

**LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT IN MAURITIUS:
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION INTO
THE LANGUAGE PRACTICES OF BHOJPURIAS**

ANIL KUMAR BILTOO

DPHIL THESIS

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

DEPARTMENT OF LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC SCIENCE

2004

ABSTRACT

The present research is a sociolinguistic investigation into language use in Mauritius, focusing on the language practices of the largest ethnolinguistic group within Mauritius. The aim of the research is twofold: (i) to determine to what extent Mauritians belonging to such an ethnolinguistic group (Bhojpuria) make use of the ancestral language (Bhojpuri); (ii) to investigate the societal and institutional factors that both constrain and promote the use of given languages in particular contexts, and offer explanations as to why it is that Mauritian Bhojpuri - a form illustrated as being quite distinct from any of the Indian varieties - is losing ground to other languages spoken and studied in Mauritius.

The present research provides an overview of the Mauritian linguistic situation and assesses the difficulties in interpreting official data relating to language use in a complex multilingual environment such as Mauritius (Chapter 1). A comprehensive investigation of the linguistic literature and of existing theoretical approaches is undertaken, focusing on contact induced change, and maintenance and shift - the latter from both societal and individualistic perspectives (Chapter 2). The importance of considering the socio-historical background of an ethno-linguistic group is asserted throughout the research; accordingly, a review is given of Indian settlement in Mauritius and of both the education of Indians and the use of Indian languages in the educational system. This review critically appraises historical facts and incorporates unpublished data to provide an up to date socio-historical account (Chapter 3).

With the incorporation of interviews conducted (Chapter 4) and questionnaire data gathered during a period of fieldwork (Chapter 5), the research provides a wholly new analysis and interpretation of Bhojpuria patterns of language use and attitudes towards language use. The research concludes with an evaluation of existing sociolinguistic approaches towards language maintenance and language shift, and suggests alternative, potentially more productive approaches.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
CONTENTS	3
LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS	7
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	9
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS	10
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.0 Mauritius: Physical and Political Geography	15
1.1 Mauritian Linguistic Situation	18
1.1.1 Existing Research on Languages of Mauritius	18
1.1.2 Current Languages of Mauritius	20
1.1.3 Census Information	22
1.1.4 Bhojpuri and the Ancestral Languages	29
1.1.5 Bhojpuri: Classification and Dialects	35
1.1.6 Brief Description of Mauritian Bhojuri	39
1.1.6.1 Phonemic Inventory of MB	40
1.1.6.2 The Noun: Definites and Plurals	46
1.1.6.3 The Verb: Finite Verb Forms	48
1.1.7 Sample Text in Bhojpuri Varieties	51
1.1.7.1 Text in IB Southern Dialect	54
1.1.7.2 Text in IB Western Dialect	55
1.1.7.3 Texts in Devanagari and Kaithi Script	56
1.1.7.4 Text in Mauritian Bhojpuri	57
1.1.7.5 Analysis of Texts	58
1.2 Research Outline	65
1.2.1 Motivation for Present Research	65
1.2.2 Research Aims	69
1.2.3 Research Questions	75
1.2.3.1 Demography	76
1.2.3.2 Education	79
1.2.3.3 Sociocultural Activity	82
1.2.3.4 Socioeconomic Activity	84

1.2.4	Methodology	86
1.3	Notes to Chapter 1	90
 CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES		
2.0	Outline of Literature Review	102
2.1	Language Change and Language Contact	105
2.1.1	Language Change: Historical Approaches	105
2.1.2	Language Change: Sociolinguistic Approaches	107
2.1.3	Borrowing as Language Change	110
2.1.4	Languages in Contact	112
2.2	Maintenance and Shift as Societal Phenomena	115
2.2.1	Habitual Language Use	115
2.2.2	Functions and Domains	118
2.2.3	Domain Analysis	121
2.2.4	Diglossia	124
2.2.5	Bilingualism with and without Diglossia	127
2.3	Maintenance and Shift as Individualistic Phenomena	130
2.3.1	Socio-Psychological Factors	130
2.3.2	Accommodation Theory	134
2.3.3	Acts of Identity	139
2.3.4	Social Networks	142
2.3.5	Ethnolinguistic Vitality	146
2.3.5.1	Economic and Social Status	148
2.3.5.2	Sociohistoric Status	149
2.3.5.3	Language Status	150
2.3.5.4	Demography	150
2.3.5.5	Institutional Support and Control	152
2.3.5.6	Subjective Factors	154
2.4	Towards a Theoretical Approach	157
2.5	Notes to Chapter 2	159

CHAPTER 3: INDIANS AND INDIAN LANGUAGES IN MAURITIUS

3.0	Introduction	166
3.1	Socio-Historical Background to Indian Immigration	167
3.1.1	Settlement of <i>T'Eylandt Mauritius</i> : 1598-1710	167
3.1.2	French Colonial Period: 1715-1810	169
3.1.3	Indian Presence in <i>île de France</i>	171
3.1.4	Indian Immigration under British Rule	176
3.1.5	Languages Transplanted: The Indian Diaspora	180
3.2	Language and Education	183
3.2.1	Language and the Plural Society	183
3.2.2	Education under French Administration	185
3.2.3	Education of Indentured Labourers	187
3.2.4	Vernacular Education and Indian Schools	192
3.2.5	Government Vernacular Education	195
3.2.6	Current Educational System	197
3.2.7	Languages in the School Curriculum	201
3.3	Notes to Chapter 3	215

CHAPTER 4: LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

4.0	Introduction	221
4.1	Interviews	223
4.1.1	Transcription: Systems and Conventions	223
4.1.2	Code-Switching	227
4.1.3	Interview One: Lutchmee Parsad Ramyeed	231
4.1.3.1	Analysis of Interview One	241
4.1.4	Interview Two: Tsang Mang Kin	243
4.1.4.1	Analysis of Interview Two	247
4.1.5	Interview Three: G.J.	250
4.1.5.1	Translation of Interview Three	258
4.1.5.2	Analysis of Interview Three	269

4.2	Mauritian Press	275
4.2.1	Language and Social Identity	275
4.2.2	Languages of Entertainment and Media	282
4.2.3	Languages of Employment	285
4.3	Notes to Chapter 4	293

CHAPTER 5: QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

5.0	Introduction	298
5.1	Questionnaire	299
5.1.1	Questionnaire Design	299
5.1.2	Selection of Respondents	301
5.1.3	Analysis of Data	303
5.1.3.1	Demography	304
5.1.3.2	Education	327
5.1.3.3	Sociocultural Activity	348
5.1.3.4	Socioeconomic Activity	364

CONCLUSION

Summary of Research Findings	381
Concluding Remarks	395
Envoi	401

APPENDICES

1(a): Tables of Census Information, 1944-1990	i
1(b): Notes to Census Information, 1944-1990	x
2: Origin of Indian Migrants to Mauritius	xvi
3(a): Tables on Indian Immigration to Mauritius	xix
3(b): Notes to Tables on Indian Immigration	xxiv
4(a): Questionnaire (Creole Version)	xxvi
4(b): Questionnaire (English Translation/SPSS Values)	xxxv

REFERENCES

xlix

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TABLES:

1.	Administrative Districts of Mauritius (Listing Principal Towns and Surface Area)	16
2.	Current Languages of Mauritius	23
3.	Census Information on Languages Currently Spoken, 1944-1990 (% of Total Population)	30
4.	Census Information on Bhojpuri, Hindi and Urdu, 1944-1990 (% of Total Population)	31
5.	Total Population of Indian Communities in Six Former Colonies (Barz and Seigel, 1988:2)	72
6.	Sociolinguistic Models for Language Choice (Appel and Muysken, 1987:22)	118
7.	Functions of Language Use (per Mühlhäusler, 1981; Jakobson, 1960; Hymes, 1974)	119
8.	Domains of Language Use (per Schmidt-Rohr, 1933; Mackey, 1962; Parasher, 1980; Timm, 1980)	122
9.	Relationships Between Bilingualism and Diglossia (Fishman, 1976:288)	126
10.	Variables of Non-Linguistic Factors Relating to Language Maintenance and Language Shift	131
11.	Factor Structure of Vitality Construct (Harwood et al., 1994:169)	146
12.	Composition of Mauritian Population, 1767 (Toussaint, 1977:96)	170
13.	Origin of Non-European Population of Mauritius, 1735 (Stein, 1982:75)	172

14.	Composition of Mauritian Population, 1806 (Stein, 1982:77)	172
15.	Total Adult Population of Mauritius, 1806/1809 (per Milbert and Toussaint)	175
16.	Indian Emigration to Colonies (Clarke et al., 1990:9)	179
17.	Ports of Embarcation for Indian Indentured Labourers, 1834-1900 (Benedict, 1961:18)	180
18.	1995-1999 Cambridge Proficiency Examinations Results for Compulsory Subjects and Hindi, by Gender	203
19.	Grade Distribution for Cambridge Proficiency Examinations, 1999: Total	204
20.	Grade Distribution for Cambridge Proficiency Examinations, 1999: Boys	205
21.	Grade Distribution for Cambridge Proficiency Examinations, 1999: Girls	206
22.	1995-1999 Cambridge Proficiency Examinations Results for English, French and Hindi, by Gender	207

ILLUSTRATIONS:

1.	Map of Mauritius (Official Civil Service Diary, 2000)	17
2.	Macroscopic Model of the Determinants of Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism (Allard and Landry, 1992:174)	155
3.	Mauritian 25 Rupee Banknote: Currently in Circulation (Above), Recalled (Below)	279
4.	Television Programming Schedule, 11 August 2000	283

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Economic and Social Research Council for having provided full funding for the present research, without which such research would not have been possible.

Thanks are due also to M. K. Verma (University of York), who supervised this research and acted as a mentor throughout its completion, and also to the secretarial staff of the Department of Language and Linguistic Science at York whose kindness and courteous assistance was indispensable.

It is not possible to name all those who assisted me in the course of my research, for they are far too numerous, but I thank the following for their sage advice, wisdom and insight into the linguistic situation in Mauritius (or of the Indian diaspora) and the many issues surrounding linguistic research in general: Philip Baker (University of Westminster); Rajend Mesthrie (University of Cape Town); Peggy Mohan (Delhi University); Itesh Sachdev (Birkbeck College, London).

The cooperation given to me in Mauritius was unstinting and invaluable. Thanks go to Asha Sibartie, Suchita Ramdin, Vasantee Saddul, Beersen Jugasing, Pavi Ramhota, Soorya Nirsimloo-Gayan and Moonishwurlall Chintamunnee (Mahatma Gandhi Institute) for their time, expertise, local knowledge and connections. Thanks also go to the following, whose experience and sharing of information made data collection possible: Dhan Bhima (Minister without portfolio); Roland Tsang Kwai Kew (Ministry of Education); Mahadeo Ramnohur (Mauritius Examinations Syndicate); Vinesh Hookoomsing (University of Mauritius); Rada Tirvassen, Geeta Rughoonundun and Prem Saddul (Mauritius Institute of Education); Pushpa Lallah (Federation of Pre-School Playgroups); Alain Ah-Vee (Ledikason Pu Travayer), and Anandnee Koomaree Biltoo (Hindi-Speaking Union).

A special debt of gratitude is due to Anil and Sandya Gooly (and family) of Vacoas for their moral support and many kindnesses throughout my period of fieldwork in Mauritius, and to Dr. Evi Sifaki and David and Bi Marsh for the gifts of food, accommodation, friendship and preternatural patience throughout the period in which they were uncharitably subjected to the obsessive behaviour of a person involved in doctoral research.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The present research aims to provide an original and comprehensive study of the language practices of a particular social group at a particular moment in time. The social group in question is Mauritian Bhojpurias and the moment in time is the year 2000.

From the very inception of this research topic, I was aware of some of the potential pitfalls of looking at language use in Mauritius - particularly given that Bhojpuri was to be the focus of the investigation. Mauritius presents the researcher with a complex multiethnic and multilingual environment, and one in which the local population has become accustomed to a syncretic sociocultural identity that is exceptionally difficult both to grasp and to describe in precise, academic terms. This island, with its many identities and many languages, frustrates and enthralls the prospective researcher in equal measure: few (if any) facts regarding identity and language are subject to a common consensus; the conflicting opinions of two Mauritians, sitting together in the same room at the same time, can represent, to those in question, nothing more than equally valid viewpoints relating to the same phenomenon. Mauritius is a place where respondents, being interviewed on their ability to speak a language, do not necessarily feel there to be any inconsistency in responding that they have no understanding of the language in which they are articulating their responses.

It was not long after arriving in Mauritius, in February 2000, that the scope of the problem in establishing the parameters of the research became manifestly obvious. I arrived in Mauritius in time to participate in the *2nd World Bhojpuri Conference*, held in the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Moka. Whereas great emphasis was being placed on the celebration and valorization of Bhojpuri in Mauritius within the Institute, few Mauritians whom I spoke to during the conference appeared to be familiar with the extent of current research in Mauritian Bhojpuri, and even fewer expressed any indications that such research might be either important or even desirable.

The initial problem that I faced in conducting research on Mauritian Bhojpuri related to the nature of my prospective respondents: The 'community' that I was attempting to gain access to comprised Mauritians of Bhojpuria ancestry, but this was in no sense as concrete as I had first imagined. Mauritians with visible South Asian features would identify themselves in terms of their religion, or else by specifying their ancestry as 'Indian' or their identity as 'Indo-Mauritian' This, I felt, was too broad a category, since it would include Mauritians whose ancestors had come from anywhere within the Indian subcontinent, not specifically Bhojpuri-speaking areas. In the final analysis, the decision I took was to first select my respondents according to religion, and then to identify whether or not Bhojpuri was or had been spoken in the immediate family. My construction of the term 'Bhojpuria' was thus made on the basis that the respondent was Hindu and had at least one Bhojpuri-speaking parent.

It is to be stressed that the present research does not in any way deny the existence of Bhojpurias that are Muslim or seek to designate the term 'Bhojpuria' as being inapplicable to Muslims. Carter (2000) points out that many Muslims who arrived in Mauritius did so as indentured labourers and came from the same parts of India as the Hindus. Yet Carter (2000:126) acknowledges that 'Calcuttya' Muslim labourers (that is, those who emigrated from the port of Calcutta) were quick to urbanize and were largely successfully in moving into commerce and the service sector, 'with only 20% remaining in agriculture, as wage labourers or large and small land-owners'. Quite aside from the differences between Muslim and Hindu communities in terms of habitation and work patterns, a cultural dynamic further distinguishes these social groups and is linguistically marked. Whilst Hindus of North Indian ancestry will tend to identify Hindi as the language of Indian cultural and religious identity, the choice for Muslims is far more likely to be Urdu or Arabic. In effect, Mauritian Hindus and Muslims of North Indian origin do not perceive themselves as belonging to the same community, and this is reflected at the political level by the existence of the two categories 'Indo-Mauritian Hindu' and 'Indo-Mauritian Muslim' (See Chapter 1.1.3 for a discussion on the connection between language declaration and community). To have examined and

identified language practices surrounding Bhojpuri without taking into account the keenly felt sociohistorical and sociocultural differences between Hindus and Muslims would have been unwise in the extreme.

By specifying for a Hindu indentivity, I was able to exclude from my research Mauritians of non-Indian origin; once this criterion had been applied, the ethnic identity of the respondents' ancestors was not subject to further enquiry. Given the sensitivity of probing into ethnicity, and the inappropriateness of doing so in a society as ethnically mixed as Mauritius, in which people frequently do not know precisely from where their ancestors hailed, any subsequent criterion based on ancestry would have been ill-founded.

It is important to state, from the outset, that the present research constitutes a sociolinguistic investigation of the language practices of Mauritians who are both Hindus and whose parentage includes a Bhojpuri speaker. The term 'Bhojpuria' does not relate to ethnicity, nor does it rely on the existence of an ancestor who was born in Bhojpuri-speaking territory in India. 'Bhojpuria' merely designates a family connection with the Bhojpuri language. It was not essential for my respondents, once defined as adherents of such a group, to speak Bhojpuri in any given context or with any degree of fluency: the latter point would, in any case, have been impracticable to measure.

The present research has been subject to a very considerable amount of re-writing and re-structuring. This was inevitable, given the mass of information that had to be presented and the necessity for such information to appear in a logical, structured sequence. Difficult decisions had to be made regarding what was to form part of the research, and what was to be excluded. Five chapters ultimately emerged, that, in my opinion, accurately present the research and give full coverage to the areas of greatest importance.

Chapter 1.1 introduces the reader to the complexity of the Mauritian linguistic situation and gives a wealth of data on language reporting that is of the greatest relevance to the research as a whole. Chapter 1.1 additionally contains an outline of Mauritian Bhojpuri, contrasted against varieties of Indian Bhojpuri, so that the distinctiveness of the language that is at

the heart of the research can be fully appreciated. Chapter 1.2 establishes the importance of the research, and identifies the questions (along with the reasons for their selection) that I seek to find answers for, in Chapter 5, through an analysis of statistical information taken from questionnaires specifically compiled for the research.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of the key theoretical approaches and issues in linguistic literature relating to language change, and language maintenance and shift. I would like to stress that this is not to be taken as either a definitive and exhaustive analysis of the literature available, nor a definitive appraisal of any given theoretical approach. What I sought to achieve in this chapter was a demonstration of the suitability of particular approaches over others when looking at the Mauritian linguistic situation. Many important additional statements could have been made - and many more published works referred to, but that would have exceeded the purpose of such a chapter which proved to be, even with numerous excisions, of considerable length.

Chapter 3.1 - originally my starting point - gives the necessary historical background to the Indian presence in Mauritius which is, in my view, essential to a proper understanding of the inequality that has marked the interaction of communities and languages within Mauritius and continues to exert a powerful influence with regards to language choice, language attitudes and language use. No less important is the overview of language use within the educational system, given in Chapter 3.2, over which the hostility, resentment and politicization of language is at its most evident in Mauritius. Chapter 3 contains a wealth of new information, derived from a great variety of sources, and critically evaluates the accuracy and validity of claims that have hitherto been made regarding immigration, settlement and the education of Indians in Mauritius.

Chapter 4 investigates Mauritian language attitudes by letting Mauritian voices be heard; Chapter 4.1 contains three interviews from very different people (a senior government minister, a respected academic, a mechanic), and gives considerable information about language in Mauritius by way of

commentary on - and analysis of - what the informants have to say. In Chapter 4.2, the analysis focuses on what the Mauritian press reveals about language use and language attitudes. I feel that data of this kind are as important as data collected face to face, for the simple reason that opinions expressed by one Mauritian to other Mauritians do not involve the presence of outsiders whose motives cannot always be appreciated. Such opinions are likely, therefore, to be more unconstrained.

Chapter 5 gives details on the design, implementation and analysis of the questionnaire containing the data from which my research questions (set out in Chapter 1.2.3) are answered. Although this proved to be the most copious and time consuming of all aspects of the present research, in terms of question selection and translation, formatting and photocopying, completion, coding and statistical analysis, this chapter is by no means any more 'central' to the research than any other (See Chapter 1.2.4, regarding methodology).

When I originally set out to provide an outline of the present research, by way of proposal for a doctoral thesis, I was aware of the fact that research of this nature would, by its very nature, be eclectic and draw from many sources: historical, sociological, ethnographic, etc. The end result is, I hope, nevertheless utterly sociolinguistic in nature.

CHAPTER 1

1.0 Mauritius: Physical and Political Geography

The island of Mauritius is situated in the south west Indian Ocean between 19°58 to 20°32 latitude south and 57°18 to 57°49 longitude east. It lies some 4,000 kilometres east-north-east of Capetown, and roughly the same distance south-south-west of the southern tip of India, at Cape Comorin. Although Mauritius is closer to the Swahili coast than to the Cape, it is separated from East Africa by Madagascar, an island with a greater surface area than France, Belgium and Luxembourg combined, situated some 850 kilometres west of Mauritius. The relative inaccessibility of Mauritius until recent times, no less than its location away from trade routes, has been of utmost significance to its settlement.

Whilst it is possible that the existence of Mauritius was known to early traders, it is only with Portuguese exploration in the first decades of the fifteenth century that Mauritius enters into the historical record. No archaeological evidence has been discovered of any settlement by people of Austronesian origin, despite their epic migrations from south east Asia to Madagascar between the third century B.C. and the eighth century A.D. (Kizerbo, 1978:593). Similarly, no evidence exists of any settlement by Arab traders, notwithstanding that it is from Arab sea charts that the Portuguese learned of Mauritius, under the Arabic name *diva mashriq* ('Eastern Isle') (Stein, 1982:73).

Mauritius forms part of a group of three islands known collectively as the Mascarenes, named after the Portuguese explorer Mascarenhas (Toussaint, 1977:16). The other two islands are Réunion, administratively French, and Rodrigues, which has been an integral part of Mauritian territory since Mauritian independence in 1968. Aside from Rodrigues, Mauritian territory includes a group of satellite islands. These are the Cargados Carajos (popularly referred to as Saint Brandon), located some 400 kilometres north-east of Mauritius, and Agalega, comprising two islands linked by a sand bank, some 950 kilometres north of Mauritius. The people of Saint Brandon and Agalega number only a few hundred, of which many are Mauritians on short-term postings; they are not further discussed in the present research.

