able to make effective use of it, to be considered a member of the speech community.

The Qureshi daughters recognise the problems;

Sarah: I think our general accent is pretty close to most people's... When we're in Pakistan say, it's almost the same as everybody else's accent

Ghazala: It's still a bit English. They laugh at you but appreciate you making the effort...

These issues may help explain the inconsistencies in the tables above where the young rated their own skills higher than their parents did in Punjabi. It seems that the first generation do not in fact expect the second ever to view Punjabi the way they do themselves, as colloquial, informal, humorous, vigorous, a rich fund of wordplay, jokes and swearing. This is something they share with their own age group. On several occasions, sessions of joke telling by both women and men contained laughing references to these dimensions:

I can't translate the joke... I have to say the words in Punjabi, it only sounds right that way

or

It's all to do with the way the words sound...

Of course, for parents, Punjabi is not the language of formal occasions. Urdu on the other hand, the more prestigious national language, may be used both formally and informally. For many, it does not arouse the same feelings of solidarity but it still represents group identity.

Parents know that many of the young people claim to be unable to distinguish quite often between spoken Punjabi and Urdu whilst having some competence in understanding and speaking. I would suggest that parental perceptions of the difference between the languages lead them often to identify young people and children's use of Punjabi/ Urdu specifically as Urdu. It is the more prestigious language but also, because it is not the language which they associate with intimacy or

informality, lack of authenticity of accent is less troubling. Yet the symbolic importance of using the community language can still be achieved. The feelings of solidarity that accompany parental use of Punjabi cannot be experienced by the second generation but the status of Urdu can be appreciated and reinforced by their use of it. Lack of 'authenticity' cannot really be accommodated within the parental view of Punjabi as the language of solidarity and informality. It seems not to matter however if Urdu is only partly mastered. Using it at all, even with an inauthentic accent can be much appreciated and recognised as a sign of belonging to the group.

Language skills in transitional bilingualism : diversity and decay.

The attempt to 'measure' language skills has revealed some more of the complexities of transitional bilingualism. The picture is a very fluid one. Patterns change with age, circumstances, travel, the presence of guests and so on. Individuals' levels of skill fluctuate. Furthermore, assessment of skill may not be the same as assessment of frequency of use. Although the level of, for example, the speaking skill in Urdu may be rated as high as that for listening, we know that frequently young people and children respond to Punjabi/Urdu with English.

In relation to skill development however, I also want to broach two interesting theoretical questions raised by Dorian in relation to language obsolescence.

Firstly, she discusses (1981; 1982) how non-fluent bilinguals might be seen as members of the speech community. Her classification of speaker-types within a continuum of competence in minority language communities, may be relevant in systematising variety. She creates a 'hierarchy' of five types: fluent speaker, semi-speaker, occasional speaker, non-speaker /fully proficient listener, non-speaker /semi-proficient listener. She does not argue that everyone moves through the same stages but that within a situation where a language is gradually disappearing from personal repertoires,

different individuals operate as different types and personal circumstances and characteristics may account for the differences. Dorian makes a particular point of discussing the importance of the semi-speakers in maintaining the presence of the threatened language. (Dorian, 1982). She sees the semi-speaker as a person who, without a good mastery of the threatened language - in her case, Gaelic - nevertheless has a degree of competence beyond what might be expected, given that most around him or her are losing or have lost their command of Gaelic. Semi-speakers, in Dorian's terms (1982, 27) have 'knowledge of the sociolinguistic norms which operate within the ... community'. She identified semi-speakers

whose receptive skills and knowledge of the sociolinguistic norms allow them to use their limited productive skills in ways which are unremarkable (that is provoke no comment) (Dorian, 1982, 29).

and specifies the minimum requirements for membership in a speech community:

fluency is not required, nor grammatical and/or phonological control of the speech variety common to the participants.

Drawing on Hymes' definitions of communicative competence, she concludes that:

knowing how to say relatively *few* things appropriately is more important than knowing how to say very many things without sure knowledge of their appropriateness (Dorian, 1982, 31).

Dorian argues that individual circumstances and personality influence such individuals. She sees them as defying the general processes of obsolescence and creating the possibility of maintenance. These counter-intuitive aspects of her findings made clear that individual decision-making can defy general trends in the process of language shift and obsolescence. Some semi-speakers apparently felt they received little encouragement from older people :

They said that the older people outside their own networks would continue to speak English to them because English had become the

older people's normal language of communication with people of the younger generation. (Dorian, 1981, 110).

Within the present group, second generation individuals can be seen as taking up different positions on a continuum of competence in Punjabi/ Urdu. Evidence from self-report, parental report and observation makes it apparent that among the second generation there are no 'fluent speakers' within these families. Whilst young people such as the Qureshi daughters could be identified according to Dorian's criteria as semi-speakers, others make less frequent use of Punjabi/ Urdu, others again scarcely use it productively except in formulaic utterances yet are confident in their listening skills and there are also some who claim even very little listening proficiency. Siblings within the same family may differ. Samir Rahman for example claims no proficiency in listening, is reported by his parents as having never been taught Punjabi/ Urdu and was never observed using it in field work. On the other hand, he hears his parents use Punjabi/ Urdu daily. His sister Farah however had had quite a lot of early input, still claimed reasonable listening proficiency, was praised by her mother for managing to use it in Pakistan and was observed greeting people, thanking them, wishing them goodbye and so on in Urdu. Their mother, Shazia, claimed that Samir's shyness made him want to avoid making mistakes, a claim echoed on behalf of sons by other mothers.

Further evidence and discussion of this range of behaviours will be presented in later chapters but here the question is whether young people are still seen as members of the Punjabi/Urdu speech community, with their very variable levels of competence, equivalent to Dorian's range of types. I would argue that they are, by the attribution of parents and themselves, and insofar as membership means an ability to engage appropriately in some way with users of the language. . Almost all have some degree of competence even if it is reported as restricted to listening skills only. We shall see in the next chapter that even minimal skills can be effectively used, given young people's familiarity with social norms of the community and their understanding of rules of

appropriateness. The volatility of the situation is such that diversity ~~is~~ great and potential for change is real. Membership of the speech community may be inextricably linked with family and community membership and not dependent on a high level of language skill.

Secondly, Dorian raises the question as to what the consequences are of greatly unbalanced skills, (production and reception; writing and reading; more formal and less formal registers) which are more typically symmetrical in 'healthier' languages (Dorian, 1989, 8).

Within the context of obsolescence studies, this question raises the spectre of language loss or death at the next stage if a generation within the community no longer masters the productive skills of speaking or writing the language at risk. What, after all, can be the input for the following generation if such a situation has been reached?

In this study, there is no sense of course in which Punjabi or Urdu are at risk of becoming obsolete languages as such. Urdu/ Hindi, if counted as one, is a language spoken by many millions (Crystal 1995). Second generation individuals may have access to quite extensive input in Urdu or Punjabi from parents, from visits to Pakistan, from contacts with the Asian community and from the media and films. But the input will be infinitely more limited than would be the case if they lived in Pakistan, used the written form of the language, or lived in areas where the Asian community was more numerous. There is thus the possibility of seeing the language(s) as obsolescent within the families.

Other accounts or references have reported a similarly variable picture amongst other minority group second generation young people. The findings of the *Linguistic Minorities Project* revealed a wide range of competence (1985) but offered little descriptive context. Reid (1988) acknowledges a general decline in the competence in

the minority language of children in Britain from minority groups. Some educational documents recognise complexities and variation in the minority communities at large, for example the **Harris Report** on modern foreign languages in the National Curriculum (DES, 1990) or the **Cox Report** on English (DES, 1989). However, there is no real acknowledgment of the fluidity of situation we find here. This key characteristic allows for the possibility of a change in response to circumstances, social needs and personal histories. Travel to Pakistan, domestic circumstances and increasing age are observed, in particular, to have a significant impact.

Conclusion

I chose to examine the levels of skill of the families by exploring how individuals and families viewed their own situation. Data were generated by the use of informal interviews with a brief focus on formalised self-assessment and assessment of others. Interpretation of the data also drew quite heavily on other encounters during participant observation and interview.

It may be argued that a more precise way of exploring bilingual competence is to test individuals' competence to deal with particular communicative situations or challenges, as Li did (Li, 1994). Similarly, functional definitions of bilingual proficiency such as discussed by Hoffmann (1991, 23) or Baetens-Beardsmore (1982, 17) may add precision to linguistic profiles at any one point in time. However, such 'snapshots' do not give a sense of the instability or fluctuation which has emerged in this chapter. Nor can they reveal, on their own, a sense of how people view their own skills, the significance they attribute to them and how they are viewed by others.

Having examined in some detail, therefore, the levels of competence within the group and the ways in which families themselves view them, I shall now approach from a

different angle the question of how and when people make use of their bilingual repertoires.

Chapter 6

'Our own language' and 'a fine art':

domains of language use

Introduction

Fishman asserted that the basic question in studies of bilingual language use is 'Who speaks what language, to whom, and when?' (1965, 67). This question remains basic and, following Fishman, may be addressed by using the concept of domains of language use to systematise patterns of choice. I shall do this in addressing the third research question, relating to the intergenerational and individual differences which exist in the ways in which people use their bilingual repertoires.

In terms of language shift and language maintenance, if domains which used to be reserved for one language are entered increasingly by another, then shift away from the first language is taking place (Fasold, 1984; Appel and Muysken, 1987). I have chosen to use the concept of domains in order to accommodate an overall view of how languages figure across the whole of people's lives during the period of transitional bilingualism. Another important reason for choosing to utilise domains of language use as an organising principle was that it proved to be an apparently natural concept in discussions with respondents during fieldwork.

Establishing the domains.

Domain analysis is, fundamentally,

a macro-level approach informed by a sociological analysis, which views the language behaviour of individuals as derived from, and

constrained by, higher-order societal structures. (Milroy and Muysken, 1995, 6)

Thus Fishman, for example, was able to identify home, friendship, religion, employment and education as the 'higher-order structures' which constrained the language behaviour of Spanish-American subjects in New York (Fishman et al. 1971).

He defined domains as:

institutional contexts and their congruent behavioural occurrences. They attempt to summate the major clusters of interaction that occur in clusters of multilingual settings and involving clusters of interlocutors. (Fishman, 1972, 441)

The concept lacks precision and the implication that domain of language use may control language choice appears to be rather more deterministic than is appropriate, given the complexity of any interactional situation. Despite that, it survives usefully as an analytical tool in many studies of bilingual groups (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985; Sridhar, 1988; Gibbons, 1987; Rampton, 1987). Indeed Gibbons claimed as one of his research findings the reality and validity of

the concept of 'domain' (which) permits an economical yet convincing portrayal of a major element in ... speech behaviour (Gibbons, 1987, 126)

By definition, the domains identified within the lives of groups or individuals vary according to context and culture. Furthermore, a given domain does not necessarily elicit just one language from within a bilingual repertoire, as it would in a case of diglossia. It may however be associated with particular patterns of language choice and use of a bilingual repertoire. Therefore, within the study of a particular group, using a system of domains of language use makes it possible to establish an overall view of the presence of languages within a lifestyle.

In this study, an analytical framework of domains of language use is used in order to systematise the range of situations within people's lives where they draw upon their bilingual repertoires in differing ways. It establishes an outline of the patterns of language choice by individuals and generations. Clearly, English and Urdu/Punjabi are not co-available in all areas of people's lives since many interlocutors do not have the same bilingual repertoire. But when they are co-available, choices made by different generations may signal shift or maintenance and a specific locus for either might therefore be identified. Variability between members of the same generation will be of interest insofar as it may indicate different individual attitudes and patterns of use within families.

The decision to adopt domains of language use in analysing patterns of use, was made during the course of fieldwork. When asked quite open questions about the use of the different languages, people tended to respond initially in terms of particular contexts with particular interlocutors. This naturally-occurring type of domain proved useful therefore in analysis of patterns of language choice. 'Topic of conversation' seemed to have less impact on language choice than the identity of the interlocutor or the setting. This has been the case in other studies also which have made use of the concept (Gibbons, 1987; Dorian, 1981).

The domains of language use identified as significant in this study were arrived at after considerable familiarity with the families had been established through the fieldwork. Interviews, observation and conversations during fieldwork were the sources of evidence. For the first generation, domains of home and family, friendship, Asian community, religion, majority community and work could each be associated with distinguishable patterns of social contact and setting which had an impact on language use. For older members of the second generation, domains of home and family, peer group friendship, parental friends, Asian community, religion, study/work and majority community emerged. For young children of primary school age, the range was

naturally narrower including home and family, peer group friendship and school, parental friends and religion.

Once they had been established, domains were used for indexing data from fieldnotes in order to identify the ways in which they correlated with patterns of use of bilingual repertoires in response to differences of interlocutor, communicative need, relationships or social constraints. Thematic analysis of motivation underlying patterns of use and bilingual variation contributed to the overall description.

Running through the analysis, there is a distinction to be made between the communicative and the symbolic dimensions of use of languages. An equally important distinction may be established between private or in-family language use, and use in other groupings or contexts. The instability of the present situation and the speed of change are again apparent but individual variability is also clear and it seems quite possible that long-term outcomes for individuals may vary considerably.

Table 5 represents the picture of the distribution of languages within domains in an accessible way, for ease of reference, but does not imply uniformity of pattern of use. The ensuing text refines the picture.

Table 5 : Domains of Language Use

This table indicates the broad outline of patterns of language choice and use. The languages outside brackets are generally the preferred or equal choice. Languages inside brackets indicate the language(s) also used or encountered in that domain but on a less frequent and sometimes very infrequent basis.

Domain	Languages Used
First generation	
Home with spouse	Punjabi/Urdu [<i>and English</i>]
with children	Punjabi/Urdu and English
with other relatives	Punjabi/Urdu [<i>and English</i>]
Friends	Punjabi/Urdu [<i>and English</i>]
Asian community	Punjabi/Urdu [<i>and English</i>]
Majority community	English
At work	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Religion	Punjabi/Urdu [<i>and English, and Arabic</i>]
Second generation - young people	
Home with parents	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
with siblings	English
with other relatives	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Parental friends	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Peergroup friends	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Asian community	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Majority community	English
Study/work	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Religion	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu and Arabic</i>]
Second generation - children	
Home with parents	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
with siblings	English
with other relatives	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Parental friends	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu</i>]
Peergroup friends and school	English
Religion	English [<i>and Punjabi/Urdu and Arabic</i>]

Domain of home and family

Within the crucial, private domain of home and family, first-generation members make extensive use of Punjabi/ Urdu as well as English. Punjabi/ Urdu is the key communicative tool for talking with each other, favoured for its familiarity through habitual use, its emotional potential, its expressive functions, providing linguistic continuity with the past and day to day ease of expression. The second generation often make extensive use of listening skills in Punjabi/ Urdu in this domain and occasional use of oral skills. Recurring residual features of Punjabi/ Urdu in the family repertoire are kinship terms, terminology for food and very often, greetings and leave-takings. These may be seen as having some symbolic significance, representing continuing involvement with, and membership of, the larger family and culture. The home domain still provides the major source of input of Punjabi/ Urdu for the second generation but they may choose to use it rarely for communication of information. In Pakistan however, the second generation may face the need for Punjabi/ Urdu for communicative purposes again rather than merely symbolic. These are, in brief, the ways in which the bilingual repertoires of families are used in this domain. More detail will allow interpretation of the evidence.

It is usually the case that in reports of multilingual functioning amongst minority communities, the home is the prime domain within which the minority language is used (Fasold, 1984; Grosjean, 1982; Hoffmann, 1991; Alladina and Edwards, 1991). In this private domain, at a certain distance from outside influence, habits may endure, traditions be cherished and the younger generation grows up.

In this study, most first-generation members both claimed and showed that with their spouse they prefer to use Urdu or Punjabi. In their early life together in Pakistan this was the case and it has remained the pattern in Britain. Exceptions were the Masoods,

who, in their early years of marriage, thought that they should use English between themselves so that Naseem could benefit from Nusrat's greater fluency. Also, since Rashid Sheikh's first language was Sindhi not Punjabi, English sometimes comes as naturally as Urdu in talking with Razia. But for most, Punjabi/ Urdu is the language associated with ease and relaxation, the highly preferred choice at home and in private, the prime choice for communication between themselves, with Punjabi often referred to as 'our language'.

Because it's my first language... you can express your emotions, you don't have to think.. (Fawzia Imtiaz)

All the time we speak Punjabi. If he's talking to me , he will always talk in Punjabi, doesn't he... If you people are sitting there as well (addressing her children) then naturally he will speak English... But if he speaks to me, always Punjabi.. He would use our own language. I think we can explain better in Punjabi than English... our language which we learnt properly, mother tongue you can say.

(Shazia Rahman)

Most of the first generation claimed that emotions could really only be expressed in Urdu or Punjabi, more often Punjabi. Switching to Punjabi/ Urdu from English under strong emotion was frequent. Mumtaz Qureshi is adamant that a lot '*depend(s) on my mood. If I am angry with my children, it's Punjabi*'. This kind of switch by adults for disciplinary purposes in relation to children is also reported in other studies (Fasold, 1984; Gumperz, 1982; Gal, 1979) and recurs in this research. Perhaps the function of reproach towards a child was first learned by Mumtaz as a child and was not 'updated' in later life. On the other hand, switching itself can signal high emotion (Gumperz, 1982; Rampton, 1987; Fasold, 1984; Gal, 1979) and it may go the other way. Tahir and Samara Saeed say that although they use Urdu most of the time

between themselves, when they quarrel they use English. They report it as an amusing anomaly however.

The presence of outsiders in the home constrains the situation, if they do not share Punjabi/Urdu but the better known the 'outsiders' and the more relaxed the situation, the more switching between Punjabi/ Urdu and English rather than adoption of English as the sole code of choice for that occasion. This was an observation made many times in fieldnotes as observed language data: for example

Now that I am a more familiar figure, I am treated less formally. Talk goes on around me and Jamal and Fawzia were using Punjabi/Urdu to each other, it seemed, rather more than previously - though always switching and mixing and a lot more so when I was part of a group conversation. A couple of times, Jamal made a point of translating for me as part of the group conversation - for a joke and anecdote. The explanation and repetition became part of the joke!

However, the home, as well as being a haven for continuing use of Punjabi/ Urdu, is also the context of shift. Apart from the very youngest child of all the families, Hameed Saeed, who is at pre-school stage, the second generation tend strongly to use English between themselves. Most claim to be able to understand most if not all that their parents say in Punjabi/ Urdu but their sibling interaction in English is clearly a locus of shift. Other studies have arrived at a similar conclusion (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985; Gal, 1979).

When parents were asked to give a very rough estimate of how much they used English and how much Punjabi/Urdu in talking to their children, answers ranged from assertions of nearly all English down to half and half. Observation easily confirmed both variation between families and between occasions. Whilst exchanges using only

English are quite frequent between generations, more frequent are exchanges where the parent speaks in Punjabi or Urdu and the young person or child replies in English and vice versa. This pattern is acknowledged in many studies (Milroy and Muysken, 1995; Dabène and Moore, 1995). It seems to be characteristic of the transitional bilingual situation of the families and an indicator of instability.

Typically, Ali Mansour reflects on his older son:

He still understands it alright... so with his mother, he answers back in English even if she speaks to him in Urdu or Punjabi...

The younger generation were equally aware of these tendencies. Speaking for himself and his brother and sister, fourteen-year-old Ali Durrani articulated the situation:

AD: We don't really speak that much but we do understand it.

JK: Your mum speaks to you sometimes.....

AD: She'll speak to us in Urdu and we will speak back in English.

JK: What about your dad?

AD: Quite a lot in English, unless he tells us off.

(His interpretation of reasons for switches are simplistic and a discouragement to finer interpretations...!)

JK: I wonder why he changes round?

AD: I suppose because he is bilingual and he just uses the two.

Detailed examples of this pattern of interaction will be the focus in chapter eight where the text of bilingual interaction within the family is examined.

Variability is apparent too. When Imran Halim arrived home after a week away and joined the family sitting around in the living room with a number of guests, he first sat

down on the floor next to his mother and greeted her in Urdu: *A salaam o aleikum. Kea haal he?* (Hello/ peace be with you. How are you?). The choice of language seemed to signal satisfaction to be home, a symbolic acknowledgment of the home and family setting. His attitude was also consistent with the observation that attitudes may be affected by age. Children's adolescent reluctance to use Punjabi/ Urdu was in several cases reported as being followed by a more positive attitude in young adults.

Within all the homes, Punjabi/ Urdu also maintains a certain presence for all family members in a range of residual uses. One dimension is that kinship terms in Urdu continue to be used extensively by almost all family members as well as endearments or honorifics. The kinship system of the Indian sub-continent attributes distinct titles to a number of relatives who would constitute a generic category in English. These titles are used very often in addressing people rather than personal names though some may be used with personal names. The system (given in full in Appendix 4 (Russell, 1987)) attributes different names to maternal and paternal grandparents for example and also to maternal and paternal siblings of parents. The name used for the sister of one's mother is [khala], the name for the sister of one's father [phuphi]. The name for one's father's brother is [chacha], for the brother of one's mother, [mamu]. Further distinctions can be made to acknowledge whether siblings are older or younger. These titles would normally all be used alone, without personal names attached. English 'uncle' and 'auntie' are used in addressing older family friends who are not related. The titles act as terms of respect and are normally used with friends of the family. This is the case in Pakistan as well as in Britain. Personal names may be added or family names in the case of men.

Among the younger generation of the families in question, this complex system was confidently managed in relation to their own families. Appropriate titles were used. Young people were well able to refer to individuals in Pakistan or England by their appropriate kinship titles. I was able both to observe the system in use and to refer to it

in discussion. The symbolism of using the system resides in the way it makes clear how the younger generation is still fully integrated into the traditional system of family.

Some kinship terms may be used as terms of endearment by parents to their own children and also to the children of relatives and friends. In fact, during the field work, terms of endearment were invariably Punjabi/Urdu terms. Commonest were [betti] (daughter), [betta] (son), or [buche] (child), addressed to non-family second-generation members as well as family. This was the case in any interaction, whether primarily in English or Punjabi/ Urdu. English endearments in talking to second generation members in the home were simply not used. Between older and younger members of the second generation, changes could be observed however. Maryam Saeed pointed out that her four year old brother will not always accord [bhaji] (older sister) to her but *'He'll use it when he wants to be really sweet and get something'*. Clearly, the use of the system carries weight still! Four- and five-year-old visitors to the Qureshi family were observed to use the same honorific [bhaji] to Ghazala Qureshi : *'Ghazala bhaji, what are we going to play now?'* Fieldnotes recall a number of such observations. An extract from the entry for this occasion reads:

Greetings as usual between all 'children' and older generation were in P/U. Naming involved a great deal of Urdu mixed with English: bhaji, betti, bhai.. 'Ghazala bhaji' used by the young visitors. Uncle and auntie were also used consistently between the younger generation and the non-family visitors (all Pakistani.)

Between first-generation friends, male to male and female to male, [bhai] (brother) is widely used as an honorific/ term of endearment as in, for example, 'Mushtaq bhai'. [Baheen] (sister) is similarly used though observably less often.

Terminology for food and drink is also retained within family repertoires, associated in a very obvious way with the continuing consumption of a lot of traditional Pakistani dishes. Formulaic greetings of [A salaam o aleikum] (Peace be with you) and [Valekum salaam] (and peace be on you) and leave-takings of [khoda hafiz] (God protect you) are also widely and quite consistently used. The symbolic value of the greetings and formulaic utterances is clear; they represent family habits of course and frequency of use is considerable. They also represent some continuity of cultural identity. However, frequent also from the young is a range of English greetings and leave-takings as they came in and out of the house. *'I think we say Hi and Bye to Mum and Dad'* claims Maryam Saeed on behalf of her sister and herself but observation of many such occasions also showed frequent use of the Urdu formulae.

'Back home'

Family is not only in England. Special efforts are produced for contacts with family where English is not an available option, for example for grandparents visiting England and for visits to Pakistan, 'back home' in the terms of first generation members. In the discussion of language nurture a concern for children to be able to communicate with family in Pakistan was a strong influence on parental thinking. This is an important dimension of the domain of home and family. In a number of settings in Pakistan, a possible language choice between young people may be English, if cousins are attending schools where English is the medium of some teaching, or if they are beyond their early teens and have learned a great deal of English in school. Young children and the elderly usually need Punjabi/ Urdu however even if some grandfathers have very good English. Communication with servants will almost invariably need Punjabi/ Urdu as well as any travelling beyond the cities and into the villages of Pakistan, where a number of families have relatives.

All families mentioned Pakistan, but had different degrees of contact. The Durrani have extended and frequent contact for example. The siblings of parents and the cousins are numerous, the visitors frequent, the children involved and keen to claim competence in Urdu. In the Mansour family on the other hand, sons Hamid and Afzal were left in England the last few times that Ali and Samra visited. There is limited contact between cousins and Ali feels that the future is unlikely to involve the use of Punjabi or Urdu at home.

In the Masood family however, visits to Pakistan are not frequent, because so many relatives are in England and Nusrat came to England early. Yet Nusrat feels quite confident that her grandson *'will be teaching Urdu to his children'* although his own father's involvement and interest is limited. Her other son Jamil, moreover, argues that Urdu is not really needed to keep in touch with a strong-willed grandmother who lives in Pakistan but visits the family in England.

Nusrat: Whenever their grandmother has said to them 'Why don't you speak your own language?' And they have said 'Why should all of us learn that language, why don't you learn our language?'

Jamil: Nani speaks English anyway, she just puts it on. She can understand every word you say to her.

Nusrat: Yes, she can understand, yes. You know my mother tried to learn English in a village in 1922 or 21... she was so keen to learn English.

Within this private domain of home and family then, the bilingual repertoire continues to be drawn upon in a number of ways. Punjabi/ Urdu retains a presence in the family although many second-generation members may choose not to use it orally at all except in formulaic utterances and residual terminology. For continuing contact with family in Pakistan, for keeping in touch, use is seen as more important and those young people

who have not visited Pakistan for several years or not had extensive contact with visiting relatives, are likely to see themselves as having less skill in Punjabi/ Urdu in this domain. It is also clear, however, that there is variation between families and that, as the Masood grandmother reminds us, long-term perspectives are often necessary in order to understand present situations.

Domain of friendship

Most people of the parental generation, when asked to name the people they spend most time with outside work or the family, named friends of Pakistani origin. Networks to which they belong for social activities are for the most part minority-based. Fieldwork gave access to many social occasions between families and their friends and was a major source of data and focus of observation. All first generation members used Punjabi/Urdu with such friends by strong preference but English is also often in evidence. People move between languages and there is a great deal of code-switching and code-mixing involving English alongside Punjabi/ Urdu. However, the claims of some subjects that certain matters, for example those related to professional medical activity are always discussed in English even in such informal contexts were not always borne out by observation. Whilst technical vocabulary remains English, discussion of contracts, work conditions and the like were just as easily broached in Punjabi/ Urdu, with extensive code-mixing from English, as in English alone. People clearly feel relaxed and at ease speaking Punjabi/ Urdu with their friends. The pleasures of getting together draw in part on remembering the past and certainly in relaxing into shared interests and language. Without any doubt, Punjabi/ Urdu is used by preference for communication.