According to statistics presented to me by the Ministry of Local Government and Environment, the island of Mauritius has a land area of 1,865 square kilometers. It is divided into nine districts whose boundaries have scarcely altered since 1786. These are as follows (See also Map of Mauritius, Illustration 1):

<i>District</i>	<i>Towns with population in excess of 10,000</i>	<i>Surface area (sq. km.)</i>
Flacq	Centre de Flacq	299
	Bon Accueil	
	Bel Air	
Grand Port	Mahébourg	260
	Rose Belle	
Rivière Noire (Black River)	(None)	259
Savanne	Chemin Grenier	245
Moka	Saint Pierre	230
Plaines Wilhems	Beau Bassin	203
	Rose Hill	
	Quatre Bornes	
	Vacoas	
	Phoenix	
Pamplemousses	Curepipe	179
	Triolet	
Rivière du Rempart	Terre Rouge	148
	Goodlands	
Port Louis	Port Louis	41
	(Rounding)	1
	<u>Total</u>	<u>1,865</u>

Table 1: Administrative Districts of Mauritius
(Listing Principal Towns and Surface Area).

Published statistics occasionally cite a figure of 1,969 square kilometers for Mauritius. This is properly the figure for the Republic of Mauritius and therefore includes Rodrigues - although not, for a reason unclear to me, either Saint Brandon or Agalega.

MAURITIUS

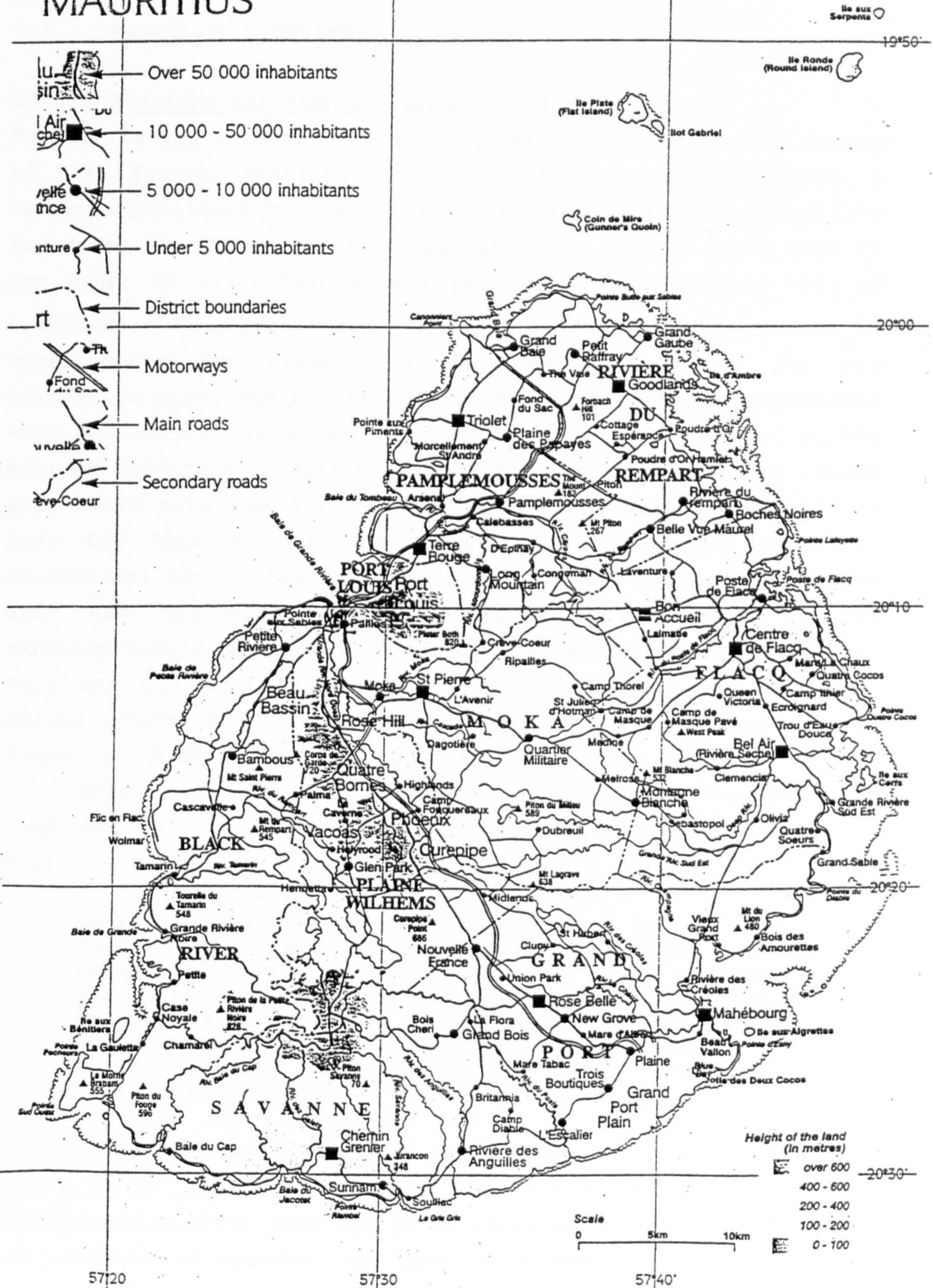


Illustration 1: Map of Mauritius
(Official Civil Service Diary, 2000)

1.1 Mauritian Linguistic Situation

1.1.1 Existing Research on Languages of Mauritius

Despite having a total land area equivalent to the English county of East Sussex, Mauritius is nevertheless densely populated. A handbook published by the Central Statistical Office of Mauritius estimates the total resident population in 1999 to have been in the order of 1,174,400, with a projected population in 2003 of 1,214,300.¹ In global terms, then, it is clear that Mauritius is unremarkable for either its geographical area or for its population size. But remarkable are the many paradoxes associated with Mauritius. Since the nearest landmass to Mauritius is the African continent, Mauritius is *de facto* geographically an island associated with the African continent. Yet Mauritian identities look far less to mainland Africa than to Europe and Asia. Paradoxical too is the fact that, despite its diminutive surface area and statistically small population, Mauritius is an extraordinarily complex multiethnic and multilingual community. This has not gone unremarked by linguists who, over the past thirty years or so, have been turning their attention in increasing numbers to its linguistic diversity.

Appel and Muysken (1987:22) succinctly summarize the complexity of the Mauritian linguistic situation by pointing out that

over 10 languages have sizable groups of speakers. Most of these are associated with particular ethnic groups, often descendants of migrants from South Asia, and in addition there is the colonial language, French (to some extent sharing this status with English). In between there is Creole, which on the one hand is the ethnic language of a particular group... and on the other hand functions as a *lingua franca*.

Of all the languages attested in Mauritius, it is the French-based Creole that has attracted the lion's share of linguistic investigation. That this should be so is unsurprising. The growth of interest in creoles and pidgins stemmed from the research being undertaken by linguists, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, to establish the reasons underlying language change (Discussed in further detail in Chapter 2.1). Baissac's

publication, entitled *Etude sur le patois créole mauricien* (1880), which appeared ten years before Schuchardt's influential *Kreolische Studien* marks the beginning of academic interests both in creole linguistics in general and in the creole of Mauritius in particular - interests which have continued unabated.² But if the last thirty years have witnessed a steady output of research into the creole of Mauritius (e.g., Baker, 1972; Chaudenson, 1979a; Baker and Corne, 1981; Muysken and Smith, 1986; Adone, 1994), little by comparison has been produced on languages not considered indigenous to Mauritius.

The present research will focus on Bhojpuri, one of the many languages spoken in Mauritius and one which census information indicates as being the currently spoken language of a greater number of Mauritians than any other, with the exception of Creole. Not only does Bhojpuri rank second as the most spoken language, but it is - statistically at least - the most important ancestral language of Mauritians. The term 'ancestral' presents some difficulties, given the confusion over official definitions, in Mauritius, in drawing distinctions between this term and the term 'mother tongue', as will be explained in the present chapter. What is clear, however, is that irrespective of Bhojpuri's importance in the linguistic composition of Mauritius, it remains under-researched.

Inevitably, the present research is initially reliant on a fairly small number of reference works. The publications of Philip Baker (together with the personal correspondence and communications that I have had with this researcher) are frequently mentioned, since they constitute some of the most important contributions to existing research on language in Mauritius. Additionally, the lengthy and highly detailed work of Peter Stein, originally a dissertation from the University of Regensburg in 1981, contains valuable information peppered throughout its 600 or so pages. Important also to the present research is the significantly shorter *Sociolinguistic Survey of Mauritius*, by Sambasiva Rao and Sharma (1989), in that it focuses on the Bhojpuri and Telugu speech communities.

Due to the paucity of publications dealing with Bhojpuri in Mauritius, the present research has attempted to cast the net

quite widely and gather information from a wide variety of sources. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Bhojpuri speakers migrated in significant numbers to many parts of the world; studies exist of the Bhojpuri speech communities in areas other than Mauritius (e.g., Gambhir, 1983, for Guyana; Mohan and Zador, 1986, for Trinidad; Mesthrie, 1991, for South Africa). It is often the case that Bhojpuri is investigated together with Hindi - a language label that at one and the same time refers to a speech-form linguistically quite distinct from Bhojpuri and includes it. Alongside works such as the above, there are numerous books, more historical or anthropological than linguistic in their emphasis, which nevertheless provide background information essential to a proper understanding of the historical and social contexts of the Bhojpuri diaspora.

1.1.2 Current Languages of Mauritius

Whereas Mauritians would appear to be unanimous in demonstrating an awareness of the polyglot nature of their society and to the large number of languages spoken on the island, precise enumeration, no less than concensus as to which languages are represented, is far less in evidence.³ An estimate of fourteen languages is, in my opinion, well-founded. The data presented by Sambasiva Rao and Sharma (1989), in indicating twenty-two languages as being spoken in Mauritius, somewhat overstate the multilingual situation. A more realistic enumeration is to found in Baker (1972) and Stein (1982).

Baker (1972:11-12) offers some salutary advice regarding the process by which one may arrive at the number of languages currently in use in Mauritius. According to Baker, the following should be eliminated:

1. Languages acquired by Mauritians while resident abroad which are not currently the mother tongues of anyone born in the island.
2. Languages spoken by people born outside the island who have subsequently become Mauritian residents where these are not the mother tongues of any native-born Mauritian (e.g. Réunion Créole).

3. Languages in which instruction is available in certain educational establishments but which are never, as yet, used in ordinary conversation (e.g. Russian, German).
4. Languages such as Sanskrit, Latin and Arabic, which are used in certain religious ceremonies performed by Hindus, Christians and Muslims respectively, but which are never used in normal conversation.

But there are problems in applying these eliminating criteria. Languages acquired by Mauritians whilst abroad may, for example, have become established to the point where they serve as the primary medium of communication between a considerable number of Mauritians returning to Mauritius. Such could easily be the case for English, given the extensive links that Mauritians have with the English-speaking world. In this event, it is not the mother tongue of either the speakers in question or their offspring (assuming that this is not English) but English that is serving as the language usually spoken by Mauritians in Mauritius. Baker's first criterion would eliminate English. Baker's second criterion would also eliminate a language if it were the primary means of communication between immigrants to Mauritius - irrespective of the importance of such a speech-community - on the basis that the language is not shared by native Mauritians.

Determining the languages currently in use in Mauritius is a difficult process, yet it is necessary if one is to establish the linguistic environment that the present research investigates. Mauritius is indeed remarkable for its multilingual complexity, but Sambasiva Rao and Sharma (1989:17) may be in error in referring to the island as a 'veritable museum of languages'. Museums are typically the repositories for dead things and artifacts produced by cultures that are extinct or moribund. Census information indicates, as shall shortly be demonstrated, that whatever the decrease in the percentage of speakers of particular languages, and whatever the future state of Mauritian multilingualism, more than a dozen languages are still in current use.

1.1.3 Census Information

Table 2, below, provides a list of the languages indicated as currently spoken in Mauritius. Whereas twenty-two languages appear in Sambasiva Rao and Sharma, this number is controverted by both Baker (1972) and Stein (1982).⁴ It is possible to decrease this number by positing that the following stipulations are valid:

- a. European languages other than English and French do not qualify as being currently in use in Mauritius in the sense that they are not languages that form part of the habitual linguistic repertoire of Mauritian-born persons in Mauritius. This excludes German, Italian, Polish and Russian, appearing in Sambasiva Rao and Sharma.
- b. It is unlikely that languages declared by tens rather than by hundreds or thousands of speakers would constitute languages currently in use - except in the most attenuated sense. Stated simply, a language with less than a hundred speakers would not have sufficiently wide currency in public and would forcibly be restricted to a small set of domains and specific situational contexts (e.g., an extended family or small number of families employing the language amongst the most elderly, in a domestic, informal environment). On this basis, Bhacha, Panjabi and Sindhi may be excluded.⁵

The term 'Chinese', used by Stein, is problematic, as this is properly a penumbra term for languages that - although related to each other - are not necessarily mutually intelligible. Even were they to be, one would hesitate, from a sociolinguistic point of view, to deem that sufficient reason to classify them as varieties of the same language. Again, Baker proves the more reliable, in listing Cantonese, Hakka and Mandarin separately.

<u>Sambasiva Rao and Sharma (1989)</u> (n = 964,052)		<u>Baker (1972)</u>	<u>Stein (1982)</u>
Arabic	1,813		
Bhacha ⁶	50		
Bhojpuri	197,050	Bengali	
Cantonese	84	Bhojpuri	Bhojpuri
Chinese	4,707	Cantonese	
Creole	521,950		Chinese
English	2,028	Creole	Creole
French	36,048	English	English
German	25	French	French
Gujarati	531		
Hakka	1,249	Gujarati	Gujarati
Hindi	111,134	Hakka	
		Hindi	Hindi
		Hindustani	
Italian	35		
		Kokni	
		Kutchi	Kutchi
Mandarin	116	Mandarin	
Marathi	12,420	Marathi	Marathi
Panjabi	61	Panjabi	
Polish	96		
Russian	21		
Sindhi	52		Sindhi
Tamil	35,646 ⁷	Tamil	Tamil
Telugu	15,364	Telugu	Telugu
Urdu	23,572	Urdu	Urdu

Table 2: Current Languages of Mauritius

Baker considers Kutchi a dialect of Gujarati, an opinion that may be debated amongst scholars of Indo-Aryan languages. But this language, if indeed still spoken by some Mauritians, was not

indicated as a language usually spoken by any in the 1983 census.⁸ By contrast, Arabic is unusually strongly reported in the 1983 census; and this presents one with yet another paradox. As mentioned earlier, Baker (1972:11-12) sought to eliminate from the list of current languages those languages that were used in religious ceremonies but not in ordinary conversation. Yet Baker (personal correspondence) provides statistics for the current languages of Mauritius in which Arabic appears - a language mentioned by neither Sambasiva Rao and Sharma nor by Stein.⁹

In a conversation with Philip Baker in November 1999, I commented on the significant number of respondents indicating Arabic as the language usually spoken and the even more remarkable number of returns giving Arabic as the language of the forefathers in the 1983 census. The figures for Arabic struck me as being unduly high, given that there has never been any systematic migration to Mauritius of people from Arabic-speaking areas. In response to my comments, Philip Baker pointed out that Arabic was indeed not a language used in everyday conversation by Mauritians, but that the increase in Arabic language tuition amongst Muslims had given to the language an emblematic importance which many Mauritian Muslims reflected in the responses they gave to census questions. Political events, both local and international, that provoked an increased awareness of the Muslim identity could, according to Baker, also provide (or reinforce) strong feelings of attachment to the Arabic language. An analysis of the statistics from the 1983 and 1990 censuses confirms Baker's opinions to be valid.

In 1983, a total of 68,033 respondents gave Arabic as the language of their forefathers, a figure representing 7.04% of the total population. Not only is this an increase of 7.04% on the previous census, but it is a percentage not sustained in the following census, where it has slumped to 0.16% (See Appendix 1(a): Tables 7 and 9). Comparing the percentage decreases, indicated in the 1983 census, between the language of the forefathers and the language currently or most often spoken by the individual, one sees that the languages of Mauritius, with the exception of Creole, Bhojpuri, English and French, decrease in the order of between 70% for 'Chinese' (the penumbra term here

being used officially) and 40% for Marathi. But the decrease for Arabic is in excess of 97%. How can this be interpreted?

Quite simply, Arabic could not have been the language of many Mauritian forefathers, if this term is held to represent the language spoken by the respondent's ancestor at the time of arrival to Mauritius. If it had been, there would be no accounting for the inordinately low language retention rate of this the fourth largest language community, especially given the prestige that the Arabic language has always enjoyed amongst Muslims. If, on the other hand, one construes the term 'language of forefathers' to mean the language that would have been spoken in the respondents home when he/she was a child, my conclusions must be the same, for, as the 1990 census shows, there is no indication of bilingualism with Arabic either on the part of the individual or his/her ancestor(s) (Unfortunately, bilingualism is not reflected in the 1983 census). In this eventuality, one would expect a large number of respondents with Arabic as their usual language in 1983, which - at 0.19% of the total population - is not the case (See Appendix 1(a): Table 7).

With respect to any enquiry by questionnaire, Calvet (1998:63) suggests - somewhat bluntly - that this

does not deliver the 'truth' about linguistic practices but rather what people imagine their practices to be. They may be deceived, and they may also lie, because they believe, for example, that one language has more prestige than another.

It is evident that census information should be approached with extreme caution and not taken at face value. What one may be seeing in data of this nature is not an accurate picture of speaker-strength, but rather the emblematic value of language labels as interpreted by social groups. It is the opinion of Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) that languages are abstractions from what speakers actually do - an opinion with which I am in complete agreement, and one which lucidly accounts for the discrepancies that exist between self-report and actual language behaviour. Close analysis of census information without taking into account the sociohistorical context in which languages and their speakers exist is pointless, since the answer to questions

regarding what languages are spoken and by how many people are unlikely to be found solely in official statistics.

One may voice a valid concern over the manner in which Mauritian censuses have elicited information on language use since 1944; this concern relates to the wording and rewording of language questions and to the official definition and re-definition of terms central to the understanding of such questions. For instance, in the 1944 census, the term 'mother tongue' appeared, and this was defined as 'the language habitually spoken' by the respondent. In 1952, this term was being defined as 'the language spoken in the individual's home in his early childhood' - which quite evidently does not have the same meaning as in the 1944 census - and, by 1962, the definition had changed yet again: The 1962 census refers to the mother tongue as 'the language spoken in your home during your early childhood', and contained the remarkable addition that '[y]ou may not necessarily have spoken or speak the language at present'. This is a far cry indeed from the definition of 1944. (See Appendix 1(b) for fuller details on differences between census reports). Given the extent of the re-definition of terms that are crucial in language reporting, one cannot but suggest that an over-emphasis on comparison of language data from Mauritian census reports is very strongly advised against. Direct comparisons between census reports become highly problematic, in that the extent to which redefinition of terms and changes in wording have affected responses is unquantifiable.

When looking at census information, it is crucial to bear in mind that there is a strong connection between language reporting and politics in Mauritius, and that this is no less true at the individual and community level than at the governmental, national level. In Mauritius, laws are made by the National Assembly (parliament), which comprises seventy elected representatives, of which sixty-eight for Mauritius and two for Rodrigues. Sixty of the Mauritian representatives are elected from twenty three-member constituencies (Rodrigues is a two-member constituency) and the remaining eight representatives are selected from amongst the non-elected candidates under the 'best loser' system. This system allows for representatives to be

chosen from the political parties and ethno-religious communities that are under-represented. The Mauritian Constitution specifies that the remaining eight seats in the Mauritian parliament must be distributed in a manner proportional to the major political parties and in accordance to whether the candidate belongs to the 'appropriate community' (First Schedule, Section 31(2), subsection 2). Importantly to the present research, the Constitution also states the following (Section 31(2), subsection 3, point 4):

For the purposes of this Schedule, the population of Mauritius shall be regarded as including a Hindu community, a Muslim community and a Sino-Mauritian community; and every person who does not appear, from his way of life, to belong to one or other of those 3 communities shall be regarded as belonging to the General Population, which shall itself be regarded as a fourth community.

It is evident that the categorization of communities within the Constitution of Mauritius would meet with considerable resistance from a large proportion of the Mauritian electorate. If such categories have been determined on the basis of ethno-religious affiliation, the terms 'Sino-Mauritian' and 'General Population' are problematic: Mauritians of Chinese ancestry may practise Chinese religions, rather than Hinduism or Islam, but they may equally practise Christianity instead - or in addition. The term 'Sino-Mauritian' becomes, in the latter case, a principally ethnic designation. With Mauritians of Indian ancestry who are Christian, similar problems of community affiliation arise; they are clearly not appropriately described as 'Hindu' or 'Muslim', but do they fall under the default category 'General Population' as a result? If the aim of the Constitution has been to provide community labels designed to reflect ethnolinguistic identity, the objections to this can be no less numerous. Mauritians of Bhojpuria ancestry, as was noted in the introductory remarks of the present research, may be Muslim as well as Hindu (or, one might add, Christian), and the term 'Indo-Mauritian Hindu' is logically as applicable to a Mauritian who hails from a Marathi, Telugu or Tamil-speaking background as it is for a Mauritian who asserts Hindi or Bhojpuri

as the ancestral language. But the tag 'Hindu' in Mauritius has become associated with Bhojpurias and is not, therefore, acceptable to other Hindus.