So far as the second generation was concerned, own age or peer group friendship contacts mentioned were both Asian and non-Asian, linked with schools, study, work and family contacts. Own age interaction was almost invariably in English except, very

often, for the symbolic greetings and leavetakings often used between peergroup Muslim friends.

It's funny how we often talk all in English and then when we're going we say Khoda hafiz.

(Sarah Qureshi).

But with the friends and social contacts of parents, special and conscious efforts may be made to use some Punjabi/ Urdu and a range of variation between individuals therefore applies. Contacts with other Asian families and subsequent young people's friendships are seen by most as an important part of social life. This was the basis for the alumni association of families. A perceived need exists (and a practical ability) for most to be able to observe the formal niceties not only of greetings and leave-takings, which are important, but also appropriate forms of address and other politeness phenomena in Urdu for use with parental-age members.

Farah Rahman views the situation with a little cynicism. Speaking of young people in other families, she affirms that

they are not exactly fluent... The few practice sentences you know. When someone walks in you say 'hello' and, you know, how are you and so on. They've got that down to a fine art... But I don't think they can actually hold a conversation...

Nevertheless, Farah certainly uses the necessary language herself as did many young people I observed.

The adoption of Urdu for such purposes of intergenerational socialising satisfied formal requirements of politeness, as contrasted with its adoption for informal or

intimate purposes in the home domain. The symbolic function of these speech acts would seem to be to express loyalty to traditional values and to acknowledge courteously a shared background and identity.

Among the youngest children of the families, there was a marked reluctance to acknowledge Urdu whilst among their monolingual schoolfriends, and no particular inclination to use it amongst other children of their parents' friends. With parental friends however, a certain degree of formality was observed. All women were addressed as 'auntie' and men as 'uncle' and greetings and leave-takings usually observed in the traditional way.

Domain of Asian community

For present purposes, 'Asian community' is taken to mean most other sectors of the total Asian community with whom people here come into contact except those with whom they are particularly friendly and who would therefore figure in the domain of friendship. The families in the research group do not live in areas where the Asian community is numerous in the immediate neighbourhood and regret at the impact this could produce on second-generation skills was occasionally expressed, echoing the admiration for 'other people's children' in chapter five above.

It would be nice to have some people that you could associate with. It's got better recently. Before, it used to be really bad, I mean there is a few more now, within a couple of minutes drive. Before, it used to be half an hour's drive. It would be nice to have some people round to just chat to.... Like a lot of people at school they lived locally .. and therefore their Punjabi was very good as they spoke it all the time, their neighbours were all Punjabi, their family were in the same road

or the road behind ... Their language was better than ours. Yet ours was not as bad as some people like us who'd lived in the suburbs.

(Sarah Qureshi)

However, contacts with the Asian community may be quite frequent, in work and in study and also in commercial contexts. All families use Asian shops for at least some meat and fruit buying. People also use Asian-provided services very often, for example for travel and catering services. For the first generation, when interacting with other older people, using Punjabi or sometimes Urdu comes most naturally. For the second generation, discussion with other young people will take place in English but with people of parental age, there is some variation. Whilst some will make a point of using Punjabi/ Urdu a little if they can, English will be the obvious choice. If of course the identity of the interlocutor is quite unknown then English is the only safe choice.

Domain of religion

In studies of language shift within particular communities, if religion is perceived as a domain or is the context of language choice, it usually appears as the most conservative domain, the strongest bastion of maintenance of the minority language. In Gal's study, Hungarian as the language of liturgy remained immovable in the domain of religion in the bilingual town of Oberwart (Gal, 1979). Huffines (1980) investigated the Old Amish and found religious distinctiveness strongly associated with continuing use of Pennsylvanian Dutch. A Ukrainian community in Brazil strongly maintains the use of Ukrainian within the domain of religion whilst Portuguese would seem to be otherwise all-pervasive (Kulcynskyj, 1997). A similar picture of young people maintaining Hungarian in America is very closely linked with membership of the traditional church (Bartha, 1997). In Australia, Kouzmin (1988) reports that third generation German-Jewish immigrants have transferred their language loyalty away from German to Hebrew as the language of symbolic identification.

One dimension of the social identity of all the families in the present study is that they are Muslim. Islam is a world religion and its linguistic roots are in Arabic since classical Arabic is the language of the Koran. Prayer is inevitably in Arabic which plays a role within the domain of religion and makes the domain distinctive.

The extent to which the Islamic dimension of the identity of the research subjects can be seen as related to their patterns of language use in a broader sense is not so apparent. At the moment, in Britain, the majority of Muslims are of Pakistani origin and the result is that perceptions of Pakistan and Islam are strongly associated in the public eye. This very strong association was mentioned many times.

(Being Pakistani and being Muslim) are inseparable because Pakistan's creation was based on the fact that it would be a Muslim country and it was partition from India and the most widely understood language in India was Urdu which had been the language of kings and so on... (Ali Mansour).

There are questions however about the broader context and whether the mosque may be seen as the centre of the Pakistani Muslim community and whether it creates its own linguistic expectations as a domain. It has its own characteristic social patterns. For example, only men and boys would normally attend for regular or weekly prayers but women too may have many opportunities or reasons for going to the mosque whether for festivals, prayers or social occasions. Children of both sexes would go for classes. On the other hand, several children in the families had had a tutor come to the house in order to teach them the Koran rather than going to the ordinary classes.

The religious dimension of cultural continuity within these families is an important one and will be discussed in the next chapter. Religious conservatism may be seen as

related to linguistic traditionalism and therefore, amongst the 'Pakistani' population to the use of Urdu. But changes are also very apparent and consistent with developments in other domains of language use. As the Masoods observed of second generation young men:

Naseem: They haven't got the same command of Urdu as we have and when they go to the mosque for instance all the sermon is in Urdu, and all of them, I am looking at their faces, are not understanding a word of what that sermon is.

Nusrat: Well. that will change, the sermons will be in English. You mark my words and give it another five or ten years. They will be in English. That is not the reason for learning Urdu.

Nobody ever suggested that maintaining Urdu was essential for maintaining religious loyalty or identity.

Certain items within the repertoires of all do of course have a specifically religious connotation and potentially, a symbolic role. The most obvious example is that of greetings and leave-takings discussed earlier.

Sarah Qureshi maintains that

in theory, I say Salaam aleikum to every other Muslim, In practice, it's not that simple...

Sofia Sheikh concurs:

It's odd really. We talk to our friends in English and then we say Urdu goodbye.

The symbolic significance of choice of Urdu in relation to religion was observed on a number of occasions. Fieldnotes emerging from one visit to the Sheikh family reported that

a telephone call announced that a visit was imminent from Aisha, one of the middle-aged stalwarts of the mosque, who spends a lot of time on charity work, supporting members of the Muslim community. 'She's very strict Islamic.' warned Sofia, implying that best behaviour was required from the other children there. As Aisha came into the room, conversation which had been in English turned on 'Salaam aleikum, aunty, kea haal he? (how are you)...' Courtesy, a degree of formality and a symbolically religious gesture were perhaps all achieved. Later on, as the visit was discussed, familiar ambivalent joking about the woman's henpecked, very helpful husband, her strong personality, her service to the community, the fact that she had allegedly proposed marriage to her husband ensued.

The situation was perceived by the young people as having a religious dimension which led, I would argue, to the use of Urdu and the traditional greeting. Such constraints do not operate only in a solemn liturgical context but may also influence behaviour in day-to-day settings.

Domain of majority community

The domain of language use with the majority community, monolingual contacts and friends and 'English' officialdom is of course associated with a need for the sole use of English. In doing so, nobody from among these families has ever been seen as needing the kind of language support many institutions do offer in order to deal with

officialdom. However, a number have acted and continue to act to facilitate liaison between the majority community and minority group members whose English is poorly developed. Aisha Durrani works in such a role in the health visitor service. Alia Halim is involved with the local Community Relations Council and with the legal services. Such a role attributes status to the person involved as the local expert and reinforces the idea that language services are an important dimension of social provision.

From the point of view of the present analysis, this domain is distinctive, insofar as it involves use only of English and therefore offers no bilingual data. On the other hand, hints of intercultural exchange did emerge. Nusrat Masood for example told how Naseem had helped an English patient dying of cancer by giving him some translated verses of Urdu poetry to support him emotionally and how well the patient had responded.

There are links between this aspect of people's lives and the following section which examines the use of bilingual skills in the public domain of work. It will also be the basis for further discussion in chapter nine when the value to the community of skills in Punjabi/ Urdu is explored.

Domains of work and study.

For first-generation men and for some women, work lies within the field of medicine. Within this public domain, far from the privacy of the home domain, the need to use Punjabi/Urdu can be very important in communication with some patients. The need varies greatly depending on the nature of the clinical work. Within this domain however, the use of the language is firmly based on communicative needs and the pattern of language use and choice is distinct from that of other domains.

So far as hospital medicine is concerned, patient encounters within any specialism may be helped by Punjabi or Urdu if the patient speaks only that language. Within specialisms which depend heavily on oral interaction such as Psychiatry and Geriatrics however, it may be of crucial importance. These are in fact specialisms that have recruited a great many doctors from South Asia, ironically because they were 'unpopular' specialisms at the time of major immigration. Amongst the families, several people work within these fields. Jamal Imtiaz is a geriatrician as are Fatima Qureshi and Mushtaq Rahman. Fawzia Imtiaz is a psychiatrist and so is Mumtaz Qureshi. They were very conscious of the value of their language skills for patients from the Asian community. Fawzia Imtiaz observed that

it's ever so difficult to translate the complaints. There isn't any word for depression and it's not easy to take a history and when they talk in Punjabi they don't know what to say.

Geriatrician Mushtaq Rahman recounted the story of an old lady, assumed to be psychiatrically disturbed because she persisted with her ritually necessary ablutions at prayer time during the cold weather. She would then go out on the wet grass, even in January, to say her prayers. Nobody in the ward at first had understood that she thought indoors was dirty and that it was therefore unsuitable for prayers; the old lady was unable to explain that she was looking for somewhere ritually clean; communication breakdown occurred because staff did not have the cultural information needed to interpret her behaviour when they shared no language.

Mumtaz Qureshi has gone further in his reflections on the significance of linguistic 'symptoms' of illness:

There is another observation, my personal observation... If a person has a psychosomatic illness, he will prefer I think - for I've seen

people.. he will not prefer the person who understands their language. People will say I'd rather see an English doctor... Just like the patient who is a drug addict will go to somebody who doesn't know him to get morphine. The person who knows him says I know that chap!

Apocryphal stories have developed around these themes. Ali Mansour remembered his hospital's experience:

I remember we had a Turkish doctor doing ENT... He wasn't considered very good so he was eased out so to speak and he then started doing Psychiatry. And soon we started to hear that there was this wonderful new doctor in the psychiatric department and when we enquired what the name was we realised who he was and we delved deeper into it and we realised that his command of written or spoken English was so limited that once he would ask a question to the patient the patient would start to speak and he would never interrupt because there wasn't enough language... And they thought he was such a wonderful listener... That was the story!

The authorities are conscious of the need for language support or services to be available for minority groups and provision may be made. Speaking of gynaecology for example, general practitioner Tahir Saeed recognises that his patients' needs are being addressed:

What is happening now, the consultants they are having these short courses in Urdu and Hindi, and they have started learning... like they have to find out whether the baby is moving or not... They have started learning that. They think it's important.

Indeed, an optimistic guest at a party saw this as a way of encouraging her son, a medical student with very poor Urdu, to improve his language. She was trying to convince him that the future is bright for those who can combine medical competence with the competence to use ethnic minority languages.

In general practice, working in an area where there are many Asian families creates a need for extensive use of Punjabi or Urdu and the languages allow communication with a number of other Asian groups who use Hindi, Urdu or Punjabi, not just those of Pakistani origin. This was a major factor in the lives of Tahir Saeed and Rashid Sheikh. The problems of interpreting symptoms can be considerable; those of understanding social pressures equally great.

Unsurprisingly, studies have revealed the fact that a great many minority group adults express a preference for family doctors who can use their minority language (Moffatt, 1990; Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). Aisha Durrani, working with the health visitor service, does not see it as a simple issue however:

I work with Asian antenatal and postnatal mothers so that is very important because very few would go and register with an English doctor, although some of the doctors are not nice to them, there have been situations where they have been neglected and children have been neglected and you ask them 'You know if you're not satisfied, if you're not getting a proper service why don't you change your doctor?' and they will say 'No, at least he can understand and we can speak to him in our own language'. So they stick with them for the only reason of the language.

The other side of working in medicine is contact with colleagues and although many work alongside other minority group individuals, the tendency to use English only is

strong. Jamal Imtiaz argues that he needs to use only English in order to ensure professional status and respect. Others disagreed with him but refer to the role of English as the lingua franca between members of what might be a mixed group. The complexities of using appropriate language within a mixed Asian group are great and there is a perceived need not to highlight differences in the work context. The social differentiation between Urdu and Hindi and between different Punjabi dialects or varieties can be awkward and many Asian languages are of course mutually incomprehensible. Furthermore, the impression of secrecy which may be created by small groups using a different language make it advisable to use English.

So far as the work/study domain is concerned for the second generation, a number of the young people are involved in medicine. Seven out of the fifteen who were of an age to do so were either training or trained as doctors in 1992. In 1997, the figures are ten out of nineteen. They echoed parental voices in speaking of the need for minority languages to be available for communication with patients from the Asian community and had had experience of being able to contribute in that way. Madiha Halim, trained for primary school teaching was also extremely clear about the value of her oral skills in Urdu for her work in a multi-ethnic school where the majority of the children in her reception class are from homes where English is little used. She needed to use Urdu considerably more in school than at home. Sarah Qureshi had been used as a medical research associate in a small comparative study partly because of her language skills.

The Swann Report (DES, 1985) referred to the fact that minority communities in Britain will, for a long time, need professional services to be available through minority languages. Within the domain of work in the medical field, the theme of service to the Asian community through skills in Punjabi/ Urdu has emerged very clearly. This adds a dimension to the public face of maintaining or developing the skills. The same theme was echoed by individuals working in a local Citizens' Advice Bureau and Community Relations Offices linked to Law Courts. The importance of this motivation for second

generation individuals will depend on their areas of activity but is becoming important for some and echoes developments elsewhere. In Australia for example, Clyne (1997) argues that in an age of economic rationalism, the value of bilingual skills will also have to be argued in those terms if any public funding is to be channelled their development.

So far as the youngest children in families were concerned, the domain of school and study were still strongly associated with exclusive use of English.

My friends sometimes ask me to say words in Urdu and I get a bit embarrassed because it sounds a bit odd trying to speak Urdu to someone who's English..

declared Maryam Saeed.

Commentary: public and private domains.

For the first generation, there are domains of language use where Punjabi/Urdu would always be first choice. Amongst the second generation, there are no domains where English is not the first choice for spoken language. But there are domains within which encounters may call for the use of Punjabi/Urdu if they are available. Discussion of such encounters has made it possible to gain an overall view of the way in which bilingual repertoires may be called upon right across a person's life in the present transitional situation and also to identify possible loci for language maintenance.

Both private and public domains continue to be important for the use of the minority language. Discussion of bilingualism in minority groups has generally attributed greater importance to the continuing maintenance of private use than of public. The home is so

often represented as the domain within which the traditional language must be maintained if it is to survive at all. Romaine argues that

it is surely significant that the Punjabi-speaking community is not managing to maintain home/family interactions as an intact domain for the exclusive use of Punjabi... The locus of the shift to English is in the sibling pattern of interaction in the home which now allows English to make inroads into private domains as well (Romaine, 1984, 121).

The implication is that the private domain of the home is the last bastion which matters most for maintenance.

In this study however, motivation for continuing use may come from more sources. Home life may still provide the main input for language maintenance and contact with non-immediate family still constitutes one of the most urgent reasons for children to develop Punjabi/Urdu. Use of Punjabi/Urdu in the home is still very secure among the first generation and is still a part of the home-based life of all second generation individuals, even if only in the use of residual features of kinship terms, food and some social formulae. However, it does seem as if the 'public' domain of work and the 'public' eye of family friends also support maintenance of Punjabi/Urdu in the second generation at the moment. Working professionally in either medicine or education can both make it an asset and sometimes a necessity to be able to use Punjabi/Urdu. Interaction with parental friends and with other members of the Asian community may also create the need - social or practical - for use of Punjabi or Urdu. Furthermore, using the languages in Pakistan for interaction with other extended family members can sometimes seem to be 'public' use as well as private for people there are likely to use evidence of young people's ability to do so in their assessment of their development. As Samara Saeed put it, typically, but more openly than most:

If my children can't speak Urdu, they won't feel comfortable there... I mean they will be sort of socially outcast... That's why we should keep the language going...

These public dimensions of continued use would seem to stem from two possible sources. Firstly, there may be a commitment to the provision of a service to the Asian community, itself stemming from identification with the community or from recognition of the professional asset that language skills can be or from both. Secondly, the public use of Punjabi/ Urdu outside the home or the immediate family may be seen as constituting a language 'display', a symbolic gesture indicating solidarity with the community or showing a commitment to traditional values and attitudes. This strategy may be adopted with varying degrees of real commitment: as a marker of positive attitudes or as a strategy for gaining acceptability, for increasing personal or family status by conforming to norms of politeness. Within the immediate family, it is not necessary to 'display' language in order to authenticate identity or membership.

This distinction between private and public dimensions of individual 'performance' could be further analysed within different theoretical frameworks. The concepts deriving from Goffman's work on the projection of images of self (Goffman, 1959) could enrich analysis. An anthropological approach could be rewarding as it was in the work of Beeman (1986). He investigated patterns of interaction and language variety in Iran and drew up an analysis of variation based on symbolic distinctions between 'internal' (or in-family) and 'external' contexts, and between interlocutors symbolically identified as 'equals' or 'nonequals'. However, within the present, multidimensional study, such detailed pursuit of one dimension is not feasible.

Finally, it is possible to see the use of Punjabi and Urdu as making a splendid contribution to another type of privacy, when needed. It is the privacy of 'secret' communication. This dimension is not domain-specific; it may be seen as a theme

which links domains, which links the private and the public dimensions of bilingualism. It is mentioned but rarely highlighted in the literature of bilingualism. Reference is made in Dorian's study of Gaelic to the fact that parents find it useful if children do not know the language so that they can use it secretly. The case is similar in Fantini (1985) and it emerged quite significantly in this research. First and second-generation members referred explicitly and usually jokingly to the way in which domestic discussions could be kept secret from young people by use of Punjabi. On several occasions, first generation members or mixed-generation groups were observed switching to use of Punjabi or Urdu as a ploy for achieving privacy in discussion in front of shop assistants or public officials. A note in Urdu stuck to the front door by Aisha Durrani was intended to prevent potential thieves from gaining information which had to be transmitted to an expected visitor. Ghazala Qureshi remembered with great pleasure the fun to be had from teaching some Urdu words, including insults, to her English friend in school so that private communication in front of the teacher could be achieved. Several second-generation young people recalled with pleasure the secret use that could be made of the languages sometimes with other Asian schoolfriends.

Light-hearted confirmation of the general importance of this dimension of bilingualism was forthcoming from an article in **The Daily Jang**, from **Roomi's Diary**, a witty weekly column. The column of 24 July 1992, entitled **Mind your language** read:

Are you bilingual? Kya aap ki do zabanay hain? (Do you have two languages?)... Somebody once asked me what is the point of learning Urdu/ Hindi/ Punjabi etc. in this country. I think that there are a number of advantages in learning such languages which are non-European and perhaps less fashionable than, say, Japanese, Chinese or Cockney. The first advantage of learning a language such as, say, Urdu is that you can safely swear at someone. The second advantage is that you can get a job at the Daily Jang. Thirdly you can understand other people talking against you in the same language. Fourthly, you can understand the swear words people use against you.

Yaar... languages are funny things - they came out of the need to communicate with one another but often are used now to differentiate and distance people...

The first paragraph makes clear the importance of the dimension of privacy in the 'layman's' view of transitional bilingualism! It also echoes the covert prestige of Punjabi with its acknowledged capacity for humour and swearing and the potential for professional advantage to be gained from bilingualism. The second paragraph hints at the more sombre side of the impact of rapid language change and shift.

The importance of privacy is a theme which will also be pursued in the next chapter on the cultural dimensions of language shift and maintenance.

A functional interpretation

Appel and Muysken (1987) argue that in researching a bilingual situation, a functional analysis of the use of bilingual skills adds subtlety to an analysis of domains of language use. They posit a relationship between domains of language use and functions within which the more informal the domain, the more subtle the command of the language which is needed to function within it. The analytical framework they put forward (1987, 29), derives from Mühlhäusler (1981), Jakobson (1968) and Halliday (1978) and can serve to interpret the role of the different languages in the communicative repertoire of the subjects.

Six different functions are identified. The referential function is the fundamental one of transmitting information. The directive or integrative function is realised by the use of conventional modes of address, interactive routines, greetings, formulaic utterances perhaps such as will ensure cooperation between speakers. The expressive function represents the ability to make one's feelings known through the language. The phatic function is that which keeps interaction going by using such devices as are necessary to keep people involved and communicating. The metalinguistic function of language use is realised if speakers are able to make clear their awareness of the significance of the language or discuss its features and norms. The poetic function of language is within a

speaker's competence if there is ability to make jokes, puns, wordplay and to appreciate the use of language at a level where the style or the manipulation of language can itself be a source of interest and pleasure.

Functional reduction and specialisation is a classic result of the process of language shift and thus of transitional bilingualism. Using this model, it is possible to go further in interpreting the intergenerational differences between the functions that Punjabi /Urdu serves for the research group. Relating it to the domain-based analysis adds an extra interpretive dimension.

Amongst the parental generation, the general referential functions of Punjabi/ Urdu are extremely important both in England and in Pakistan. It is the language of choice for everyday communication of information within the home and friendship domains with interlocutors of the same generation. Also, for men and women, particularly women it seems, the use of Punjabi/Urdu with family and bilingual friends is associated with feelings of relaxation and ease and with intimacy within the family. In functional terms therefore, for the first generation, the integrative, expressive and phatic functions of Punjabi/Urdu are all of great importance. Punjabi is the vigorous, homely language of every day for most. Its humour and its potential for ensuring privacy in public places also give it great value. Urdu is also the language of every day for some but it is particularly cherished because it is seen as rich and beautiful, a language of fine literature and with strong religious and national associations. Relatively few parents have a highly developed competence in literary Urdu but the enjoyment of Urdu poetry is widespread, associated not only with private enjoyment but also attending occasional poetry concerts of traditional recitations in song accompanied by instrumental music.

As Nusrat Masood says:

We still find Urdu is a beautiful language, very soft spoken, very expressive and the language of the learned people and somehow when you know Urdu, you straightaway feel better within yourself.

Most parents, even those whose children have relatively well-developed expertise in Punjabi/ Urdu, regret that full appreciation of the literary dimensions of Urdu and the humorous dimensions of Punjabi is something they do not expect the children ever to develop in full.

The frequent involvement in Punjabi jokes which often depend on wordplay represents engagement in the 'poetic' function of Punjabi. The discussion of the way the jokes operate and the pleasure in the wordplay certainly represents an ability to engage in Punjabi with a metalinguistic function.

Among the second generation of adolescents and young adults, for many, referential functions of Punjabi/ Urdu are limited within the family domain, except insofar as listening skills are well enough developed to follow the domestic conversation between parents. However, in Pakistan, it may become extremely important to be able to use it. The visits usually have a symbolic and affective importance greater than the length in time would appear to represent and there is a certain degree of shame attached to an inability to use Punjabi/Urdu while there.

The functions Punjabi/ Urdu serves are clearly integrative and expressive therefore within Pakistan. Those young people who asserted no interest at all in the languages had also not visited Pakistan for many years.

For many young people, the use of Punjabi/ Urdu was seen as polite with parental friends, even if, at minimum token level, it was just a matter of greetings and leave takings. This implies a use of Punjabi/ Urdu with integrative and phatic functions. A

certain social distance may also be implied which might explain the comment by Sofia Sheikh that she and her contemporaries would not normally choose to use Urdu with young children from other Asian families because

if you spoke to them in Asian (sic), they would think you were trying to be like their mummy and daddy and they would look at you differently and you want to be a bit more friendlier figure.

The metalinguistic and poetic functions of the languages are simply not available to the second generation however. The expressive function can still be an important dimension however for some. Intimacy, relaxation, solidarity and warmth can be expressed as we saw : greetings when arriving home, friends of parents visiting a very ill teenage boy in hospital opted to use Urdu when in other contexts they would normally use English.

In brief, considerable functional restriction is observable in the command of Punjabi/ Urdu of the great majority of the second generation and there is clear functional specialisation. Choice and use of Punjabi/ Urdu, even when it is largely with a mainly phatic function, can have a powerful affective and symbolic resonance for the young people which does not depend on a high level of expertise but an understanding of which is basic to an understanding of their personal linguistic repertoire. Because use of Punjabi/ Urdu is less frequent among the second generation, the decision to use it on particular occasions can carry with it a more distinct message than the regular and more widespread use of the language for referential everyday purposes amongst first generation individuals.

The young people whose command of Punjabi/Urdu is well developed perceive its functions as being strongly integrative and feel that it is important to use it in order to acknowledge its role. It indicates a positive attitude to their own group membership

and it allows them to communicate with individuals who would otherwise be socially inaccessible or certainly more distant. The residual functions of Punjabi/Urdu in the repertoire of those members of the younger generation who use it relate to their view of their own particular relationship with Pakistan, family members beyond the immediate parent and child links and to the Pakistani community in Britain. Those individuals who claimed to have no competence or interest in the language also had less interest in Pakistan and had not visited for a long time. They were less likely to value links with the Pakistani community in Britain.

The functional analysis involves consideration of affective, attitudinal dimensions of language use as well as the practical. The analysis is essentially interpretive and it gives rise to another systematisation of the roles of different languages. It does not seem that the relationship here between domains of language use and language functions is as Appel and Muysken describe. Skilled use of rather limited language resources can, for example, fulfil integrative and sometimes phatic functions without individuals necessarily being able to draw on enough resources to be able to satisfy communicative needs at the referential level, posited by Appel and Muysken as the least exacting of the functions. In the intimate and informal domain of the home, fewer demands may be made on the repertoire of the second generation because there is not the same pressure to display the politeness, loyalty or skill which in more public situations can be valued or implicitly required.

Conclusion.

The use of domains of language use as an analytical tool has been useful. It has made it possible to report systematically on language use right across people's lives, in situations which could not have been observed as well as those which could. It has been possible to identify general tendencies and also differentiation between individuals. The system of domains has been sufficiently transparent for it to be used

for self-reported data and as a focus of discussion with respondents. This approach was not chosen in order to prove that shift is taking place since it is very clear that the situation is a transitional one. However, it was appropriate in order to explore and identify where the sites are for continuing use of Punjabi/Urdu. It has provided a useful set of concepts for the cross-indexing of data from a number of different sources. Exploring domains has meant investigating the realities of the use of bilingual repertoires and searching for any locus of maintenance. It seems that public use of Punjabi/ Urdu by second generation members in front of parental friends is such a locus although it does not ensure that maintenance is of a high level of competence.

The final, functional analysis added a dimension to the chapter which gave importance to affective and attitudinal dimensions of the evidence. These dimensions will become more important still in the next chapter where the nature of cultural continuity and its relationship with linguistic continuity will be examined.

Chapter 7

'More culture than grammar':

cultural continuity and linguistic continuity

Introduction

If transitional bilingualism involves intergenerational language change, what are the implications for intergenerational transmission of culture? The relationship between linguistic and cultural continuity is complex. Cultural 'distance' between minority and majority communities is generally seen to slow language shift and enhance maintenance with a them/us feeling between communities. The greater the perceived distance between 'them', the majority and 'us', the minority, the greater the force for maintenance of the minority language and the slower the speed of shift (Fasold, 1984; Mercer et al, 1979; Paulston, 1986a)).

However, the weight of evidence indicates that a minority culture can and does survive loss of minority language skills in a range of situations although perhaps in diminished form (Edwards, 1985; Romaine, 1989). Studies and opinions linking cultural maintenance with language maintenance vary in their emphases. Fishman (1977; 1989) argues a case for language as a symbol of ethnicity and its maintenance or revival as central to cultural identity. Dorian (1994) sees culture as inevitably diminished by language loss. Smolicz (1984) argues that for some cultures, language is a core value and must be maintained in order for the culture to be maintained. Edwards (1985) argues that economic success almost invariably leads minority groups to shift towards majority language use. Gal (1979) and Dorian (1981) both identify cultural and social correlates for different individual linguistic repertoires during shift.

In this chapter, these perspectives will be drawn upon in analysing the complex cultural position of the research group and its relationship to linguistic continuity. In particular however, I shall build on the basic principle of Barth that self-ascribed 'continuing dichotomisation between members and outsiders' is what underlies cultural continuity of ethnic groups (Barth, 1969, 14). I shall also use his principle that cultures may be characterised by identifying 'overt signals' of lifestyle and language and 'basic value orientations' (Barth, 1969, 14). Through analysis of data from participant observation and interview, and building on the notion of dichotomies and self-ascription, I shall discuss facets of cultural identity and continuity. The self-perceptions are seen as valid sources of evidence and mainstream English cultural 'norms' are only presented by implication. The relationship between the dichotomies and aspects of bilingualism is discussed at many points. The ethnographic style of the chapter is adopted for its capacity to present an analysis of data generated by participant observation with vitality.

A distinctive identity

At a gathering of a few families which I attended, Tahir Saeed stirred up argument among the men. During discussion of political developments in Pakistan, he reproached those around him who were criticising Pakistani politicians for inefficiency. He argued that everyone owes first allegiance to Pakistan and Britain was a hostile environment. He accused people of disloyalty. Others argued that holding a British passport meant they were British Muslims of Pakistani origin - like their children. People pointed out that Pakistan currently has more qualified doctors than it can afford to employ or who can manage to earn a living there. Jamal Imtiaz claimed that most of them have been able to live as they wanted in Britain although they missed Pakistan. Mushtaq Rahman suggested that you 'put your identity in your pocket if it is so important to you.' Nothing in Pakistan had changed, he said. Inefficiency was rife and living in England, they could do nothing to help.

Jamal Imtiaz became bored and came to the women in the room next door to joke about how angry everyone was. Such discussions when first-generation members gather are common. Opinions vary but Pakistani issues are pressing and important. The migrants are still concerned with their place of origin. People refer extensively to events '*back home*' drawing on their past and present Pakistani experience, links and information. The underlying assumption of all, frequently repeated, is that they are distinct from the majority of people in Britain insofar as their identity derives in part from their Pakistani background. They are in this sense members of a community which is a 'a cohesive and self-conscious social group' (Cohen, 1986.) There are some echoes of the very marked incapsulation reported in Anwar's account of a Pakistani community in the north of England (Anwar, 1979).

At one large party, visitors from a northern seaside town expressed regret that there are not more of 'our people' there. 'Our culture', claimed Mahmoud Halim on another occasion, was at risk from the onslaught of British social behaviour. It was very difficult for his children to be at all involved in British social life, he said, because everything revolved around the pubs. Second generation members '*are in a sort of schizophrenic situation*'.

On returning from an American holiday, Jamal and Fawzia Imtiaz expressed sympathy for the families of Pakistani doctors they had met and stayed with because they were so '*isolated*' - so far from anyone else of '*our people*', anyone of Pakistani origin that is.

There are professional dimensions. Many people recognise that their career path has been partly influenced by some inequities in selection processes. Samara Saeed, still in the process of specialising, was advised by senior 'English' colleagues that she would have a better chance of passing her membership examinations if she wore English dress for the practical examination and not her normal shalwar kameez.

The them/us dichotomy showed in expressed feelings of being under threat, general threats taking on a distinct dimension. At a small party at the Durrani's house in December, conversation about the dangers of drunken drivers on the road at Christmas focused on how this seemed to add to the feelings of being at odds with the majority in not celebrating Christmas since it was impossible to travel safely. Conversation about the need for burglar alarms and panic buttons focused on the argument that thieves in England now know that Muslim families do not spend money on drink, entertainment or gambling but save their money, buy jewellery and have costly things in the house. They have therefore become a particular target for thieves.

The conflicting pressures and demands of living 'between cultures' (Taylor, 1976; Watson, 1977; Anwar, 1978) are perceived strongly by both first and second generations. 'English people' are often discussed and contrasts explicitly made. Different rules apply to 'them' and 'us'. Fawzia Imtiaz observed with anxiety that her daughters were, in her eyes, neither Pakistani nor English. They seemed to have mainly English girls as friends. She feels that they risk feeling alienated from their background and that they may adopt a lifestyle with which she has no contact. They may not want to marry someone of their own background. Fatima Qureshi observed that her children did not really know Pakistan despite having visited it many times. This prevented them at times from really understanding the Pakistani/ British mindset, for instance female guile. Nusrat Masood, longer in Britain, blamed '*Asian parents*' for not explaining to their children why it is necessary to remain distinct, in what ways their own future and marriage prospects would be damaged if they behaved inappropriately in the eyes of their Asian community. Asian parents were too much inclined to tell their children '*what they should be thinking*', she felt.

On many occasions, at gatherings, conversation involved story telling and jokes. Anecdotes about English wives who somehow failed to move from 'them' to 'us' when with their husbands' families in Pakistan were quite common. A wife who had

reproached her father-in-law for speaking harshly to her young son who was misbehaving elicited mirth and also reproachfulness for her insensitivity. A long joke was told about a new English daughter-in-law mischievously taught the wrong words of Punjabi so that on first meeting her mother-in-law, she called her fat, ugly and owl-like (an insult implying stupidity).

In conversation, three women doctors reflected on different approaches of their female Asian and English patients to menopause or hysterectomy. For the Asian women, a greater degree of social freedom was perceived and welcomed in middle age; for many English women this stage represented decline, the passing of youth.

At one formal party of Pakistani doctors and families, an after dinner speaker, a psychiatrist, recounted how English parents had asked for their disturbed son to be treated by a Muslim psychiatrist because they were convinced by all they had heard that that would give him the strong moral guidance he needed. This was applauded by those listening.

These instances of the dichotomisation by first generation members between themselves and the 'English' reflect an identity variable in focus but consistent in reflecting a shared background and some shared values, knowledge and modes of behaviour.

A range of negative perceptions of the majority community by second generation medical students or young doctors also emerged. It would be harder for them to get jobs than it would for their 'English' classmates or colleagues. The supporting evidence was strong (McKeigue et al, 1990). Tahira and Alia Imtiaz referred indignantly to the fact that 'English people' always 'stutter' when they attempt to pronounce Asian names however simple they are. They discussed different views of what 'English people' think about shalwar kameez and whether it is despised or regarded as high fashion,

decorative and ornate. Jamil Masood acknowledged discrimination and distance but thought the situation used to be worse:

I think .. society's more tolerant. I mean when they (Jews) came over here, if they refused to change at all and tried to stick with that, society wouldn't have accepted them at that time. Whereas now, in this country, there are still barriers, there always will be, but they are much less significant. And just because you're called Stanovitch doesn't mean you won't necessarily get a job. In those days it did.... They did that (changed their names) to conform because they had to whereas nowadays you don't have to conform as much and you can be more isolated and still not affect you personally.

Sofia Sheikh is conscious of the identity problems some young members of Asian groups have in Britain:

If they resent their parents, well, the classic term is calling them a coconut, You're brown on the outside but you're completely white on the inside, like English people. I've heard that term used loads of times. All over the country you know you'll get these young Asians called coconuts. The kids who find it hard to be Asian. I mean I don't know what it is they find so hard to do but I think they find it uncomfortable to mix with Asian people... I think some people have bad experiences with Asians or maybe they were living in Pakistan or India for a while and something happened and they didn't like it.

She refers also to visits to Pakistan as providing 'a booster in your own culture'.

A perception of separation between themselves and the majority 'English' community is well supported by evidence from individuals within both generations. In order to analyse this self-ascribed distinctiveness, I shall elaborate on certain significant themes: continuing contacts with Pakistan, the extended family, Muslim identity, relationships with other sections of the Asian community and marriage.

Continuing contacts with Pakistan

During the period of the fieldwork, almost all of the mothers of the families spent some time in Pakistan without husband or children. Purposes ranged between simply enjoying time with the family, organising financial affairs, going for convalescence after an operation, going to explore and initiate marriage arrangements, visiting elderly parents, going because of a death in the family, shopping for fashionable or for traditional clothes and buying traditional wedding jewellery. The only woman who did not make a visit was Nusrat Masood who has a large family network in the UK.

Families visited Pakistan and some young people went alone. Madiha Halim claimed to prefer living there and has spent most of her summer holiday there for two or three years, staying with her mother's family. Kausar Masood chose to do the elective period of his medical degree in the old medical school and enjoyed it very much. Ali and Waseem Durrani spent several weeks there with their cousins during the summer holidays.

For the first generation, it is a place of happy memories, as perhaps is to be expected amongst a group of alumni of the same college and also for people who have migrated in order to enhance their prospects rather than because of dire economic pressure. There is nostalgia and a degree of haloisation at the memory of the establishment of Pakistan and the idealism of the country's early years after 1947. Now, on visits 'home', comforts may be enjoyed because of the availability of servants, the temporary

celebrity status of being a guest and access to good quality but cheap services such as tailoring and dressmaking. There is the freedom for the young people there of not being in a minority group. It is often observed that in many ways, lifestyles among young people these days in Pakistan are freer than in England for young Asians or Muslims whose parents try to protect them from 'English' social habits.

Pakistan is a continuing source of changing fashion in women's and girls' clothes, of political argument and frustration, of economic anxiety. It is also a source of frustrations because of official bureaucracy and inefficiency. Also, it may be dangerous. There have been kidnappings from wealthy families in Karachi... 'Tell me when you want to go' jokes Jamal Imtiaz to Fawzia 'and I will start saving for the ransom'. The relative safety of England is appreciated despite acknowledged hazards. The dangers to health in Pakistan are recognised; the youngest of the Saeed children had recently nearly died there of typhoid. The GPs in particular know how often families returning from Pakistan and India have some health trouble especially if they have been out of the big cities into any of the villages where malaria, intestinal conditions and tuberculosis are risked.

The links are still very strong then, both in practical terms and as a reference point. First generation members no longer subscribe to the 'myth of return' identified by Anwar (1979) as prevalent among other Pakistani families and acknowledged as a feature of many migrant groups (Watson, 1977). They recognise that their children will almost certainly stay in England. Several people referred to families they knew who had tried to return to Pakistan several years earlier but who had found that they could not settle. Children had sometimes been very unhappy and had demanded a return to England, satisfactory jobs were difficult to find and those of their former colleagues and fellow alumni who had never left did not particularly welcome them back, with their hi-tech experience, relative wealth and expectations. Most people also

recognise ruefully that they will need the services of the NHS! But the presence of Pakistan is strong in people's lives.

Many, but not all, parents see maintenance of some communicative skills in Punjabi or Urdu as most important for their children in this regard: *'If they can't speak the language at all they will be sort of socially outcast'* (Samara Saeed), although several young people had not visited Pakistan for a number of years. This very practical dimension of linguistic continuity was discussed in chapters five and six above.

The importance of 'family'

The most compellingly important continuing links with Pakistan are based on family. Despite the years, relationships remain very strong, opinions count, advice is sought, goods and gifts are exchanged and visits are made for important family occasions in both directions. Because of modern ease of communication by telephone, day to day links internationally are more immediate than they were in the early days of migration when everything depended on letters. The size of telephone bills is a favourite conversation topic. Prosperity and the ease of international travel aid such international contacts.

Generational links with an older generation are maintained through contacts with Pakistan and the functional language for this is as important as ever. None of the families have had their parents living with them on a long-term basis in England. In that sense the families are already somewhat different from the traditional extended family system they might have experienced in Pakistan (Anwar, 1985; Shaw, 1988). They differ from other groups studied where the classic situation of language shift over three generations has been portrayed (Li, 1994; Linguistic Minorities Project, 1985). The number of links with grandparents is, of course, reducing because of age and deaths

but the extended family structure ensures that kinship networks remain significant to the families in England.

Many people from Pakistan come into the family homes in England. In the same year, Naseem Masood brought his elderly and sick father to England so that he could die surrounded by family care, Aisha Imtiaz brought over her elderly mother for a private operation so that she could be well nursed and Rashid Durrani acted as host to his brother who came for heart surgery. Samara Saeed brought over an elderly relative to help with child care. Razia Sheikh's sister who had fallen ill in Pakistan came to stay in order to get good medical advice. When relatives, particularly elderly ones, come to stay in the British home, the need for the young to use Urdu/Punjabi becomes crucial.

The centrality of the family institution to the lives of individuals, and the commitment of individuals to it, was a focus for many conversations and observable as implicit in many situations. The family exercises powerful control over individuals, creating strong obligations and offering great support, and is at risk of being damaged or dishonoured if any individual member behaves inappropriately and unacceptably. This is an element of cultural continuity and also of cultural distinctiveness (Ballard, 1979; Anwar, 1985; Joly, 1995). Linguistic continuity may be associated with either. These findings are reinforced by other research: analysis of UK census statistics for 1991 found that family structures were strongest among ethnic minorities and, in particular, South Asian groups (Owen, 1993).

Explicit comparisons were sometimes made with 'English' families. Samara Saeed declared herself shocked when she discovered that some of the English hospital consultants' children appeared to be outside family control and academic direction and seemed quite undisciplined and academically unsuccessful. Quite explicitly, she attributed it to parenting style and reflected how very difficult it would be for an Asian

family of the same class to accept such behaviour. When Jamal and Fawzia Imtiaz talked of their holidays in the US, where they had stayed with different Pakistani families, they had noticed the lack of courtesy and overt respect particularly in the way the young treated their parents. Always a raconteur, Jamal told the story of the teenage son who, on being asked by his father to get him a cool drink while they were both watching TV, replied 'Look Dad, we've both had a hard day, I'm tired and you're tired, so why should I get up...?' Everyone listening laughed but reflected that this aspect of change would be very hard to accept and had been much harder to resist in the States. The case of a seven year old boy who was sent back to live in Pakistan with his grandparents, in order to assimilate respect for parents, after unacceptably rude behaviour, was quoted by Mahmoud Halim during his own rather muted complaints about his eldest son, who speaks no Punjabi or Urdu and mixes with a lot of English friends.

Young people spoke on several occasions about the family institution, identifying it quite clearly as a point of contrast between Asian communities and the English. They were positive about their own situations, reflecting the findings of a recent study of Birmingham Muslims in which young people recognised the limitations but also the advantages of strong family cohesiveness (Joly, 1995). Many understand and sympathise with their parents' concern to live according to community norms. Sofia Sheikh linked this with reflections on education:

The thing is with Asians is they place a lot of emphasis on education because if you go back to India and Pakistan, people with education are the people who get respect and that's what it's all about, respect in society, that's what all families stand for, to be seen as a respectable family.

Part of the theory of being a 'respectable family' in the eyes of the young may also involve showing respect to others, especially the younger to the older. Sarah Qureshi, talking positively about two sons of another family, claimed that

...they fit into the Pakistani image of a how a boy should be ... very friendly and looking after everybody like in the family... they tend to be looking after the girls as if they were sisters and sort of being very friendly with them in that sort of respect... Very few boys tend to do that; they react in a very normal English way.

Nevertheless, the family institution could be criticised harshly in reference to 'other' families. Farah Rahman recounted stories of the parents of some of her Asian schoolfriends who were promised 'bribes' as she saw it, if they obtained a place in medical school. Alia Imtiaz spoke of younger girls whom she knew whose parents took no interest in their education because they were only interested in future marriage. She argued that for most families, it was extremely important to present the image of the perfect family. Farah, in admiration, amusement and possible reproach noted that many young people perfected only a particular formulaic range of Urdu and Punjabi to create a favourable impression socially, particularly on older people. Other children might be warned to be discreet about family affairs in order to maintain front. This discretion in maintaining front was exhibited during the fieldwork when certain secrets such as poor examination results, attempts to arrange marriages or intra-family quarrels were confided to me but hidden from certain other people.

Parents recognised the hazards as well as the benefits of traditional patterns. Nusrat Masood, while having a strong commitment to traditional patterns and thinking that many of the Pakistani and Indian women she knows are less than totally committed to child-rearing, was critical of '*many Asian parents (who) try to tell children what to think*'. She had come to England as a child and having had a bad relationship with her

father, resolved to embrace the traditional role at an early stage, becoming a power at home. She has a serious approach to her role as mother-in-law and grandmother.

A synthesis of views expressed leads to the conclusion that a family's image and prestige within the community is much influenced by the extent to which family conventions and traditional values of family solidarity are congruent. Patriarchal leadership and loyalty, intergenerational harmony and respect, social conservatism and educational success are most highly valued. Social conservatism may be expressed variously in patterns of socialisation, acceptance of traditional marriage arrangements, in style of dress and in religious observances, in various combinations. Educational success is probably most clearly recognised if it leads to Medicine though other professionally- oriented courses such as Engineering and Law are also highly regarded. So far as language skills are concerned, competence in Urdu or Punjabi can be an important manifestation of loyalty to such attitudes. It can obviously ease continuing communication, signal loyalty to the traditional values and the continuing use of traditional kinship terminology by the young, outlined in chapter six, makes a contribution. Furthermore, if bilingual competence helps ensure privacy as argued in chapter six, then it marks the value placed on family discretion.

Muslim identity.

The religious identity of the families is a focus for another self-ascribed dichotomy - that of being Muslim in a society which is for the most part not of the same religious persuasion.

In situations of language change, religious identity can be a strong force for language maintenance (Fasold, 1984; Grosjean, 1982). The religious dimension of cultural continuity within these families is very important. There are many aspects of lifestyle

which are shared by the families, which they attribute to the fact that they are Muslim. Different families have varying degrees of religious practice and orthodoxy in their lifestyle but certain social assumptions are general. Alcohol and pork are excluded. Ramadan is acknowledged when there are frequent evening parties, many fast from dawn to dusk each day and there is a festive ending at Eid, celebrated by all. Meat is almost always bought from halal butchers although this may be inconvenient because of distance. Visits to McDonalds with children will usually mean eating fish or perhaps chicken. Wedding parties and graduation parties may be booked to take place in expensive hotels but with outside Muslim caterers, and Coca-Cola the drink of choice. At public events, women and girls will invariably wear ornate and expensive shalwar kameez, usually with some Asian-style gold jewellery. This is the accepted pattern of social intercourse and social respectability, in theory inseparable from Muslim identity and often not separable from Pakistani identity.

The international nature of Islam is discussed. Many have had experience of working in the Middle East and disliked it. People from Pakistan are badly treated there: accorded lower social status than locals or European expatriates. Apocryphal stories are told - of a Pakistani father who had to spirit his doctor daughter out of Kuwait because an Emir with a hundred and forty wives admired her and seemed about to propose marriage to her! In Saudi Arabia, Aisha Durrani claimed to have seen hypocritical demonstrations of female piety by conventional dressing outside the home contrasting with perverse, indecent behaviour in private. Paradoxical behaviours and both frivolous and serious aspects of Islam are discussed.

Not everyone conforms to the same norms. Fawzia Imtiaz does not fast. She dislikes not being able to concentrate as a result of having low blood sugar during the afternoon. Razia Sheikh and her friend could not participate in the singing of religious songs at the party of a very orthodox family because their knowledge was inadequate. Mumtaz Qureshi negotiated with a group of Shia who wanted to remove a body from

his hospital very rapidly for burial but who were prevented from doing so by the hospital administration because of the need for a post-mortem.

The second generation, like the first, have varied views and experiences. Young Maryam Saeed, recently returned from Pakistan had experienced the normalcy of prayer as a response to the heard call from the mosque. Shameem Masood remembers the surprise of classmates at her account at school of her Muslim lifestyle because it involved so many differences from theirs. The Durrani boys are sent on Islamic holiday 'camps' to develop their knowledge of Islam further within their peer group. They go to the mosque on Friday for mid-day prayers with their father if it happens to be a school holiday. On hearing that a hospital in Africa offering a clinical placement opportunity for medical students in elective periods is a missionary hospital, Sarah Qureshi remembers declaring '*That rules me out then*', assuming a Christian mission would not wish to receive a Muslim student and thus asserting her identity as such. Distinctiveness through Muslim identity is clear though paradoxes are also expressed. Sofia Sheikh typified some uncertainties:

We find it easier to get on with Indians than we do with Iranians....if you sort of take an Arab, their culture is more orientated towards their religion whereas Pakistanis aren't, their culture isn't really towards their religion...

Speech acts of greetings and leavetakings make a specific contribution to this identity, signalling a sense of fellowship and solidarity as well as courtesy. A *salaam aleikum* and *Xoda hafiz* are not used with non-Muslims and may not be used in informal contexts with family members but can be very important in contexts where a degree of formality is needed. At one small gathering Alia Imtiaz greeted a group of women with 'Hello everybody'. In Punjabi, her mother told her she should say *A salaam o aleikum* instead and then she apologised informally to the other women for her daughter's

transgression. Alia obligingly produced the 'proper' greeting. But after Alia had left the room, Fawzia apologised again and talked of how difficult it was to keep the youngsters up to scratch. Her sense was clearly that the incident reflected both on her daughter and herself.

The sub-continent: the Pakistan-India dichotomy.

Other dichotomies are also present. People of South Asian origin in Britain, the 'Asian community', are culturally, religiously and linguistically disparate, though sharing many commonalities of cultural heritage and practice. The families in this study distinguish themselves very clearly from non-Muslims and from non-Pakistani groups. They frequently referred to the boundary between Muslims and Hindus. Historically, this division is rooted in the partition of India and pre-partition circumstances, sharpened at times by personal memories of flight from India. Perceptions of current conflicts and animosities also emerged, particularly among the parental generation and despite frequent personal friendships. Rivalries may relate to job selection, representation on national professional committees and so on. It is often observed that probably 'the English' are not as aware of these differences as the Asians themselves. Animosity between Hindu and Muslim is often greater than between the English and the 'Asian'. During the course of the fieldwork, a number of events such as the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, the shifting political patronage of America and incidents in Kashmir brought these dimensions of political discussion to the fore, especially for the first generation.

Nevertheless, particularly among Punjabis of Indian and Pakistani origin, many cultural commonalities exist. Marriage festivities (as opposed to religious ceremonies) are similar and so is the great concern with Asian clothes, jewellery, family traditions and structures, together with some traditions of cooking and shopping.

So far as the second generation are concerned, Aisha Durrani observed that even in games of football and cricket, the division into teams amongst the youngsters tends to be along Muslim/ Hindu lines.

However Sofia Sheikh saw Asians as distinct from the 'English' but sharing a great deal with each other:

Pakistanis and Indians probably share the same type of culture don't they... with Indians their language is Hindi which is virtually identical to Urdu...

Linguistically, the Muslim/ Hindu or Pakistani/ Indian distinctions are complex. Whilst Urdu and Hindi are orally mutually comprehensible to the willing, key elements such as greetings and leave-takings are distinct. Also, scripts are totally different. Within Punjabi, regional variations are considerable and often not mutually comprehensible. Hindus/ Indians may have another first language, unrelated to Punjabi or Urdu. English is the safest choice therefore for Pakistani/ Indian interaction.

Within the Pakistani community

The creation of an Anglicised middle/ intellectual class which does not understand and/or feel responsible for its own ethnic working class is, I believe, the single most worrying trend in the Muslim and other Asian communities (Modood, 1992, 270).

While class has been perceived as a significant influence, the evidence of this group does not lead to such clearcut judgments. Nevertheless, it is observed by Naseem Masood that the less well-educated members of the Pakistani community, will be far more likely than the better-educated to take time off work or school for Eid or will focus on issues such as school uniform or halal school meals which he feels are not of central importance. Alia Halim is involved actively in serving the needs of the Asian

community at official level: acting in court as interpreter, working as a committee member of the local Community Relations organisation. She argues that she tries to make distinctions between merely ritual and essential needs of the Muslim community. She feels that 'community leaders' become over preoccupied with the ritual.

Nevertheless, solidarity and protectiveness also show themselves. One evening when the Qureshis were visiting, a young Pakistani couple came to ask for help with their sick child. They had already consulted the GP. Mumtaz Qureshi took it for granted that they would have been treated in a less caring way by the (English) GP than an English family would have been, and so he re-examined the child.

Mahmoud Halim, however, typifies an uneasiness felt by the older generation over behaviour within the community which they see as tantamount to begging, and damaging the Pakistani image. Naseem Masood tells of the unreasonable demands made on hospital maternity services by some Asian mothers. He knew the nurses in the clinic being criticised and said that they were very upset because they had put so much effort into making the service appropriate for its multicultural clientele. The low standard of certain Asian-origin GP's is perceived by some to provide an inadequate service. Fawzia Imtiaz worked in one such practice for a while. Patients never considered going elsewhere although illicit fees were sometimes charged. A second generation doctor from another family outside the group refused a position in a general practice in an inner-city: his mother explained that he wanted to serve '*our people*' but he also wants a '*balanced*' position.

The same mother had been asking for help in finding a partner for her daughter because she herself meets too many 'uneducated' members of the Asian community in her work, yet only feels at ease with the 'educated'. Class issues often emerge in marriage discussion and mixing across class lines created by education may cause problems and gossip. Aisha Durrani told the story of a local halal butcher, a simple

man whose son is a doctor. His qualification enhanced his eligibility and he married a girl of good Pakistani family. Established in a GP practice not far away, he delights in being able to return to his parents when he can and often helps in the shop, causing shame and embarrassment to his wife and her family, provoking quarrels in the family and comments in the community.

In linguistic terms, a greater expertise in English is the main marker that distinguishes first-generation members of the research group from the first generation of many other Pakistanis. This has, of course, been a crucial and defining factor in their lives in terms of relationships with the majority community, type of professional activity, financial security and social contacts and success. It has also advantaged the second generation in easing their development of English.

Barth asserted that the self-ascribed dichotomies between groups are at the basis of group identity and boundaries (1969). Using this notion it has been possible to outline key dimensions of the distinctive cultural identity of the families in this study and to consider the relationship with language matters. The next step is to focus on processes of cultural continuity and to relate them to questions of linguistic continuity.

Marriage: systems, concerns and qualifications

In exploring the issue of cultural continuity, as fieldwork proceeded, I identified marriage as one of the most significant recurring themes. The topic of the marriage of children preoccupied many of the parents and in particular the mothers. The question of whether second generation migrants undertake endogamous or exogamous marriages is always likely to be important in considering transmission of culture. Furthermore, the age group of these families meant that the theme was a naturally-occurring one and people were often concerned with the choice of a 'girl' or a 'boy'.