The term 'General Population' effectively shows itself to be an inadequate catch-all category, in which Christian Mauritians of European or mixed African and European ancestry rub shoulders with Christian Mauritians of Indian descent and those with Marathi or Dravidian ancestry who are adherents of Hinduism - or possibly Islam. It may be argued that the existence of this nebulous, officially designated 'community' has exacerbated tensions and conflicts amongst Mauritians who imagine that particular ethnoreligious and ethnolinguistic groups have been favoured by recognition and others disfavoured to the point of callous disregard. It is not the intention of the present research, or of its author, to assess the validity of such claims, although it would seem appropriate to mention that Mauritians of Tamil origin are amongst the vanguard of people who feel aggrieved by the official lack of recognition for their community (An example of Mauritian Tamil sensibilities is given in Chapter 4.2.1.).

An obvious consequence to the official designation of four communities in Mauritius is that the 'best loser' system referred to is equated with political advantage/disadvantage. The point would appear to have been grasped by the Mauritian electorate that, if language can constitute sufficient grounds for determining a community, every effort should be made to assert linguistic distinctiveness (thereby promoting the creation of community status or consolidating it) in order to obtain adequate political representation: If Muslim voters feel that the Muslim community is being under-represented, the over-reporting of Arabic in the census must be viewed in connection with the political concerns of that community; if Mauritian Tamils are of the opinion that the term 'Indo-Mauritian Hindu' favours Mauritians of Bhojpuria ancestry exclusively, it is unsurprising that the recognition of a Tamil community is advocated by them. To use religion as a means of gaining such official recognition is clearly not a strategy available in this regard. The matter of a separate ethnolinguistic identity, however, satisfies this aim.

1.1.4 Bhojpuri and the Ancestral Languages

Arabic provides one with a good example of a language that has been over-represented in official statistics. As explained in Chapter 1.1.3, with Arabic, Mauritians have declared themselves to be habitual speakers of a language that they do not use in normal conversation, or claimed a language as 'ancestral' when it is unlikely ever to have been the language of an ancestor. If this had been motivated by political reasons, one would imagine that the same over-reporting would occur with other languages identified with particular cultural groups, such as Bhojpuri. It should be noted that there is an obvious corollary to the strategy of over-reporting: When a language is given as the single, current language of an individual, or as the single ancestral language, such indications exclude any other language from being declared. With Bhojpuri, under-reporting appears to have been rife. I shall now attempt to demonstrate both how this fact can be established and why this should be the case.

Census information attests to the fact that the majority of the languages currently still spoken in Mauritius are on the decline. Since ancestral languages form the greater part of the languages of Mauritius, this is tantamount to stating that there is language shift taking place amongst the ancestral languages.¹⁰ Indeed, as the following table indicates, only Creole shows a constant increase in the number of people reporting its use since 1944.¹¹ Table 3 does not indicate bilingualism, since the only census report to give sufficiently detailed information on Mauritian bilingualism is that of 1990 (The 1952 census contained a section on the 'additional language occasionally spoken', but this section does not identify the language habitually used by the respondent). What is shown in Table 3 are the languages returned by respondents, in the contexts of the language currently or most often spoken by the individual in his or her home, in all the censuses to have been undertaken so far in Mauritius.¹² Not all languages show, like Hindi, a steady decline since 1944, or a steady increase, like Creole, in the same period. But if one looks at the statistics from 1972 to 1990, a certain trend is clear.

Language	Census report					
	1944	1952	1962	1972	1983	1990
Arabic	---	---	---	---	0.2	0.0
Bhojpuri	---	---	---	---	20.4	19.7
Chinese	2.4	2.5	2.1	1.1	0.6	0.4
Creole	35.6	44.2	45.3	51.9	54.0	60.4
English	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
French	8.5	8.1	8.3	4.8	3.7	3.4
Gujarati	---	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0
Hindi	52.3	39.0	32.4	31.7	11.5	1.3
Marathi	---	0.3 *	1.2	1.5	1.3	0.7
Tamil	---	2.1	2.8	3.5	3.7	0.8
Telugu	---	0.8	1.1	2.1	1.6	0.6
Urdu	---	2.7	6.4	2.9	2.5	0.7

* See Note 2(b) in Appendix 1(b).

Table 3: Census Information on Languages Currently Spoken, 1944-1990 (% of Total Population).

Only one language shows no decrease between 1972 and 1990: The non-ancestral language, Creole. English is being maintained at more or less the same level as the declared current language of a small number of people. Gujarati, the language of an even smaller number than English, is steadily decreasing,¹³ as are Chinese, French, Marathi, Telugu and Urdu (As regards Arabic, one may discount this as a genuine currently spoken language of Mauritius, given the argument proposed in Chapter 1.1.3). Tamil, confusingly, shows a steady increase from 1952 to 1983, but plummets dramatically in 1990. But it is Hindi, with a spectacular decrease from being the current language of 52.3% (52.27%) of the total population in 1944 to a mere 1.3% (1.26%) in 1990 that is the most remarkable for its decline.¹⁴ Using bare statistics, one would calculate that Hindi - the most widely spoken current language in 1944 - has undergone a 97.59% reduction in the percentage of speakers declaring it as their

current language in the period 1944 to 1990. That this is not actually the case becomes evident when one looks at the statistics regarding Bhojpuri.

<i>Language</i>	<i>Census report</i>					
	1944	1952	1962	1972	1983	1990
Bhojpuri	---	---	---	---	20.4	19.7
+ other	---	---	---	---	---	6.9
Hindi	52.3	39.0	32.4	31.7	11.5	1.3
+ other*	---	---	---	---	---	0.3
Urdu	---	2.7	6.4	2.9	2.5	0.7
+ other*	---	---	---	---	---	0.6
<u>Total</u>	<u>52.3</u>	<u>41.7</u>	<u>38.8</u>	<u>34.6</u>	<u>34.4</u>	<u>29.5</u>

* Language(s) other than Bhojpuri.

Table 4: Census Information on Bhojpuri, Hindi and Urdu, 1944-1990 (% of Total Population).

As Table 4 shows, there is a very sharp decline in the number of people returning Hindi as their current language indicated in the 1983 census - the same census in which Bhojpuri makes its first appearance. Yet even allowing for the fact that Bhojpuri may have been declared as 'Hindi' (or even, in part, 'Urdu') in all censuses prior to 1983, one is nevertheless witnessing a decline in the use of Bhojpuri, Hindi and Urdu. Table 4 also shows that even when bilingualism with Bhojpuri, Hindi or Urdu is taken into account - as it is in the 1990 census report - the aggregate of these three languages falls below that given for all three in the previous census.¹⁵

The further decline in the number of returns for Hindi between the censuses of 1983 and 1990 may be interpreted as a continuing shift in the number of people declaring Bhojpuri rather than Hindi in the category of current language - a category only specifying for one language. This raises an

interesting issue, which may be addressed by way of the following question: Why does it appear that Bhojpuri-speaking respondents were prepared to indicate Hindi as their language in all censuses from 1944 to 1973, rather than stating Bhojpuri in terms of 'other language' or withholding language details altogether? One must at this stage proceed with extreme caution, as such a question places the emphasis for language reporting squarely on the respondent, which may not necessarily be accurate. It may be asserted that the Government of Mauritius, in failing to specify for Bhojpuri in all census reports prior to 1983, had taken the decision that respondents who returned 'Bhojpuri' would be deemed to have returned 'Hindi'. It is unusual that no census report contains a figure of more than 0.8% of the total population with respect to language details not mentioned (The 1944 census); given that Hindi was the only Indian language indicated in 1944, much of this 0.8% would have been accounted for by speakers of Tamil and Telugu - languages entirely unrelated to Hindi, whose speakers would not have found Hindi in any way intelligible.¹⁶ This strongly indicates one of two things: Either Bhojuria respondents had assented en masse to the use of the term 'Hindi' for Bhojpuri, or the Government of Mauritius had determined the two language labels to be synonymous for census purposes.

There are explanations as to why Bhojpuri is sometimes assumed to be merely a variety of Hindi, and consequently why either Mauritian informants or the Government of Mauritius would fail to draw a clear distinction between the two. Bhojpuri in Mauritius, as in India, does not have a literary tradition. As a non-literary language, government policy in Mauritius neither supported the use of Bhojpuri as a medium of instruction nor promoted teaching of the language. Indeed, even the teaching of literary languages such as Tamil and Marathi was discontinued, following the recommendation of a Special Committee on Indian Vernacular Schools in the 1880s (See Chapter 3.2). Instruction in Indian languages was left to the system of *madrasahs* and *baiTHkā* schools that were operated by members of the Muslim and Hindu communities, respectively. Teaching in the *madrasahs* and *baiTHkā* schools was at an elementary level and seems to have centered around religious instruction (Ramyeed, 1984:143-144).

The *madrassahs* and *baithkās* schools fostered a knowledge of Indian languages for the purposes of ensuring that religious scriptures could be read and understood. In this respect, Bhojpuri, was less favoured as a language of instruction than Urdu, amongst Muslims, and a range of literary languages amongst Hindus.¹⁷ With the establishment of the *Ārya Samāj*, a cultural and religious movement, in 1910, an impetus was given to the teaching of *Khari Boli* ('standard' Hindi) which further jeopardized any chances that Bhojpuri may have had in establishing itself as a language of culture or learning for Bhojpuri speakers. As Ramyeed (1984:146) points out,

[t]he *Ārya Samāj* has proved to be a firm cultural and religious establishment that flourishes to this day in Mauritius. It has throughout the years of its existence devoted sedulous attention to the cultivation of Hindi which the *Ārya Samājīs* sometimes zealously call *Ārya bhāṣā*.

It is not difficult to see how the spread of *Khari Boli* in Mauritius went unchecked by Bhojpuri speakers. There was no official or organized support for Bhojpuri which had increasingly become, on Mauritian soil, quite distinct from any form of Bhojpuri in India (Ramyeed, 1984:142).¹⁸ It may also have been the case that *Ārya Samājīs*, in promulgating *Khari Boli*, actively downgraded Bhojpuri as a culturally suspect language that, being an unsuitable vehicle for reading and writing, divorced speakers from an awareness of their Indian heritage.

Perhaps the intimate relationship between Bhojpuri and Hindi was the most decisive factor in ensuring the institutionalized support of *Khari Boli*. Ramyeed (1984:145) suggests that

[t]he approach to *Khari Boli* by Bhojpuri speakers was facilitated by the fact that the two languages are cognate. Although in terms of genetic linguistics, the two are independent siblings, neither deriving from the other, yet they are descended from the same ancestor and are closely akin in grammar and vocabulary. There must also have been a residual but passive knowledge of *Khari Boli* (Hindi and Urdu) among some of the immigrants (*Italicized phrases indicate quotations from Barz, 1980*).

This view is contestable, inasmuch as Bhojpuri speakers in Mauritius would not (in the nineteenth century at least) have been in constant contact with Khari Boli speakers, or have had the opportunity to reinforce any knowledge of Khari Boli through the media or through literacy practices in Hindi or Urdu. The view expressed by Durand and Durand (1978:115) regarding knowledge of Khari Boli is markedly different from Ramyead:

Concernant les langues indiennes et les fortes proportions d'Indo-Mauriciens parlant l'hindi et l'ourdou, il faut souligner que ces personnes ne parlent pas en général ces deux langues issues de la langue védique, mais le bhojpouri, dialecte non écrit qui en est dérivé. Pratiquement, nous pouvons considérer que seuls ceux qui savent lire et écrire l'hindi (8,3%) ou l'ourdou (2%...), donc ceux qui ont étudié l'une de ces deux langues, peuvent le parler couramment.

[As regards the Indian languages and the large proportion of Indo-Mauritians speaking Hindi and Urdu, one should point out that these persons do not in general speak these two languages that are descended from Vedic, but rather Bhojpuri, a related, unwritten dialect. In practical terms, we may only consider those who know how to read and write Hindi (8%) or Urdu (2%), that is to say, those who have studied one of these two languages, as being able to speak them fluently].

One may suggest that the truth of the matter probably lies somewhere in between the views expressed by Ramyead and Durand and Durand. Ramyead says more about the acquisition of Khari Boli than Durand and Durand, who would appear more concerned by notions of linguistic purity. It is interesting to note that Mahtama Gandhi - in whose honour the most important centre for the study of Indian language and culture in Mauritius is named - was less than complimentary of the Indian language he heard spoken in Mauritius during his visit to the island in October-November 1901. Vinesh Hookoomsingh has asserted to Philip Baker (personal communication) that Gandhi was reported in a Mauritian newspaper of 1903 to have described Indians in Mauritius as speaking 'pedgin (sic.) Hindustani'. As Philip Baker pointed out to me, this is the earliest attestation of the word 'pidgin' applied to a language other than English.

Given the high degree of intelligibility between Bhojpuri and Hindi, and the highly diffuse demarcation of language areas within the North Indian language continuum, Bhojpuri and Hindi are not necessarily considered by their speakers as being distinct languages. When the history of interaction between speakers of Bhojpuri and Hindi is taken into account, one approaches conditions in which a diglossic relationship begins to suggest itself (See Chapters 2.2.4-5 for a further discussion on diglossia). The factors mentioned above may then be interpreted as having a bearing on language status, in cultural terms. However, as the present research will show, there are a great many factors involved in determining the status of a language; cultural heritage is but one of them. Even where the cultural status of a language is high, as I suggest it is for Hindi, this may not be sufficient to ensure that such a language is maintained. In Mauritius, both Bhojpuri and Hindi are subject to language shift - as are all the ancestral languages. Before explaining why this is the case, I will first establish the significance of a study into language maintenance and language shift and the form that such a study will take (Chapter 1.2).

1.1.5 Bhojpuri: Classification and Dialects

Bhojpuri is an Indo-European language belonging to the Indo-Iranian branch - a branch to which the overwhelming majority of the languages of Iran and Northern India belong. Indo-Iranian may further be divided into two main sub-branches: *Iranian* and *Aryan* (or *Indo-Aryan*, or *Indian*). The *Nuristani* languages form yet a third sub-branch, although the exact genetic affiliation of such languages continues to be subject to debate amongst researchers and scholars of linguistics (Beekes, 1995; Masica, 1991).

Whereas there is no disagreement in existing literature, with respect to Bhojpuri as a language of the Aryan sub-branch of Indo-Iranian, further classification - not only for Bhojpuri but for the Aryan sub-branch in general - is highly controverted. It is not within the scope of the present discussion to enter into this debate, and excellent expositions have already been provided by Masica (1991:446-463) and Mesthrie (1991:9-15). Yet an aspect of this debate regarding classification is integral to the

present research, given that it directly impacts on the relationship between Bhojpuri and Hindi.

Simplifying the situation somewhat, it is nevertheless possible to suggest the existence of a basic tripartite division amongst the main core of languages of the Aryan sub-branch (Within this core, I exclude languages such as Romany and Sinhalese that represent migration away from the North Indian language continuum). This division coincides with the three attested, literary forms of Middle Aryan (or Middle Indic), known as *Mahārāṣṭrī* (Western Prakrit), *Śaurasenī* (Central Prakrit) and *Māgadhī* (Eastern Prakrit). From the Western Prakrit, modern Aryan languages such as Marathi developed; from Central Prakrit came Hindi, Gujarati and the languages collectively referred to as 'Rajasthani'; from the Eastern Prakrit descend the languages of north-eastern India, such as Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, and the 'Bihari' languages, namely, Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri.

In the *Linguistic Survey of India* (1903, Vol. 5), Grierson refers to the existence of a 'mediate' group within Aryan, which effectively represents a transition between the languages descended from *Śaurasenī* Prakrit and those descended from *Māgadhī* Prakrit. This 'mediate' group comprises languages often referred to as 'Eastern Hindi' (Awadhi, Bagheli, Chhatisgarhi). The precise nature of the relationship between 'Bihari', 'Eastern Hindi' and 'Western Hindi' (to which Hindi belongs) is a matter that has been argued in detail for over a century. Grierson makes it clear that he believes 'Bihari' to belong to the same group of languages as Oriya, Bengali and Assamese - and not to the 'mediate' group, comprising 'Eastern Hindi'. Other researchers, such as Turner (1975) and Cardona (1974), have preferred to include 'Bihari' in a grouping that includes both 'Western Hindi' and 'Eastern Hindi' (a so-called 'central' group), with Oriya, Bengali and Assamese forming part of a distinct eastern group.

Grierson makes much of the fact that, in matters of conjugation, 'Bihari' closely follows Bengali rather than Hindi; this would appear to provide the main justification for his views on classification. But, as Masica (1991:456) lucidly expresses, there are difficulties inherent in the whole process of classification:

Eastern Hindi, which was for Hoernle, Grierson, and also Chatterji not only a different language from Western Hindi but also a member of a different branch of Indo-Aryan, is put together with Western Hindi in more recent taxonomies (Turner, Katre, Nigam, Cardona, Zograph) - which at least has the merit of greater congruence with popular feelings: "Hindi" is "Hindi"... The criteria for these varied classifications are given in very few cases... In fairness to the scholars concerned it must be acknowledged that spelling them out would involve an amount of philological detail inappropriate to the contexts in which such overall classifications are usually presented. The fact is that criteria do exist for all the above taxonomies, and some others besides - and they conflict... A taxonomic decision thus appears to have to rest on giving priority to some criteria over others.

At its most simple, an explanation as to whether Bhojpuri, being a 'Bihari' language, should be regarded as more akin to Hindi or to Bengali, depends wholly on whether one chooses to accept Grierson's priority of criteria, that of others such as Turner, or favour an approach that - as Masica alludes to - takes heed of popular sentiment. Expressed bluntly, it could be argued that sifting and prioritizing various language criteria represents little else than a willingness to subscribe to a linguistic fiction and is not particularly meaningful in sociolinguistic terms: The term 'Bihari' is no more a reality to speakers of Bhojpuri than is the preoccupation, amongst linguists, for allocating languages to notional groups.

Determining the exact number of dialects within Bhojpuri must, of necessity, be seen within the context of the debate on genetic classification. Shukla (1981) refers to four dialects; *Northern*, *Southern*, *Western* and *Nagpuria*. This is broadly in agreement with Grierson, who nevertheless includes various sub-dialects. For Grierson, there is justification for the recognition of a *Banārāsī* sub-dialect within the 'Western standard' Bhojpuri area, *Sarwariā*, *Gorakhpurī* and *Madhēsī* as distinct language forms within the 'Northern standard' area, and the *Thārū Broken Dialect* to the north of this area and on both sides of the Indo-Nepalese border. But, as with the issue of language grouping, it becomes necessary to introduce certain caveats into a discussion on 'dialects' and 'standards'.

In his commendably lucid publication, *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century India*, King (1994) refers to an incident in which a certain Dr Ballantyne, Principal of the English department of Benares College in 1847, asked his Indian students for the reasons why they displayed contempt for Hindi, their vernacular language. As King (1994:90) then points out:

A dialogue ensued which made clear that the young men had neither a clear conception of what Ballantyne meant by Hindi nor any sense of loyalty to it.

As the reply of their spokesman showed, the students had no awareness of Hindi in the sense of a standardized literary dialect:

"We do not clearly understand what you Europeans mean by the term Hindi, for there are hundreds of dialects, all in our opinion equally entitled to the name, and there is here no standard as there is in Sanskrit".

Now, several important points spring to mind: Firstly, if the above is an accurate representation of local attitudes towards Hindi in Benares in the mid-nineteenth century, it seems not unreasonable to posit that these attitudes would also have been prevalent in the Bhojpuri-speaking areas immediately east of Benares. Secondly, in that Bhojpuri had even less claims to being a literary dialect than Hindi, Bhojpuri-speakers migrating from India to the colonies (such as Mauritius) are likely to have had a correspondingly more attenuated view of their vernacular in terms a standardized dialect or sub-dialect. Thirdly, the conditions of indentured labour threw together people from different dialect areas, thereby creating a hothouse environment in which varieties of Bhojpuri (and also 'Eastern Hindi'), whilst perhaps distinct on Indian soil, converged in the creation of a maritime lingua franca. By the time that indentured labourers were settled in their new communities, their traditional patterns of speech would have been disrupted - a process that would only be further compounded both by settlement amongst new Indian neighbours and within a host community with its own language of administration. The social conditions in which these indentured labourers found themselves could not have been less propitious for the conceptualization or cultivation of Bhojpuri as a standardized literary dialect.

1.1.6 Brief Description of Mauritian Bhojpuri

Tiwari (1981:7) makes the important comment, with respect to Indian Bhojpuri, that 'a detailed study of the dialectal variation of Bhojpuri has yet to be done' - a comment that remains valid to the present day, and not only for Indian Bhojpuri but for all transplanted forms of the language. If recent years have seen an increase in interest, in India and Mauritius particularly, in research into the principal language of Indian indentured labour, it is nevertheless the case that this language remains under-documented.

Reviewing the aims of the Mauritius Bhojpuri Institute, Sarita Boodhoo (1999:141), as both Founder and Director, states the following:

When we revived Bhojpuri and its attendant cultural traditions in 1982 through a series of Bhojpuri weeks and created the Mauritius Bhojpuri Institute, it was precisely to give a status, dignity and esteem to a language for long confined to the backwaters of the island.

To mark the inception of the Mauritius Bhojpuri Institute, a two-hour show of songs, dances, sketches and story telling was presented at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute on the 19 September 1992, and a programme was provided, asserting that the activities of the Institute would be 'three-fold based: cultural, research, conscientisation' (*sic.*) (Programme courtesy of Philip Baker). Yet at the time that I conducted my fieldwork in Mauritius, very little research appeared to be in progress, and with the exception of ongoing archiving of Bhojpuri folksongs by a three-member team within the Bhojpuri and Folklore Unit of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (comprising Ms. Suchita Ramdin, Mrs. Vasantee Saddul and Mr. Pavi Ramhota), no projects relating to Bhojpuri were in evidence. A dictionary of Mauritian Bhojpuri commenced in the early 1990s remained unfinished, and remarkably little information on the structure of Mauritian Bhojpuri had appeared in print, other than the occasional article in a textbook, or conference paper. There were, nevertheless, indications of a continued interest in certain aspects of Bhojpuri: The preservation and performance of songs are clearly very highly valued, as evidenced by *Bhojpuri Bahaar*, a song competition

organized by the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation, held at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (14th May 2000), and the publication of Mrs. Boodhoo's *Bhojpuri Traditions in Mauritius* by the Mauritius Bhojpuri Institute (1999), which concentrates on folklore, rituals, and aspects of daily life.

What follows, by way of outline of the language, is therefore necessarily brief; it is intended to provide an overview of several distinctive features which demonstrate that Mauritian Bhojpuri is not - as many of its speakers would assert - a 'corrupted' variety of Hindi, but a language that clearly attests its Eastern Prakritic origins. Initially, I present an inventory of the vocalic and consonantal phonemes of Mauritian Bhojpuri, indicating the differences that exist between this variety and the Northern Bhojpuri dialect reported by Shukla (1981), whilst also discussing various issues that arise from an analysis of the phonemic inventory. I subsequently give an overview of definite noun formation and pluralization, followed by a look at the structure of finite verb forms, contrasted with the Southern dialect of Bhojpuri. In Chapter 1.1.7, I adopt an approach taken by Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, and provide a version of the opening section of the 'Parable of the Prodigal Son' in two varieties of Indian Bhojpuri (the Southern and Western dialects) and Mauritian Bhojpuri. These versions are accompanied by a standardized transcription, which facilitates analysis of the similarities and differences between these other language forms and Mauritian Bhojpuri.

1.1.6.1 Phonemic Inventory of Mauritian Bhojpuri

Shukla (1981:26) states that there are twenty-two vowel phonemes in Bhojpuri, of which eight are high, eight are mid and six are low vowel phonemes. The number of vowel phonemes in Mauritian Bhojpuri is, however, much reduced. Primarily, there is no longer a distinction in vowel length with /i/, /u/, /e/ and /o/. Where Northern Standard Bhojpuri (henceforth NB) has /i/-/i:/, /u/-/u:/, /e/-/e:/, /o/-/o:/, and corresponding nasalized phonemes, Mauritian Bhojpuri (MB) has only the shorter forms and their nasalized equivalents. Additionally, the short front low vowel /æ/ in NB, and its nasalized equivalent, are absent in MB. MB

therefore has ten fewer vowel phonemes than NB, as the following shows (MB phonemes are highlighted in bold):

	Front	Central	Back
High (short)	i/iŋ		u/uŋ
(long)	ī/īŋ		ū/ūŋ
Mid (short)	e/eŋ		o/oŋ
(long)	ē/ēŋ		ō/ōŋ
Low (short)	æ/æŋ	a/aŋ	
(long)		ā/āŋ	

(It should be noted that the symbol /ŋ/ does not represent a velar nasal, as it does in the International Phonetic Alphabet, but indicates nasalization of the preceding vowel; this is a transcription feature employed by Shukla, and is also attested in the historically influential 'All-India Alphabet' of J.R.Firth. For a discussion on the transcription of Creole and references to the romanization of Mauritian Bhojpuri, see Chapter 4.1.1).

Mohan (1978) clearly indicates that Trinidadian Bhojpuri (TB) has preserved the distinction in vowel length that MB has not. /ī/, /ū/, /ē/ and /ō/ are all attested, although Mohan (1978:36) points out that, with nouns, /ē/ and /ō/ occur finally only in proper names and loanwords. Hence, whereas TB has *ādmī* 'man', *dhūāŋ* 'smoke', *dēkh-*, 'see' and *gōR* 'foot', these appear in MB as *admi*, *dhuwāŋ*, *dekh-* and *goR*. It is worth pointing out that in Hindi both /e/ and /o/ are 'complex vowels' (Shapiro 1989:9) and, like Sanskrit, conventionally regarded as long. The presence of short vowels in MB, without the corresponding long vowels found in NB and TB, point to the influence of Creole, in which the long vowels in question are absent.

With regards to the consonantal phonemes of MB, aspiration has been preserved with stops and affricates. But Shukla (1981:13) posits the existence of aspirates amongst nasals and laterals in NB; these are not attested in MB. The following

inventory contains modifications on Shukla, in that alveolar and glottal are not stated as separate categories, /w/ is given here as a bilabial rather than - as in Shukla - a velar, and /R/ appears in Shukla - a simple printing error, I assume - where I have /h/. Additionally, I have used the transcription as employed throughout the present study when dealing with Bhojpuri (MB phonemes are highlighted in bold):

	Bilabial	Dental/ Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar/ Glottal
Stop	p	t	T		k
	ph	th	TH		kh
	b	d	D		g
	bh	dh	DH		gh
Affricate				c	
				ch	
				j	
				jh	
Fricative		s		h	
Nasal	m	n	N	ñ	ng
	mh	nh			ng gh
Lateral		l			
		lh			
Flap		r	R		
		rh	RH		
Glide	w			y	

Aside from the lack of aspirated nasals and laterals, MB differs from NB in not having the aspirated alveolar flap /rh/, and in not possessing any 'n' other than the alveolar /n/. Quite noticeably, the phoneme /y/ is absent in MB.

If I posit that the reduction in the number of vowel phonemes in MB occurred as a direct consequence of contact with Creole in Mauritius, I do so tentatively; only a fuller investigation of other forms of overseas Bhojpuri (no less than of the languages with which these forms were in contact) would be required in order to reach a firm conclusion. This does not lie within the scope of the present work. However, an analysis of

the consonantal phonemes of MB does indeed reveal a conclusive and complex pattern of interaction and adaptation between MB and Creole. Mesthrie (1988:160) gives several diagnostics of phonological adaptation in South African Bhojpuri (SB), of which the following are particularly relevant to a discussion of MB:

- a) Replacement of *v* by *b*: Verulam > *Billam*;
vegetable > *bejiTebal*; Mayville > *Mebal*.
- b) Replacement of *ś* by *s* or *c*: shilling > *silin*;
sugar diabetes > *cūge*; Port Shepstone >
PoceptsTan.

Similarly to SB, the fricative labio-dental /v/, present in Creole but absent in MB, surfaces as /b/. Where Creole has *ver* 'glass' and *move* 'bad', these appear in MB as *ber* and *mobe*. Yet it is not the case that /v/ in Creole invariably surfaces as /b/ in MB. Word-finally at least, there appear to be exceptions to this general rule of substitution. MB allows *mov* 'purple', just as in Creole, and a book may be *liv* for some Bhojpuri speakers, *liber* for others. Additionally, whilst the voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ and the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ may not be phonemes in MB, they are present in many MB words borrowed from Creole - word-initially and word-medially as well as word-finally:

Eg. *fākter* 'postman'; *lefwā* 'liver', *sef* 'chef/boss'.
zepol 'shoulder'; *lāzām* 'leg/thigh'; *roz* 'pink'.

There are many instances in which words of Creole origin are transformed by speakers of MB in accordance with the phonemic inventory of MB. Along with /v/→/b/, the substitutions /f/→/ph/ and /z/→/j/ take place:

Eg. *fākter* → *phākter* 'postman'; *fātige* → *phātige* 'tired'.
zoli → *joli* 'pretty'; *zalimet* → *jalmeth* 'match(stick)'.

It is perhaps appropriate to suggest that, for speakers of MB, /v/-/b/, /f/-/ph/ and /z/-/j/ are in allophonic distribution, but that the degree of substitution possible within each of these

pairs differs from speaker to speaker according to the extent to which Creole is used by the individual speaker. Given the degree to which Mauritians engage in code-switching in casual conversation, one ought perhaps to allow for the possibility that what may represent, for one particular speaker, a properly Bhojpuri word (knowingly or unknowingly borrowed from Creole) may be identified, by another speaker, as a distinctly Creole word: Where the former would use /b/, /ph/ or /j/, assuming Bhojpuri pronunciation to be applicable, the latter would not. Also, it is not unlikely that the same speaker who utters *enn zoli rob, sa!* ('My, what a pretty dress!') to his Creole-speaking child has no hesitation in articulating the expression *bhojpuri joli bā!* ('Bhojpuri is beautiful!') when in the company of Bhojpuri speakers. In cases such as these, it is clear that sociolinguistic factors are at work, constraining the distribution of allophones.

The second diagnostic that Mesthrie (1988:160) gives, by way of indicating phonological adaptation in SB, also has some interesting analogies in MB. The presence of the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ and the complete absence of either the postalveolar or retroflex equivalents gives MB one of its most distinctive features and indicates the maintenance of a trait that is typically identified amongst languages of the 'Bihari' group. Grierson (1903:2) makes this clear in the following way:

As regards the letter *s*, the ancient Māgadhī was unable to use the sound, and substituted for it a sound approaching that of an English *sh*. On the other hand, the Prakrit-speaking tribes more to the West could not say this *sh*, and substituted for it *s*. Here Bengali and Eastern Hindī exactly represent the ancient state of affairs. The Bengalis, like the men of Gilead, say 'shibboleth', while the inhabitants of Hindōstān, like the Ephraimites, can only say 'sibboleth'. Here Bihārī has thrown in its lot with the latter. The sound of the English *sh* is non-existent in all its dialects.

Whereas SB replaces *ś* by *s* or *c*, MB has only the single rule /*ś*/→/s/, which is applied consistently to loanwords. Even place names and proper names are subject to this rule.

Eg. *Chamarel* (a place in Savanne district) → *samarel*.

āśā (a name meaning 'hope/expectation') → *āsā*.

śivā (the god Shiva) → *sivā*.

However, a word of caution is required here: A Mauritian may informally address someone called Prakash as *prakās*, or Pushpa as *puspa*, but refer to these people elsewhere as *prakāś* and *puśpa* (I noticed that this was very much in evidence when Indo-Mauritians introduced themselves or others in either English or French; Hindu names would be given their Hindi pronunciation). Similarly, certain words have a more literary or learned timbre, and may be dropped into a Bhojpuri conversation in apparent violation of the rule /ś/→/s/. For example, whereas it is more usual for a speaker of MB to say *moris* 'Mauritius', the word *māriśas* would not be unacceptable. Whether this constitutes an example of code-switching between Hindi and MB is difficult to say. My intuitions are that /ś/ is permissible in MB conversation if the word containing this sound is of Indian origin: Somehow, to speak of visiting *kāśī* (another name for Varanasi) on the way to a *śādī* (a wedding) creates no more pragmatic effect than *kāsi* and *sādi*; but to talk of going to *Chamarel* and buying *chou-chou* (a popular vegetable,) using the voiceless postalveolar fricative as in French, rather than pronouncing these words as *samarel* and *susu*, creates an impression of affectation. As with the example given earlier of *zoli/joli*, there would appear to be an intricate sociolinguistic pattern in evidence that distinguishes between the colloquial, the learned and the grandiloquent - or, put more bluntly, between the socially acceptable and the risible.

There are some indications that the substitution /ś/→/c/ may once have been possible, since there exists the variation in MB of *lāsemine/lachmuniya* 'chimney', but examples such as these are rare and point to a process that is no longer productive. The substitution /ś/→/c/ may indeed be limited to cases where a borrowed word is 'Bhojpurified', in the sense that it becomes meaningful in Bhojpuri through a reanalysis of the etymology. This view is supported by examples such as the Bhojpurification of *māriśas* 'Mauritius' to *miric* '(land of) chilli' - a term used

in India to advertize a destination that prospective indentured labourers had no knowledge of. As for *lachmuniya* 'chimney', this could be interpreted as an object derived from the name 'Lakshman' (In Mauritius, this is usually pronounced *lacman*).

It could be argued that MB exhibits /s/ for /ś/ in words of French origin on the basis that Creole does so and that to speak of a substitution /ś/→/s/ is not therefore appropriate. Whilst I do not disagree with such a proposition, it should be borne in mind that Creole is by no means the only language with which MB is in contact; one would be rash to assume with any degree of confidence that all words derived ultimately from French - or for that matter English - entered MB via Creole. The existence of variants such as *liv/liber* and *lāsemine/lachmuniya* could in fact be indicative of borrowing from different source languages.

Neerputh (2000:2) makes the important point that

the Bhojpuri spoken in Mauritius is by no means a standardized one. The older the speakers, particularly in the rural areas, the greater the number of original words and, of course, the newer the generation the larger the number of Creole words. One might even speak of a continuum as far as the lexis is concerned. On the other hand it might also be possible to speak of acrolectal, mesolectal and basilectal levels where the first one tends to keep the original vocabulary, drawing sometimes heavily on Hindi if needs be, and the basilectal relying more and more on Creole loan words.

I hypothesize that Neerputh's opinions regarding the lexis is equally applicable to the phonology of MB, but acknowledge that significant research has still to be undertaken in this area.

1.1.6.2 The Noun: Definites and Plurals

In MB, plural nouns take the same form as singular nouns if they are indefinite. Pluralization is indicated either through the addition of the suffix *-log* immediately following the noun, or by a numeral, with or without the accompaniment of the classifier *-go*, immediately preceding the noun. The suffix *-log* is restricted to animate nouns; unlike Hindi (McGregor, 1972), MB does not place a restriction on *-log* to humans.

Eg. *ad^ami-log* 'men'; *suar-log* 'pigs'.

du-go ad^ami 'two men'; *chaw-go suar* 'six pigs'.

āTH rupiā 'eight rupees'; *tin-go gāci* 'three trees'.

* *rupiā-log* 'rupees'; * *gāci-log* 'trees'

Pluralization may additionally be indicated by preceding a noun with *sab* or *saji* 'all'; although the sense here may be suggestive of definiteness, the noun remains unmarked for definiteness.

Eg. *sab ciraiṅ* 'all (the) birds' (Baker and Ramnah, 1988:54).

saji kutā 'all (the) dogs'.

It is important to mention that there is a form, very frequently used in MB, to designate a singular noun. This is made up of the morphemes *ek* + *-go* but is realized morpho-phonemically as *ego* (Gambhir, 1988). According to Barz (1988:204), the presence of the numeral classifier *-go*

is one of the most striking differences between SH [= Standard Hindi] (including Urdu), where it does not occur, and Hindi dialects like Avadhi, Bhojpuri and the forms of OH [= Overseas Hindi].

Initially, this classifier would appear to bear some relationship to the Bengali plural marker *-gulo*; but Klaiman (1990:83) makes a remark that indicates this is unlikely to be the case:

Generally, the plural markers are added only to count nouns having animate or definite referents; otherwise plurality tends to be unmarked. Compare *jutogulo dōrkar* 'the (specified) shoes are necessary', versus *juto dōrkar* '(unspecified) shoes are necessary'.

In MB, the noun qualified by [Numeral]-*go* is neither required to be animate nor to have a definite referent. Furthermore, the MB morpheme *-go* depends on quantification by a numeral or by an interrogative (*kai-go* 'how many?'), whereas the Bengali *-gulo* does not. Nevertheless, whatever the origin of the MB numeral classifier *-go* and the Bengali *-gulo*, the previous quotation from Barz is worth noting; for if MB differs from Hindi with respect

to this classifier, it continues to do so with regards to the creation of definite plural nouns.

The noun in MB is made definite by the application of one of four rules, according to the noun ending. There is no distinction with respect to gender. These rules are as follows (C and V indicate consonant and vowel respectively):

- (i) Nouns ending in -C or -u. Rule: Unmarked form + -wā.
Eg. *dāṅt* 'tooth' → *dāṅtwā*; *lisu* 'cabbage' → *lisuwā*.
- (ii) Nouns ending in -Cā : Rule: -ā → -∅ + -wā.
Eg. *beTā* 'son' → *beTwā*.
- (iii) Nouns ending in -Vā : Rule: -ā → -a + -wā.
Eg. *bajiā* 'fritter' → *bajiawā*.
- (iv) Nouns ending in -Ci : Rule: Unmarked form + ā.
Eg. *beTi* 'daughter' → *beTiā*.

The plural formation of definite nouns can then be applied with a single, simple rule: -ā → -an.

- Eg. *dāṅtwā* 'the tooth' → *dāṅtwan* 'the teeth'.
lisuwā 'the cabbage' → *lisuwan* 'the cabbages'.
beTwā 'the son' → *beTwan* 'the sons'.
bajiawā 'the fritter' → *bajiawan* 'the fritters'.
beTiā 'the daughter' → *beTiawan* 'the daughters'.

1.1.6.3 The Verb: Finite Verb Forms

MB shows clear similarities in conjugation to the Indian varieties of Bhojpuri, whilst not reproducing precisely the pattern found in any single identifiable dialect. Whereas it may be possible to speculate that particular elements in MB conjugation derive from one dialect, and yet other elements from another, I do not see the purpose in exhausting all the possibilities. Quite aside from the impracticalities of doing so, my discussion on the phonemes of MB maintained that there has been reduction in the phonemic inventory in MB. This being the

case, it is only to be expected that a comparative analysis of MB conjugational forms with those of Indian Bhojpuri would be unlikely in the extreme to yield exact correspondences. Notwithstanding this, if one contrasts three of the principal tenses of the finite verb in MB with data provided in Grierson (1903:52) for the Southern Bhojpuri dialect - that which Grierson describes as the 'standard' - it can be seen that MB maintains the Bhojpuri conjugational system, however pervasive the influence of Creole may be in either the phonology or lexicon:

<i>Southern Bhojpuri</i>		<i>Mauritian Bhojpuri</i>	
Present Indicative of <i>dekh-</i> 'see'			
1 per.sg.	dēkh-â1-ōŋ	1 per.sg.	(Same as 1 per.pl.)
2 per.sg.	dēkh-el-ē	2 per.sg.	dekh-el-e
3 per.sg.	dēkh-el-ā	3 per.sg.	dekh-el-ā
1 per.pl.	dēkh-ī1-ī	1 per.pl.	dekh-ī1-ā
2 per.pl.	dēkh-el-â	2 per.pl.	dekh-el-a
3 per.pl.	dēkh-el-an	3 per.pl.	dekh-el-an / -el-ā
Past of <i>dekh-</i> 'see'			
1 per.sg.	dekh-⊙1-ōŋ	1 per.sg.	(Same as 1 per.pl.)
2 per.sg.	dekh-⊙1-ē	2 per.sg.	dekh-⊙1-e
3 per.sg.	dekh-⊙1-as	3 per.sg.	dekh-⊙1-ak
1 per.pl.	dekh-⊙1-īŋ	1 per.pl.	dekh-⊙1-i / -n-i
2 per.pl.	dekh-⊙1-â	2 per.pl.	dekh-⊙1-a
3 per.pl.	dekh-⊙1-an	3 per.pl.	dekh-⊙1-an
Future of <i>dekh-</i> 'see'			
1 per.sg.	dekh-⊙b-ōŋ	1 per.sg.	(Same as 1 per.pl.)
2 per.sg.	dekh-⊙b-ē	2 per.sg.	dekh-⊙b-e
3 per.sg.	dēkh-ī	3 per.sg.	dekh-i
1 per.pl.	dekh-⊙b-ī	1 per.pl.	dekh-⊙b
2 per.pl.	dekh-⊙b-â	2 per.pl.	dekh-⊙b-a
3 per.pl.	dekh-ih-an	3 per.pl.	dekh-i-han / -i-an

All forms from Southern Bhojpuri (StB) are masculine - a distinction that does not need to be made for MB, since MB has no feminine forms. Alternative forms in StB are not given here; for

the sake of exposition, those that show the correspondence with MB are selected over those that do not.

With the data from StB, I follow the approach adopted by Baker and Ramnah (1988:64), in that

Grierson's raised(^a) is counted as equivalent to either nothing (no vowel) or a (but not ā).

I have substituted the superscript a found in Grierson with the symbol ©, and I posit that this marks the position of what government phonologists term the 'empty nucleus' (Charette, 1991). In StB, this would appear to be realized as a short a or schwa - as it is in MB.

If allowances are made for the absence in MB of the long vowels ē, ō and ī, finite verb form in MB are remarkably close to StB, far more so than the Bhojpuri of Trinidad (Mohan, 1978). There are but five points over which StB and MB differ:

(i) MB does not possess a distinct first person singular, but employs the first person plural form. According to Grierson (1903:48),

[I]n Standard Bhojpuri, the first person singular is very rarely used, the plural being used instead, but this is not the case in the Western sub-dialect.