(These are the terms used by both generations and were reflected generally within the community, as in Vikram Seth's *A Suitable Boy* (1993)).

When the fieldwork began, only one second generation member had married. Wahid Masood's wife was a young woman of Pakistani origin whose parents and grandparents were from the same village origins in pre-partition India as the Masood family and who were also resident in the same city . During the fieldwork, I attended or learned of a number of weddings involving young people from families linked to the research group. All were endogamous. By the end of the fieldwork period, four more young people had married, three endogamously.

In Pakistan, marriages are normally arranged by parents (eg. Shaw, 1988). With many variations, there is a basic pattern for this process of finding a *rishta* - a suitable partner. The norm is that parents of a young man seeking to marry will, by a delicate route of many stages, ask the parents of a young woman whom they have selected whether they will agree to her marrying their son. They are likely beforehand to be well-informed about her and particularly about her family, either because the families are well acquainted or related. Neighbours, matchmakers and family members may have been involved in seeking information. If rejected, they will look elsewhere. If accepted, negotiations about conditions and arrangements will ensue.

If a daughter wants to marry, information to that effect is likely to be given discreetly by parents to trusted relatives, friends or matchmakers, usually between women so that if people also hear of families who are searching for a girl, they can pass on information. Since normal patterns of socialising do not involve much mixing of the sexes beyond childhood years it would be difficult for more direct routes to occur. The norms of family and particularly female privacy are such that it would be inappropriate for extended casual encounters to take place between young men and women outside a family context although social occasions such as wedding parties may provide

opportunities for glimpses of potential spouses. The justifications for the system also derive from assumptions that parents will make as wise a choice as they possibly can. Filial obedience is very highly valued and the system also offers possibilities for consolidating family relationships and improving the status of a whole family if a marriage bond is established with a high status family.

Different degrees of implementation or interpretation of these norms depend on a number of distinctions: rural and urban, social class, level of education, degree of religious orthodoxy, family traditions and so on. Different amounts of contact between the young people allowed before marriage will be one variable. The decency and honour of a family however depends on proper adherence to this traditional pattern. A hiatus in the system will also endanger the marriage prospects of younger siblings.

Variations of this basic system are developing among the Muslim community generally (Joly, 1995) and others from the sub-continent. Most parents in the research group assumed that their children would want them to give help in finding a rishta although they acknowledged that not everybody did. They knew of cases where young people of Pakistani and Indian origin had opted for or insisted on a 'love' marriage. The Qureshis were proud of the fact that their own marriage in Pakistan had been a 'love' marriage but they felt that the safest and most likely route for their children was traditional. A totally unaided marriage was seen as very hazardous. There was a basic assumption that no marriage would go forward where both parties were not in agreement with the plans.

Several families were at some stage during the fieldwork searching for suitable partners for one or other of their children. The systems for hunting are complex, dependent on social contacts and more difficult in some ways to implement in the minority group in England than in Pakistan. Social gatherings are popular because they offer opportunities to search for partners directly or indirectly. Young people encounter

each other, mothers see potential matches and make contacts. Indeed, the message came quite directly from one family from the alumni society that they did not need to socialise any longer since both their daughters were married.

Shazia Rahman spoke quietly to individual women who might know someone with a suitable daughter for her son. He wants to marry someone intelligent and 'quite modern' in her outlook. One girl suggested from another family in the group was judged by Shazia to be extremely pleasant and suitable except for the fact that her parents are very 'traditional'. They would probably be too intrusive for Hassan's taste and style. Razia Sheikh told me she was looking out for a suitable partner for Sofia, at that stage a fourth-year medical student and content for her mother to take the responsibility. Razia was concerned that she might not find anyone. She would be quite happy if Sofia met a boy from amongst the families in the society; it would probably be very suitable, the families would be well matched and if the young people liked the look of each other, and once the initial contact had been made, she and her husband would be happy to take over the arrangements with the boy's family. Naseem and Nusrat Masood said similar things about their second son who had indicated to them that he felt ready to marry. Their first, Wahid, had chosen to depend on his parents to find a suitable girl, involving very little contact between himself and his wife before marriage. Such arrangements demand secrecy. Were everything to be discussed publicly, privacy would be violated and the risk of humiliation considerable if hoped-for arrangements did not succeed.

Anxieties were frequent and the discussion of dangers extensive. The fundamental anxiety for most was whether they would be able to find a suitable partner; the perceived social and religious duty of parents to do so weighed heavily. Also, young people might want to do things the 'risky' way. Shazia Rahman confided when her daughter was nineteen or twenty that she was pleased Farah expected an arranged marriage. Maybe this should be arranged immediately she got her degree and before

she changed her mind! Her son, Hassan on the other hand had at first rejected help but had changed his mind and told her and Mushtaq he wanted them to find him a suitable girl.

There are other anxieties. There is a danger if a girl has been given too much and is perceived as wealthy that proposals may be of doubtful sincerity. There may be rivalry between families in vying for the interest of particularly eligible available partners. A rift occurred between two mothers because one accused the other of recommending someone else's daughter to the family of a particularly suitable boy. His suitability derived in part from being a Syed, a social élite, as were the two quarrelling mothers. The complainant argued that that should have created a special loyalty.

Failed marriages were the focus of discussion. There was a twenty-two year old girl medical student being married off to a man of thirty-five before she had finished her studies so that she was pregnant when taking her examinations. The contemporary fashion in Pakistan for marrying off daughters during their studies whilst their youth maximises their marriageability and being married insures against them being misled into undesirable patterns of behaviour, was criticised. The same judgment was made on marriages that failed because parents had been unable to avert marriages of incompatible partners.

Tensions may also emerge when marriage is arranged between one partner brought up in England and one in Pakistan. All parents acknowledged this. The danger to the happiness of the young people is most acute if the girl has been brought up in Britain and the boy in Pakistan for his assumptions about the attitudes and behaviour of a wife are likely to be more restrictive than hers. Such an arrangement is also more likely to mean that the couple will live in Pakistan and many parents believe that their daughters would find this difficult because of lifestyle differences and lack of facilities. Problems

caused by this kind of arrangement leading to conflicts and quarrelling have been observed frequently by Rashid Durrani and the other GP's within the community.

In Pakistan, however, marriage between cousins is very common and sometimes this element outweighed other risks. One couple, well-known to the group, are themselves cousins and their son married his first cousin from Pakistan who has now come to live with him and his parents in Britain in an extended family situation. Samra Mansour wished her son to marry one of his many cousins but instead, he decided to marry an Indonesian girl he met at university. Enormous conflict ensued but he persisted and an unwilling truce was effected. Some sympathy went to Samra from other women who acknowledged the need to ensure children's happiness with a Pakistani partner (and their own with a Pakistani daughter-in-law). Others argued that the crucial factor was that, as an Indonesian, she was Muslim, producing an acceptable accommodation. Besides, some women argued, the parents had been unable to find a Pakistani rishta acceptable to their son and who found him suitable and therefore, their choices were limited.

Another member of the society confided at a wedding lunch that her son had asked her to search for a possible wife. He had graduated two years earlier. The specifications were that he wanted someone tall and pretty! Taken for granted was that she would be from a Pakistani Muslim family, that she would be well-educated and that she would have lived a 'suitable' lifestyle, family-based and virginal. The mother was taking advantage of attending social events in part to look around for anyone suitable. She felt that charm and an open expression were also important qualities since inhibitions and introversion might conceal emotions and thought in a way that prevented easy relationships. Although her husband had some responsibility too, it would not be appropriate, she joked, for him to look at potential daughters-in-law too obviously or carefully!

Despite the privilege accorded to educational achievement, Wahid Masood had asked his parents to arrange a marriage and had specified that he did not want to marry another doctor: he wanted someone able to commit herself to the family. Hassan Rahman wanted his parents to find someone intelligent and 'modern' and also specified that she should be of similar age. Young men no longer prefer to look for younger brides, argued a group of mothers at another meeting.

The notion of marriageability within this traditional route rests heavily on cultural loyalty. Commitment to the family and to cultural norms are seen to be important in any young person but often explicitly **admired** in young men while absolutely **required** in young women. The Qureshi daughters claim to know many more girls who have been brought up as 'typical Pakistani' amongst families of their acquaintance than they do boys. Young women wear traditional styles of dress for group social occasions. This reflects in a minor way a more explicit closeness to the traditional culture than is required of young men although the same patterns also apply in Pakistan. Patterns of socialising are more constrained. A group of fathers discussing careers in medicine for the second generation talked about the need for girls to choose routes which would require little emergency work and might be pursued on a part-time basis.

The general perception of both men and women is that women in their role as mothers are transmitters and mediators of culture, the immediate source of conservatism, the guardians of family links. In many minority communities, women have played the more conservative role culturally and their lower level of bilingual skill has been a sign of their non-participation in the majority culture (Lieberson, 1972; Edwards, 1990). In this group, the women with the lower levels of skill in English took longer to settle in Britain and Samra Mansour's experience would bear this out in that she has had least contact with the majority community. Indeed, one problem for her with acquiring a non-Punjabi/Urdu speaking daughter-in-law is that communication will be less relaxed.

One dimension of marriageability therefore may be the ability to use Punjabi/Urdu. Such skill will not be vital or sufficient but it may be significantly valued. To be able to use the language signals a commitment to the traditional family values which are the essence of the culture. More daughters than sons fulfil this language imperative and parents are proud of their skills.

Cultural continuity and maintenance of bilingualism

Clear cultural distinctiveness, in theory, is conducive to maintenance of bilingual skills (Fasold, 1984). In this chapter so far, evidence has been presented both through first and second generation voices of significant cultural distinctiveness. However, whilst everyone in the first generation has bilingual skills which reflect cultural identity in an easily identifiable way, the language repertoires of second generation members are of a different and more variable order. To what extent does the sense of a distinct cultural identity relate to bilingualism?

An ability to use Punjabi/ Urdu by children and young people of the second generation has valued social significance within the group and the Muslim Pakistani community at large. Individuals within different families differ but the desirability of bilingualism is recognised at least for social interaction with visitors and relatives and for continuing links with Pakistan.

Particular incidents also confirmed sharply the importance of the public display of competence which was also identified in the previous chapter. Ghazala Qureshi, twenty-one, was reminded explicitly by her parents to use Urdu with the parental generation of guests at a house party for families. At another gathering, her sister Sarah, twenty three, was addressed by a mother in Punjabi/Urdu who then seemed

surprised to hear her respond in the same language. Sarah enjoyed making a point of continuing to use Punjabi/Urdu since she felt she had been 'tested', as to whether she was as competent bilingually as that mother's 'children'. Negative 'judgments' were passed on particular second-generation members for their lack of bilingual skills. Nusrat Masood had been roundly criticised for not having nurtured the Urdu of her children. They are extremely successful in conventional educational terms but the local Pakistani Muslim community - on the whole not highly-educated themselves - have been very critical. Criticism was also levelled at the two grown-up Imtiaz daughters by a woman friend of their mother who said that they '*do not speak their own language*'. This was a symptom of a general distancing between them and their traditions.

Public display of skills in Urdu adds authenticity to cultural identity and may be seen as signalling solidarity with family and community, a marker of social identity. It is a way of showing politeness between generations, an acknowledgment of tradition, of authority, of respect in a cultural context where such qualities are highly valued. This is recognised by all second-generation members. Many appear to embrace it wholeheartedly while others, like Farah Rahman with her comments on the 'fine art' of using minimum linguistic resources to maximum social effect, recognise the implications and are willing to play the game.

Auer argues the value of treating bilingualism as a social datum;

a property of speech communities or of members of such communities that has its foremost reality in ... interactive exchanges... Members of a bilingual community display to each other, and ascribe to each other, their bilingualism... bilingualism becomes social action (Auer, 1991, 319-320).

This chapter has drawn on this principle at some points. The weight of evidence however is that cultural continuity within the families is much stronger than linguistic continuity and does not depend on it. The observation of Razia Sheikh in relation to

her own children's Punjabi/Urdu that '*Speaking for them is more culture than grammar*' epitomises the views of many in both generations. The dichotomies identified between family members and the majority community are marked and the processes for maintaining them are available and in successful operation. The symbolic value of continuing use of Urdu or Punjabi is acknowledged as indicating membership of the cultural group, bearing out the validity of Fishman's basic principle that this is how language use can be a marker of cultural identity. There are certainly those in the community at large who believe that identity is diminished by failure to develop bilingual skills but there is no evidence that it is a *sine qua non*; it is not, in Smolicz's terms, a core cultural value. The value that is attributed to it is quite great however and Edwards' assertions (1985) that economically successful minority groups usually relinquish use of their traditional language seem to overlook the value of continuing use of even residual skills.

A metaphor: The Daily Jang

The *Daily Jang/ The News International* newspaper provides a metaphor for the cultural distinctiveness, language change and continuities which have been observed in this chapter.

The *Jang* is taken by all the families and often fuels discussions. It is the main newspaper aimed at the British Pakistani community, appearing six days a week. Political articles cover issues and events in Pakistan and India and other Muslim countries. There is frequent information on the fighting and political unrest in Kashmir, Palestine and Israel or Bosnia as the situation of the day dictates. News from Britain usually relates to minority issues and especially Pakistani or Muslim interests. On the non-political front, there is extensive coverage of cricket and particularly of the Pakistani national team as well as Asian films, fashion and entertainment. Princess

Diana and Imran Khan have featured frequently at intervals over the last few years. Ethnic cultural events are advertised; job advertisements often carry requirements for such skills as competence in Urdu or Punjabi. Goods and services that are advertised are clearly targeted : flights to Pakistan, shipping companies, catering services. Each day there is a very short quotation from the Koran on the same page as the leading articles. Correspondence and feature articles deal with political, social and religious issues.

The paper is the London-based sister of a leading Pakistani newspaper and many of the articles are therefore from the same sources. Over the years since the fieldwork began, the format and language policy have changed significantly. In 1990, the paper was entirely in Urdu, a tabloid-sized newspaper usually of eight or twelve sides carrying an English language supplement of four sides of newsprint on Fridays only. It then adopted the policy of including a daily English inserted supplement of four sides. During both these phases, the English language pages carried some news items relating to Pakistan or the subcontinent but spent more space on news of entertainers and filmstars, fashion and sport and also allowed space for correspondence. The most recent development has been to change the format of the paper to a broadsheet usually of eight or ten sides of which three or four are in English as an integral part of the paper. Since Urdu is read from the right hand side and English from the left, the Urdu title, front page and other pages move from one end of the paper and the English ones move from the other. The page numbering identifies the Urdu front page as the first.

The English language pages now give extensive news coverage and leading articles as well as continuing to include entertainment, sport and correspondence. It is tempting to see the developments in the newspaper, albeit so rapid and thus representing a rather telescoped version of change, as representing a shift among the Pakistani community towards more extensive use of English. Specifically, it surely represents the fact that whilst the original readership included mainly first-generation readers with

well-developed literacy skills in Urdu, it now includes, or aims at, more younger people whose reading skill in Urdu may be limited or non-existent.

On Saturdays, the advertising includes the Marriage Bureau where some entries are in English, others in Urdu. Some of the personal 'features' advertised and sought would appear in any equivalent newspaper's list - age, physical characteristics, sincerity. Others echo some of the concerns that have been discussed in this chapter. It is parents who advertise for partners for their sons or daughters for example. Linguistic skills in Urdu/ Punjabi are often identified. Membership of the Pakistani community and loyalty to the traditional values of Islam or of Pakistan contribute to marriageability. There are also indications of the desire for partners who have accommodated to life in Britain. Concern with educational qualifications is considerable.

Some examples illustrate these points:

Son, Sunni Muslim, British (of Pakistani origin), pharmacist, 24 years old, 5'10" tall, smart and handsome, non smoker, fair complexion, slim/ medium build, practising Muslim, *Urdu/ Punjabi speaking* (my italics), GSOH, lively, enjoys sports and travelling and resides near Manchester. Seeks Muslimah who is pious, educated (to degree level), slim, attractive, humorous, over 5'4", aged between 20 - 25 and of Pakistani origin...

Daughter, Brit/Pak, Research Scientist, MSc, PhD London qualified professional. *Well versed in Urdu and Islamic values* (my italics). Very attractive, slim, tall, white complexion. Seeks British genuine professionally qualified businessman 36+, preferably Kashmiri/Pathan from London area. Photo appreciated (returnable). No time wasters, only genuine and honest need respond..

Daughter, British born, fair, slim, smart, Sunni Muslim, *possessing eastern/ western values, Urdu speaking* (my italics), 24 years, 5'3"1/2, BSc Hon Pharmaceutical Science, parents seek a graduate/ professional match of British national only, under 30 years of age.

(*Daily Jang*, July 1997)

Without attributing great epistemological significance to these short texts, it is possible to see them as making an intriguing minor contribution to the broad discussion of cultural and linguistic continuity.

Conclusion

In order to explore the question of how cultural and linguistic continuity relate to each other for the research group, I chose to use participant observation. This approach allowed me to gain insights into the underlying cultural priorities and values which would be the essence of cultural continuity. Fieldnotes focused frequently on aspects of culture at the various levels of lifestyle, expressed values and opinions, and behaviour. I opted to use Barth's classic notions of cultural dichotomies and self-ascription in order to identify essential dimensions of this culture and these notions slowly gave structure to data analysis and the emerging chapter. Within each section, it was then possible to use critical perspectives of other cultural and linguistic analysts.

So far as the question of cultural continuity was concerned, I had become aware during the fieldwork that given the circumstances, the age of children in particular, questions relating to marriage were of key importance since the study of intergenerational transmission of culture must take account of marriage patterns. I was then able to orient the further collection and analysis of data accordingly. Other studies of language

shift have focused on marriage patterns as an important factor because of the key role it plays in any analysis of cultural continuity (Gal, 1979).

Other ethnographic studies of language shift (Li, 1994; Gal, 1979) have chosen to investigate the relationship between language shift and social or cultural considerations by using social network analysis. The results have been systematic and interesting but the attention given to the culture of the research groups is less central than has been the case in this chapter. Here, I have attempted through ethnographic methods to present a portrait of the research group which has vitality and conviction and gains insights into the experience of transitional bilingualism.

Both this chapter and the previous one have argued from an interpretive analysis of data that public display of bilingual skills can carry cultural weight and symbolic importance. In the next chapter, I turn to literal analysis of a different set of data and investigate the linguistic realities of bilingual interaction in the private, home domain.

Chapter 8

Talking and teaching: bilingual interaction in two families

Introduction

It has been proposed that bilingual families

... seem to evolve into unique settings of linguistic mediation ...each family cell becomes a privileged setting for specific linguistic behaviour and interactional patterns. (Dabène and Moore, 1995, 30)

This appears to be the case when we consider the distinct ways in which the Qureshis and the Saeeds interact within their private family settings.

This chapter turns from the interpretive analysis of cultural concerns across the research group as a whole to present a textual analysis of languages in use in just two families. It adds what Mason (1996) calls a literal dimension to data analysis within the study: the text rather than its informational content is the focus. A portrait emerges of two family styles of bilingual interaction in the home during this period of transitional bilingualism.

The collection of the corpus was described in chapter three and an analytical approach outlined. The focus will be on functional dimensions of code-switching and also on lexical, structural and interactive dimensions of language use. The purpose of the analysis is to identify evidence of continuity or change and to characterise styles of bilingual family interaction. In keeping with the ethnographic dimensions of the study as a whole, an underlying principle of the analysis is that

language choice often ties up with individual histories of interaction in which patterns of language choice may have developed, or is simply a

matter of individual preferences, which are, in turn, related to linguistic competences and personal linguistic biographies (Auer, 1991, 340).

The Qureshi family style: an analysis

The recordings made in the Qureshi home confirm that for them, intergenerational interaction almost always involves two languages. For both parents, Mumtaz and Fatima, Punjabi/ Urdu is very often, though by no means always, the code of choice in initiating interaction. Responses from their two daughters are likely to involve English and quite often Punjabi/ Urdu also. They usually involve only English when it is Ghazala, the younger daughter, who is speaking but Sarah uses Punjabi/ Urdu also. Her initiation of interaction is either in English or in Punjabi/Urdu but again Ghazala's strong preference is for English. This pattern within the recordings is consistent with observations over a period of several years and given that the second generation are now young adults, it would seem to be the fixed pattern for this particular family grouping.

Mumtaz and Fatima were always confident that they should use Punjabi and Urdu consistently at home and from their early days in Britain, they have held to a desire for the 'children' to develop and maintain their bilingualism. Also, Mumtaz successfully taught Urdu to Sarah and Ghazala more formally, developing their literacy skills. Although Ghazala does not use Punjabi/ Urdu within these texts, she was observed using it elsewhere and had recently passed her GCSE in Urdu.

Within the corpus, some patterns of language alternation and use are consistent with an underlying desire to maintain bilingualism - at least on the part of the parents and Sarah. Code-switching by both parents is frequent and fluent. It can be interpreted sometimes as aiming to ensure the daughters' comprehension. It can also be seen as adding interest and drama to conversation and additionally, it can be seen as didactic.

Although Sarah regularly uses Punjabi/Urdu, she never manifests the same range of code-switching patterns.

In this section of the chapter, these global observations are illustrated but the details of the analysis are intended to give them substance and life. The first text sets the linguistic 'scene' and exemplifies a number of features found in the family's bilingual repertoire.

The rest of the section presents analysis of code switching functions and other dimensions of the family style. Transcription conventions are given in Appendix 3.

TEXT 1.

(Tape A.5b)

The family are preparing to leave home for work. Sarah addresses her father:

Sarah: [ap ko thənd ləg rəhi aj **short sleeve shirt** me]. It's quite cold today
(*Aren't you feeling cold today in your short sleeve shirt?....*)

Mumtaz cold [nəhi]
(*It's not cold*)

Ghazala It's only about touching nineteen twenty degrees

Mumtaz It's pleasant, very pleasant, not cold. [Ap logo ne to **coat** pəhən leya
həy na tum əngrez ho]
(*You have all put your coats on, just like the English*)

Sarah initiates in Punjabi/ Urdu, commenting on her father's choice of a short sleeved shirt on what she thinks is a chilly morning. In her first sentence, consistent with her choice of Punjabi, she uses [thənd] (*cold*) to refer to the weather. She code-mixes 'short sleeve shirt' into the sentence. This could be a strategy for dealing with her own lexical insufficiency in Punjabi but integration of such an item is a typical example of

the code-mixing of English within Punjabi/Urdu. (Similarly, 'coat' is used within the otherwise Punjabi sentence of the final turn of the father in this text).

It would seem however that the use of the English words 'short sleeve shirt' has triggered a switch to English. The following 'It's quite cold today' would obviously be quite within her linguistic capacity in Punjabi but she uses English - in what is therefore an intersentential switch. It would also be possible to interpret this switch to English as an example of a common pattern of code-switching in the family's (and much) bilingual discourse which is a near repetition in one language of what has been stated immediately previously in the other.

Mumtaz's first utterance echoes and is perhaps triggered by Sarah's use of 'cold' rather than [thənd] but his utterance is also a switch back to Punjabi.

When Ghazala speaks, it is, as usual, entirely in English. She has no hesitation in entering the conversation. In this particular instance it would be difficult to imagine that she could have had any problems of comprehension but the pattern is a consistent one within her contributions. It is an example of non-reciprocal language use.

The father's choice of English for the beginning of his next turn has perhaps been triggered again by his daughter's previous utterance but he switches back to Punjabi in completing it - using an intersentential switch. In teasing his family for their faintheartedness, he produces a light-hearted example of what is a recurring feature, namely a reference to the 'English', the 'they' community whose tastes, habits, thoughts and behaviour often provide an interesting topic of conversation and often also an example of thinking at variance with 'us'.

This brief commentary introduces some of the major characteristics of the bilingual discourse of the family. Analysis of a range of features of this discourse will now be presented with short substantiating texts.

Functions of code-switching

Code-switching for clarification and confirmation.

Reiteration, where a message in one code is repeated in essence in the other, is presented by Gumperz (1982) as sometimes serving to clarify a message and sometimes to emphasise or amplify the message. There are many instances within the talk of the parents of reiteration where the purpose would seem to be clarification of a message or confirmation of the comprehension of the message. Examples are given below:

TEXT 2.

(Tape A.1b)

Stimulated, it would seem, by enjoying a favourite lentil-based dish (dal) at dinner time, father Mumtaz has been telling a story. It involves a noble of Moghul times who asked a cook to prepare channa dal (chick peas) for him. Everyone was surprised when he asked for fifty quails and partridges also.....

Mumtaz [phyr tyttār bāterey tayar ho gae. ek danrra wtha key wsko scoop kia
wska centre awr wskey āndār bātera rākh diya]

*(then partridges and quails were ready. He picked up one grain and
scooped it - its centre I mean - and put the quail in it)*

Sarah (laughs)

Mumtaz so he put all those fifty [pāterey awr] partridge in each [danrra]
(quails and ... grain)

Ghazala In one piece of the dal?

Mumtaz [nəi, **each** danrra, nəi **each, each**, yyh danrra ho hota həy]

(no, each grain, no each, each, this grain... you know)

Apart from code-mixed **scoop** and **centre**, Mumtaz's first contribution is all in Punjabi. Sarah laughs and Mumtaz continues the story with a code-switch to English. English becomes the base language for this utterance, if we define base language either as the initiating one or the language which has syntactic predominance in an utterance. 'So he put all those [peterey awr] partridge...' gives a repetition in English of the Punjabi verb of the previous utterance and could clarify meaning for a listener less proficient in Punjabi. Ghazala is unsure of the story however and asks for confirmation of meaning; perhaps the story seems too far-fetched or perhaps her repertoire does not contain [danrra], a single grain, extendable to a single chick pea. Mumtaz seems to interpret the problem as the fantasy element: that a quail could be put into each single chickpea! Ghazala must understand [ek] (the word means 'one' as well as 'each') He thus confirms with three repetitions of **each** in English and almost certainly the indication of the lentils on the table. However, this is incorporated within a linguistic base of Punjabi. This confirmatory, reiterative switch was invited rather than spontaneous and the tone becomes didactic as Mumtaz seeks to illustrate meaning. The continuing use of Punjabi as the base language is a way of maintaining the narrative and contributes to the overall strategy of maintaining the language.

Didacticism can also be explicit, as in the following:

Mumtaz [to wsney dal pəkai. to ek ser dal wsney ytney barrey huge pot me dal
di, wsko deg həhtay həy]

*(so he cooked the lentils. Then he put one seer of the lentils in a huge
pot - it is called a 'deg')*

In the following example of switching for confirmation and clarification, the talk is of a family friend who has some travel plans.

Text 3.

(Tape A.3b)

- Fatima [dekhe na, edi gārmī vāc bāccey lāy jae gi Dubai]
 (Look, in such hot weather, she wants to take her children to Dubai)
- Mumtaz [kwthey janrrr cadi e?]
 (Where does she want to go?)
- Fatima Dubai
- Mumtaz and
- Sarah oh
- Ghazala Dubai?
- Fatima [Dubai ke ābu dābi othey ī a] one of the two
 (Dubai or Abu Dhabi, one place or the other)

The first mention by mother Fatima of Dubai has not been very clear and Mumtaz asks for clarification. Both he and Sarah are rather surprised and shocked (because of the climate it would seem). Ghazala would seem to be a moment behind in her comprehension since she now requests confirmation of the information. Or perhaps she has other information about the travel plans which make her doubt whether Dubai really is the destination. Fatima agrees that perhaps there is some uncertainty. She confirms in Punjabi that it is either Dubai or Abu Dhabi, one or the other and then switches to English to repeat and thus confirm the fact that it may be one of two places.

In the next text, switching within the course of a communicative episode has a similar function.

Mother Fatima has been telling a long, sad story about a young man she knows of and whose mother she has been talking to in the hospital. His group of friends have been extraordinarily badly hit by illness. Two out of the group of four have died...

Text 4.

(Tape A.5a)

- Fatima [tey əy tyne **friends** dey tey awr kəla pwtər jerra həy na a bərra səkht
 depressed ho gya ey]
 *(so this is about the three friends and the one who is the only son, he is
 extremely depressed)*
- Ghazala His friends have all died?
- Fatima Dying and died
- Ghazala That's awful
- Fatima [tey o pəi jəndi si key əy kiu **cancer** zyada ho gya ey]
 (then she was asking why cancer has increased....).

The story has been told largely in Punjabi with everyone paying a good deal of attention apparently ; the story is indeed a very sad one. The first line quoted here is bringing the story to its conclusion. Ghazala has found it all very shocking and wants to check her understanding. Her mother wants to confirm and refine it with 'Dying and died'. Switching into English between utterances achieves the effect. Once she is assured that Ghazala has fully understood, she reverts to the Punjabi which was the choice as base language for the story episode as a whole.

Code-switching for dramatic effect.

Another identified reason for code switching is that it is used as a rhetorical device for an effective conclusion to a narrative, the announcement of the punchline:

Text 6

(Tape A.1b)

Mumtaz has developed his story of the Nawab's cook and his wonderful dish of flavoursome chick peas with the taste of fifty partridges and quails incorporated. The story has been proceeding largely in Punjabi.

He announces two punchlines with switches to English:

- Mumtaz And that was the most tasty, the most tasty [cəna ki dal] you've ever
 had in the [mwghlia zəmaney ki cəna ki dal]
 (*... chick pea lentils ... in Moghul times, the chick pea lentils*)
 The best was, [kəh jəsey hi kysi ko dykhar aya na, wskey mu sey bətera
 nykəl ke, bar ja kər dərəkht pər bəth gya]
 The best was (*that as soon as someone burped, a quail flew out of the
 mouth of that person, and sat on a tree outside*)
- Sarah [ho gya]. You've got a very good ending to your very good story. You
 just make that up?
 (*That's it...*)

During the course of the story there have been numerous other instances of switching, but this one corresponds closely with instances cited in Fasold (1984) and Gal (1979) of story endings being a site for switching. In the first instance, 'And that was the most tasty, the most tasty [cana ki dal] you've ever had', the switch to English marks the arrival of the end of the story. A second and final punchline is announced however with : 'The best was...' The switch to English commands attention. Attention is obviously won for the delivery of the final joke in Punjabi. It elicits a playfully deflating - and code-switching - response from daughter Sarah.

Code-switching for quotation

Text 7.

(Tape A.6a)

Within the family setting, mother Fatima is often a keen story-teller. Many tales derive from the days spent in the hospital. This is an extract from a new tale, from the geriatric department where she works. Everyone is apparently listening to the monologue. An elderly English-speaking woman who has recently been transferred to the ward had told Fatima about her troubles and Fatima is recounting her talk:

Fatima: [te kehndi e ke] my son doesn't come to visit me now [tin din raḏya e ma de kol te] he says he's got a business so he can't spend time with me [te] what am I living for [te kehndi e mḁnu golian dey dey te] I want to go and join him.

(and she said that) my son doesn't come to visit me now. (He came and spent three days with his mother then) he says he's got a business so he can't spend time with me (so) What am I living for. (So she said give me pills because) I want to go and join him.

This is part of a much longer narrative which has been largely told in Punjabi. The incorporation of the conversational quotations is interesting. Fatima reports the contributions of the elderly woman sometimes in English and sometimes in Punjabi. The switch may indicate that speech is being reported or a contribution quoted but the language of the original utterance is not necessarily the language of the report. Furthermore, there may be language alternation within a long quotation so that part of it is in the original language, part not. Dramatic impact can be created either way.

Earlier in this narrative, Fatima had also quoted her own contributions both in Punjabi and English although they must all have been delivered in English.

Fatima is a skilled and frequent story teller and her narrative skills are very much part of her individual repertoire, her own individual style.

Another instance can be taken from a discussion of doctors and patients in Pakistan where Mumtaz also demonstrates narrative skills!

Text 8.

(Tape A.6a)

Mumtaz: [ke] they go to a specialist, they'll take a prescription from him, go to another specialist and show him his prescription [ke] what do you think about this prescription [ke] well, yes, uh, [thik nāi, te e thik hāy ga e, me tən davai ek hor lekh dena a...

(that..... that..... that... it's no good, or else this one's OK but I will prescribe you another medicine...)

The story at this point is proceeding largely in English though with Punjabi/ Urdu discourse organisers. The first 'quotation' of the 'typical' patient is in English but the 'typical' doctor is quoted as replying in Punjabi. The hypothetical discussion is located in Pakistan where indeed either might be possible but within a doctor-patient conversation, both would probably use either the same or a mixture of both.

What seems clear is that although switching in order to quote may be a frequent and often predictable phenomenon, the pattern is by no means invariable. Switching is not always a means of quoting the language of the original utterance. The switching perhaps adds flavour and authenticity to the narrative but is an available device rather than a consistent reason for switching. It can signal the act of quotation on the part of

the narrator rather than the linguistic substance of the quotation. Gumperz (1982) also points out the frequency but inconsistency of this phenomenon and develops an interpretation more intimately bound up with perceptions of languages involved as the 'we' code and the 'they' code. Such an interpretation would seem difficult to sustain here. The quotations do sometimes add dramatic effect to narrative and in that sense, switches may be multifunctional.

Code-switching for cultural framing

Interjections and fillers were identified by Gumperz at the grammatical level as a focus for code switching. Within this family discourse, I present them as serving to give a cultural framing to the interaction. Their presence in text which may otherwise be entirely in English gives the interaction a distinctive flavour of Punjabi/ Urdu. This can be perceived as giving a particular cultural dimension to the interaction, representing individual and family repertoires.

At a seemingly mundane level, Fatima, Mumtaz and Sarah very often use

[əccha] -(*OK, good, fine, yes*)

It may initiate a conversational turn or provide a filler within a turn or between turns, even when the language of the moment is English.

Examples

Text 9

(Tape A.3b)

Fatima and Sarah are discussing things to be bought on the next trip to Pakistan as presents. The list includes teacosies, and they bought some last time too but are confused about details of colour:

Fatima [kerri multicoloured beta?]
(Which multicoloured one child?)

- Sarah [əˈnɑrkəli sey ai thi]. Black velvet.
(the one that was bought from Anarkali (bazaar in Lahore.)
- Fatima Black velvet
- Sarah [əccha], I thought multicoloured [yk awr di thi ap nə mera khyal həy]
(OK. I thought there was another multicoloured one given by you...)

Sarah's [əccha] in the final utterance here provides an indication of comprehension.

Text 10.

(Tape A.5a.)

Dinner is on the table and Mumtaz is being encouraged to eat:

- Sarah [dekho əbu, ap ke liye **fish** a rəi həy **and** kəbab]
(look Dad..., here is fish for you and kebab)
- Mumtaz **fish** [a vei hey]
(This is only fish..)
- Sarah with that, also
- Mumtaz [əccha]
(yes I see/ OK)

Mumtaz's [əccha] confirms comprehension and gives approval.

Other interjections are also observable eg. (see above, Text 6)

- Sarah [Ho gya] You've got a very good end to your very good story.
(That's it)

A range of other interjections are common, for example

[Teeg həy] *(OK/ It's OK)*

[Koi batne] (*It doesn't matter/ Never mind*)

[Bilkul] (*Absolutely*)

In structural terms, these interjections constitute tag switching, easily separable from the body of the utterance and exercising no syntactic influence. They are more easily managed therefore than inter- or intrasentential switching and are quite easy to retain as a fossilised feature which may be much used if needed.

Single words in Punjabi /Urdu, operating as discourse organisers, recur frequently in stretches of English within the discourse . [to] (*so, then*) is very frequent as is [tey] (*and*) ; the nasal [ha] (*yes*) is extremely frequent. For the mother and father, [ke] (*that*) recurs often , linking the sections in sometimes long turns. Others also occur.

Examples:

(see above, Text 8)

Mumtaz: [ke] they go to a specialist, they'll take a prescription from him.... [ke]
what do you think about the prescription [ke] well yes eh, [thik nəhi]
(*that.... that.... that.... it's no good*)

Text 11

(Tape A.6a)

Fatima (describing an elderly patient...)
[te, te o əni] **nervous**, [əni] **agitated**, [əni] **anxious** [e ke mu vic loi ciz
pandi..].
(*who is so nervous, so agitated, so anxious that whatever she puts in
her mouth, she vomits....*)

Text 12

(Tape A.3b)

Fatima is speaking and trying to remember the name of a garden centre they visited recently - by recalling what it sold:

Fatima: [o jedey yc] home-made jams [tey] home-made biscuits, [tey] home-made [ciza tey] silk flowers

(That one which has.. and.. and.. things and..)

Sarah frequently moves into an all-English utterance from an initial [to] or [tey] for example:

[to] what are we going to do next then?

[to].. I think it's ready now.

(both observed in use.)

Fillers such as these frequently and characteristically play the role of discourse organisers. They can be seen as framing passages of discourse, authenticating what is being said as related to Punjabi/ Urdu. They would seem to constitute part of what might be called the residue of Punjabi/Urdu even in the largely monolingual English utterances of Sarah. In the speech of the parents, they seem to reinforce their rootedness in Punjabi as the language of choice in this context. Ghazala does not use them and this is another difference between her habits and those of her sister in using their bilingual repertoires.

Code-switching for communicative efficacy

Text 13

(Tape A.3b)

The discussion about the risks of going to Dubai is continuing:

Sarah [vəha ka to] everything will be air conditioned anyway
(*over there,*)

Fatima [betey, bar to nykālna gota həy na]
(but child one has to go out)

Mumtaz [os di gərmi hor kysəm di hondi e. Othey, gərmi hondi e lekyn e ke hwn
nāi honda. sham kafi **pleasant** rāndi ey]
(*the heat is of a different nature. It is hot there but it does not get
muggy. The evenings are quite pleasant...*)

Sarah [ghər me bhi bārrey bārrey] massive air conditioners, don't worry
(*in the house, there are very very big massive...*)

In both of Sarah's turns, she apparently switches to English in order to maintain communication - as a communication strategy. This is characteristic of her switches which tend to be from Punjabi to English within the course of an utterance, consistent with a weaker grasp of Punjabi. Since the switch is intersentential, the syntax of the whole utterance has not had to be adjusted to incorporate the two linguistic systems.

On the other hand, English lexical items 'air-conditioned' and 'air-conditioners' would certainly be code-mixed into utterances in Punjabi/ Urdu by fully proficient users of the languages. In Sarah's talk, the items are not incorporated singly but within a longer switch.

Code-mixed lexis in the family discourse.

Throughout the corpus of recordings, not only in the transcribed passages, there is a significant number of code-mixed lexical items used by all members of the family, both items in English within Punjabi/Urdu utterances and vice versa. Three important categories account for quite a number of them: medically-related terminology, names and food. It is important in considering the phenomenon in general, to remember the long history of mixing between the languages. It will also be possible to speculate about speaker motivation in relation to some of the mixing.

Medical terminology

The family, all involved in medicine, often discuss medically-related issues and stories. There are very many examples of medical terminology in English within Punjabi/Urdu utterances in the talk of both parents and Sarah. To list just a few:

Fatima: [te mə kəhəya kə mənʊ **drug chart** dəxa]

(I asked her to show me her drug chart)

Fatima: [tey, tisərey ki pəta **heart attack** nal death ho gəi ey keh ki]

(and the third one maybe has died of a heart attack of maybe some other reason..)

Mumtaz: [odey ləta tey **ulcer** sən ..]

(he had ulcers on his legs...)

Mumtaz: [nəhi te əthey jerri **post operative care** e o kəsi pasə vi nəhi]

(the post operative care done here cannot be found anywhere else.)

It is noticeable from these utterances that the focus on a medical topic has not led to a consistent choice of English as base language for the conversation. Within South Asian languages, English lexis is frequently used as a vehicle of technical, scientific and medical information and 'monolingual' speakers of Punjabi and Urdu will draw on them as items of their own linguistic repertoire. For people such as our subjects who have studied medicine in English and who are heirs to the long history of English in India the patterns of use observable in the corpus are very predictable.

Food

Example:

Sarah to Mumtaz:[ap ke liye **fish** a rəi həy **and** kəbab]

(Here's fish for you and kebab)

Many items can be listed such as dal- *lentils*; bangan - *aubergines*; korma - *curried meat*; channa - *chickpeas*; kofta - *meatballs*; dhai - *yogurt*; kulfi - *a particular kind of icecream*; bindi - *ladyfingers*; aloo - *potatoes* and so on.

Names in direct address

The family draw from a wide range of names in addressing each other and the range of names occur with a range of linguistic contexts. Naming systems have already been discussed in chapter six. Their residual presence can be observed here alongside the use of some English forms of address.

Parents are addressed variously by their daughters as daddy, [əbu], dad, mum, [əmi] ,
[əmjɪ]

Then you joke [əmjɪ], (*mum*), I mean...

[Dekho əbu]

(Look, Dad)

[əmi], please,[ap lykh do kəhi hysab]

(Mum, please, you write the account somewhere)

Punjabi/Urdu terms are used both within Punjabi/Urdu and English language contexts and so are English ones.

The parents addressing their daughters use a range of names, both their proper names with diminutive variations and, very frequently, names widely used as endearments or as affectionate terms of address in Punjabi/Urdu:

[pwter] (*child*) and [beti] and [betey]- (*daughter*).

Examples:

Mumtaz [lega dey pwter, kwch nəi hota]
(put it on child, nothing will happen..)

Fatima. [tu lykh pwter, vədi e]
(you write child, you are a grown up!)

Fatima: [kerri multicoloured beta]?
(Which multicoloured one, daughter?)

This use of names can also be seen as adding to the cultural framing function of bilingual discourse.

Other lexical items

Apart from these three major groups of code-mixed items which recur frequently, there are many other instances of code-mixing. Many English words mixed into Punjabi/ Urdu utterances are instances of the intimate mixing characteristic of the South Asian languages that have been affected by English ever since the time of the British imperial presence in India. Many others are specialised lexis: technology-related or specifically institution- or context-related for which there is no easy equivalent in Punjabi/ Urdu. Examples of such items which occur within the corpus are microwave, social worker, home-made jams and silk and feather flowers!

Cultural distinctiveness

Gumperz developed his analysis of conversational code-switching quite convincingly along the lines of there being an in-language and an out-language in many bilingual repertoires. But within an in-family context such as this, it is not possible to argue that a fundamental feeling of alienation or at least distance from the English underlies patterns of switching to and from English. The English language is not simply an available option but an essential dimension of family interaction.

Some evidence emerges however from the substance of conversations of perceptions by the family of themselves as distinct from the 'English'; sometimes with serious and sometimes with lighthearted undertones.

Examples:

Fatima is talking about someone in the hospital who has been wondering about causes for the increasing incidence of cancer. Two very direct comments on 'them' are made.

Text 14.

(Tape A.5a)

- Fatima [məy kəya **nuclear shuclear** ciza to baz tey andey nɔi]
(I told her that you people do not keep away from things that are nuclear)
- Mumtaz [bylkwɪ **bastards** əpni qawm ap təbɑh kər vəhey həy]
(absolutely, these bastards are destroying their own people)

Also, in the first short text of this section, Text 1, we saw such a reference, this time in jest:

- Mumtaz [ap logo ne to **coat** pəhən leya həy na tum əngrez ho]
(you have all put your coats on, just like the English)

The Qureshi family style: the portrait

I have presented an analysis in largely functional terms of the code-switching and mixing engaged in by the Qureshi family and of the bilingual patterns of language use within the family setting. There is a coherence between these different aspects which derives from the fact that in this situation, language shift is well advanced but efforts are being made to maintain the use or at least the understanding of Punjabi/Urdu within the repertoire of the second generation.

I would argue that the parents have developed a characteristic didacticism within their code-switching strategies which is frequently drawn upon in intergenerational talk and is a key element of the family's bilingual interaction. The differing functions of first generation code-switching contribute to this global function. Switches for confirmation or clarification are frequent and necessary to sustain communicative effectiveness. Switches aimed at dramatic effect keep listeners involved and switches for quotation or

reported speech may underpin both communicative efficacy and narrative impact. Interjections may have an emotional impact and discourse organisers can maintain a framework in Punjabi/Urdu for ongoing discourse in English. The consistent tendency of Mumtaz and Fatima to use Punjabi/Urdu as base language gives it a very firm position within the family interaction. The two daughters operate differently from each other but both have good levels of ability to understand Punjabi and Urdu when spoken by their parents. The characteristics of code-switching by Sarah reveal a less confident command of Punjabi/Urdu but a desire to maintain it as an element of her repertoire.

The retention within the family's repertoire of a residue of specialist words in Punjabi/Urdu for naming each other and other family members makes a contribution, communicative and symbolic, to the maintenance of bilingual living. The use of other specialist lexis in Punjabi/Urdu for food - some of the essentials of daily life - makes another contribution.

The fairly consistent code-mixing of specialist lexis in English for a number of semantic fields including medicine asserts the feasibility of continuing to use Punjabi as the base language when discussing topics which would often be associated with domains where English is likely to dominate.

References within the corpus to 'them' and 'us', the dichotomy between the 'English' and 'ourselves', are not consistently conveyed by use of one or other language. The references do represent a minor recurring theme, however, which echoes some of the discussion of cultural continuity of the previous chapter.

This then is a picture of the bilingual life of the Qureshi family. If we turn to the Saeed family, we shall see a picture which shares some features with the Qureshi family but is also distinctive.

The Saeed family style: an analysis

Life and language use are different in the Saeed family. There are four children, ranging from thirteen to four at the time of the recordings: Maryam, Najla, Jamal and Hameed. Parents Tahir and Samara reported that with each other, they used Urdu most of the time. With the children, Tahir claimed to use Urdu about half of the time and Samara claimed she did so about eighty per cent of the time. They also reported that the children tended to reply to them in English. The recording was done when Samara was alone with all the children, either while they were doing homework straight after school or at weekends.

Non-reciprocal language use is the norm at this stage between mother and children but the patterns observed are certainly less stable than those within the Qureshi family. The children are much younger, there are four of them, which must increase the relative amount of sibling interaction and their recent past has been less settled. Samara and the children had, a year earlier, spent six months in Pakistan because she and Tahir were considering moving back there on a permanent basis. Samara claimed at the time of the recordings that the youngest child, four-year-old Hameed, had until recently spoken Urdu better than English.

The commentary on the recordings will focus again on code-switching but more narrowly and the analysis of non-reciprocal language use will be more important, used as evidence of the children's bilingual skills. Another aspect of the situation not noted in the Qureshi corpus is the evidence of children's language awareness, an aspect of intellectual development sometimes related to bilingual language use. Finally, it will be argued that a didactic function underlies some of the patterns of language use by the mother Samara. This may be part of a broader tendency on her part to adopt a

frequently didactic role towards the children in conversation. It may in turn relate to a desire for Urdu to be maintained within the family.

Functions of code-switching

Code-switching for confirmation and clarification

Commentary on a first extract provides examples of reiterative code-switching, where the reiteration serves to clarify what is being said and gives evidence also of the children's bilingual comprehension. The text also conveys the general style of this family's patterns of bilingual interaction.

Text 1.

(Tape B.7a)

The children are being organised into getting on with some homework on a Sunday morning. At the moment, Samara is focusing on seven-year-old Jamal who has been doing some verbal reasoning tests with her.

Jamal	I want to finish this test at 10.58
Samara	[twm ne shrw kiye question ghəɫət kya həy]. did you notice that? <i>(You have started the question wrongly. did you notice that?)</i>
Jamal.	I know. I wonder how I got it wrong
Samara	[ap], if you don't [ap] concentrate [nəhi kərenge to nəhi hoga na] <i>(you, if you don't concentrate then it won't happen)</i> Everything depends on concentration. I know you have the intelligence.

Jamal is embarking on an exercise which he has already started. He specifies the time to finish it (probably a television programme is coming up!) Samara looks at what he has done so far, points out a mistake, opting first for Urdu and then switching to

English for: 'Did you notice that?'. The switch seems to have the force of wanting to confirm comprehension of the Urdu and is, in effect, a reiteration of the first clause, pointing out to Jamal that he has made a mistake. He understands what has been said since his response is clearly coherent. It is conceivable that the codemixed lexical item 'question' in the first part of the utterance, together with the 'Did you notice that?' could alone have served as the basis for Jamal's response but Samara's intention is probably to confirm understanding and also to hold his attention.

Samara goes on to press home what she feels is important advice: Jamal must learn to concentrate. She obviously believes that positive reinforcement is important too and reassures him, in teacherly fashion, about his abilities! Again, she is involved in some switching: beginning with [ap] (*you*) seems to embark on the utterance with her usual Urdu, but switching to 'if you don't' is perhaps triggered by the English of her previous utterance and Jamal's response. Switching back to Urdu to deliver the informational content (that he must concentrate) for the first time may reflect habitual choice. The incorporation of lexical item 'concentrate' seems the equivalent of 'question' in Samara's first utterance. Reiteration of the message in English 'Everything depends on concentration' again aims to confirm and reinforce. Final 'I know you have the intelligence' extends the code choice and adds reassurance to the advice.

Lest the atmosphere seem too solemn, and to give evidence of Samara's confidence and the cut-and-thrust of sibling interaction, the subsequent section of the text is worth brief attention. An older sister enters the interaction:

Text 2.

(Tape B.7a contd.)

Maryam On one question it said 'Lex is not a white dog'. And the question is
 'Who is a white dog?' and Jamal wrote down 'Lex'.

Samara (laughing)

Did he? Jamal! [kata yad!]

(short memory!)

[twm **verbal reasoning** kabi bi hahi kar sakoge jab twmare
damagh thik nahi hoga larai me hahi laga hoga larai me nahi laga
hoga]

*(you will never be able to do verbal reasoning unless your
brain is straight and not involved in fighting)*

(laughter from all)

Maryam He's thinking mum

Samara [yoka kar rehe ho?]

(are you doing yoga?)

Maryam is ready to tease Jamal. Samara treats the contribution as a joke and responds to Maryam's English with an acknowledgment in English, switching from previous Urdu but following Maryam's lead. She then reverts to Urdu for the interjection of [kata yad] and a little light-hearted moralising. She is confident of Jamal's comprehension; the contribution would otherwise have no impact. Maryam contributes next in English (Jamal has stayed silent after laughing) and Samara again jokes in Urdu. Non-reciprocal language use flows smoothly.

Text 3.

(Tape B.6b)

A second text provides a different example of code-switching for confirmation and clarification through reiteration.

Samara and the children have been watching television (*Byker Grove*) and in the programme there has been mention of drugs and Aids.

- Samara: What happens in the schools, the young children, they don't understand much and the parents don't tell them much about... they are the ones who fall prey to all these nasty.. Isn't it? Am I right Maryam? - so be always careful [jo kweh twm ko chize dya kare to **mummy** awr **daddy** ko pwche]
(if anybody gives you any such thing, ask your mummy and daddy OK)
- Jamal mum, how do you make heroin? I'm not making..
- Samara [bo jan hota na **poppy seed**, **poppy seed** se]
(people who know about this, from poppy seed, poppy seed)
- Jamal poppies
- Samara [jayse **wine grape** se banti hai]
(like wine is made from grapes)

This time, the switch in Samara's first utterance : [jo kweh twm..] is from English to Urdu. The functional force of switching and reiterating for reinforcement and emphasis can be achieved, apparently, whether the switch is from weaker to stronger language or from stronger to weaker, in terms of the comprehension of the listeners.

Again, Samara is adopting a didactic approach and the code-switched repetition of the central message is a means of reinforcing the 'instructional' element of what she says. Her obvious confidence that the children understand what she says is indicated by her choice of continuing to use Urdu as base language for further information giving. Code-mixed 'poppy seed' elicits Jamal's response, confirming comprehension. Code-mixed 'wine grape' (pronounced with very marked phonetic features of South Asian English) supports understanding of her analogy although the different grammatical structure of the Urdu clause would make it difficult for the lexical items alone to convey the informational content if listeners only had knowledge of the grammar of English.

Code-switching for quotation and self-reporting.

In the following text, Samara is trying to tell Maryam about a phone call she has had recently.

Text 4

(Tape B.6a)

Samara is going on a trip to Pakistan in the near future and she has been trying to get in touch, it seems, with her friend Habiba. The story is not terribly clear but Maryam obviously knows the background.

- 1 Samara [Habiba ko **phone** kārne dāy]
(Let me phone Habiba)
- 2 Maryam Oh yeah what happened
- 3 Samara Because I rang them last week remember? When I was looking for
- 4 Auntie Rashida.
- 5 Maryam. yeah
- 6 Samara Saida was there. She said she's gone to Pakistan.
- 7 Maryam mmm
- 8 Samara [Phyr me ne kaha, me ne kaha] I'll ring her when she's back. [abi
- 9 Habiba ka **phone** aya hāy. Wo Pakistan **phone** kārdy ghi. kāl lykha
- 10 tha - me Pakistan bat kārny bāy .. Pakistan **phone**]
(Then I said, I said.. I'll ring her when she's back. Habiba has just phoned. She will phone Pakistan...I wrote yesterday but I will talk to Pakistan on the phone.)
- 11 Maryam Did you ask her why she didn't ring you?
- 12 Samara yes. I know. I asked her why. [Wsko kya hwa tha]
(What happened to her..)

- 13 [Tenth ko ja na tha, to fourth ko busy hogi]
 (She was going on the 10th, therefore on the 4th she will be busy)
- 14 I can understand that, isn't it? [Me ne wske kaha. Me ne wske kaha
 tha].
 (I said to her, I did say to her)
- 15 how did you do it? How could you do it to me, without telling me
 16 about going to Pakistan?

At first, Samara uses English (line 6) to let Maryam know that Rashida has gone to Pakistan. Maryam acknowledges and Samara extends the story, switching into Urdu (line 8). Almost immediately, she switches to English to recount her own part in the conversation (line 8/9). It is very unlikely that in the original (reported) conversation she used English at that point. Maryam remembers the uncertainty : 'Did you ask her (Habiba) why she (Rashida) didn't ring you?' In response, Samara answers 'Yes' (line 12) and switches to Urdu for quotation, this time to quote both her own question and the answer she received (lines 12/13). This time, it is likely that the quotation and reporting is in the original language. Reflecting in English: 'I can understand that', Samara then reverts to Urdu for further narrative linking (line 14) only to switch again to English for the final quotation - unlikely to have been in English in the original event.