(ii) In MB, the first person plural ending in the present indicative is -il-ā, whereas it is -il-ī in StB.

(iii) In MB, the third person singular ending in the past tense is -l-ak (StB -l-as).

(iv) The first person plural ending in the past tense in MB is -i (StB -īṅ). The vowel length is not the issue, rather the absence, in MB, of nasalization.

(v) The first person plural in the future tense in MB is -ab (StB -b-ī). This does not in truth constitute a point of difference: I opted for *dekh-©b-ī* over the form *dēkh-ab* in StB, although both were listed by Grierson, in order to be able to suggest an analysis regarding personal endings, which follows below.

The alternation *dekh-/dēkh-* in the stem of StB verb forms is somewhat perplexing, although since there is no corresponding alternation - because of the absence of /ē/ - in MB, I will not discuss this further. Nevertheless, a close analysis of the data from MB and StB provides some tantalizing clues as to the composition of suffixation in the finite verb forms of Bhojpuri. On inspection, one is able to distinguish a regular pattern of endings in StB, with the exception of the third person singular:

1 per.sg.	-ōṅ
2 per.sg.	-ē
3 per.sg.	...
1 per.pl.	-I (ṅ)
2 per.pl.	-ā
3 per.pl.	-an

Since this pattern obtains across all three tenses, it is clear that they represent person markers. By then removing the person markers from the verb forms, one is left with the verb stems and what can only be tense markers. As is evident from the data presented, whatever the differences between MB and StB with respect to person markers - and these are not substantial - vowel length aside, there are none in the tense markers.

1.1.7 Sample Text in Bhojpuri Varieties

The present study does not take an exhaustive look at the one issue that Bhojpuri-speakers are more likely to raise than any other when describing or discussing MB: The extensive borrowing of loanwords from Creole. I have refrained from dwelling on this aspect of MB for two principal reasons. Firstly, the small amount of literature that relates both to MB and to other varieties of overseas Bhojpuri more than adequately addresses the issue of borrowing; to do so here would be merely to reiterate a widely acknowledged and well-attested phenomenon. Secondly, in an attempt to demonstrate how MB is structurally distinct from varieties of Indian Bhojpuri, lexical borrowing offers little information. One has but to contemplate the mass of publications available on the subject of Hindi and Urdu to

appreciate the pitfalls of using vocabulary as a criterion for determining whether or not dialects are varieties of the same language or different languages altogether.

In the following pages of the present study, a version is given of the 'Parable of the Prodigal Son' in MB. This has been included as a means of providing at least some illustration of lexical borrowing, but doing so in the context of exemplifying points raised in Chapters 1.1.6.2 and 1.1.6.3 relating to nominal and verbal forms. Initially, the text is given in English, as it appears in the Revised Standard Version of the Bible; then follow the transcriptions of the text in Southern Bhojpuri and Western Bhojpuri, and the original texts in Devanagari and Kaithi script respectively (These are for reference, since points are raised relating to transcription conventions and to transcription irregularities). Finally, the MB version is given, followed by an analysis of the texts.

The transcription employed in all versions of the 'Parable of the Prodigal Son' is the same as that used in 1.1.6. It differs from the transcription employed by Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India* in three ways:

- (i) Only retroflexes are capitalized.
- (ii) *c* represents the unaspirated palatal fricative and *ch* the aspirated equivalent (Grierson has 'ch' and 'chh' respectively).
- (iii) Nasalization is indicated by the symbol *ŋ* immediately following the vowel.

The transcription of three vowel sounds are encountered in Grierson that are not to be found elsewhere in the present study. These are *ǎĩ*, *aũ* and *aĩ* (All three are present in the transcription for the Western dialect). Since they do not impact on any subsequent discussion, they will not be analysed or speculated upon. They are retained as they appear in Grierson.

TEXT

The Parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15:11-16)

There was a man who had two sons; and the younger of them said to his father, 'Father, give me the share of property that falls to me'. And he divided his living between them. Not many days later, the younger son gathered all he had and took his journey into a far country, and there he squandered his property in loose living. And when he had spent everything, a great famine arose in that country, and he began to be in want. So he went and joined himself to one of the citizens of that country, who sent him into the fields to feed swine. And he would gladly have fed on the pods that the swine ate; and no one gave him anything.

1.1.7.1 Text in IB Southern Dialect, Shahabad District
(Grierson, 1903:188)

ēk ad^amī-kā dū bēTā rahē. choT^akā ap^anā bāp-sē
One man-of two sons were. The-younger his-own father-to

kahālas kī, 'ē bābū-jī, dhan-mēᅇ jē hamār hissā hōkhē
said that, 'O father, property-in which my share may-be

sē bāᅇT-dīᅇ'. tab ū dūnō-kē bāᅇT-dēlas.
that dividing-give'. Then he both-to dividing-gave.

thōR-hī din-mēᅇ choT^akā bēTā sabh dhan baTōr-ke
A-few-even days-in the-younger son all property collecting

dūr dēs cal-gaīl. uhāᅇ sabh dhan kucāl-mēᅇ
far country-to went-away. There all fortune evil-conduct-in

uRā-dēlas. jab sabh khar^ac-kā-dēlas, tab oh dēs-mēᅇ
he-wasted-away. When all he-had-spent, then that country-in

baRā akāl paRā. ok^arā baRā dukh hōkhe lāgal.
great famine fell. To-him great trouble to-be began.

tab ū oh dēs-kā ēk ad^amī ihāᅇ jā-ke rahe lāgal,
Then he that country-of one man near going to-live began,

jē ok^arā-kē ap^anā khēt-mēᅇ sūar carāwe khātir bhēj-dēlas,
who him his-own field-in swine feeding for sent-away,

āur ū ānand-sē ōhī bhūsī-sē āpan pēT
and he pleasure-with those-very husks-with his-own belly

bharit jē sūar khāt-rahās, āur ok^arā-kē
would-have-filled which the-swine used-to-eat, and him-to

kēhu kuch dēt-nā-rahē.
anybody anything giving-not-was.

1.1.7.2 Text in IB Western Dialect, Azamgarh District
(Grierson, 1903:255)

ēk ad^amī-kē dū bēTā rahal. [...] choT^akā ap^anē bāp-sē
One man-of two sons were. The-younger his-own father-to
kah^alas kī, 'ē bāp, ham^arē bakh^arā-kāī jawan māl as^abāb
said that, 'O father, my share-of what property goods
hō tawan ham-kē dā'. ehi-par bap^awā dūnōṅ bēTan-kē
may-be that me-to give'. This-upon the-father both sons-to
āpan dhan bāṅT deh^alas. bahut din nā bītāī pāwal
his-own property dividing gave. Many days not to-pass were-
kī choT^akā bēTā kul āpan dhan baTor-ke
allowed that the-younger son all his-own property collecting
kaūnōṅ dūr dēs-kē nikal-gaīl, aur āpan dhan kharāb
some far-off country-to went-out, and his-own fortune bad
chāl-mēṅ uRā-puRā-Dal^alas. jab kul ōkar dhan orā-gaīl
conduct-in squandered. When all his fortune was-exhausted
tab oh dēs-mēṅ bahut kāl paRā, o ū dānā-kāī moh^atāj
then that country-in much famine fell, and he grain-of poor
hōwāī lagal. tab ū jā-ke oh dēs-kē ēk sahar-kē
to-be began. Then he going that country-of one city-of
rah^awaiā-kē pās pahuṅcal. ū ad^amī ō-kē ap^anē khēt-mēṅ
inhabitant-of near reached. That man him his-own field-in
sūar carāwāī-kē-wāstē bhēj-deh^alas. ō-kar ī dasā
swine to-feed sent-away. His this condition
hō-gaīl kī jawan suariā bhūsī khāt-rah^alīṅ [...] lēkin ih-ō
became that what swine husks used-to-eat ... but this-even
nā ō-kē kew dēt-rahā.
not him-to anybody used-to-give.

BHOJPURI DIALECT.

(DISTRICT SHAHABAD.)

एक अदमी का दू बैटा रहै। छोटका अपना बाप से कहलस की ए बाबू-जी धन में जे हमार हिस्सा होखे से बाँट दीं। तब ज दूनो के बाँट देलस। थोड़-ही दिन में छोटका बैटा सभ धन बटोर के दूर देस चल गइल। उहाँ सभ धन कुचाल में उड़ा देलस। जब सभ खरच क देलस तब ओह देस में बड़ा अकाल पड़ल। ओकरा बड़ा दुख होखे लागल। तब ज ओह देस का एक अदमी इहाँ जा के रहे लागल जे ओकरा के अपना खेत में सूअर चरावे खातिर भेज देलस। आउर ज आनन्द से ओही भूसी से आपन पेट भरित जे सूअर खात रहस।

Southern Bhojpuri ('Standard') Dialect: Grierson (1903:253)

WESTERN SUB-DIALECT.

(DISTRICT AZAMGARH.)

SPECIMEN I.

(Babu Rama Smaran Lal, 1898.)

एक अदमी के दू बैटा रहै। ओ में से छोटका अपने बाप से कहलस की ए बाबू हमने अपना के जवन भाँट असवाव हो जवन हम के दा, एही पर अपना दूनो बैटा के आपन धन बाँट देलस। बहुत दिन ना बीत पावै की छोटका बैटा कुठ आपन धन बटोर के कउनो दूर देस के निकल गइल और आपन धन खराब यात्रा में उड़ा पुड़ा उठलस। जब कुठ ओकरा धन ओना गइल तब ओह देस में बहुत कुठ पड़ल, ओ उ दाना के मोहनाए होवै गइल। तब ज जा के ओह देस के एक शहर के नहरशा के पास पहुँचल। ज अदमी ओ के अपने पेट में सूअर चरावे के ब्रासने भेज देलस। ओकरा ई दसा हो गइल की जवन सुअरशा भूसी प्याए रहल ओही जो ओ के भिठल तो ज ओही से आपन पेट भूसी से भरल ठेकिन रही ना ओ के केष देल रहै।

Western Bhojpuri (sub-) Dialect: Grierson (1903:187)

Note: There are several inconsistencies in Grierson's transcription of the Western Bhojpuri text. Grierson gives *ehi-par* for *ehī-par* but the long *i* is clearly marked as such in the Kaithi version of the text (line 2); in Kaithi, *sūwar* is indicated (line 7), where the transcription has *sūar*, and Grierson gives *bhusī* (line 8) as *bhūsī*.

1.1.7.4 Text in Mauritian Bhojpuri

ego ad^ami-ke du-go beTā rahal. choT^akā apan bāp-se
One man-of two sons were. The-younger his-own father-to
bollak ki, 'e bāp, jaun hamār pār bā, u ham-ke
said that, 'O father, what my share is, that me-to
de-de'. tab u ad^amiā apan sab dhan-daulat dunon-ke
give'. Then that the-man his-own all wealth-riches both-to
partāze-kar deh^alak. tin-cāre din-ke bād, choT^akā
dividing gave. Three-four days-of later, the-younger
chokar^awā apan sab paisā ramās-ke ego dur pei
the-child his-own all money collect-having one far country
cal-gail. ohāᅇ khub āmize hoe-lagal. jab okar sab paisā
went-away. There well enjoy he-began. When his all money
fini-hogal, tab hau peiwā-meᅇ lasesres mār-deh^alak.
finished-became, then that the-country-in drought struck.
chokar^awā garib-ke māre mobe bez ramāse-lagal.
The-child poverty-to striking bad trouble collect-began.
tab hau des^awā-ke ego ad^ami ihāᅇ jā-ke rahe-lagal.
Then that the-country-of one man near going to-dwell-began.
ad^amiā o-ke apan kāro-meᅇ koson carāi-ke kām deh^alak,
The-man him his-own field-in swine grazing-for work gave,
ar jaun kuch suar-log khāt-rahāl, hau-se apan
and what little pigs used-to-eat, that-with his-own
peT bhar^alawat-rahāl. koi o-ke kuch nai dewat-rahāl.
belly used-to-fill. Anybody to-him anything not used-to-give.

1.1.7.5 Analysis of Texts

One of the most evident differences between MB, Hindi and the various forms of Indian Bhojpuri is the absence, in MB, of a distinction between long and short vowels, with the exception of *a/ā*. According to Baker and Ramnah (1988:46),

[t]here is a phonemic contrast between *a* and *ā* in MB though the distinction is primarily one of vowel quality, [ʌ] versus [a], rather than of length.

If Baker and Ramnah are correct in their analysis, the implications are that MB has lost the distinction of length in all vowels and that what appears in my MB transcription as *a* may correspond to the vowel represented by Grierson as *â*. Information from Grierson is not inconsistent with such an analysis. Grierson (1903:48) describes the vowel *â* in the following way:

The long, drawled *a* which I transliterate *â*, is especially common in Bhojpuri, and its contrast with the short clear-cut *a*, which is of frequent occurrence, gives a striking piquancy to the general tone-colour of the dialect. Usually, this drawled *â* is left unrepresented in writing but its existence is fully recognized, and various attempts are made by different people to portray it. (Grierson, 1903:48).

The vowel *â* is evidently longer than *a*, in Grierson's description, which initially invites the correspondence: StB/WB *â* = MB *ā* (on the basis that StB/WB *a* = MB *a*). However, if it is indeed the case that there is no length distinction in MB vowels, it follows that one may equally construe the correspondences: StB/WB *â/a* = MB *a* (the vowel indicated by Baker and Ramnah as [ʌ]); StB/WB *ā* = MB *ā*. Baker and Ramnah's assertion that vowel length is subphonemic in MB is entirely in keeping with an analysis that posits that MB *a* is a short open-mid back vowel [ʌ] and MB *ā* is a short open back vowel [ɑ].

The version of the text in MB is also strikingly different to any of the other versions presented in terms of borrowed vocabulary. In the WB text, there are a considerable number of words of Perso-Arabic origin: *as^abāb* 'goods' (اسباب *asbāb*, id.); *kharāb* 'bad' (خراب *xarāb*, 'destroyed, broken'); *kul* 'all' (كل)

koll, id.); *moh^atāj* 'poor' (عتاج *mohtāj*, 'needy'); *sahar* 'city' (شهر *šahr*, id.; *lēkin* 'but' (لكن *lāken*, id.). In StB, by comparison, only one word of Perso-Arabic origin is evident: *hissā* 'share' (حصه *hesse*, id.). Whilst in the MB text one encounters the Perso-Arabic *daulat* 'riches' (دولت *daulat*, 'wealth, dominion') and *garib* 'poverty' (غريب *garīb*, 'poor'), the borrowing is overwhelmingly from Creole, and includes main verbs and an adjective as well as nouns:

<i>pār</i>	'part, share'
<i>pei</i>	'country'
<i>lasesres</i>	'drought'
<i>koson</i>	'pig'
<i>partāze</i>	'to divide, allocate'
<i>ramāse</i>	'to collect'
<i>fini</i>	'to finish'
<i>āmize</i>	'to enjoy oneself'
<i>mobe</i>	'bad'

Intriguingly, *pei* 'country' and *koson* 'swine' alternate with the original Bhojpuri *des* and *suar*. This may be symptomatic of nothing other than stylistic variation, rather as one might in English use 'foreign country' and 'foreign land', to avoid repetition within the course of telling a story, or 'pigs' and 'swine', to achieve a particular effect. Neerputh's comments, stated in Chapter 1.1.6.1, that MB lacks standardization should be borne in mind, as should considerations of individual speaker style.

The impact of Creole on the lexicon of MB would appear to be a sore point for many of its speakers. On numerous occasions, whilst conducting fieldwork, I had opinions expressed to me by informants regarding 'good' Bhojpuri, which eschews Creole words when there are perfectly adequate Bhojpuri ones available, and 'bad' Bhojpuri, which makes far more use of Creole than is necessary. Barz (1988:202) addresses this issue when he states that

[a] large number of Mauritian Creole words are used in MB. Many speakers of MB feel that there is too much such borrowed vocabulary in their language and that extensive borrowing somehow is a sign of sapped vitality in MB.

I concur with Barz in his analysis; yet Barz goes on to raise a point with which I do not agree. Referring to an article in MB appearing in a Mauritian newspaper, *L'Observer* (26 May, 1974), Barz notes that the article in question was informal and without literary pretension. He then adds:

[I]t is unlikely that the author has consciously purged his writing of non-Bhojpuri vocabulary. It is more probable that there is a lack of non-Bhojpuri words in this article because the article deals with domestic life, a sphere in which the language is conservative and resists borrowing. On the evidence of this article, in this sphere MB has so much retained its vigour that its native wordstock is almost entirely adequate.

It is not my experience that MB has resisted borrowing with respect to the domestic environment. Quite to the contrary, speakers of MB are frequently to be heard using Creole words for everyday household items - including those associated with the heart of the Indian home: The kitchen. One may still hear *baigan* 'aubergine' and *bindi* 'okra' being used, but one is more likely to hear these vegetables referred to under their Creole names *brinzel* and *lalo*. Yet other foodstuffs, equally familiar to the Mauritian table, are invariably heard in their Creole forms. To speak of *sem* 'broad beans', or *maTar* 'peas' - unless referring to peas in general or to the dish *maTar panIr* (unlikely to be prepared in a Mauritian home) - would cause confusion; but *gropwa* (literally: 'big pea') and *cipwa* ('small pea') would be immediately understood by any speaker of MB. Likewise, *TamāTar* 'tomato', is simply not appropriate to designate the small tomato that is part of the daily repertoire of Mauritian food - the *pomdamur*, which in MB becomes a *paldamun*.

Let it not be doubted that Creole has permeated the most informal domains of MB, that is now replete with Creole words for basic food items, body parts, colour terms and even articles ubiquitous in Hindu worship (eg. *cilalapp* - from the Creole *ti*

lalanp 'small (clay) lamp'). Barz's suggestion that the domestic sphere has continued to be a stronghold of the Bhojpuri language in Mauritius is surprising. I also consider it to be untenable.

The text presented in MB demonstrates that both Creole nouns and verbs have been accommodated within the grammatical structure of Bhojpuri. The noun *pei* 'country', for example appears with what is clearly the *-wā* suffix, indicating definiteness, although it should be noted that this form is not accounted for by any of the rules previously stated for definite noun formation: *pei* does not yield the definite form **peiā* (in analogy with *beTi* 'daughter' → *betiā* 'the daughter', since the indefinite noun has the ending *-Vi*, rather than *-Ci*. This strongly suggests the existence of a three-vowel restriction in MB. MB also demonstrates an ability to place Creole main verbs before Bhojpuri auxiliaries (*partāze-kar*, *fini-hogal*, *ramāse-lagal*). This argues for a nativization of borrowed Creole verbs, not dissimilar to the process by which early modern English incorporated Anglo-Norman verbs into its grammatical structure. Lass (1994:183-4) provides an interesting insight into an aspect of this process, with the following comments regarding Old English:

Loanwords can be identified in a number of ways. The easiest of course is when the loan is recent, and there is external evidence... In a textual tradition as old and incomplete as Old English, the problem can be more difficult, especially if the word itself is thoroughly 'nativized', ie. shows no sign of its foreignness. But we often have... good phonological evidence: if for instance an OE form is very like a Latin one, but does not show the expected developments that it would if the two were independently inherited from PIE, we can identify it (a) as a loan, and (b) as one that came in after the process involved ceased to be productive.

I posit that the incorporation and nativization of loanwords in MB is still productive. Although I currently have insufficient data to verify this point, I do not rule out the possibility that speakers of MB are able to generate constructions such as ?*partāzaw-* or ?*partājaw-* 'to (cause to) share out/allocate', by affixing a causative suffix *-(a)w* to a verb stem derived from a

Creole verb, just as with Bhojpuri verbs (See *bhar^alaw-* 'to (cause to) fill', and *dew-* 'to (cause to) give' in the MB text). MB possesses one causative suffix, whilst Hindi and NB have first and second causative suffixes: *-ā/-wā* and *-āw/-awāw*, respectively (Shukla, 1981:127; Kellogg, 1938:252).

MB has retained the participle constructions found in Indian varieties of Bhojpuri - and in fact appears to have created additional constructions. NB possesses three participles formed by adding participial suffixes to the verb stem: The Present (marked by the suffix *-at* for masculine forms and *-ati* for feminine forms); the Perfect (*-al* for masculine and *-ali* for feminine); the Past (*-ike* for both genders) (Shukla, 1981:117-20). These correspond, in MB, to the Present/Habitual (*-at*) (as with *bhar^alawat* and *dewat*), the Past (*-al*) and the Past Continuous (*-ke*).