The evidence from this elaborate sequence bears out the principle that quotations are likely to be signalled by code-switching in bilingual discourse but that it is the switching rather than the choice of code which acts as the signal. Patterns observed with the Qureshis were similar. Since there is no obvious functional explanation for the complex pattern of switching, it seems likely that the code-switching is motivated by the type of rhetorical decisions seen in the speech of Mumtaz Qureshi: this switch seems to be used for dramatic effect to enhance the narrative as well as being a simple marker of quotation.

This text is also another example of smoothly flowing non-reciprocal language use, indicating good comprehension skills on the part of Maryam, signalled by coherent participation.

Code-switching for cultural framing

Samara's switches of code in interjecting or in maintaining the flow of interaction are not as frequent as with the Qureshis but nevertheless are very much part of her speech style. The most frequent are

- [koi batne] (*it doesn't matter/ never mind*),
- [həɳ ji] (*yes, alright..*)
- [teeg həy] (*okay, it's okay*)
- [bilkul] (*absolutely*)

Code-switching for discipline

There are frequent instances of Samara trying to introduce order into a disorderly situation. On several occasions, she code switches in doing so, bearing out observations by Gumperz (1982), Fasold (1984) and self reported patterns in chapter six above that this is a strategy adopted in other bilingual parent-child or senior-junior interaction.

Text 5.

(Tape B.3b)

The boys are playing, the girls are trying to tell them to stop and Samara is preparing a meal...

- | | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| Jamal | A bomb arrow |
| Hameed | I'll make ..boom boom boom |

(sounds of shrieking and loud playing)

Najla Jamal, have you done your homework?

Hameed

and Jamal (shrieking) Injection time, injection time

Najla Jamal, have you done your homework

Samara Nobody is eating this. It's broken probably, it's broken. [me ne
 kəha betha mat ao mar parega]
 (I said, son, don't come near it. You'll be smacked.)

Perhaps the switch is felt to be a strategy for seizing attention; perhaps the use of the parental language asserts authority and distance. Comments elsewhere from young people suggest the second interpretation. Young teenage Ali Durrani asserted that 'Our Dad uses it (Urdu) when he's angry'. Sofia Sheikh claimed that if an older teenager used Punjabi/ Urdu to young children, it would seem less friendly and more 'parental'.

Bilingual interaction with non-reciprocal language use

The texts presented so far have given evidence of patterns of switching by the mother but also of the bilingual receptive skills of the children. The following text adds further evidence to the profile of their repertoires and further examples of the non-reciprocal language use characteristic of this family.

Text 6.

(Tape B.6a)

All the children are engaged in sorting out and putting up the Christmas cards they have received in school. Maryam is trying to get things organised:

Maryam Mum can you put a nail in the wall please

Samara Yeah I can Oh you mean can I

Maryam (sighing) Yes, that's what I mean .. What if Mum I hang it across the curtain top?

Jamal That'd be stupid

Maryam Why?

Jamal I dunno. Cos the cards would be closed

Maryam Like normal... just hang it up there

Najla Can I put this light on?

Jamal Najla stick a nail in there

Maryam Mum are you reading?

Samara yeah

Maryam Keep both on

Samara [Me nail ləy kəy a ti hwn - wəhan me ja na pəray ga]
(I have to fetch a nail - I have to go over there.)
 [wəhan səy la na həy]
(It has to be fetched from there)

Maryam Why is the string

Jamal Hameed

Najla Doesn't the string fit?

Jamal see how many cards I got

Maryam Who gave you a card with a stamp on the front

Najla Esther

Maryam Who made the card

Najla Laura

Maryam OK OK Najla Najla Who made this

Najla No-one made it

Samara [mutlo mil gya tha]
(did you find the hammer)

Najla No I can't find it. It's not in the cupboard where it usually is. Dad must have taken it with him.

The text begins with Samara, somewhat reluctantly, being asked to help put up a string on which to display the cards. She will have to leave her reading. Jamal is challenging Maryam's suggestion about how it should be done and tries to recruit Najla to take direct action. Samara's first two inattentive answers are in English. Once drawn into action, she uses Urdu, linking her utterance with the others by the codemixed 'nail' and giving an indirect instruction to someone to go and look for the necessary equipment. The children continue to spar with each other in English. Samara asks if the hammer (the obvious accompaniment for the nail) has been found. Najla understands the Punjabi/ Urdu and her reply in English is fully coherent.

Just a little later, Najla is trying to take the matter into her own hands and put up the strings for hanging the cards. The children are vying with each other. The youngest Hameed needs help with reading names from the cards...

Text 7.

(Tape B.6a)

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Samara | [Najla əysi nəhi lagana həy]
<i>(Najla it should not be put like that)</i> |
| Hameed | whose is this from? Whose is this from |
| Samara | [Najla jəgah jəgah hole nəhi bən səkhte]
<i>(Najla holes should not be made everywhere)</i> |
| Najla | That's where I want it to be |
| Hameed | Whose is this from |
| Jamal | somebody hold the string over there. |
| Hameed | Maryam, Maryam, whose is this from |
| Samara | [jəgah jəgah hole bən jəhiga. ye shandar nəhi həy]
<i>(there will be holes everywhere. it's not beautiful)</i> |

- Maryam It'll be low then
- Samara [**low** kya? **tight** kar denge yanse]
 (low what? we will tighten it up from here)
 (sound of knocking in of a nail..)
- Maryam Put your christmas cards up Pass me your cards
- Jamal No I'm going to put my own cards up
- Samara [iye **pull** nāhi kārna iye sara nikāl aiga]
 (don't pull. this will all come out.)
- Hameed I want to...
- Maryam Why did you put it there? Why is it slanting?
- Samara Because you didn't put the other thing
- Maryam Then maybe you shouldn't keep this camel thing.
- Samara [Koi batne - gyr gāya to gyr gāy, pāra to pāra]
 (Doesn't matter. If it falls, it falls. If it stays, it stays.)

The different strands of conversation are woven together smoothly whilst accommodating both languages. All parties seem to participate. Maryam tries to tell her mother how to put up the string and predicts that the way Samara is doing it is wrong - 'It'll be low then!' Samara's response '[**low** kya? **tight** kar denge janse]' provides an instance of what is a more general pattern - incorporation of a key word of a child's utterance into her own - creating a link which may well serve to ensure effective communication. A similar link was observable in the earlier part of this episode, (see above, Text 6), where the link was between the children's use of 'nail' and Samara's subsequent use of it, incorporated within her otherwise Punjabi/ Urdu utterance. Other instances are found elsewhere, for example:

Text 8.

(Tape B.6b)

Jamal Mum, I need a drink with eggy toast, you know that

Samara [drink] ləy ana Najla
 (bring out the drink Najla)

Code-mixed lexical items

In Samara's talking, the code-mixing of English words into utterances based in Punjabi/Urdu is quite frequent. As previously observed, this is in keeping with the long term norms of the use of Punjabi/ Urdu within the South Asian linguistic context. The insertion of nouns, adverbs, numerals; all these are classical instances, evidenced in the texts quoted in this section. The mixing also reflects ongoing preoccupations.

School-related terms

The terminology of *concentration*, *questions* and *verbal reasoning* has already been recorded above. There are a number of others, for example:

Text 9

(Tape B.7a)

Samara: [wsko me ne sikhaya həy adds and take aways, acchi tere karta həy]
 (I have taught him his adds and take aways, he does it well)

Names in direct address

Occasional endearments and forms of address drawn from Urdu are used by Samara for the children: [bethi] and [betha] for instance. She frequently uses personal names also. The children themselves appear to use only personal names for their siblings and 'mum/ mummy' for their mother in the urgency of communication. Maryam also reported that Hameed would use the Urdu honorific [bhaji] (older sister) to her 'if he wants to be really sweet and get something'.

In this corpus, there is no opportunity to consider second generation patterns of mixing in their speaking but the children hear many examples of codemixing and respond appropriately, as the next section shows.

Language awareness

One of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism is argued to be a greater degree of language awareness, associated with cognitive flexibility, than is readily accessible to the monolingual. The text provides evidence of some analytical language awareness on the part of the children.

Mother and children are sitting round the table finishing a meal. There is obviously time for talking.

Text 10.

(Tape B.6b)

- | | |
|--------|--|
| Hameed | Mum, Mum, Mummy can you see can you see in the coke? |
| Samara | Let me have a look. A bit, not clearly, not like when you see through the water |
| Hameed | I can see a bear |
| Jamal | I can see in the coke |
| Samara | That's good, that's good you can see a bear...
I like that gana (<i>song</i>) 'the bare necessities' |
| Maryam | I like that 'gana'? You mix English and Urdu? |
| Samara | [mmm iye apko etraz hāy - kya harəj hāy?]
(<i>Have you got any objection? What is the harm?</i>) |
| Jamal | What? |
| Maryam | English or Urdu |
| Samara | [Koi bat. kəby kəby mixed be ho sakte hāy] |

(Doesn't matter. Sometimes you can mix it in talking)

[twm logo ne wsəy sikha həy Samria se.]

(You lot have learnt it from Samria.)

[**Especially** Jamal iye kārta reta həy]

(Especially Jamal keeps doing it.)

Jamal I say now, I know the English word for **kharab**... rubbish, bad Rubbish
or bad I don't know which one

A number of interesting features emerge. Samara, responding to the two youngest children, spontaneously code mixes a single word into her otherwise English utterance. Maryam questions the code-mixing quite explicitly, implying that it should not happen perhaps. Samara is more relaxed about it and attributes their familiarity with the phenomenon to the influence of Samria, a young relative from Pakistan who had stayed with them recently for several months. She observes that Jamal is particularly prone to mixing and he himself reflects upon his recent past and identifies a single item [kharab] which he has been conscious of using - mixed into English presumably. He suggests that he has made progress by learning the English equivalent, though he needs reassurance as to which is the more appropriate of the two possibilities- rubbish or bad.

The evidence is of a group of people alert to the language they use and interested in the complexities. It seems unlikely that this is the first time such a topic has been discussed. In Samara's talk, it is most likely to be English words that are incorporated into Punjabi/ Urdu utterances rather than Urdu words incorporated into English. Although reference is made to the children's mixing we have no evidence - a sign perhaps of the speed of change in young children.

There are other less direct examples of this awareness. For example Samara guards the quality of the children's English:

Text 11

(Tape B.6a)

In putting up the Christmas cards they have received, the children argue about whose should have the best positions...

- Najla Put it in there
- Maryam Hang on, I will, so then it will cover that one underneath
- Najla So? It's not that brilliantest a picture
- Maryam Neither is that
- Najla Better than nothing
- Samara [hən ji. kya twm ne kəha tha əngrezy kya boli thi]
(yes, what did you say? what did you say in English?)
- Maryam That it's already got one on top
- Samara No. You said something else and that was wrong
- Maryam Brilliantest, I know
- Samara yeah yeah
- Maryam I like that one
- Samara Do you know what was wrong Maryam?
- Maryam Yes I do

This monitoring of the children's speech contributes another feature to the didactic role that Samara seems frequently to play with the children. In this text, she intervenes in the children's talk because Maryam has used an inaccurate superlative - *brilliantest. In Urdu, she challenges Maryam to identify her mistake by asking her what she said. Maryam's response is to assume that Samara is referring to the informational content of what she said and so she repeats it, again in English. This is a sure signal of her understanding of the question if not of its focus. Samara repeats her question, switching to English for confirmation. So keen is she to make sure that in her next

turn, she asks for a third time whether Maryam recognises her mistake, again in English, a reaction perhaps against the earlier misunderstanding.

The Saeed family style: the portrait

I have presented a brief portrait of the private, home-based language experience of the Saeed family. It has involved an analytical commentary on patterns of code switching and also on other features of family discourse. Language shift is well advanced but everyone is involved at times in bilingual interaction. From biographical information, we know that all the children have assured comprehension of Punjabi/ Urdu but sibling interaction is determinedly in English, an apparent indicator of a transition being made.

The picture we gain through the texts is very much one of the lives of young children. Their school experience comes into the home, their television programmes also, the younger children try to keep up with the older, they vie with each other for position and attention and they are under the guidance and control of a parent. They sometimes get scolded and sometimes teased; they play, argue, complain and protest in English. Throughout intergenerational interaction however, the presence of Punjabi/ Urdu is clear.

As with the Qureshis, I would argue that Samara's pattern of bilingual talk occasionally reflects both implicit and explicit didacticism. It also reveals an underlying strategy for maintaining the children's bilingual skills both by her choice of Urdu and by her patterns of switching. Her code switching strategies also give priority to the function of instruction. The determination to continue to use the language in order to maintain the children's skill even when they appear resistant echoes experiences of parent-linguists writing about their children's developing bilingualism. (Hoffmann, 1991; Saunders, 1987; De Jong, 1986)

This links with a very strong sense of the mother as nurturer. Samara appears not only as the literal nurturer but as nurturer of educational, moral and language development. The fact that a lot of this is being done through Punjabi/Urdu may be seen as giving some emphasis to cultural continuity, as her mothering role is played out through her own first language. In the previous chapter, we saw that the role of women in supporting cultural continuity is highly valued in this group. Samara adopts a didactic approach in a number of ways. She concerns herself with the children's accuracy in English and over their school work generally as well as, implicitly, giving some importance to their bilingualism. Giving importance to education is in effect a dimension of maintaining cultural priorities.

The potential impact on language maintenance of a traditional home-based role for women within a community is acknowledged in the literature of language maintenance and shift. (Fasold, 1984; Dabène and Moore, 1995; Coates and Cameron, 1988). Samara in fact is highly qualified and works outside the home but the evidence of her nurturing role is here in the texts.

This then is the Saeed family style of bilingualism.

Transitional bilingualism in the family

These portraits of family styles, brief as they are, give another distinctive insight into transitional bilingualism. The home is, in both families, a major source of continuing input of Punjabi/ Urdu. Parents provide the language from which the second generation can learn. Demonstrated skills among the second generation make it clear that ability to understand Punjabi/Urdu is good; ability to speak it is not proven except

for Sarah Qureshi but we know from other sources that each of these individuals can do so. For the Saeeds, home is also a locus of shift and a site of rapid changes.

The portraits of the families are very different. Topics of conversation are different as are personalities and relationships. In both however, there is a strong sense of the presence of Urdu/ Punjabi in the linguistic input, interjections, names and cultural references which 'frame' the discourse as a whole. The evidence of the corpus does not substantiate all the self-reported patterns of use. The claims of the Qureshi parents that their first choice is always Punjabi is not reflected in their frequent initiations in English. On the other hand, they also claimed that spontaneity rather than a planned strategy was their 'policy' in earlier days. Samara Saeed's claim that she uses Urdu for eighty per cent of the time with her children would also seem an overestimate, indicative however of the commitment she certainly has. The ease of the non-reciprocal language use in both homes testifies to the fact that the second generation are very accustomed to this mode of discourse which was part of the self-reported pattern.

The didactic flavour of intergenerational home bilingualism comes through in both families. Many instances of code-switching contribute linguistically to this global function, reinforcing and checking comprehension, conveying narrative and expressive impact and adding an element of cultural 'authenticity' to the family interaction. Parents also play an explicitly didactic role. Mumtaz Qureshi provides cultural information and continuity in the form of stories of old Pakistan. Samara Saeed acts as nurturer, school teacher, moral guide and controller of children's behaviour. This echoes the priority given to educational considerations in other chapters. It has been observed elsewhere and over many years that middle class parents may be very keen to nurture their children's bilingualism rather than being only too eager to discard it, as others argue. (Bloomfield, 1935; Hoffmann, 1991; Lambert and Taylor, 1996).

This chapter makes its own distinctive contribution to the concerns of the study as a whole: bilingual nurture, bilingual skills and bilingual repertoires. Each family represents a different style of transitional bilingualism. Other recent research has begun to develop the notion that particular patterns of bilingual interaction may develop as 'family styles' (Blum-Kulka, 1997; Dabene and Moore, 1995) and increasingly, models of switching are being developed to incorporate dimensions of individual competence and style (Auer, 1997; Muysken, 1997). This study supports such a view, exemplifies it and sees it as characteristic of a period of transition.

Conclusion

This element of the interdisciplinary study has achieved a range of outcomes. First, it has analysed evidence of intergenerational language use within family settings, which must be an essential part of an investigation of transitional bilingualism. Intergenerational developments are the essence of language shift and common sense dictates that one place for intergenerational interaction must, logically, be the home. Maintenance of minority languages moreover is sometimes presented as dependent on home use. Furthermore, an in-depth investigation of language use was needed to balance self-reported patterns with textual evidence. Also, given the ethnographic style of the study, its sociolinguistic framework and the qualitative approach to data collection and analysis, it seemed absolutely necessary to analyse the linguistic realities of language use. In methodological terms, this element of literal analysis balances and adds validity to interpretive analyses.

The next chapter turns from the didactic dimensions of home life to consider public discussion of educational concerns. The focus will be on language education policy and whether its views of bilingualism have accommodated or reflected family priorities and concerns about language and education.

Chapter 9

Language education: policies and perceptions

Introduction

The desire to celebrate the richness of ethnic diversity is uneasily juxtaposed with the concern for the educational achievement of minorities. The focus on raising the educational performance of ethnic minority pupils tends to stereotype all minority groups by associating them with educational underachievement.

(King and Reiss (1993, 14)

This quotation is an extract from a discussion of the challenges of incorporating multicultural dimensions into the different areas of the National Curriculum. As the quotation implies, it has often been too easy for concern over minority cultural issues to be given priority over issues of educational success, implicitly reinforcing patronising assumptions that minority children are normally unsuccessful. One of the original purposes of this thesis, however, was to contribute to counteracting this pernicious tendency by investigating the experience of educationally successful young minority group members. This was made clear at the outset.

In previous chapters, educational concerns have emerged in discussion of the families' experience as having an important influence on people's thinking and decision making. In this final chapter, I shall approach educational issues from a different perspective. The focus will be on language education policy and its discussion of bilingualism and there will be a consideration of whether policy statements appear to recognise or have relevance for the perceptions and experience of the young people in this study and their parents. An account of the success of the young can be added to the now-increasing store of evidence of success in education of minority group members (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996).

Some would argue that celebrating the success of some individuals might minimise the problems of the less successful, stigmatising those who do not succeed and denying the need for positive action on behalf of minorities (Troyna, 1993). However, the value of contributing to a 'positive image' for minority groups is seen here as balancing and not negating that danger.

In discussing educational policy and the position of linguistic minorities, Corson (1993), as discussed in chapter two, draws on Bourdieu's concepts of linguistic, cultural and academic capital. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) and Bourdieu (1991) argue that each individual's mastery of language, as indeed of other bodies of knowledge, will have more or less 'capital' value depending on the extent to which its symbolic power is recognised by the *élite* who control the 'linguistic market' of a society. Corson finds this a useful concept in discussing the way in which language minorities negotiate their way through the educational system and whether bilingual skills are valued. These concepts will be drawn upon in discussing the situation of the group.

There is no officially declared language policy for the United Kingdom but it is documentation on language educational matters which conveys the policy intentions of those in authority. Language policy may be implicit rather than explicit but 'where rights, freedoms and power are associated with language ... policies become important' (Herriman and Burnaby, 1996, 8). Early policy in Britain towards the language needs of children for whom English was a second language was based on assimilationist assumptions that bilingualism would be temporary and language shift towards the exclusive use of English the norm. Little thought was given to the question of whether the family language also merited attention from the educational authorities, which might support language maintenance. Subsequent policy on the teaching of English

language, community languages and modern foreign languages will now be discussed and the voices of research subjects heard.

Policy on English language education

Since the 1960's and the first arrival in the system of significant numbers of children needing to learn English as a second language, most documents on the mainstream teaching of English language have acknowledged that English is not the first language of all pupils and have taken up a variety of positions vis-à-vis the national multilingualism thereby created.

For instance, *The Bullock Report* (1975) made a significant step by presenting a view of English in *A Language for Life*, as a set of skills which all pupils needed to develop in order to cope with the demands of study and work, rather than primarily as a fund of literary and cultural heritage. It acknowledged the value of multilingualism and presented a positive view of pupils' bilingualism as 'of great importance', 'an asset' to 'a linguistically conscious nation in the modern world' (DES, 1975, ch.20).

The *Swann Report* of 1985, *Education for All*, was produced in order to investigate and discuss the role of education in race relations and equal opportunities because of concern about inter-group tensions. The policy claim was that the Report, as its title indicated, had implications for the education of all children, insofar as all were members of a multicultural and multilingual society and should be prepared, with information and understanding, to take their place within it. The focus so far as language skills were concerned was on the importance for minority group children of developing their English within the mainstream of their schools. The greatest emphasis was to be placed on the mastering of English by all pupils, from within the mainstream. The importance of community languages being maintained was also

acknowledged but this was to be the responsibility of the communities themselves, rather than of the schools.

The Education Reform Act of 1988 necessitated the development of a national curriculum for English, as for other subjects. In preparation for this, the Kingman Committee was set up to make recommendations. The Report (DES, 1988) presented a model of English language which was in part built on insights from Applied Linguistics and represented something very different from the literature-dominated assumptions of the past mainstream English curriculum. English language needed to be seen by teachers, the Report argued, from four different angles: as a set of formal linguistic systems; as an interactional system of communication; as a set of skills gradually acquired; and in terms of its historical and geographical variations. The failure to include discussion of social variation gave rise to accusations of political bias. Cameron and Bourne (1988, 148) argued that the Report was 'a battlefield around which ideological assumptions have been paraded and contested'. They attack in particular the:

extraordinary manner in which Kingman has chosen to describe the linguistic diversity of this country... Clearly it omits both class and ethnic variation... Contact and shift (which in the view of many linguists are the fundamental sources of much language change) have no place in this account (Cameron and Bourne, 1988, 151).

They see this as equating speaking a language with belonging to a nation and argue that this has serious implications for the status of minority languages and their speakers. They conclude that as a result of its various standpoints on grammar, variation and Standard English, Kingman

prefers not to face up to present realities and is wholly ill-equipped to conceptualise language (which is not the same thing as English) in the context of Britain's future (Cameron and Bourne, 1988, 159).

The incisive criticism is of implicit rather than explicit policy and makes clear the links between education policy, questions of rights and also the social processes of language shift and change.

The Cox Report (DES, 1989) provided the core substance for the development of the National Curriculum for English and built on the earlier reports. It articulated policy towards English and the rationale behind the recommendations which would become the basis for statutory curriculum requirements. It acknowledged *The Bullock Report* explicitly for its broad-based view of English and *The Kingman Report* for its development of a model of English which had 'provided a valuable structure for our thinking and discussions'. *The Swann Report* was acknowledged for its position on the importance and nature of multilingualism in Britain. In its rationale, *The Cox Report* reaffirmed that the new national curriculum must be built on these principles. The two major purposes of teaching English were presented as the personal development of the individual child and preparation for the adult world (section 2.14). The basic principles as regards English itself were that for every pupil, English should be the first language of the school and that every pupil should have the right to be given access to the use of Standard English, at least in writing.

The Cox Report presented its own analysis of the role of English in the curriculum by articulating five possible views. The 'personal growth' view 'emphasises the relationship between language and learning in the individual child...'. The 'cross-curricular' view 'emphasises that all teachers... have a responsibility to help children with the language demands of different subjects.' The 'adult needs' view 'emphasises the responsibility of English teachers to prepare children for the language demands of adult life'. A 'cultural heritage' view of English in the curriculum 'emphasises the responsibility of schools to lead children to an appreciation of those works of literature that have been widely regarded as among the finest in the language'. Finally, a 'cultural analysis' view 'emphasises the role of English in helping children towards a critical

understanding of the world and cultural environment in which they live.'(DES, 1989, section 2.20 - 2.25)

This analysis of the role of English drew together the various traditions underlying the teaching of English since the beginning of the twentieth century (Thompson, Fleming and Byram 1995, 102 - 103). It represents policy insofar as it presents a set of purposes for the study of English which should underlie the curriculum and therefore identify for schools the principles which should guide their teaching.

The *Report* included a chapter entitled *Bilingual Children* where it asserts in some detail its commitment to the principles and practical assertions of Swann and also Bullock. Prime importance is attached to entitlement to English and the assertion is made that all concerned with bilingual pupils, teachers and parents, endorse this principle. A firm statement is also made about the 'very great pool of linguistic competence' represented in schools by bilingual children and the fact that 'bilingual children should be considered an advantage in the classroom'. Also acknowledged are the 'exciting possibilities for initiatives in knowledge about language, particularly in the areas of social and developmental linguistics' that can be represented by awareness of multilingualism.

When National Curriculum documentation with legislative force was published, such advisory sections of *The Cox Report* were not included in the document. This implied perhaps that to education officials, they were less important than formal statements of attainment (Cox, 1991). However, there was no denial of the position taken by *The Cox Report* in relation to bilingual children and many teachers agreed that

An acceptance of the spirit of the Cox Report will ... allow us to interpret the essentially permissive Statement of Attainment in ways that make multicultural education central to the work of the English classroom (Adams, 1993, 50).

However, a recurring and powerful theme of criticisms of such policy is that its 'multicultural rhetoric' does not match with the 'assimilationist assumptions' that underlie practice (eg. Stubbs, 1989, 1995). These echo the broader commentaries of Troyna (1993) on the education system as a whole which see institutionalised racism as the chief enemy of minority rights rather than explicit policy. The arguments of Philippon (1992) and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) on language rights, viewed at an international level, also pursue the line that established majority interests are inimical to the rights of language minority groups.

At this point however, it will be useful to refer back to the analysis of the role of English in the curriculum presented in *The Cox Report* in commenting upon the experience of the families under consideration and the ways in which young people would appear to have negotiated the school system. At first, this discussion will be conducted on the basis of using the principles of the gradually emerging policies in order to interpret experiences, decisions and concerns of the research group.

Policy aims and parental perceptions

All the families except the Saeeds and Durrani came to Britain during the 1960's, the period of greatest immigration. None had any contact with Language Centres however and none of the children were withdrawn from classes when they entered school. Looking back, no parents report their children as having had any problems in school with regard to their language. The children, at the point of entering school, had adequate English to be incorporated immediately into the mainstream, or it was assumed they would develop skills very rapidly, and apparently, they did so. None of their primary schools had very large numbers of other children of Pakistani origin and it would seem that the blithe confidence of, for example, *The Plowden Report* turned out to be justified for them:

It is absolutely essential to overcome the language barrier. This is less serious for a child entering the infant school. He rapidly acquires, both in the classroom and outside, a good command of the relatively limited number of words, phrases and sentences in common use among the other children. He can then learn to read with the rest by normal methods. (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1967, 71)

The parents had no language problems in communicating with schools. In many senses, advantages of social class and the parental level of education can be seen as having shielded children from any problems which might have arisen from the fact that their English was sometimes less well-developed than that of some peers.

Clearly the majority of the children in their early years of schooling did 'favour' English. Almost all families reported that it was during that phase that Punjabi or Urdu became much less used by children at home. The assimilationist thrust of the education system did, at the linguistic level, have a major impact. Educational considerations, as perceived by parents, were of prime importance in contributing to a shift towards increasing use of English. There was no perception at that stage of rights being infringed.

However, outcomes were not only due to the impact of schools. Indeed, the presumed availability of good educational facilities for children was, for all families, an important dimension of the decision to settle in England and so it was accepted that the children needed to adjust and respond to the expectations of the school.