In one respect, MB exhibits a similarity with the Bhojpuri of Trinidad, in that there is no gender distinction in the Present participle (*-at*) or the Past participle (*-al*) (Mohan 1978:172). But TB does not have a Past/Past Continuous suffix *-(i)ke*. Furthermore, MB differs from NB in possessing an Infinitival participle, marked by the suffix *-eke*. It seems apparent that this has developed from the Indian Bhojpuri infinitive marker suffix *-e* (Shukla, 1981:120), which has become a preposed element before the Past Continuous participle suffix *-ke* in MB, thereby yielding a new participle construction. More remarkable still is the presence of a Present Continuous construction in MB, marked by the suffix *-te*. It is unclear whether this is a derivation along the lines of

verb stem + *-e* + *-at* → *-e-at* → *-(a)t-e*
 (Inf.marker) (Pres.part.suffix) ' → '

or whether the infinitive marker suffix was merely postposed, in the following way:

verb stem + *-at* + *-e* → *-(a)t-e*
 (Pres.part.suffix) (Inf. marker)

Whatever the case, this participle construction is not encountered in TB or any form of Indian Bhojpuri, and represents an innovation of MB. One may summarize the information on MB participles by contrasting them with the constructions attested in TB and NB:

	Participle construction				
	-at(i)	-al(i)	-(i)ke	-e-ke	-te
MB	Present/ Habitual	Past	Past.Cont.	Infinitive	Pres.Cont.
TB	Present	Past	---	---	---
NB	Present	Perfect	Past	---	---

I acknowledge any possible objection to the foregoing description or analysis of participals in MB, but would reiterate the fact that a thorough investigation into the structure of this language has yet to be undertaken. With this caveat in mind, I bring the analysis of MB to a close with a final look at a finite verbal form that I discussed in Chapter 1.1.6.3.

Previous data presented on the conjugation patterns of MB, with respect to finite verbs, noted that there were five points over which StB and MB differ, which can be reduced to four, if one puts aside the fact that MB does not possess a distinct first person singular form in any of the tenses. Summarizing, these differences are as follows:

	StB	MB
1 person plural Present Indicative	-Il-I	-il-ā
3 person singular Past	-☺l-as	-☺l-ak
2 person plural Past	-☺l-Iᅇ	-☺l-i
1 person plural Future	-☺b-I	-ab

Yet I noted that Grierson also listed *-ab* as a first person plural ending in StB, which effectively reduces the differences between StB and MB to the first three endings given above. Although it is not my intention to scour all known varieties of Indian Bhojpuri in order to hypothesize on the potential sources of MB finite verb endings, one point is remarkable enough to be worthy of note. It is that the Nagpuria dialect of Bhojpuri, as Grierson (1903:281) illustrates in his skeleton grammar, exhibits precisely the same forms as MB in all four forms. Only the length of the vowel in the second person plural of the past tense differs - in Nagpuria it is long - although, given the absence of long vowel phonemes in MB, such a difference is not pertinent.

1.2 Research Outline

1.2.1 Motivation for Present Research

The statistics given in Table 4 indicate that Bhojpuri - whether as a habitual language or as a language occasionally spoken - has decreased from being in use by over half the Mauritian population to being in use by substantially below a third of the population. This decrease has taken place in less than fifty years. My instincts are that one is witnessing a decrease of between 10% and 15% every ten years in the use of Bhojpuri. If I am correct in this estimate, Bhojpuri will become a language in use by less than a quarter of the population of Mauritius by the end of the first decade of this millennium.¹⁹

The present research stems from a concern that I have for the continued existence of Bhojpuri in Mauritius. Table 3 shows that Bhojpuri is still declared by a significant percentage of Mauritians as a language currently spoken; but, as I have noted, the trend amongst the ancestral languages has been one of decline. Despite the fact that Bhojpuri is the only ancestral language of Asiatic origin being returned in 1990 as a currently spoken language by over 1% of the population (with the exception of 'Hindi'), it is clear that Bhojpuri, Hindi and Urdu - taken together - forms a language group that has dwindled to about half of its size since 1944. The number of respondents returning Creole, on the other hand, has very nearly doubled in the same period, if the figures for bilingualism given in the 1990 census (see Appendix 1(a): Table 8) are added to the figure of 60.4% indicated in Table 3.²⁰ I believe that the twenty-first century will see a sharp reduction in the number of Bhojpuri speakers and that the threat of the ultimate extinction of Bhojpuri in Mauritius is a real one.

The research is undertaken because I feel that language death gives great cause for alarm. As Robins and Uhlenbeck (1991:17) explain, every language reflects

a unique world-view and culture complex mirroring the manner in which a speech community has resolved its problems in dealing with the world, and has formulated its thinking, its system of philosophy and

understanding of the world around it. With the death of the language... an irreplaceable unit in our knowledge and understanding of human thought and world-view has been lost forever.²¹

Despite being the second statistically most important language of Mauritius, the survival of Bhojpuri is by no means assured. In an article that appeared in the *Guardian* (October 25, 1999), David Crystal makes the following pertinent comments:

Even a language with 100,000 speakers is not necessarily safe. It will not die next week or next year; but there is no guarantee that it will still exist in a couple of generations time. That depends on the pressures being imposed upon it - in particular, whether it is at risk from the dominance of another language. It also depends on the attitudes of the people who speak it.

As Crystal points out, in the same article, many things can kill languages, such as natural disasters and genocide. Certainly, cyclones of the maximum severity - to which Mauritius is prone - and race riots, such as those that rocked Mauritius in February 1999, represent a threat to human life. But it is not events such as these that pose a threat to the existence of languages in Mauritius. In research dealing with language maintenance and language shift in Mauritius, it is rather the phenomenon of language suicide that should form the basis of investigation.

Dorian (1998:3) comments, in her discussion of Western language ideologies that

languages are seldom admired to death but are frequently despised to death. That is, it's relatively rare for a language to become exclusively tied to prestigious persons and high prestige behaviors that ordinary people become too much in awe of it to use it or are prevented by language custodians from doing so. By contrast, it's fairly common for a language to become so exclusively associated with low-prestige people and their socially disfavored identities that its own potential speakers prefer to distance themselves from it and adopt some other language.

It is interesting to note that authors researching Bhojpuri in diaspora communities have consistently referred to the low esteem

in which the language is held by its own speakers. Baker (1972:30-1) is quite emphatic on this point:

The educated Indo-Mauritian tends to regard Bhojpuri with much the same kind of contempt as many Mauritians whose first language is French have for Kreol... Given favourable circumstances Hindustani and Bhojpuri might together lead to some form of 'local Hindustani', providing a useful medium for popular speech... Present circumstances, however, could scarcely be less favourable. Internally, Kreol amply fills the role of popular speech in most circumstances while the route to educational advancement is through European, not Indian, languages.

An important issue to bear in mind, when discussing Bhojpuri in diaspora, is that the language is distinguished by the absence of pedigree accorded to it by its speakers.

A cursory glance at the literature regarding varieties of Bhojpuri in diaspora presents the reader with a situation that is at once confusing and misleading. Researchers such as Mesthrie and Baker are content to employ the term 'Bhojpuri' to describe the language of the majority of North Indian indentured labourers who settled in South Africa and Mauritius, respectively, a term similarly acknowledged in Trinidad (Mohan, 1978; Mohan and Zador, 1986), albeit occasionally alongside 'Trinidad Hindi' (Bhatia, 1988). In other parts of the world, one may look in vain for any mention of this language. In Fiji, it is referred to as 'Fiji Hindustani', whereas in Surinam, it is termed 'Sarnami'; but in Guyana - Surinam's immediate neighbour to the west - it is 'Guyanese Bhojpuri'. Researchers have differed in their opinions regarding the role of Bhojpuri in the composition of the form of North Indian speech encountered in the areas that they have studied. There may be linguistic justifications for doing so, but the plethora of language labels thereby produced obscures a crucial point: All forms of Bhojpuri (where this term forms part or whole of the language label) are acknowledged by the researchers who have studied them to contain elements from various North Indian dialects (See Baker and Ramnah, 1988:67, Mesthrie, 1991:104; Gambhir, 1988:77). This confusion over language name has not been without consequence to the speakers of varieties of 'overseas Hindi' - to use a more neutral term.

The composite nature of the various forms of 'overseas Hindi' is keenly felt by the speakers themselves, who, despite divisions in the language name, are united in the way they both disparage their language and turn to other, more prestigious languages.²² I suggest, therefore, that shift occasioned in Bhojpuri is engendered by acts of linguistic suicide. But whilst it is the case that only speakers of the language are directly responsible for language maintenance and language shift, it does not follow that the forces underlying their language choices are created by them. It is possible to analyse such forces by identifying the phenomena that they represent, such as *economic influence, cultural influence and political influence and conquest* (Robins and Uhlenbeck, 1991); but it should be noted that alternative perspectives are possible. Dorian (1998:9) makes what I feel to be an extremely valid point in referring to the coercive situation created as a result of the implementation of western language ideologies:

Europeans who came from polities with a history of standardizing and promoting just one high-prestige speech form carried their "ideology of contempt" for subordinate languages with them when they conquered far-flung territories, to the serious detriment of indigenous languages. And in addition to a language ideology favoring a single normalized language, derived from the history of national-language standardization in their homelands.²³

It is easy to appreciate that the promotion of a high-prestige language, once institutionalized, places enormous pressure on all other languages within that society. For Hale (1998:215), the process of promotion need not be made explicitly, as, for example, it is through the suppression of language choice:

The pressure comes, not, of course, from the dominant language itself, but from the subtle and not-so-subtle propaganda of the associated economically dominant culture and society which encourages speakers of local languages to believe that their futures depend on switching from their native languages to the dominant one. Typically, the propaganda encourages the belief that a choice is not viable - the choice of retaining the local language is thought to be incompatible with the "proper vision" of the future.

The present research on Bhojpuri in Mauritius is motivated by several factors: I lament the phenomenon of language loss, in that it represents the loss of something unique and irreplaceable. I am concerned about the future of Bhojpuri in diaspora communities - Mauritius in particular, given my ancestral connection with the Indo-Mauritian community. Perhaps above all, I deplore the fact that the fate of any language should be dictated by notions of material prosperity. Hale (1998:204) expresses the view that language 'embodies the intellectual wealth of the people who use it' and this is a view with which I am in complete agreement.

In the closing month of the second millennium, riots and demonstrations took place worldwide as a result of the meeting of the WTO (World Trade Organization) in Seattle. In effect, this marked a protest against the globalization of power and a rejection of the view that an elite should have the power to create the conditions in which the majority of the world's inhabitants live. In the context of the present research, and what I have discussed in the current chapter, the statement credited to Vandana Shiva, a spokesperson at the WTO meeting, are particularly relevant (Taken from a political leaflet entitled *weekly SchNEWS*, 10 December 1999, printed by *Justice?*, Brighton. <http://schnews.org.uk/>):

We want a new millennium based on economic democracy, not economic totalitarianism. The future is possible for humans and other species only if the principles of competition, organised greed, commodification of all life, monocultures, monopolies and centralised global corporate control of our daily lives enshrined in the WTO are replaced by the principles of protection of people and nature, the obligation of giving and sharing diversity, and the decentralisation and self-organisation enshrined in our diverse cultures and national constitutions.

1.2.2 Research Aims

The present research sets out to discover the reasons behind the decline in use of Bhojpuri in Mauritius and how this decline is reflected in the language practices of Bhojpuri-speaking Indo-Mauritians. I believe that Bhojpuri in diaspora instantiates a situation of language endangerment and that a study of Bhojpuri

in Mauritius could contribute to an awareness of the factors that are responsible, ultimately, for language death. It should be stressed that the focus of investigation is Mauritian Bhojpuri, not the Bhojpuri of India. Research on Bhojpuri in Mauritius is therefore important in two respects: Not only does the endangerment of the language represent the potential disappearance of Bhojpuri in a particular part of the world, but also the disappearance of a linguistic variety that is unique.

With reference to Mauritius, Verma (1996:170) states the following:

As far as the Bhojpuri-speaking parents or grandparents are concerned their first language is threatened in their new homeland although Bhojpuri in its original homeland in Bihar and U.P. (the State of Uttar Pradesh, west of Bihar) in India is not threatened despite the rapid encroachment of Hindi in urban areas.

If Bhojpuri in Mauritius is considered to be nothing other than Indian Bhojpuri spoken on Mauritian soil, its disappearance would not, it is true, signal the death of the language worldwide.²⁴ As Denison (1977:15) colourfully explains,

though the disappearance without trace of all Basque speakers would signal death of a language, if all Viennese dialect speakers were to be carried off by Hong Kong flu, it would mean scarcely more than a headache to "the German language".

If, however, one recognizes the distinctiveness of Bhojpuri in Mauritius, it becomes immediately clear that the endangerment of the language in Mauritius raises the possibility of language death. Seemingly, language nomenclature is a powerful factor in the imputation of linguistic distinctiveness:

It doesn't seem to be common usage to say that French "died in England" when the same French... survived in France; but once we call it Anglo-Norman we do not hesitate. (Hoenigswald 1989, in Verma 1996:177)

In the event of the disappearance of Bhojpuri in Mauritius, one may say that the language would be dead in its Mauritian habitat

and that this constitutes an example of language death even though the language continues to be spoken elsewhere (Hamers and Blanc 1989; Verma 1996). I subscribe to this view, in that it establishes the scenario of language endangerment without recourse to notions such as contiguous versus non-contiguous populations and does not rely on any consensus regarding language names. The emphasis here is, in effect, on seeing language as an expression of the cultural uniqueness of individual communities.

Mesthrie (1991) refers to the fact that Bhojpuri has had mixed fortunes in diaspora, being now obsolescent in South Africa, Trinidad and Guyana but not in Surinam, Fiji or Mauritius. For Mesthrie (1991:130-131),

[f]inding the reasons for its decline in three of the territories and its survival in the other three, must surely lie in a careful appraisal of the socio-economic, educational and demographic factors.²⁵

I am acutely aware that any investigation into Bhojpuri in Mauritius must involve a wide-scope approach to the Bhojpuri-speaking community. Any attempt to analyse the extent to which the language is used without regard to the significance of the language to the people who speak it would only invite failure. Yet this is a difficult undertaking. The emotional attachment that a person may have towards his or her language is not easy - if indeed possible - to quantify. Also, the beliefs that speakers may have about the value of their language may vary sharply, not only from context to context, but from individual to individual - and from moment to moment within the same individual, according to interactional dynamics.

Whilst Mesthrie suggests the importance of *socio-economic, educational and demographic* factors as guidelines to future research, these present certain problems: Robins and Uhlenbeck (1991) suggest a list that includes *economic, cultural and political influence (and conquest)* as factors underlying language choice. Certainly, there is some significant overlap between these and Mesthrie's factors, but no exact correspondence. Also, the above factors may hold the explanation for language

maintenance and language shift, but only as part of a multifactor combination, as is the case for demographic factors. Referring back to the locations, given by Mesthrie, where Bhojpuri has not been successfully maintained (South Africa, Trinidad, Guyana) as opposed to those where it purportedly has been (Surinam, Fiji, Mauritius), one appreciates that there is a far greater percentage of Indo-Mauritians in Mauritius than Indian South Africans in South Africa. But a casual glance at the percentages of the Indian populations of Trinidad and Fiji shows that demographic strength is not an accurate indicator of the maintenance of a language (See Table 5).

My research will show that the history of the interaction between the communities of Mauritius is marked by an inequality that has had an enormous impact on language maintenance and language shift. This inequality is immediately obvious as both a socio-economic phenomenon and, more subtly, as a cultural and linguistic one.

The majority of Mauritians are descendents of Indian indentured labourers who were brought to Mauritius to plant and harvest sugarcane on behalf of European planting interests, represented by the Franco-Mauritian plantocracy.²⁶

<i>Country</i>	<i>Indian Population</i>	<i>Indian Population (as % of Total)</i>
Mauritius	670,000	69
Guyana (British Guyana)	500,000	55
Trinidad	600,000	50
South Africa (including Natal)	1,000,000	3
Suriname (Dutch Guiana)	120,000	37
Fiji	350,000	49

Table 5: Population of Indian Communities in Six Former Colonies
(Barz and Seigel, 1988:2)

Irrespective of this, Franco-Mauritians continue to be economically predominant: Not only is the sugar industry still very much in Franco-Mauritian hands, but also commercial concerns such as air freight, sea freight, import-export, the fuel industry, provision of building materials, construction, steel manufacturing, banking, accountancy, real estate and tourism. Just as the demographic strength of Indo-Mauritians has failed to provide sufficient guarantee against the economic domination of Franco-Mauritians, a similar situation has obtained in the sphere of culture and language. Stein (1982:106) comments on these twinned phenomena as follows:

(1) la composition de la population mauricienne dans son ensemble présente une société unique dans le monde entier. Ses traits les plus marquants sont, d'un côté, la dominance numérique et la diversité ethnique et linguistique de la population indienne, et de l'autre, la continuité de la dominance économique et culturelle de la petite minorité des anciens colons franco-mauriciens, qui s'est maintenue malgré la perte du pouvoir politique il y a 170 ans et malgré l'afflux de nouvelles populations qui ont complètement transformé la structure ethnique de Maurice.

[The composition of the Mauritian population as a whole defines a society unique in the world. Its most striking features are, on one hand, the numerical dominance and the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the Indian population, and, on the other, the continued economic and cultural dominance of the small minority of former Franco-Mauritian colonists which has maintained itself despite the loss of political power 170 years back, and despite the influx of new populations that have completely transformed the ethnic structure of Mauritius].

In their *Sociolinguistic Survey of Mauritius*, Sambasiva Rao and Sharma (1989) make the point that Mauritian society is multilingual, multiracial and multifaith. However, the same authors also acknowledge the existence of a certain disharmony with respect to the values that Mauritians attach to the languages spoken in Mauritius.²⁷ Literature available on Mauritius repeatedly affirms the view that language in Mauritius is strongly linked to social identity. In his report on Mauritius, Benedict (1961) devotes only a few pages to the role of language, but is quite unequivocal in the importance that

Mauritians attach to language. Benedict's appraisal of the linguistic situation differs markedly from Sambasiva Rao and Sharma in suggesting that language choice is neither motivated by a desire to embrace the multilingual ethos nor necessarily a desire to affirm one's cultural identity, but by considerations that are primarily economic and political:

French has a prestige value especially among the Franco-Mauritians and Creoles. Members of the Creole population who are rising in the social or economic scale give up speaking Creole in favour of French, and their wives may even pretend to be unable to understand Creole... Politically, especially for the Indo-Mauritian, the French language has come to symbolize the economic and political dominance of the Franco-Mauritian. The Franco-Mauritian and upper-class Creole also tend to see any attack on the French language as an attempt to undermine their positions in Mauritian society. (Benedict, 1961:115).

It is important to stress that the present research looks at the language practices of Bhojpuri-speaking Indo-Mauritians, not of non-Indo-Mauritians. Whilst it is possible, as Bhuckory (1988) indicates,²⁸ that there are people from the non-Indo-Mauritian community that are able to speak Bhojpuri, such speakers do not have an Indian identity. Consequently, the attitudes that these speakers have towards Bhojpuri are unlikely to shed any light on the relationship between Indo-Mauritian identity and the use of Bhojpuri. For a similar reason, the language practices of Indo-Mauritians whose ancestors were non-Bhojpuri speakers will not be studied in the present research. For example, speakers of Tamil and Telugu are certain to have an Indo-Mauritian identity, since these languages have not served as a lingua franca and their use has been restricted amongst people with South Indian ancestry.

Mauritian society is unique in the world, as Stein has suggested, and accordingly presents the researcher with a unique opportunity to put to the test theories regarding language maintenance and language shift. In order to achieve this, it has been essential to isolate a particular social identity - in this case, Indo-Mauritian - and to limit the discussion to a single ethnolinguistic group.²⁹ I suggest that any discussion of language maintenance and language shift failing to take note of

the social context is baseless. The present research therefore includes much information that is important to an evaluation of the factors that have both historically affected the Indo-Mauritian community in Mauritius and continue to do so. It undertakes to analyse these factors with respect to the power they exert on the language practices of Bhojpuri-speaking Indo-Mauritians. I will seek to establish the relative importance of any given, identifiable factor as well as the intricate pattern of inter-relationships that exist between such factors.

Whilst the present research deals solely with Mauritius, I tentatively venture to suggest that it represents not only a contribution to the existing literature on Bhojpuri in other transplanted Indian communities but to the study of the sociolinguistics of the Indian diaspora. Ultimately, it is hoped that the present research may add something of worth towards the explanation of the phenomena of language maintenance and shift in transplanted communities in general.

1.2.3 Research Questions

In a paper entitled *Language Death or Language Suicide*, Denison (1977:21) states that languages die 'not from loss or rules, but from loss of speakers' - an important statement of fact but not, of course, an explanation. If Denison's comment is accurate with respect to language death, then it is also appropriate to a discussion of any language in the process of undergoing shift. With Bhojpuri in Mauritius one is dealing with a language that, if not immediately near death, is in steady decline. Before looking at how one may establish the nature of this decline through an analysis of the language practices of Bhojpurians, it is necessary to identify the questions that will form the basis of my investigation. These questions are central to the present research, in that they motivate not only the search for answers but the methodological approaches to be taken.

The present research undertakes to provide answers to certain key questions that may be grouped under the following headings: demography (1.2.3.1), education (1.2.3.2), socio-cultural activity (1.2.3.3), and socioeconomic activity (1.2.3.4).