Underlying assumptions within the first generation must also have contributed. Parents responding to open questions about children's problems in school with language, thought only of problems with English, not with diminishing skills in Urdu or Punjabi. The children could well have developed further bilingual skills if their language experience at school and at home had been different. However, the first generation had brought with them from their educational and language experience in Pakistan, a

set of assumptions which guided their assessment and expectations of the situation in Britain. Their patterns of bilingualism derived from a social situation where the language associated with domestic life was often Punjabi and sometimes Urdu, where Urdu carried with it a special cultural and national resonance and where English was strongly associated with education. It was indisputably the language of scientific education and for some also offered access to literary and cultural learning. Those who had the least good English at the point of coming to England were the ones with the lowest level of general education. It was still the case in Pakistan that public education beyond primary level was, for many subjects, English-medium, and in private schools, was often fully English-medium except for the teaching of Urdu. That their children were expected to use English across the curriculum from the beginning when in Britain was entirely expected and it would have been an astonishing thought in those early days that British schools might offer to accommodate children through the use of Punjabi or Urdu.

In effect, the 'cross-curricular' role of English was fully acknowledged and insofar as that implied the route to effective learning within school, seen as a priority. English was the tool for learning. An 'adult needs' view could be seen as the logical outcome of successful schooling. A 'personal growth' view of children's needs, articulated in terms of children's generally successful development and happiness led many parents to accepting the growing predominance of English even at home. The extra dimension of studying some English literature in order to gain some 'cultural heritage' did not seem objectionable or very significant. Several parents had had to read some English literature in their own schools. The 'cultural analysis' dimension of National Curriculum objectives might be seen as part of general educational development, intangible maybe, but unobjectionable.

Educational achievement and choices

Achievement in the specific curriculum area of English language however, as measured by O level and GCSE results, has for most individuals been lower than in most other subject areas. In the early stages of the data collection, six of the seven families where young people were at or beyond that stage commented upon this lower performance. English language was almost invariably one of the subjects in the lowest category of grade achieved by an individual, often the only one in that category. Hindsight by both parents and young people has led to some tentative interpretations of such profiles, which they view as typical of other young people with similar backgrounds. Typically, Sofia Sheikh reflected after leaving school three years earlier:

English language wasn't my best subject either and you find that with a lot of Asians. I don't know if it's whether the parents orientate them towards the sciences anyway. But I was never very good at English and I find very few Asians actually are. I have only come across a couple who are good and very few take it for A level.... I think they may actually be not quite as developed in their English as the average English person is, because they hear other languages around them so they don't really have the chance to speak - I mean at home you just speak, I mean, if you're going to speak English with Asian parents you are going to be speaking very basic English whereas maybe if you had... I don't know... I mean it's very simple English. You can't actually use long words, your very high society words at home. You don't get it because you don't hear anything else, whereas normal English children from say a professional background would hear a lot of English at home and it helps them in essays, you know what some words mean... Because some words I've never heard them at home and you come

across them... You only encounter them in schools or in books. You wouldn't encounter them being used so you wouldn't really know how to use them

Her specification of the lexical dimension of linguistic competence - 'your very high society words' - probably reflects the normal adult perception of linguistic range as being synonymous with extent of vocabulary. It could also perhaps echo family wisdom: her elder brother was described by their mother as being unusually keen on reading widely and so, in keeping with Pakistani tradition, she used to encourage him as a young boy to read the dictionary!

The comments derive from perceptions that needs were not being recognised or met and also that cross-curricular efficacy of English does not always 'match' achievement in 'English language'. The observations had followed the recounting of the experience of a schoolfriend:

At school once I had an experience with a friend who is an Asian girl and they spoke Punjabi all the time at home. Her parents couldn't speak English. I mean she is very intelligent, at the top of the league, and one of the teachers ... it must have been in English language, yes, she wrote an essay and the teacher said to her 'Do you speak a different language at home?' and she said 'Yes,' and he said 'because your English essay isn't really up to scratch with everyone else's.... I mean she had no problems in other subjects because everywhere else she didn't really have to write detailed essays, it's all factual. And it was just the English language. It was just the one-off incident and she just thought it was really weird, and she came to me and said 'It's really weird what he said to me and I was really shocked, because I've

done a not so good essay. He thought it had something to do with the language not just a bad day.

Several young people referred to similar experiences they or friends had had with English lessons and to the analysis that cross-curricular competence may not need the same linguistic range as the school study of English language itself. The implication is that 'adult needs' are also more easily met than the demands of the English language curriculum. The overt 'cultural heritage' dimension of the curriculum did not cause great problems, for Sofia Sheikh and several of the other young people gained higher grades in English literature at 'O' level or GCSE than in English language - if that can be taken as an obvious indicator. It is English language as a 'subject' rather than as a medium of instruction which is perceived as more challenging.

So far as young people are concerned, the preferred academic route has been towards Sciences rather than Arts or Social Sciences. Taking an index of 'A' level choices and considering all the second generation individuals who had reached that stage by the end of the period of data collection, eighteen out of twenty-one chose to study sciences at 'A' level. Of the eighteen, twelve applied to university to study Medicine and nine were either in training or had completed it.

This pattern may reflect family patterns and parental occupation and it may also be seen partly as echoing the past and present situation in Pakistan where prestige within the educational system was and is strongly associated with the continuing study of science and in particular medical science. This attitude has historical roots in the history of the subcontinent. It also reflects the economic situation in Pakistan where scarce employment opportunities are far more frequently available to those with scientific qualifications and skills than to others. However, the pattern most obviously reflects young people's own choices. It is arguable that making these choices has been an important element of achieving success within the English educational system. It is

arguable also that making such choices maximises the possibility for the young people of benefiting from specific academic support from parents in pursuing their courses of study. Within the British system, university places to study Medicine are among the most sought after and carry a certain degree of prestige. A medical career is also among the more financially secure careers available in Britain and is a professional area within which the contribution of ethnic minorities is very well established. Whilst problems of discrimination and racism are very real, recognised but increasingly subtle, first and second generation members view it as offering some of the best opportunities for a career which gives satisfaction, prosperity and social respect. It also offers international career possibilities not so easily obtained by many other routes.

For most of the young people who chose Science 'A' levels but not Medicine, the role played by English may be regarded as the same. One however opted for Law at university and of the three who chose non-science 'A' levels, one went on to study Law, one into primary teaching and one was still in school. Only one second generation member out of the whole group chose to study English at 'A' level. There is a clear lack of enthusiasm for specialising in areas where the notion of developing English in order to access the 'cultural heritage' looms largest - in English Literature or perhaps in History.

Interpreting the position

It is interesting to draw on the concepts of Bourdieu (1977; 1991) and Corson (1993) in interpreting this situation. Using the notion of 'capital' value attaching to language skills and other knowledge, the young people who have chosen Science and Medicine have found that the capital value attaching to their competence in English is high in the marketplace of society when associated with scientific competence. This position is one that their parents had had occasion to recognise already. It is not an adjustment that had to be made on coming to England but an extension of the long-standing

practice of the academic context of Pakistan. Similarly, the development of academic capital through study of Science and Medicine represents not only a sensible economic choice but a recognition of the factors which had for their families been part of relative economic and social or professional success. It thus represents an element of continuity with the cultural assumptions of the parental generation and with past and present assumptions in Pakistan generally.

Barth, whose work provided an important critical perspective for the analysis of the cultural distinctiveness of this group, provides an interesting perspective. He argues that the situation of minority groups is such that systems of status within the minority culture do not transfer to the majority system and that

there is thus a disparity between values and organizational facilities: prized goals are outside the field organized by the minority's culture and categories....

(Barth, 1969, 31)

But for these minority individuals, the ways of gaining access to the 'prized goals' of educational and professional success has been through opting for a route prized alike by both the minority and the majority. Competence in English is an essential tool in achieving this success and its instrumental importance is unquestioned. The choice of science subjects is perceived as an available route to the power and resources in society that will give security and success.

The fact that some people can succeed within a system where institutionalised racism is in operation is no proof that the racism is not still in operation. In his critique of *The Swann Report*, the *Liberal Moment*, Troyna (1993) argues that the emphasis given to competence in English as the passport to equal opportunities and success for minority groups is misleading. It distracts attention from the discriminatory practices and

attitudes which are really at the heart of racism in education and the disadvantages suffered by minority groups, evidenced for example by the position of Afro-Caribbean minority group members, fully fluent in English.

However, the young people in this group are, in effect, using academic capital and their inherited cultural capital to strengthen their own position within society. They may well still encounter discrimination and of course their route is not available to all. But they are opting for advantage through continuity of perception of where their best interests lie. This can strengthen their position and security and give access to the resources of the society. From positions of strength, a group of successful minority group members can provide support and positive encouragement for other group members.

In discussing multicultural perspectives within the National Curriculum, Bullivant writes that

if multiculturalism means anything, it is that the contributions of all ethnic groups within a pluralist society should be equally valued, including their high academic aspirations and upward social mobility, regardless of whether this risks usurping a fairer share of economic and social rewards from the dominant groups (Bullivant, 1989, 95).

If discussion of successful young people is to contribute to a positive minority image rather than appearing to patronise, stereotype or criticise (frequent tendencies, noted in Gillborn and Gipps, 1996), this principle is very important.

Languages other than English

What of the linguistic capital which would accrue to the second generation if they had good command of Urdu or Punjabi? In order to pursue this question, I shall refer to a range of documents, interpreting policy on the learning of languages other than English and relating them to the perceptions of families.

None of the second generation in the research group has had any opportunity to develop Urdu as part of their school curriculum but ideas and opinions about the value of bilingual skills will be discussed in relation to 'official' ideas.

Policy for community languages

The Swann Report (DES, 1985), entitled *Education for All*, considered the importance of community languages within a broad discussion of multiculturalism in education. The Report acknowledged that minority groups often wanted their children to learn their community language and that there were strong arguments in favour of teaching the languages in schools. Taking Taylor and Hegarty (1985) as a source, the Report's authors cited enhanced cognitive development, increased confidence and motivation for learning, general enhancement of academic achievement and linguistic skills. They referred to the boost in symbolic value that a minority language would receive if it appeared on the school curriculum and to the practical value that skills might have for younger learners:

a skill of direct relevance to work in areas of ethnic minority settlement in fields such as social services, nursing and education (DES, 1985).

Finally they acknowledged the value to a multicultural society of maintaining the vitality of minority languages.

These policy positions recognise the importance of both the instrumental and the symbolic dimensions of community languages. They also represent the multicultural philosophy that teaching community languages may benefit all, giving value to the linguistic and cultural capital of young minority group members and also to cultural diversity within society. Linguistic human rights are acknowledged implicitly: the right to learn through a first language, to have the value of first language recognised, to have access to an official language (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). However, crucially, the Report made no commitment of resources to support anything other than the teaching of English when needed at the initial stages of schooling. This would in effect be for 'transitional' purposes - enabling children to move out of the use of the mother tongue and into using English, at least across the curriculum.

Nevertheless, the declaration was made that the Report was

'for' mother tongue in the value which we attach to fostering the linguistic, religious and cultural identities of ethnic minority communities. By like token, we applaud the way in which schools in our three National Regions - Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland - have helped preserve a national identity within a United Kingdom (DES, 1985, 406).

Since the Swann Report, the teaching of community languages has developed in many ways through local initiatives, in schools and professional bodies. From particular schools with very multilingual populations, Marland (1987) argued powerfully for the introduction of the teaching of a wide range of languages and Searle (1990) extended the commitment to nurturing creative writing in minority languages. Local religious centres have taken on responsibility for providing language classes (Thompson, Fleming, Byram, 1996). Schools are offering courses in community languages; the school-based national Association for Language Learning has a specialist section for the teaching of Asian languages, formally parallel to its sections for French, German, Spanish and Italian. The number of pupils gaining GCSE in Urdu has risen sharply. The

National Association for Teaching English and other Community Languages to Adults has developed an increasingly wide range of activity (Agnihotri et al. 1990).

However, the links that the *Swann Report* identified between the situation of minority community languages in England with the situation in Wales was misleading. As Mitchell points out (1991, 109), the official policy for Wales (Welsh Office, 1989, 61) asserts that the first reason for using Welsh as a medium and including it in the curriculum is the importance of maintaining it on socio-cultural grounds, which should be the responsibility of the official educators. The arguments are explicitly linked with questions of territoriality and nationhood as well as with the transmission of parental and social culture. The claim is that without some competence in Welsh, a person cannot appreciate or participate in Welsh cultural life. Within this framework, Welsh is argued to be a 'core cultural value' (Smolicz, 1984) within the Welsh community, one of the elements of the culture on which the integrity of the culture as a whole depends. The language is both a tool and a symbol of cultural identity. Mitchell (1991) points out the sharp contrast between this and the policy towards community or heritage languages of non-indigenous groups in Britain. For Wales, the linguistic human rights position is supported fully by public funding but this is not the case for the teaching of community languages. Arguably, giving priority to English and little support to community languages could lead to 'death by education' for young people's skills in minority languages (Verma, Firth and Corrigan, 1995).

Policy for modern foreign languages

Until relatively recently, there was little professional exchange between the teaching of modern European languages and the teaching of community languages. The publication of a series of policy documents on the teaching of modern languages was the first official acknowledgment of professional and conceptual relationships between them (DES, 1988; DES, 1990 a); DES, 1990 b)).

Statutory Orders published in 1989 (DES, 1989) made a modern foreign language compulsory for the first time for all secondary-age pupils and also presented two lists of languages which could be taught in schools. The first, Schedule 1 list, contained the working languages of the European Community: Danish, Dutch, French, German, Modern Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish. Clearly the list was political in the sense that it reflected the United Kingdom's membership of the European community rather than practical involvement in all of those languages for British schools. The second, Schedule 2 list, included Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Gujarati, Modern Hebrew, Hindi, Japanese, Punjabi, Russian, Turkish, Urdu. These languages could only be offered by a school if a Schedule 1 language was already available. The rationale behind this list may be seen as having more to do with publicly proclaiming a policy stance rather than a practical reality. However, the separate listing of languages was fiercely attacked as a manifestation of an assumption that the community languages merited less respect than the European languages.

The National Curriculum document of October 1990 on Modern Foreign Languages, *The Harris Report*, (DES, 1990) confirmed the status of modern languages as a foundation subject and gave a statement of purpose of the modern foreign language curriculum intentions. In this Report, there was also a chapter on bilingual pupils. Updated versions of curricula have emerged but the rationale for modern language study and in relation to the position of bilingual pupils has remained constant.

The educational purposes of modern foreign language teaching are stated in terms of developing practical communicative skills useful for study, work or leisure, for broad academic and intellectual development and cultural benefit. For learners, the gains should be the development of communication skills, insights into another culture and positive attitudes towards it, a greater understanding of their own culture and an appreciation of their position as citizens of the United Kingdom, Europe and the

world. For society, the benefit is meant to come from enhanced trading links and other commercial opportunities. Emphasis is placed on Britain's place within Europe, the implications of the Single European Market and the fact that the nation will have improved 'skills and capabilities to meet the challenges of the future' (DES, 1990, 4).

This rationale represented a significant step in terms of schools policy for modern foreign languages, applicable to all learners. The statement of the functional importance of foreign language skills was overdue. Foreign language study had been for a long time rather elitist and not very explicitly concerned with utility. Higher levels of study tended to focus largely on literary, artistic or philosophical culture and 'civilisation', accessible only to an intellectual elite and carrying an implicitly 'high culture' view of what learning another language would mean. The statement in the Harris Report on the potential cultural impact of modern foreign language study was significant simply by its presence as an aim for lower levels of learning. The concern that learners should develop positive attitudes towards other cultures and a greater awareness of the nature of their own culture implies confidence in the value of comparative studies for enhancing understanding and a basic commitment to principles of multiculturalism.

The chapter on bilingual learners incorporates comments and definitions in relation to learners, a multilingual society and a range of other issues such as syllabus, cross-curricular learning, National Curriculum requirements and links with the community. This section has echoes of some of the situations explored in this thesis. 'Bilingual' is to be taken to refer to

children who come from homes or communities where languages other than English are spoken, and who in consequence have developed competence in those languages. The term does not necessarily imply a high level of proficiency in two languages. It describes pupils with a variety of language profiles...

For some, the description bilingual means a high level of oral proficiency in both the home language and English... With others, especially those who were born or have lived from an early age in the UK, English will usually be the stronger language....(DES, 1990, 83)

Comments echoing those of *The Bullock Report* and *The Swann Report* are made about 'The wealth of linguistic talent (which) represents a significant and valuable national resource...' (DES, 1990, 84) implying that the cultural and linguistic capital associated with bilingualism is positively valued. The assertion is made that 'bilingual pupils should have the opportunity to study a modern language other than their home language' and also that 'ideally, they should be able to study both' (DES, 1990, 84). The role of local communities in supporting language learning is acknowledged and so is the need to consider appropriate pedagogical aims for children who opt to study their home language in a school context.

Policy for modern foreign language teaching thus values the development of practical communication skills both for the individual benefit of learners and as a national economic resource. This instrumental justification implies, in Bourdieu's terms (Bourdieu, 1991), that linguistic capital can be built up by successful foreign language learners which will be valued in the linguistic marketplace of the country's economy. Although Bourdieu's fundamental concern was with the nature of the linguistic and cultural capital that an individual acquires through early nurture, he also saw educational institutions as having a significant impact on individual development.

The bilingualism thus developed is additive. There is some correspondence between this policy stance and that of *The Swann Report* since both claim to value bilingual skills. There is also a clear difference in that *The Swann Report* implies that bilingual skills may be needed as a remedial resource, to support the disadvantaged. *The Harris Report* on the other hand sees bilingual skills as being instrumental in the development

of commercial activity and advantage, an implied enrichment, with international perspectives.

Byram argues that within the National Curriculum:

the position of foreign languages is anomalous. They are the - potentially insidious - international abnormality in a national curriculum. (Byram, 1993, 176)

He develops the positive side of this position to analyse the ways that foreign languages may contribute to multiculturalism:

Foreign Languages could ... be a means to introduce otherness, not only to make learners aware that otherness exists, and has to be tolerated, but also to confront and modify learners' perceptions of otherness and of self by acquisition of another language and cultural perspective... otherness outside the nation's boundaries is closely related to otherness within it. (Byram, 1993, 176)

This is a convincing analysis of the way in which the experience of learning a foreign language may lead to the cultural sensitivity and self awareness identified as an aim for modern language learning in the National Curriculum.

Byram goes on to argue that studying a minority language within a country could not have this impact. The culture associated with a language in a minority setting is certain in many ways to be different, because more constrained, than it would be if the same language were in a majority position (Byram, 1993). This may be a valid argument for potential learners of minority languages who are not themselves minority group members. For the 'children' in this study however, a sense of cultural otherness, cultural self-awareness and indeed cultural confidence could well be enhanced - or could have been enhanced - by further study of Urdu. The particular value it could have becomes apparent if we look for points of contact between policy perspectives on

community and modern foreign languages and the perceptions of parents and young people of the value of knowing or learning Urdu or Punjabi.

Perceptions and reflections

Views ranged quite widely and parental first thoughts were often for other people's children. On the one hand, admiration was expressed for the fluency in Punjabi or Urdu of children of other families, but there was unanimous support also for the use of mother tongue in schools when children need it. It was seen as common sense; absolutely essential in order for children to get started. However, a key point was that nobody at all would expect it to be necessary for children from their own families or other families with similar backgrounds. The element of the 'linguistic human rights' agenda (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995) which stipulates that access to education through the mother tongue should be available receives clear support but explicitly on the basis of it being necessary in order for the child to gain access to the full curriculum, delivered through English.

The potential complexities of this 'common sense' position were very apparent to some. Samara Saeed had been asked by her children's school which was their first language. It was left to her to decide whether to use chronological criteria or ones based on competence.

Aisha Durrani works within the auxiliary services of the NHS and sees many cases where people are both disadvantaged and confused by official attitudes. She has observed people trying to introduce very young children in their homes to English when the mothers cannot sustain it and may be made to feel inadequate:

She (a colleague) used to go into the homes... start teaching the children English words, the little ones, the two to three year olds but I

more. At the moment it's just one language. I know they will find difficulty when they start school but they will gradually pick up... She always used to say, whenever she took me out, that she would let me do the talking with the mothers and she would start telling the children, the very young ones. She would encourage the older children to 'speak to your brothers and sisters in English'. And I felt that was not right. It's their own language. It's not what we should impose upon them to speak English in the home....

The views expressed here are different, however, from those which underlay her bilingual nurturing of her own children. The circumstances are different and her own identity is defined differently as the 'we' and 'them' of her final sentence indicate: from being the bilingual mother, the member of the minority culture, she becomes a member of forces of social work and to some extent, authority.

This distinction between themselves and other members of the Asian community applied very often when people considered the potential value of their own language skills within their professional activity.

You know in ante-natal clinics, ... what is happening now, the consultants they are having these short courses in Urdu and Hindi, and they have started learning the meaning, like they have to find out whether the baby is moving or not... A few words and things like that. They have started learning that. They think it's important. But our own children, they should be doing this... (Samara Saeed)

Opportunities for service occur in many contexts. Madiha Halim, as a young teacher, is in one sense happy to help her pupils' parents:

When they need letters translating they come to me. And they find it very easy now that I'm there. I mean in the morning... when I'm supposed to be registering the children, I'm having letters being brought in: 'Could you just translate this, or could you tell me where I need to go for this?' I'm translating back for them. It's letter from the DHSS, stuff like that.

This kind of concern echoes the policy statements of the Swann Report asserting the communicative importance of languages. It is another dimension of the view that the second generation's bilingual linguistic capital could have value in the linguistic marketplace, acknowledge the value of the inheritance of the minority group (Corson, 1993). There is a clear link between arguing the instrumental value of minority language skills within social services and that of foreign language skills in commerce or trade: practical benefits are seen to accrue to society from the linguistic skills of its members who liaise and communicate with other-language groups.

Skutnabb-Kangas (1995) argues, within the framework of linguistic human rights that in the cause of social justice for minorities 'We need bilinguals as mediators.' She continues:

those who are bi-something (bilingual, bidialectal, bicultural) have been forced to look at two different languages, dialects, cultures from the inside. It is easier for us bilinguals to understand both parties.
(Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995, 56)

This appears to match the perceptions of those of the research group who value a capacity to give service to the community.

As emerged in earlier chapters, skills are also for the way in which they can support continuing links with Pakistan - links with home as parents put it; being able to talk to

relatives from Pakistan as younger people more often put it. This is an important part of reinforcing a sense of identity. Nobody who saw this as a personal priority argued that schools should take the responsibility however and there was general optimism that children could develop skills quickly.

The broader question of identity and its relationship with knowledge of Punjabi/ Urdu is complex. Having recently left school, Alia Imtiaz tried to express the issues as she saw them:

Because this self esteem of the young people needs nurturing all round... When you first go out into society, you first of all take on no values then you come to thinking where you are, what do you belong to exactly, what status you are. And you do want to do your own thing; you don't want to have to drop any part of your own individuality to fit in with other people...

Identity in this sense of valuing a multidimensional personal inheritance can underlie attitudes to language education. Urdu has special meaning for identity linked with Pakistani origins because of its national role. It also links to a Muslim dimension of identity both because of its historic association with Islam in the Indian subcontinent and because it is, at the moment, the language with which the majority of the Muslim community above a certain age communicate in Britain. On the other hand, there can be no exclusive connection between Islam, an international religion within which Arabic is the scriptural language and Urdu, a language strongly associated with one nation. Indeed, it is the argument of the radical Islamic group Hizb-ut-Tahrir that English should be the language through which children in this country are taught Islam.

It is a stated principle of the linguistic human rights agenda (Philippon and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995) that everyone should have an opportunity to identify with the mother

tongue and have that respected by others. Nobody in the research group would deny the importance of the principle but equally, for second and subsequent generations, nobody would give it the same importance as they would to general educational rights. The linguistic capital that would accrue from extensive study of Urdu would be limited and cultural confidence is not dependent on it but that does not alter the fact that it is seen as having both communicative usefulness and symbolic significance.

Another reason for cherishing Urdu is its aesthetic value and impact. This is something of which several first generation members were very aware. We may remember Nusrat Masood's comments that:

We still find Urdu is a beautiful language, very soft spoken, very expressive and the language of the learned people and somehow when you know Urdu, you straightaway feel better within yourself.

This dimension of Urdu is associated with formal educational transmission - *the language of the learned people*. Nowadays, cultural events such as Urdu poetry readings and recitals are quite frequent and well advertised in England as are concerts of Urdu songs based on poetry or 'qawwali' music, a particular style of singing of poetry with devotional connotations. These artistic forms are gaining a broader international following and an increasing number of second generation attend such events although no parents at first expected their children ever to be able to appreciate the aesthetic dimensions of Urdu. Knowledge of Urdu can thus represent a 'cultural heritage' dimension to an individual's intellectual profile in the sense in which the English National Curriculum uses the term. Perhaps this echoes the 'high culture' dimensions of policy towards foreign language learning which pre-dated the National Curriculum.

The aesthetic impact of modern cultural developments is also important. Whilst the traditional cultural weight of Urdu may be weakened by distance from its base in Pakistan, new intercultural developments in Britain and internationally within films in Punjabi-medium bhangra music and singing for example, may have a significant impact on the young (Rampton, 1995). Many second generation members appreciated these developments.

The range of perceptions of the value of Urdu, social, national, historical, religious, cultural, underlies the great increase since the early 1980's in national numbers of pupils taking public examinations in the language. The increase is very much larger than for any other minority language (Verma et al, 1995; Stiles, 1995). According to the Modern Foreign Language Statistics of 1993, produced by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority, the number of people taking GCSE examinations in Urdu was 5475. This was more than double the number for Bengali, the second most popular community language, and only French, German and Spanish registered higher numbers.

Opinions are divided over the implications for schools. Some see potential advantages in including minority languages in the school programme:

I do think that it's extremely important for languages like Urdu or Punjabi to have a place in the education curriculum to give them value in the same way as European languages seem to have value if they are put into the foreign language curriculum. (Alia Imtiaz)

Others disagree. Young Huma Sheikh foresees problems:

That's the danger isn't it, because like people who come in to do French say. I mean I didn't particularly like French - I mean I don't

know why but I just didn't like it. Because a school subject is a school subject, it's compulsory, you have to do it, you end up resenting a lot of it. And I think that's what could happen to people. Asian children would build up a reluctance against their own language. Oh, my gosh, we are taught this at school as well, and come home and have to do it as well.

Huma's reference to 'their own language' makes a clear link between the language and a sense of identity but perhaps distances herself from the sentiment.

Some of the logistical problems of providing programmes within schools were perceived as arguments for not doing so:

Our own communities should do it with the help of the local authorities. I think that is the best way rather than upsetting the norm. Because if you start saying 'Oh, let's teach Punjabi and let's teach Urdu or Hindi then there can be people from Uganda and Kenya, they want to speak Swahili and then people from Africa and Caribbean. There is no end to it... (Naseem Masood)

However, Naseem's initial 'our own communities' suggests a strong sense of identification with other community members.

A synthesis: policies and perceptions

Both correspondence and dissonance have emerged between policy positions on language education and the perceptions of the research group in relation to their own educational and linguistic priorities.

Language education policy has consistently asserted the absolute importance of English for instrumental purposes and the high value of the cultural enrichment it offers. Policy for bilingual development in other languages has varied. Community languages have received support but no resourcing whilst Welsh, on sociocultural grounds, has received both. Modern foreign languages are seen to offer practical benefits and some cultural awareness to learners and economic benefits to the country.

For first and second generation members of the research group, the vital importance of English was also acknowledged. Indeed the greatest linguistic concern which emerged was the elusive nature of 'expertise' in English language as measured in public examinations and defined in school. Longer term educational success however has come for most with opting for the study of sciences after the age of sixteen. This has enabled people to 'bypass' possible problems when perceiving that English was somehow not fully available academically. The selection of scientific options also represented one face of cultural continuity and affirmation.

English is valued most strongly for its role in enabling learning to take place. The cultural benefits are less clear. The experience of living in Britain as minority group members has in itself developed cultural awareness and analysis for many. The 'cultural heritage' offerings of the English curriculum have not had an appeal or perceived value in any way equivalent to the academic capital value of study of science. Nobody has had the opportunity in school to learn Urdu and nobody had expected to. Most parents and older second generation members most strongly associate the use of Punjabi or Urdu in school with a need for remedial or support teaching for children with language problems who need to develop their English.

Having skills in Punjabi/Urdu can be an asset professionally in relation to the Asian community. It can also be a personal asset in reinforcing a symbolic sense of identity and a practical capacity for communication. Cultural enrichment through appreciation

of the aesthetic dimensions of Urdu is also, potentially, a significant asset. Pressure for shift to English is strong but there are hints that a greater enthusiasm for maintenance of Urdu could develop.

In the terms of Corson (1993) and Bourdieu (1991), these minority group members have been able to gain a secure position in the linguistic marketplace, gain access to the rewards they sought by giving educational priority in language to the instrumental functions of English. At the same time they have recognised the instrumental communicative value of other languages.

They perceive the cultural dimensions of language learning as less significant. This is the case so far as English is concerned and modern foreign languages. A view of Urdu as offering cultural enrichment is real for some but confidence is associated with educational success and cultural self-awareness would seem to have developed from the total experience of living in multicultural Britain rather than the language learning opportunities of the classroom.

These priorities are conducive to shift but consciousness of the value of maintenance is also present. There is uncertainty however about the role of formal education in contributing to it.

Conclusion

At many points during the previous five chapters, educational issues and concerns emerged from exploration of families' language experience. In this chapter, the educational issues were the main focus but a somewhat different approach was adopted. Documents on language education policies constituted most of the data and they were expounded and discussed in order to search for points of contact with the situation of the families. This provided a basis for commentary on the policies and a

different framework for analysis of the concerns and views of the families. Evidence already referred to in other chapters was drawn upon in articulating family perceptions and some new evidence was presented for illustrative purposes.

The foundations are now laid for educational concerns to take up a central position in the concluding chapter which presents a synthesis of themes relating to the families' transitional bilingualism.

Conclusion

The study of language minority groups has often been driven by social and political injustices, and issues of language maintenance have been linked to the protection of equal rights. The literature may take up an advocacy position (Cameron et al. 1992) exploring situations where loss of language skills has been one aspect of a generally disadvantaged situation, whether at national or individual level. Within the educational field, this has also been the case and the term 'transitional bilingualism' has been used to indicate an imposed rather than a spontaneous language change.

The choice of **Transitional Bilingualism** as the title for this thesis has a different significance. In the research, I wanted to investigate the bilingualism of the families in order to make a contribution to minority studies by an analysis of apparent success. These families and others of similar background, in some ways a social élite, may contribute significantly to the public profile of minority groups, have extensive contact with the majority community and significant influence within that community. I had no initial intention of taking up a position as defender of the minority language nor of arguing the victimisation of the group but wanted to achieve a fuller understanding of their position.

Throughout the period of data collection, I sought to maintain the position of disinterested observer and became very conscious early on of the extent to which the repertoires of many young people did not incorporate well-developed skills in Punjabi/ Urdu. It took some time however to be sure that regarding this as a natural process did not represent a betrayal of minority rights. Edwards' observation (Edwards, V., 1994, 190) that 'certain aspects of the value of transitional bilingualism tend to be submerged in discussions of language maintenance' gave timely reassurance to my analysis. The assertion that attention needs to be paid to 'the range of roles transitional bilingualism can play for individual

members of minority communities' (Edwards, V., 1994, 190) echoed my own view. This led to the final choice of the title. It indicates that the study is exploring the nature of the social and linguistic processes of a period of language shift during which bilingual repertoires have undergone considerable change, without seeking an advocacy role as such in its analysis. The study has gained a range of insights into the experience of living through a period of 'transitional bilingualism' and I would argue that this period does not represent a situation where the future is decided and fixed but one where choices are available and individual positions may be adopted.

Individual priorities, histories, repertoires

Transitional bilingualism is, by definition, part of a process of change. At any one moment, different individuals are likely to be found dealing differently with circumstances, however similar their backgrounds. In the same household, for instance, different individuals from the same generation draw differently on their repertoires. Despite many commonalities between families, histories are personal and so are priorities. Dorian outlines particular traits of personality or elements of personal histories which she feels are conducive to the maintenance of a heritage language in a situation which would otherwise seem very susceptible to shift. Amongst personal factors, she lists a strong attachment to a language-loyal kinsperson, an extrovert personality and experience of exile (Dorian, 1981). Gal sees personal life decisions, for example marriage, as having a key role in the delay or hastening of shift (Gal, 1979). Personal circumstances and disposition seem in this research to be powerful influences also. Because of the length of time which has passed since the beginning of the study, and because of continuing contact with some, it is possible to outline continuing personal histories which would seem to be significant in relation to bilingualism. They refer back to the initial family portraits drawn up in the first chapter. For each family, I identified a distinctive feature and I shall refer to these again. I want to

illustrate how personal circumstances have an impact on individual situations but individual dispositions can also balance the impact.

In the Mansour family, mother Samra was least confident of all the women in the research group so far as her own English was concerned. At one stage, her husband Ali felt this could have a positive impact on the bilingualism of their younger son but Samra remained unsure. Now, her older son has married and her daughter-in-law does not speak Punjabi/Urdu. The chances of the first grandchild acquiring early skills in the language seem poor. On the other hand, grandparents can play an influential role if generations are in close contact.

The youngest family, the Saeeds, had an erratic migration history and the children's command of Urdu became very secure soon after the research period ended because of a return to Pakistan. Now however, they are back in England, Maryam and Najla are confident in Urdu (and planning to go to medical school) but the bilingual skills of their younger brothers are, according to Samara, diminishing. The communicative need for language skills has obviously been the driving force hitherto for maintaining Urdu but the combination of youth with a lack of real communicative need is a force for shift.

The Qureshi family were particularly zealous in developing the literacy skills of daughters Sarah and Ghazala and home use of Punjabi/Urdu was very firm. Ghazala has now married endogamously but her husband, although a Muslim of south Asian descent, is not of Punjabi origin and uses English with his parents. When we remember Ghazala's tendency to use only English at home, it seems unlikely she will attempt to transmit Punjabi/Urdu to her children herself. Her parents may attempt to do so however through their own contacts, given their sense of zeal. Sarah, however, continues to use Punjabi/Urdu in the parental home and also within family circles. It has continued to be an asset professionally

as she has become involved in scientific research with cross-cultural dimensions and it seems unlikely that she will lose her command of the language. The zeal and language loyalty of her parents seem highly influential.

Tahira and Alia Imtiaz had not been to Pakistan for ten years when the field work began and seemed to have little interest in doing so. They did however claim to be a little more interested in Punjabi/Urdu as young adults than they had been as teenagers. Several years later, they both plan to go to Pakistan after so many years. They would like to improve their bilingual skills before going and are presumably going to regain some degree of competence since the pressure to communicate with relatives will be considerable.

The Rahmans were characterised as having the least close links with Pakistan and despite the early proficiency of the eldest son, claimed least use of minority language skills. Daughter Farah became the first of the group to marry exogamously. From both circumstances and disposition, shift is proceeding.

The Durrani family had particularly close family links with Pakistan for the younger as well as the older generation. The 'children' maintain their oral skills in Urdu this way, taking regular summer holidays in Pakistan. The strong personal relationships that have been built up between the young Durrans and their relatives in Pakistan is a major motivation for maintenance and combines with a marked sentimental commitment to Urdu on the part of the parents, plus a commitment on the part of Aisha to the development of bilingualism.

The second generation in the Halim family had unusually diverse profiles because of the deafness of one second-generation member. The diversity continues and daughter Madiha has continued to use Punjabi/Urdu in her teaching posts. In this case, it is very clear that contacts outside the family exercise some of the strongest influence for maintenance.

Nusrat Masood had been the longest time in England of all the families and she and Naseem were already grandparents at the beginning of the study. Although her children had lost early skills, Nusrat had developed a strong and explicit commitment to both cultural and linguistic continuity and had extensive contact with her first grandchildren. Now, all her children are endogamously married and some grandchildren see their grandparents frequently since they live nearby. Nusrat retains a sense of zeal and seems likely to try to transmit some Urdu to her grandchildren. She is sure that family links will continue and her own children agree the communicative usefulness of Urdu both for professional service to the community and for contact with Pakistan though not for their daily family life in England. Nusrat is the person who could be seen as having experienced the longest 'exile' (Dorian, 1981) and perhaps some of her enthusiasm is nourished by it.

The Sheikhs, closest to their local Asian community, show the most diverse responses. Whilst Huma is working overseas, her need for Punjabi/ Urdu is non-existent. Sofia, now married endogamously, continues to help her father in organising activities for the local Asian community where there is considerable contact with individuals who have quite limited command of English.

From several of these very brief portraits, linking them to earlier accounts of the families, individual attitudes, but also circumstances, would seem to dispose people towards particular outcomes without necessarily deciding them. Marriage patterns are likely to be highly significant, as was the case in Gal's study (1979) and a spouse who does not have any access to Punjabi/ Urdu is likely to be a cause for abandoning use of it completely in the second-generation home. On the other hand, grandparents are a potential force for maintenance, and second-generation members may be committed to them as 'language-loyal kinspersons' (Dorian, 1981).

The private and the public

At various points in the thesis, reference has been made to the distinction between private and public dimensions of bilingual language use.

In all families, Punjabi/ Urdu was present in the home, in the private domain. For the different generations, the realities of how the languages are used in the home vary considerably. Some second generation members speak Punjabi/ Urdu very little although they may understand it effectively. This was clear in self-reported data, in fieldwork observation and in the recorded corpus.

The importance of the private domain of the home in maintaining skill in a minority language is often referred to in the literature (Romaine, 1989; Baker, 1993). Indeed it is axiomatic for some that maintenance means continuing to use in the home the language identified with the home (Fishman, 1991). In this study however, whilst home may be the place where most experience of listening to Punjabi or Urdu occurs, it is not the domain within which speaking the languages necessarily seems the most significant unless there are visitors from Pakistan. Cultural continuity through marriage and religion and the maintenance of family links takes priority over questions of language.

Other dimensions of privacy come into play. Punjabi/ Urdu may be used in order to protect privacy - whether to guard secrets or engage in indiscreet conversation. This exclusionary function is widely acknowledged and a frequent source of amusement.

However, use of Urdu by second-generation members outside the family is also important and can be seen as a locus of language maintenance for many individuals. It may enable

people to make a positive contribution to intercultural relations and to the Asian community in professional working situations. It may also be powerful in contributing to politeness and conveying, symbolically perhaps, a positive image to other first-generation members outside their own family. It is particularly important at this stage in the 1990's in the life of the families and the wider minority community. Given migration history, this is the phase when second-generation marriages are taking place and a third generation is establishing links with grandparents. New phases of transitional bilingualism are developing.

The implication is that in order to maintain or indeed to acquire membership of this speech community, relatively little skill is needed. Public display of a selection of appropriate utterances makes it possible to be at least on the margins of the speech community. A further implication may be that a 'language display' could be used to authenticate social identity by an outsider, in order to gain 'admission' to the community (Eastman, 1993).

Rapid change but long-term processes

The shift that has taken place since the families' arrival in England has been rapid. The evidence from all aspects of the study indicates this. Informants contrast their own pace of language change with that of other social groups within the Asian community. They comment upon the changes they have observed in themselves and other family members; generations have fundamentally different repertoires and the situation is volatile. Moving so quickly, in the space of just one generation from migration, is relatively unusual. Amongst studies of language shift, a three-generation pattern of shift is much commoner.

However, it is possible to see the change as part of a much longer-term process which started in India and Pakistan when English became a language strongly associated with

education and also a significant element in the multilingual situation of India. Most parents were themselves already bilingual when they arrived in England. For individuals in these families, the use of English as the medium for all scientific study meant that in the lives of all the fathers and some of the mothers, English played a central role and was firmly seen as the normal language for study and professional knowledge.

It is important in every study of language shift or maintenance to take a long-term view of the situation. Dorian, with Gaelic in mind and the historical facts of English aggression towards Scotland, asserted that

however abruptly a shift from one language to another may take place, the groundwork for the shift has been generations, and usually centuries, in the making (Dorian, 1981, 51-53).

Usually, it is with indigenous minorities that the long-term perspectives are more apparent but here, they are very clear in an immigrant group because of colonial history. The different roles and perceptions of Punjabi and Urdu are part of the long-term perspective as is the code-switching and mixing in the text of bilingual interaction. The cultural continuity between generations is also part of a long-term process.

Priority to education

Educational and social research in Britain has now given rise to a number of studies which find that in formal education, Asian pupils can achieve well and may outperform other groups, both majority and minority. Studies show that Asian pupils, Pakistanis more than Indians, also underperform and experience inadequate language provision. It has become commonplace and often both patronising and stereotyping to comment on the keenness of

Asian students to study hard and succeed under pressure from ambitious parents (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996).

Within this study, it has been apparent in several chapters that educational considerations lie behind a great many developments. Education, in both formal and informal senses, was the major consideration in early language nurture. Cultural priorities accord an important position to educational achievement and the achievement of young people has been a source of pride, a driving force and a social asset. A didactic function for code-switching was also postulated within two families.

Theory of language shift and language maintenance does attribute great importance to education. Policy and practice can be conducive to either shift or maintenance. 'Death by education' for a minority language may be the outcome of assimilation-oriented policy and planning (Verma et al, 1995). Positive support for minority language teaching encourages maintenance. However, whilst educational considerations were referred to by nearly everyone in the families, sometimes they were cited in order to explain shift towards English and sometimes in order to argue the value of bilingualism.

There is greater public awareness of bilingualism as an issue and a potential asset than was the case when most families had young children. It seems, ironically, to be developing as skills are diminishing. The parents of the youngest families in the group, the Saeeds and the Durrani, were the most aware of the issues and ready to see bilingualism as beneficial in broad educational terms as well as socio-cultural ones. There is a developing perception amongst most that there could be professional spin-offs from being able to use Punjabi or Urdu in the sense of being able to deal, in professional contexts, with people from minority Asian communities.

It is through participating in mainstream education however, if necessary at the cost of losing or not acquiring fluency in Punjabi/ Urdu, that people have chosen to seek economic and social security, their route to power and resources. The study of science and, often, medicine has been selected as an accessible route, within which acquired academic capital has high value.

Implicit in the experience however is that whilst competence in English is accepted as of prime importance, the view taken of English itself is primarily utilitarian. The need for the global role of English to be recognised as culturally neutral is increasingly discussed in a broader context of sociolinguistic and sociocultural issues (Crystal, 1997; Graddol, 1997; Pennycook, 1994). Discussion of illiberal attitudes towards minority languages and of the cultural hegemony of English, or Standard English, has been pursued both nationally and internationally (Cameron and Bourne, 1988; Philippon and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1995). In this case, cultural confidence and security have necessitated a high level of competence in English but a utilitarian view of the language has been adopted by most. Cultural security has been based on economic security and family continuity.

An issue of concern which emerges from the study however relates to second generation performance in public examinations in English language. For most young people, it fell below performance in other areas of the curriculum. Is it possible that the syllabus and assessment for English language disadvantages those whose need for English owes more to its 'cross-curricular' importance - in terms of National Curriculum objectives - and less to its role as vehicle of 'cultural heritage'?

Transitions and decisions

Finally, I would argue that for these families, the situation is now one where the second generation have the resources and the opportunity to take up a position vis-a-vis maintenance of Punjabi/Urdu according to their own priorities. This can be seen as the outcome of the period of transitional bilingualism through which they are passing. Circumstances are conducive to developments but decisions and choices can also be made.

The impact of circumstances is considerable. Where, for example, are second-generation people finding posts or choosing to live? How close are they to parents, the grandparents of their children who may provide some input in Punjabi/ Urdu? How much contact is there with same-age relatives in Pakistan? Does their work entail contact with a local Asian community so that Punjabi/ Urdu would be a professional asset? The continuing strength of Punjabi/ Urdu in some sectors of the Asian community draws in part on the fact that many marriages bring spouses from Pakistan and India and the professional value of language skills is likely to be significant for the foreseeable future. All these are circumstances which may dispose towards continuing bilingualism.

However, posts are only obtained if applied for and choice rather than circumstance alone governs where people work. People who have gained a position of security through educational, economic and professional activity do have an opportunity to establish their own priorities. If maintaining the presence of Urdu or Punjabi within their personal or family repertoire is important to them, routes for achieving that are available. Social contact with the broad Asian community is available. Communications with Pakistan are easy and so is travel. Local radio programmes in the languages are well established and **The Daily Jang** seems to thrive. Cultural events where Urdu poetry and songs are heard are advertised and language classes are available in many communities. For those who

feel that their cultural identity must be supported by continuing use of Punjabi or Urdu, these resources will be drawn upon. Language is not seen as a core value however and the inconsistency of outcomes contrasts with greater unanimity about the importance of cultural continuity through family bonds, religion and marriage patterns. Young people will make their own decisions and probably give less heed to official 'advice' than parents did. Perhaps the increasing evidence that the international spread and importance of Hindi/Urdu is growing rapidly (Graddol, 1997) will also have an impact on perceptions of the value of learning Urdu.

There are a great many families in England whose migration history dates back to the 1960's and early 1970's. Second-generation young people have moved or are moving into adulthood; a third generation is well established. The process of language change is one that many families and individuals from minority groups are undergoing and the tensions and issues that have been explored in this study are widely experienced. The same range of choices in relation to language development is not necessarily available to all. Those who do have choice however could well slow or halt reduction in the use of Punjabi/ Urdu for themselves or their family. Having that choice does not necessarily mean that high status will be accorded by the majority community to the minority language or that conditions generally will be conducive to the reversal of language shift (Fishman, 1991; Baker, 1993). However, if choice is available, then for this group, transitional bilingualism has not necessarily been a period of loss but a period of change and development of new patterns of multicultural and multilingual identity.

Further possibilities for research

On the basis of the study completed, there are further research possibilities which I would like to pursue.

Firstly, it would be interesting to investigate the validity of some findings across a larger research population of similar origin. I have potential access to a large number of families from the same association but many of them are not of the same early 'generation' of immigrant doctors. A quantitative study investigating language attitudes, educational priorities and choices or levels of achievement on the part of the younger generation could be undertaken, introducing variables such as the age of parents, the age and gender of 'children', the family's length and place of residence. The substance of the present study's insights could act as the basis for the development of research instruments appropriate for a quantitative study. A broader-based measure of the extent to which science education has been the chosen academic route could emerge as could a measurement of language shift within a broader population.

Secondly, data collected for the present study could be the basis of further analysis. One of the problems that every qualitative researcher faces is that of selecting analytical perspectives and then selecting the most relevant data. Inevitably some data and possibilities may be left unexplored. The development of a feminist analytical perspective in relation to data generated during this study could, for example, be very fruitful. Gender differences were touched on quite frequently during this study but it would be interesting to develop that line of analysis much more rigorously. A number of perspectives could be explored: different gender roles among parents in nurturing children's language and in maintaining cultural continuity; the differing responses of sons and daughters to issues of linguistic and cultural continuity; the perceptions of first generation women of the

children's situation and their own. These and other directions could be pursued by adopting a different analytical framework for reconsidering existing data.

Finally, the research has generated further ideas for research on the nature of educational achievement. The study set out to gain a fuller understanding of the bilingual experience of young people who are succeeding within the educational system, recognising that in previous research, less attention had been given to success than to problems and also that negative stereotypes were plentiful. Whilst the research has a broad social and linguistic base rather than one which is education- or school-based, educational concerns have emerged as significant throughout and were linked in the final chapter to questions of policy.

Very recent developments in educational research suggest that the study could be timely. The 1996 review of the achievements of ethnic minority pupils (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996) confirms that initial perceptions are still valid:

To date , the majority of work in this field has concentrated on the problems facing ethnic minority pupils and not on their successes (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996, 59).

It also suggests that evidence on parental expectations is scarce and that small scale studies have a contribution to make:

Despite the limitations of small case study research, qualitative work can offer a unique perspective ... through the depth of understanding and detail that it produces (Gillborn and Gipps, 59).

As has been acknowledged many times in this study, social class is shown by the review to be one of the most important factors in influencing outcomes in the education of minority

group young people. However, some research suggests that even enterprise and diligence may, in certain circumstances, be interpreted negatively and that achievements may not be accredited by to young people's own efforts:

the ... basic image of Asian communities emerged in ... negative... forms. Here their actions could be seen as 'sly' rather than studious and the home community viewed as oppressive rather than supportive (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996, 57).

Furthermore, social stereotypes are still powerful:

Several qualitative studies have noted a common stereotype where it is assumed that Asian communities are excessively authoritarian; emphasising narrow, restrictive expectations for their children, who are raised in families dominated by the rule of the father (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996, 57).

Logically, it is research based outside the school which can serve to combat such stereotyping.

The Review also reasserts the importance of language issues in education.

South Asian pupils can be subject to negative stereotypes which close down educational opportunities. Problems with language have sometimes been misinterpreted as indicative of deeper seated learning difficulties (Gillborn and Gipps, 1996, 57).

These problems are not ones which were encountered by young people in this study but issues have been raised about levels of achievement in language, as assessed by public examinations and as distinct from broader educational achievement. It would be interesting to explore further the discrepancy in performance and to consider its nature, its origins and its impact. Is it the result of young people's specialised interests and competence, or does the nature of the English language syllabus or the pattern of assessment appear to be a cause of the discrepancy? Is further research needed to explore

the relationship between English language competence and achievement in areas of science education?

The central importance of language within the lives of all the members of the research group is indisputable and issues are complex and many. In reality, everyone's language use will remain multifunctional. This is the case whether or not repertoires continue to be bilingual, whether language needs are instrumental or culturally-based, whether use is private or public, for communicative or symbolic purposes, sentimental or practical reasons. The present study has been built on this fact and suggestions for further research recognise this same truth.

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Appendix 1

The families

The Durrani family

Mother: Aisha
Father: Rashid
Children: Ali, Waseem and Sonia

The Halim family

Mother: Alia
Father: Mahmoud
Children: Madiha, Imran, Salman

The Imtiaz family

Mother: Fawzia
Father: Jamal
Children: Tahira and Alia

The Mansour family

Mother: Samra
Father: Ali
Children: Hamid and Afzal

The Masood family

Mother: Nusrat
Father: Naseem
Children: Wahid, Jamil, Kausar and Shameem

The Qureshi family

Mother: Fatima
Father: Mumtaz
Children: Sarah and Ghazala

The Rahman family

Mother: Shazia
Father: Mushtaq
Children: Hassan, Farah, Samir

The Saeed family

Mother: Samara
Father: Tahir
Children: Maryam, Najla, Jamal and Hameed

The Sheikh family

Mother: Razia
Father: Rashid
Children: Sofia and Huma

All names are changed in order to preserve anonymity.

Here, the term 'children' is used for all second generation members, irrespective of age.

Appendix 2

Format adopted for recording of fieldnotes

1. Descriptive data

What actually happened: date, event and setting, activities, coming and going, telephone calls etc.

2. Informational data

What was recounted in discussion/ conversation:
eg. recent events , family history, 'children's' development and school experience, 'gossip' , contacts with Pakistan, any language-related observations, anecdotes, political discussion

(The range and focus of these developed as observation continued.)

3. Observed language data

What could be observed in terms of language use and choice - within and between generations also. Language used for initiating talk in different groupings and for responding and general conversation, code-switching for particular (apparent) reasons?

(The range and focus in this category also developed; attempts were made to check self-reported data against the evidence emerging.)

4. Attitudinal data

Expression of attitudes towards Britain or Pakistan, lifestyle, politics, religion, education, family etc. Also to record attitudes towards language issues.

(This category became more limited/ focused. The category of 'informational data' often seemed to be more appropriate a category for recording observations as they emerged naturally in conversation).

5. Theoretical notes

Notes on relevant and developing theory, referring to reading, ongoing work and eventually, emerging themes.

6. Methodological notes

Notes on methodological problems or issues which arose.

APPENDIX 3

Transcription conventions used in the bilingual text in Chapter 8

[....] : phonemic transcription of Punjabi/ Urdu.

The phonemic alphabet used is loosely based on that presented for Urdu by Russell (1986).

(italic) : translation into English of Punjabi/Urdu.

bold print : a single lexical item of a different code, contained within an utterance.

Appendix 4

Kinship Terms in Urdu (Russell, 1987)

List of kin as they relate to R

R is one of a family of two brothers (including himself) and one sister.

1st generation

R 's father's father is his dada.

R 's father's mother is his dadi.

R 's mother's father is his nana.

R 's mother's mother is his nani.

2nd generation

R 's father is his bap.

R 's mother is his maṇ.

R 's father's brother is his caca² (U), caca² (H), and his wife is R 's caci/caci.

R 's father's sister is his phuphi (U) bua, or phua (H), and her husband is R 's phupha.

R 's mother's brother is his mamū (U), mama (H), and his wife is R 's mwmāni (U), mami (H).

R 's mother's sister is his xala (U), māwsi (H), and her husband is R 's xalu (U), māwsa (H).

(In the same generation, father-in-law (of either spouse) is swsər, or xwsər (U), səswr (H). Mother-in-law (of either spouse) is sas.)

3rd generation (R 's own)

R 's brother is his bhai and his brother's wife is his bhabhi.

R 's sister is his bəhyn and her husband is his bəhnoi.

R 's wife is his bivi (U), pətni (H) - and he is her ṣəwhər or xavynd (U), pəti (H).

R 's wife's husband's elder brother is her jeṭh.

R 's wife's husband's younger brother is her devar.

R 's wife's brother is his sala - but since this is also used (by a logic which a little thought will make clear) as a term of insult, many people will call him their byradər y nysbətī, 'brother by marriage' (U. only).

R 's wife's sister is his sali.

4th generation

R 's son is his beṭa. His son's wife is his bəhu.

R 's daughter is his beṭī. Her husband is his damad.

R 's brother's son is his bhəṭīja.

R 's brother's daughter is his bhəṭījī.

R 's sister's son is his bhaṇja.

R 's sister's daughter is his bhaṇjī.

5th generation

R 's son's son is his pota.

R 's son's daughter is his poti.

R 's daughter's son is his nyvasa.

R 's daughter's daughter is his nyvasī.

This list is by no means exhaustive. Note 2 below lists the terms for cousins of various kinds, but there are many more terms of kinship - e.g. other kinds of sister-in-law are called (e.g.) bhavəj, nənd, deverani and jyṭhani. But the list covers all those which you will most commonly meet.