1.2.3.1 Demography

Table 5 gives statistics from six countries that have experienced substantial Indian immigration. Were it the case that the higher the percentage of Indians in the total population, the stronger the maintenance of Indian languages, one would be able to make a prediction regarding the fate of Bhojpuri:³⁰ On this basis, Bhojpuri would be more strongly maintained in Mauritius, Guyana and Trinidad, since all three contain Indian populations comprising 50% or more of the total population. The language, moreover, would run a greater risk of becoming obsolete in South Africa, Surinam and Fiji, where the ratio of Indians to non-Indians in the population is below 1:2. This prediction, however, is not accurate. Mesthrie and Leap (Mesthrie et al., 2000:256) make the valid point that

[n]umbers of speakers do have a bearing on successful language maintenance; it might seem obvious that the smaller the size of a community, the stronger the threat of language shift and death. However, it is not possible to specify a critical mass of speakers.

Lack of numbers may account for shift in the Bhojpuri of South Africa, but the circumstances under which Bhojpuri is maintained do not appear to be influenced by the numbers of speakers, as the data for Guyana and Trinidad show.³¹ Downes (1998:64) presents a more complex, and more realistic, situation in which

demography interacts with ethno-cultural factors. There can be a sense that the language is a vehicle for a historical, cultural, ethnic or 'national' identity... Maintenance is favoured if the ethno-cultural group values its language as the vehicle of a highly prized culture or 'way of life', a 'rooted' identity', as Fishman puts it.

The present research considers an analysis of demographic factors crucial, but not with respect to crude numbers (for which, in any case, one would be largely reliant on census statistics.) The relevant question to ask here is, in my opinion, not *how many* people claim to speak Bhojpuri, but rather, *who* these people are. The importance of age and gender in the investigation of language maintenance is subject to disagreement.

Moorghen and Domingue (1982) suggest that linguistic choices in Mauritius are determined by ethnic community, residence and education. The absence of any discussion on age and gender surprises me, the more so since Mesthrie (1991) presents a situation of language use where both age and gender are significant variables. Mesthrie (1991:121) additionally indicates a sharp distinction in the use of Bhojpuri between the sexes:

The use of Bhojpuri in public has gradually diminished and the language is literally becoming a restricted 'kitchen' language, used mainly by women to each other, to their elders, and - to a lesser extent - unilaterally to their children. Men below the age of fifty, in general, find little use for the language, except to elders in domestic settings. It is rare for men to converse in Bhojpuri to each other, except if they are both elderly and the setting is a predominantly Bhojpurian one.

Given the overwhelming amount of sociolinguistic literature devoted to the important role of age and gender in determining linguistic behaviour, I can only suggest that Moorghen and Domingue have overlooked the obvious.³²

It had originally been intended that the present research would investigate differences between claimed use of Bhojpuri in rural and urban areas. Whilst well motivated, such an intention proved unfeasible in practice: Mauritius is a mere fifty kilometers from west to east, measured between Flic en Flac in Black River District to Ile aux Cerfs in Flacq district, and sixty kilometers from north to south, measured between Grand Baie (Rivière du Rempart district) and Souillac (Savanne district). In effect, the distinction between rural and urban - however valid still in Mauritius - does not translate to a distinction between geographically isolated communities. In Mauritius, one is quite simply never more than ten kilometers away from a town of more than five thousand inhabitants, unless living in the mountainous south-western tip of the island. Since a significant number of my respondents were not born in the areas in which they were currently living (and, in many cases, were extremely mobile), I ruled out any attempt to distinguish them on the basis of rural or urban identity.

I recognize that, in the course of my fieldwork, many Mauritian informants - although usually not those claiming to speak Bhojpuri - had provided me with the important information that Bhojpuri tended to be spoken by older people, predominantly female, in countryside areas. In reality, attempting to distinguish what constituted such 'countryside areas' proved to be a fruitless search: questionnaire respondents, when addressing the issue of Bhojpuri-speaking strongholds, would invariably claim that their particular location was not as 'rural' as others, and that Bhojpuri was stronger elsewhere. After a number of weeks, it became apparent to me that there was a considerable amount of mythologizing surrounding Bhojpuri and Bhojpurias, and that the concept of villages in 'the back of beyond', overwhelmingly populated by Bhojpuri speakers was illusory.

Not wishing to omit, as have Moorghen and Domingue, an investigation of gender in my analysis of Bhojpuri speakers, I will seek find evidence to indicate whether females are more likely to use Bhojpuri than males in a given number of contexts, both informal and formal, and whether age is important in determining language use. The first of my research questions will therefore be as follows:

Question 1: Are age and gender significant factors in a respondent's claimed ability to understand, speak, read and write Bhojpuri, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Question 2: Are age and gender significant factors in a respondent's claimed use of Bhojpuri with grandparents, parents, siblings and friends, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Question 3: Are age and gender significant factors in a respondent's belief that Bhojpuri can be used in post offices, banks, when shopping locally and when dealing with the Mauritian water authority (CWA), and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

In order to establish whether the notion of belonging to an ethno-cultural group has an impact on language use (following the suggestion of Downes, 1998), I will additionally ask the following questions:

Question 4: Is the self-identification of the respondent a significant factor in a respondent's claimed ability to understand, speak, read and write Bhojpuri, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Question 5: Is the self-identification of the respondent a significant factor in a respondent's opinions regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri when speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings and friends, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

1.2.3.2 Education

I have already suggested that Bhojpuri is held in low esteem by its speakers, who often regard it as a boorish variety of Hindi. To what extent this is due to the lack of a literacy tradition in Bhojpuri is an important aspect to investigate. The present research attempts to establish if the low prestige of Bhojpuri may have less to do with literacy vs. non-literacy criteria than the fact that Bhojpuri is associated with Indian cultural identity - an identity that is being perceived as incompatible with educational advancement. This may be established by the following: If I posit that the acquisition of Hindi is effectively perceived by Mauritians as a linguistic device safeguarding the Bhojpuri cultural tradition, as indeed the Arya Samaj movement in Mauritius has claimed (Ramyeed, 1984; 1985),³³ positive opinions on the use of Hindi within educational contexts will suggest that Indian cultural identity is not being viewed as incompatible with education. Additionally, if corresponding opinions on the use of Bhojpuri in the same educational contexts is negative, one may infer that Bhojpuri is perceived to have less value in the maintenance of an Indian cultural identity.

Collecting data on the language practices and opinions associated with Creole in educational contexts is also important since, like Bhojpuri, it is not associated with a literacy tradition. It is thus an indispensable means of verifying to what extent the lack of a literacy tradition in Bhojpuri accounts for opinions relating to the use of Bhojpuri in educational contexts.

In Chapter 1.1.4 it was shown that the Mauritian population declaring either French or English as the language spoken on an everyday basis (the 'current language') in 1990 was below 4%. This figure rises to 5.66% if bilingualism with French and Creole is taken into account (See Appendix 1(a): Table 8). Yet French remains a compulsory subject in Mauritian schools, and English, the 'current language' of less than a quarter of a percent of the population, is the *de facto* national language and language of education. It is imperative, in the present research, to elicit information regarding the contexts in which French and English are used, and to evaluate the extent to which Mauritians of Bhojpuria ancestry both use these languages and deem them appropriate.

Question 6: What do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius, and places that give technical education? Does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

It is important to assess whether Bhojpuri as the respondent's first language and the formal study of Hindi have an effect on the use of Bhojpuri, so the following questions are relevant:

Question 7: What do respondents (distinguished according to first language) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Question 8: What do respondents (distinguished according to study of Hindi) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Also, the Bhojpuria pedigree of the respondent can form the basis of the investigation:

Question 9: What do respondents (distinguished by their mother's first language) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Question 10: What do respondents (distinguished by their father's first language) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Instinctively, I feel that the linguistic attitudes of Mauritians are to a very great extent conditioned by socio-historic events surrounding education and social advancement. It is, therefore, appropriate for the present study to examine the development of the educational system and to explain how social dynamics of community interaction, created by the colonial nature of the Mauritian administration, resulted in a linguistic environment in which French and English came to be accepted as prestige languages. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.2; for the time being, it remains to clarify the point that, despite being perceived as prestige languages, neither French nor English have permeated Mauritian society to the point that they are regularly used informally. I intend to show to what extent French and English are considered inappropriate when

viewed outside of the formal, educational context. A further question may be asked to elicit this information:

Question 11: What do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri when speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings, and friends, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

1.2.3.3 Sociocultural Activity

I have so far suggested that Indo-Mauritian attitudes towards Bhojpuri are less favourable than those towards Hindi, with Bhojpuri speakers indicating opinions that promote a view of a diglossic relationship between the two languages (Barz and Siegel, 1988). If it is the case that Hindi - by which I mean 'standard' Hindi, or Khari Boli - is the high variety within the relationship, and Bhojpuri the low variety, it is understandable that Bhojpuri-speaking Indo-Mauritians would attach more importance to Hindi than to Bhojpuri as a vehicle for the maintenance of Indian culture. One expects therefore that, for Mauritians of Bhojpuria ancestry, involvement in cultural and religious activities will specify for the use of Hindi over Bhojpuri or Creole. That said, not all cultural and religious activities are equal in their formality/informality: Being smartly attired and attending a concert of Indian classical music in Port Louis is a world apart from donning a pair of jeans and attending a séga-disco in one's neighbourhood.³⁴

Just as there are situations in which the use of a high speech variety might not be appropriate, there are equally situations where one high-status language is less appropriate than another - or indeed, where one low-status language is less appropriate than another. A couple of informants revealed to me that they would no more use Hindi as their language of prayer than Bhojpuri: Only Sanskrit would do. Even in social situations where everyone present is Bhojpuri-speaking, a Mauritian may prefer to use Creole; my experience confirms this to be the case when young Mauritians talk to their siblings. Quite aside from the perceived appropriateness of language use according to the

nature of the activity engaged in formality/informality aspects, it is necessary to consider that the topic of a conversation may dictate the use of a particular language. One particularly forthcoming informant from Flacq volunteered the information that when it came to uttering obscenities, Creole could not be bested. To swear in Bhojpuri would be unthinkable, since that was the language he used most often with his grandparents, and the one that was most intimately associated with them (This view is closely echoed by Lutchmee Parsad Ramyeed. See Chapter 4.1.3).

The questions that strike me as important in connection with understanding how Mauritians of Bhojpuria ancestry choose the language(s) in which to engage in cultural activities relate to religious devotion and the Indian wedding. Frequent conversations with Mauritians, both in Mauritius and the United Kingdom, reveal that literary activity is not an activity in which many Mauritians (unless they are academics) engage. Indeed, there is a pervading atmosphere of apathy that one easily discerns, having spent any time amongst Mauritians, that time spent reading, writing and studying, unless in pursual of examination success, is time wasted that could be used more enjoyably in the cinema, with one's family or friends, or on one of the island's many fine beaches. To a large extent, this widespread disinclination to engage in literary pursuits may have, as its cause, the fact that French and English, the languages in which the vast majority of books available in Mauritius are printed, are strongly associated with schooling; but these languages are not languages that are spoken by many as vernaculars. There is no immediate connection, therefore, with the language of literary texts and the language of everyday use for the majority of Mauritians.

In order to establish the pattern of language use amongst Mauritian respondents engaging in cultural activities, the present research will focus on Hindi and Bhojpuri, as languages associated with Indian cultural identification, and Creole, as the lingua franca. For these three languages, I will seek to isolate three areas of broadly 'cultural' activity: participation at weddings, prayer, and reading of newspapers, magazines or journals. I am aware that there are some drawbacks inherent in eliciting information regarding these three activities:

Respondents may attend non-Hindu as well as Hindu weddings, or they may not be literate. However, I feel that the majority of the respondents will give answers that are nevertheless indicative of the extent to which Bhojpuri is used vis-à-vis other languages.

Question 12: What languages do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) use at weddings?

Question 13: What languages do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) use when they are praying?

Question 14: What languages do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) use when they read newspapers, magazines or journals?

1.2.3.4 Socioeconomic Activity

The present research undertakes to investigate language practices in contexts where Bhojpurias engage in sociocultural activities, but it is equally important to investigate language practices in contexts that are depersonalized, where speakers are not engaging in activities that relate to a perceived personal culture. By asking questions regarding the language practices of Bhojpurias when engaged in socioeconomic activities, I aim to identify if language practices differ from those indicated with respect to sociocultural activities and account for such differentiation.

Since I do not expect all of my Mauritian respondents to be employed (many will schoolchildren, housewives, retired people or unemployed), I do not feel it desirable to ask questions eliciting information on perceived use (or appropriateness of use) of languages in environments with which the respondent is not familiar. Instead, I propose to ask questions that will have an immediate relevance to the greatest possible number of respondents, even if certain respondents are less familiar with the environments in question than others. I choose, as representative of socioeconomic activity, interaction with employees in post offices and banks - contexts that every

respondent ought to be able to envisage. It is important to ask questions in such a way as to include all respondents, so that a question relating to language use in a bank, if put to a school-child or a person who has never held a bank account, will still be relevant.

I am of the opinion that data from Mauritius will indicate a marked difference in language practices according to whether the context involves leisure activities or dealing with money; the distinction between the questions I will ask regarding sociocultural and socioeconomic activity inheres this difference. It is important to steer the research in this direction, since there are crucial distinctions between sociocultural and socioeconomic status in the extent to which power and prestige are involved. In looking at the social stratification of language in New Guinea, Sankoff (1980:13-14) considers the possible circumstances under which social groups become alienated from their language or begin to regard it as inferior to another language. She argues that these tend to be

circumstances in which it is quite clear that some other group, speaking some other language or language variety is economically and politically dominant. A corollary of this is that there are circumstances in which access to a particular language or language variety works to create and maintain real differences in power and wealth.³⁵

It is my contention that Bhojpuri and Hindi both constitute part of the cultural capital of Mauritian Bhojpurias, but these languages are not equal in terms of status. I suggest that Hindi is accorded higher status than Bhojpuri - and not merely in terms of literary value - whilst both of these are considered more 'appropriate' than either French or English in terms of *personal interaction* in cultural contexts. I further suggest that, just as Bhojpurias favour Hindi above Bhojpuri as a means of 'up-grading' the status of Indian culture, the switch from Bhojpuri and Creole to French and English in socioeconomic contexts represents a strategy that Bhojpurias use to 'upgrade' their socioeconomic status and reduce the inequality of access to economic and political power. In this respect an entirely different pecking

order exists, in which French and English are at the top and the languages of Indian cultural identity are at the bottom.³⁶ The hypothesis here is that sociocultural factors are factors restricted to prestige, whilst socioeconomic factors relate rather more to power. The questions appropriate to this aspect of my investigation into language practices may be formulated as follows:

Question 15: According to respondents (distinguished by both age and gender), what languages can be used in post offices?

Question 16: According to respondents (distinguished by both age and gender), what languages can be used in banks?

A final question will serve to evaluate the perceptions that Bhojpurias have regarding the desirability and importance of learning Bhojpuri *in general*. This is a crucial final question, since it seeks to discover, however positive or negative the attitudes towards Bhojpuri in educational, sociocultural or socioeconomic contexts, what Bhojpurias ultimately feel about the maintenance of the language with which they identify an ancestral connection:

Question 17: Would respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) be content for their children to study Bhojpuri?

1.2.4 Methodology

In the introductory remarks of the present research, it was stated that the research I have undertaken to conduct on language practices in Mauritius requires an extremely broad approach. Much of the data collected and presented may be described as historical, sociological or ethnographic in nature; this is arguably the core of the data on which the research is predicated. Heavy reliance on a single method of data

elicitation, no less than over-emphasis on any given disciplinary approach, would not, in my opinion, have been capable of doing justice to research of the present variety. A purely linguistic approach may have been possible, if the aim of the research were to discover to what extent one (or more) given linguistic variable was constrained, or correlated with other linguistic features or social variables, but that would not have gone far into providing a satisfactory account of *what* the language practices of a particular social group happen to be, or *why* they are so conditioned.

The research questions I have identified in Chapter 1.2.3 motivate the methodological approaches that the present research takes. Since I am investigating how the language practices of Mauritian Bhojpurias relate to language maintenance and language shift, the most obvious source of data elicitation is the Bhojpuria social group, as defined in my introductory remarks, hence the production of a most comprehensive questionnaire (Appendix 4(a)). The first question one has then to decide relates to sample size. Sankoff (1980:51-52) suggests that

a speech community sample need not include the large number of individuals usually required for other kinds of behavioral surveys. . . The literature as well as our own experience would suggest that, even for quite complex speech communities, samples of more than about 150 individuals tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytical returns . . . *It is crucial, however, that the sample be well chosen, and representative of all social subsegments about which one wishes to generalize* (My italics).

I accept the figure of 150 as the uppermost figure appropriate for the present research and are in complete agreement with Sankoff as to the absolute necessity of selecting the sample so that it is representative of the Bhojpuria group in general. As to the language of the questionnaire, it is important to eliminate variables by ensuring - if possible - that only one language is used. In this respect, the choice is evident - not only of language but of format: Hindi, French, and English are not languages that many Mauritians speak in informal contexts, as my analysis of census information has shown, which removes the

possibility of making use of the societally 'neutral' English.³⁶ Bhojpuri and Creole (the latter in the orthography promoted by *Ledikasyon Pu Travayer*) are, however, languages that very few Mauritians are likely to have seen written. The only viable option is therefore to use Creole, the informal lingua franca, devoid of communal association, and to administer the questionnaire verbally. If there are cases where the respondent is unable to understand Creole, these will be clearly indicated in the data (See Chapter 5 for the questionnaire and data analysis).

Human nature tells us that people may be economical with the truth, in varying degrees of parsimony. I will proceed cautiously, by assuming that information elicited from respondents by questionnaires is subject to this 'thriftiness'. Inevitably, some respondents will give answers that do not accord with their actual language practices, whilst some will interpret questions in ways that had not - and could not - be foreseen. Data elicitation by questionnaire of language practices can never be anything other than an exercise in uncovering subjective beliefs; it is also undesirably constraining, in that only certain responses (namely, those specified by the questioner) are available and the questions cannot be modified to incorporate individual scenarios. Any research that attempts to get to the heart of language practices and language attitudes should allow respondents to express themselves on the subjects that they consider important, giving the information that they deem to be of value. To this end, I have ensured that the present research includes transcripts of interviews conducted with three Mauritians, of which two are Bhojpurias from very different educational backgrounds (Chapter 4.1). This includes an extraordinarily rich amount of insightful data which I could not have anticipated being given, and had not set out to elicit.

Whether one gathers data from verbally administered questionnaires, where the questions are selective and precise, or from interviews, where the questions are open-ended and there is free discussion, the fact remains that the role of the questioner is apparent. The phenomenon of the 'observers' paradox' is therefore always a factor. Participant observation - according to how visible the observer is and how conscious those around him/her

are of reacting towards such an observer - could be considered as an indispensable means of gathering data, but I eschewed this as a methodological approach for the present study. My experience of Mauritian hospitality and the self-consciousness that many Mauritians exhibit around outsiders made it clear that one could not guarantee that the language practices I observed would be natural and unconstrained. On very many occasions in Mauritius, Mauritian informants would make a point of speaking to me in English, a language reserved for formal or educational contexts, despite my attempts to be as informal as possible, and despite my use of Creole or Bhojpuri.

The present research includes, as an integral part of its investigation into language practices, extracts from the Mauritian press relating to language use. There is a wealth of data here that reflects, quite unequivocally, Mauritian language attitudes and opinions about language practices. There are two reasons why I believe that this kind of data is likely to be extremely representative of attitudes and opinions; firstly, one is presented with the words of Mauritians that are not being produced for the benefit of outsiders but to fellow Mauritians; secondly, and most obviously, the opinions expressed are not generated in response to specific questions directed by an interlocutor.

1.3 Notes to Chapter 1

1. Ministry of Economic Development, Productivity and Regional Development. (2000). *Mauritius in Figures, 1999*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Central Statistical Office.
2. I disagree with Stein (1982:37), who suggests that the study of creole languages, from a purely sociolinguistic point of view, begins with the works of Ernst Schultze (1933) and John Reinecke (1937/1938). The very notion of sociolinguistics as a discipline - not to mention the term itself - postdates both Schultze and Reinecke.
3. At a Mauritian diwali celebration in London, in November 1999, I took the opportunity of asking twelve Mauritian-born respondents how many languages they would estimate to be in everyday use in Mauritius. Three respondents said that they had no idea; two respondents gave a figure not exceeding ten (on the basis that many languages, albeit known to a minority of Mauritians, were not in everyday use); four respondents stated 'about a dozen', and the four remaining respondents suggested a figure in excess of a dozen. Interestingly, when asked to count these languages off, only one respondent - a former secondary school teacher in Mauritius - was able to do so. The list he supplied was as follows:

(1)English (2)French (3)Creole (4)Hindi (5)Urdu (6)Tamil
(7)Telugu (8)Gujarati (9)Chinese (10)Sanskrit

Bhojpuri was not mentioned, despite the fact that the same respondent had recently finished completing the questionnaire produced by me, and despite the fact that he declared Bhojpuri to be his first language and the first language of both parents. Also missing from his list is Marathi, although census information records this language to have more speakers in Mauritius than either Telugu or Gujarati. The inclusion of Sanskrit is slightly perplexing,

since this can hardly be a language of everyday use - unless the respondent assumed that the daily use of Sanskrit in religious affairs qualifies it as such.

4. Sambasiva Sharma and Rao (1989:18-19) take their information from the 1983 *Housing and Population Census of Mauritius* (Vol. II). Here, the relevant category is 'Population by language usually spoken'. It should be noted that the total Mauritian population recorded by the census was 966,863. Of this number, 2,636 did not give language details and a further 175 reported 30 additional languages between them - with no language being spoken by more than 20 people. There is therefore a gap of 2,811 between the population total and the total of this table.

Baker (1972) obtains his list from information provided by Mauritian respondents. It is not made clear how Stein (1982:130) arrives at his list, but it is influenced by a model proposed by Stewart (1968). The table produced by Stein attempts to establish a functional typology ('typologie fonctionnelle').

5. It is opportune to note that Baker does not mention Bhacha or Sindhi as being languages indicated by any informant. Furthermore, Baker found only one informant claiming Bengali as a mother tongue, and none claiming Panjabi.
6. Sambasiva Rao and Sharma indicate fifty speakers of this language, according to the 1983 Census, of which twenty-seven males and twenty-three females. They fail to make any identification of this language, which I could not find mentioned anywhere else in the literature relating to the languages spoken in Mauritius. In his thorough review of the Indo-Aryan languages, Masica (1991) makes no reference to such a language, although he notes the existence of *Bachadi* as an alternative name for *Malvi*, a language of the western part of Madhya Pradesh, belonging to the so-called 'Rajasthani' group

7. Sambasiva Rao and Sharma incorrectly state this figure as 33,646 (17,473 males and 18,173 females).
8. Masica (1991:431) notes that *Kachhi* is sometimes considered a dialect of Sindhi, but notes that the 'cultural allegiance' is to Gujarati.

Kutchi was reported in the 1983 census in the category of 'language of forefathers' by 89 people, of which 44 males and 45 females. There is no indication that it was returned as the 'language usually spoken' by any in the 1990 census, although the published census information does not confirm this: In the 1990 census, Kutchi, if indeed returned, would be contained within the category 'other Indian languages'.
9. Baker's information was taken from the details on current languages (CL), as given in the 1990 Mauritian census report.
10. I adhere to the definition of an ancestral language as given in the 1990 Mauritian census, namely, as a language that would have been spoken by the ancestor of a Mauritian at the time of arrival in Mauritius (See also Note 6(a): Appendix 1(b)).
11. It should be noted that Creole, despite being returned by significant numbers of respondents as such, cannot be held to constitute an ancestral language in the sense in which I have defined this term. Creole developed on Mauritian soil and would not therefore have been the first language of any immigrant to Mauritius. The situation is less clear with regard to English, given the presence of an English community in Mauritius of long standing. English has an equal claim to being the ancestral language of a number of Mauritians, however small. I will not here debate the finer points of whether or not English is an ancestral language. What is important here is to note that it is not threatened in Mauritius, since it is a compulsory subject in the

school curriculum, as befits its status as national language. This notwithstanding, it has shown no percentage increase as the current language of Mauritians since 1944.

12. See Note 5(a): Appendix 1(b).

13. Figures have been rounded up/down to the nearest 0.1% in Table 3. This has obscured the statistics for Gujarati, since the number of speakers fell to below 0.05% of the total population in 1972 and 1990. For completeness, I give the following statistics to two places past decimal point:

	1952	1962	1972	1983	1990
Gujarati	0.18%	0.11%	0.05%	0.05%	0.03%

14. The issue here has less to do with Hindi than with Bhojpuri. As Baker and Ramnah (1988:43) point out,

(t)he name "Bhojpuri" does not, however, appear among the languages listed in government publications emanating from the four censuses conducted between 1944 and 1972. Throughout that period, Bhojpuri was not officially recognized as one of the island's languages. In consequence, speakers of MB (Mauritian Bhojpuri) were recorded as having Hindi or, in the case of some Muslims, Urdu as their "habitual" language.

15. The implication here is that, had the 1983 census also been able to record bilingualism with Bhojpuri, Hindi and Urdu, the total returned for these languages would have been even higher than 34.4%. It should be noted that the data for bilingualism given in Table 4 refer to the following:

- Bhojpuri + Hindi; Bhojpuri + Urdu;
- Bhojpuri + other Indian language;
- Creole + Bhojpuri; Creole + Hindi; Creole + Urdu.

The combinations *Hindi + Bhojpuri* and *Urdu + Bhojpuri* are not credited to Hindi or Urdu, since to do so would be to constitute a duplication of the figures for *Bhojpuri + Hindi* and *Bhojpuri + Urdu*.

It is important to note that I have incorporated the census figures given for Hindi and Urdu with those given for Bhojpuri. I justify this is on the basis that Mauritians who are proficient in Hindi and Urdu are more likely than not to be from Bhojpuri-speaking backgrounds and to employ this language also.

16. To what extent Hindi would have been returned by Marathi, Gujarati or Urdu speakers is an issue that may be debated. Such a debate serves no immediate purpose here, but raises many interesting questions regarding the flexibility - and indeed acceptability - of language labels.
17. The Indian language(s) taught in the *baiTHkā* schools would have differed according to the speech community which it represented, as well as along religious lines. Ramyeed (1984:144) mentions the teaching of Awadhi, for the purposes of imparting the *Rāmcaritmānas* and the *Hanumān Cālisā*, both Hindu scriptures. Within Dravidian speech communities, it would have been far less likely that a *baiTHkā* school would offer Awadhi, an Indo-Aryan language, irrespective of the fact that Tamil and Telugu speakers are overwhelmingly Hindu.
18. This view is affirmed by Baker and Ramnah (1986). Analogous situations are to be found with respect to the Bhojpuri - or 'overseas Hindi' - of South Africa (Mesthrie, 1991); Fiji (Siegel, 1987; Moag, 1979, 1986); Trinidad (Mohan and Zador, 1986); Guyana (Gambhir, 1988), and Surinam (Damsteegt, 1988).
19. Given a population estimate, for the main island of Mauritius, of 1,160,000 in the year 2000, I calculate the number of people returning Bhojpuri, Hindi and Urdu (as the language or one of the languages spoken) to total between 290,000 - 308,000. Should the actual figure fall below 290,000, this will show that the estimated decrease of 15% per decade for Bhojpuri has been exceeded.

20. Even allowing for the possibility that many respondents returning French in 1944 were actually Creole speakers, the increase of Creole would still be considerable.

21. These sentiments are echoed by Grenoble and Whaley (1998:xiv), who suggest that 'in the death of any language comes the irreplaceable loss of a picture of creativity'. Crystal (*Guardian*, October 25, 1999) states the position more poetically, in the following way:

Encapsulated within a language is most of a community's history and a large part of its cultural identity. "Every language is a temple", said Oliver Wendell Holmes, "in which the soul of those who speak it is enshrined".

22. Damsteegt (1988:96), echoing Baker, makes the point that

as is the case with other OH varieties, no prestige at all used to be attached to Sarnami, which was and sometimes still is called perjorative names like *Tutal bhāsā* "broken language". While for practical purposes most Surinamese Hindustanis have learned to speak the lingua franca Sranan in at least an elementary way, their prestige languages are, each in its own domain, Standard Hindi or Urdu and Dutch, or in some cases Sranan.

An interesting - and close - parallel of this opinion is to be found in Siegel (1988:121), with respect to FH ('Fiji Hindustani'):

Among Fiji Indians, as among speakers of other varieties of Overseas Hindi (OH), their own language has very little status. Constantly measuring it against Indian standards, they call FH *TuTā bhāsā* 'broken language', while they call Standard Hindi (SH) *sudh bhāsā* 'pure language'. In the past there has been a clear example of diglossia within the Fiji Indian speech community with SH used in formal domains, such as education, newspapers, letter writing, public speaking and broadcasting, and FH used only in informal domains. In recent years, however, many of the formal domains have been increasingly taken over by English.

Siegel (1988:122) points out that Fiji Hindustani is widely believed to have derived from Bhojpuri, and quotes a letter which appeared in the *Fiji Sun* on March 26 1986, expressing the view that

[t]here is no such language as Fiji Hindi. the language that Indians speak here is Bhojpuri... Hindi in Fiji today is a sub-standard Bhojpuri which has been corrupted.

One hastens to add that this view is refreshing, given that opinions voiced by many speakers of Bhojpuri in Mauritius tend to be that it is a form of debased Hindi.

23. I would qualify this view by adding that such an 'ideology of contempt' is not restricted to indigenous languages, but extends - as the linguistic history of Mauritius illustrates - to other languages perceived as subordinate, such as those spoken by imported slaves and indentured labourers.
24. In India, Bhojpuri is spoken by many millions. The 1991 census indicates a figure of 23,102,050 people indicating it as their mother tongue, making it the most statistically important variety of Hindi, with the exception of the language termed 'Hindi' in the census (This is the standard form which I have referred to as Khari Boli).
25. It is not clear if Mesthrie is indicating a belief that there has been no decline in the use of Bhojpuri in Surinam, Fiji and Mauritius, or rather that the decline of Bhojpuri in the other territories has been more precipitous. I incline towards the latter view. It should also be pointed out here - as was drawn to my attention by Philip Baker - that speakers of 'overseas Hindi' in Fiji do not acknowledge their language as Bhojpuri but as 'Fiji Hindustani'.
26. The 1972 census, the last to provide information on the breakdown of the Mauritian population by community, gives a

figure of 68.3% for Indo-Mauritians and 28.5% for the 'General Population', a term that covers people of European, African, Malagasy and mixed ancestry. Even allowing for the possibility that Franco-Mauritians account for anything up to 6% of the total population, it is clear that they are outnumbered by Indo-Mauritians in a ratio exceeding 1:10. Philip Baker has in fact pointed out to me that 1% would be a far more accurate estimate of the Franco-Mauritian demographic presence.

27. The country is a melting-pot that refuses to melt, but remains a salad bowl. Mauritians use English for official purposes, French for intellectual activity, Creole for communication, Oriental languages for cultural identity. Thus the functional domains of their languages are clearly marked (Sambasiva Rao and Sharma 1988:2).

Whereas this may be an accurate assessment of the pattern of language use for a certain number of Mauritians, it is nevertheless oversimplified, in that it fails to take into account the nature of Mauritian multilingualism. Certainly, Oriental languages may be maintained or acquired by Mauritians of Indian ancestry, with a view to reasserting their cultural identity, but it does not follow that such Mauritians will have any desire to conduct their intellectual activities in French. Nor does Sambasiva Rao and Sharma's comment take into account that the Franco-Mauritian élite are unlikely to have any interest in acquiring - or, for that matter, any sympathy towards the maintenance of - Oriental languages, when such languages may be viewed as the cultural property of communities that were originally subservient to the French plantocracy. The statement by Sambasiva Rao and Sharma additionally ignores the fact that generalizations regarding language attitudes are particularly inappropriate given the extraordinary heterogeneity of Mauritian society.

28. Bhuckory (1988:9) provides anecdotal information that is pertinent:

It is true that Bhojpuri was the home language of only a part of the immigrants who came from various provinces of India but soon it became the lingua franca of all the immigrants. Even today, there are many non-Hindi-speaking Hindus who speak it. This is very much in evidence in the villages. Even the Chinese shopkeeper can speak it. Our surprise knew no bounds one day when a young Chinese who was the holder of a School Certificate started to give a demonstration of his perfect Bhojpuri diction in our presence.

29. Indians have been present in Mauritius since the 18th century, as Chapter 3.1.3. illustrates. The languages spoken by these early migrants were Dravidian, principally Tamil, and the migrants merged into the 'General Population' before the period of regular Indian immigration, with the concomitant loss of their languages. The later, Bhojpuri-speaking migrants have retained their Indian identity and, hitherto, the Bhojpuri language - however attenuated.
30. It is not suggested that all Indian migrants to the six countries mentioned were Bhojpuri speakers. Additionally, variation is bound to have existed in the proportion between speakers of Bhojpuri and other Indo-Aryan languages (as indeed between speakers of Indo-Aryan languages and Dravidian speakers,) from country to country. However, the overwhelming majority of Indian indentured labourers in all six locations came from areas that are now within the present political states of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Jharkand, where Bhojpuri is spoken.

Appendix 2: Table 10 compares the districts of origin of indentured labourers to Natal and Fiji. If one accepts the accuracy of the map provided by Grierson at the beginning of the *Lingusitic Survey of India, 1903 (Vol. 5: Indo-Aryan Family, Eastern group. Part II)*, the following districts are - or were, at the turn of the twentieth century - Bhojpuri-speaking strongholds: Basti, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Gorakhpur, Benares, Arrah, Shahabad, Mirzapur, Saran, Ballia, Ranchi. Accordingly, out of 1,106 migrants to Natal from districts in India providing more than 1% of

the total of migrants, 431 came from Bhojpuri-speaking districts (38.96%). This figure is consistent with Mesthrie's own analysis of the linguistic affiliations of North Indian migrants to Natal (Mesthrie, 1991:25), shown in Appendix 2: Table 11. It is also consistent with the analysis by Brennan et al. (1998:45) of the districts of origin of North Indian emigrants to Mauritius, 1842-44, in that Bhojpuri-speaking districts, as listed by Grierson, account for 39.7% (These are the districts of Arrah, Benares, Saran, Ranchi and Ghazipur. See Appendix 2: Table 12).

It is important to note that not all migrants from the Bhojpuri-speaking areas would necessarily have had Bhojpuri as L1 or L2. On the other hand, many migrants from areas not designated as Bhojpuri-speaking ones may well have been mother-tongue speakers or have been proficient in Bhojpuri. Khubchandani (1997:91) makes the valid point that interlanguage boundaries in parts of India were and have remained 'fuzzy and fluid'.

31. The notion of sheer numbers is somewhat inappropriate. Natal, for example, imported the greatest number of Indian indentured labourers with the exception of Mauritius and Guyana (Clarke et al. 1990; Barz and Siegel 1988). But since the population of South Africa is far greater than any of the other countries mentioned, the Indian population as a percentage of the total is understandably much lower.
32. In fairness to Moorghen and Domingue, it should be said that not all studies on South Asian language communities have indicated gender to be a salient factor in language shift. With respect to the language practices of Panjabis and Bengalis in Delhi, Mukherjee (1996) found that gender distinctions were not relevant. The importance of gender would appear to fluctuate significantly; it is certainly accorded great importance in the Belfast study of the Milroys (Milroy, 1980), although it is important to note that the communities investigated were not bilingual ones.

Age, on the other hand, would appear to fluctuate a lot less in correlating with the language practices of minority speech communities (Gal, 1979).

33. Chintamunnee (1994:7-8) writes of the 'importance of Bhojpuri as a support to the understanding and learning of Hindi'. This relationship between the languages may equally be stated in reverse, since, as he proceeds to say:

It should be clear that Bhojpuri is not in conflict with Hindi. We should from the very outset accept the limitations of Bhojpuri. Social reality should be taken into consideration in the framing of a language policy. Bhojpuri should lead to the learning of Hindi. The learning of Hindi will help the Bhojpuri speaking child to acquire his cultural and literary heritage.

34. Séga may be referred to as the musical equivalent of Creole, in that it has universal appeal in Mauritius and is not considered the cultural property of any one ethnic group. Originally the song of African slaves, lamenting the hardships of life and the injustices of slavery, it has gained island-wide appeal as the Mauritian musical expression *par excellence*. So popular has it become as a musical form that several artists, such as Sona Noyan and the *Bhojpuri Boys*, compose songs in Bhojpuri rather than Creole.

35. Another quotation from Sankoff (1980:15) is also pertinent to the present discussion:

Historically, the changing political and economic forces of nations and of groups within them have been followed, with a certain lag, by a reevaluation of their languages. However, *it would be difficult to find a clear case where the change in status of a language variety led to change in the socioeconomic status of its speakers.* (Italics added).

36. Moorghen and Domingue (1982:58) state the opinion that

[t]he fact that English is used for intercommunity contacts without any social implications allows us to consider it as a neutral language - insofar as any linguistic communication is neutral. We simply mean here that English as such does not carry with it any cultural load, which could be deeply felt as a heritage of the past by any community in Mauritius. It does not serve as an indicator for group identity.

I concur with this view, but would add that such an analysis is not appropriate for French, the former and enduring language of the economically dominant Franco-Mauritian community.

2.0 Outline of Literature Review

The present study is a sociolinguistic investigation into language maintenance and language shift. Bearing this in mind, and bearing in mind also that the present study focuses on a particular language (Mauritian Bhojpuri) in a specific location (Mauritius), one may be tempted to imagine that the choice of a theoretical approach should be straightforward. This is, however, not the case. In any study of the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift, the researcher is required to consider factors other than those that may be designated as purely linguistic. In Mauritius, as elsewhere, the history and the cultural distinctiveness of the community speaking the language under observation will be factors that must be taken into account in any attempt to provide a comprehensive sociolinguistic study. The political and economic developments that have taken place within the community in question are equally important considerations, as are the socio-psychological factors that affect the language practices of the individual member of the community. Any theoretical approach (or combination of approaches) taken must therefore be able to illustrate the highly complex series of interactions between such factors as those stated. According to Firth, linguistic description requires an acknowledgement of relationship between 'linguistic patterns' and 'activity'. In the opinion of Firth (quoted by Kachru, 1981:76)¹,

we must expect therefore that linguistic science will also find it necessary to postulate the maintenance of linguistic patterns and systems (including adaptation and change) within which there is order, structure, and function. Such systems are maintained by activity, and in activity they are to be studied.

I maintain that any study dealing with an aspect of language in society must be prefaced by an analysis, in the form of a literature review, of the main theoretical perspectives of disciplines other than just sociolinguistics. But providing an

analysis of this nature has drawbacks. Distinct disciplines are apt to have not only distinct (that is, discipline-specific) theoretical perspectives but distinct methodologies. As Fasold (1984) illustrates, with respect to research in the area of language choice, three disciplines, namely sociology, social psychology and anthropology, provide three different methodological approaches. Sociologists and social psychologists rely largely on statistical analyses of numerical data derived from controlled experiments, whilst anthropologists are apt to observe uncontrolled behaviour (the antithesis of a controlled experiment) by employing methods such as participant observation. Even between disciplines employing similar methodological approaches, there may be difference with respect to perspective or emphasis: Where sociologists and social psychologists agree in their use of surveys, samples and statistics, sociology concerns itself with the analysis of social structures, whilst social psychology is rather more focused on understanding what motivates the individual.

Aside from problems inherent in undertaking a multi-disciplinary analysis of theoretical perspectives, the issue of practicality imposes limitations that are problematic. It would be beyond the scope of the present study to produce an exhaustive review of the literature pertinent to a study of language maintenance and language shift,² since this would be a monumental undertaking, worthy of being an object of research in itself. I have let myself be guided by the opinions of Appel and Muysken (1987:8), in that

[d]istinguishing between sociological, psychological, sociolinguistic and linguistic contributions to the study of bilingualism and language contact is in many ways unsatisfactory and artificial, because they are so intricately interrelated.

The approach I have chosen is to allow the phenomena under investigation, rather than notions of discipline, to determine what should be included in the ensuing literature review. Within this approach, I have narrowed the focus to literature that deals with language maintenance and language shift within the context of language contact and bilingualism. The consequences of this

are felicitous in several respects: Studies on language maintenance and language shift have largely focused on linguistic minorities within areas possessing a history of bilingualism - a term which one may take to include multilingualism; this is fortunate, given that a history of bilingualism obtains in the area under investigation in the present study. Since, as was earlier mentioned, disciplines may differ in their theoretical perspectives and methodological approaches, by including in my theoretical preliminaries discussions of studies ranging over several disciplines, I am able to discuss also the methodology best suited to the present research. In effect, giving a non-discipline-specific literature review on language maintenance and language shift both provides an orientation to discussion with respect to the theoretical preliminaries and establishes a basis for selecting the most appropriate theoretical approach and methodology.

In the lucid and comprehensive first chapter of his study, Saxena (1995) tackles the issue of stating his theoretical preliminaries by creating a distinction, for ease of exposition, between social theories that have influenced sociolinguistic studies of bilingualism relating to language maintenance and language shift. Such theories are expressed as being deterministic at one extreme, individualistic at the other.³ But I consider that there is a disadvantage to creating such distinctions on the basis of perspectives: Defining whether a perspective is deterministic or individualistic is not always clear-cut, as evidenced by the contention that the language choices of individuals are socially determined (Fishman, 1980). Perhaps most importantly, a discussion that employs the notion of perspectives creates divisions within approaches and this has the potential of complicating matters. Distinguishing, for example, Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory and Accommodation Theory on such a perspectival basis, obscures the fact that they are both socio-psychological approaches, and is inconsistent with the previously stated general division between sociological and socio-psychological approaches on the grounds that the latter are more individual-orientated.

I argue that a discussion of theoretical preliminaries would be clarified by refraining from a deterministic/ individualistic differentiation as a means of defining theories within the social sciences. This literature review begins with an overview of some influential studies in the area of language change, since, as will be demonstrated, discussions on this aspect of linguistics both preceded and gave impetus to studies that were to lay the basis for investigation into language contact and bilingualism. From a review of key research focusing on language maintenance and language shift as societal phenomena, my literature review then looks at research and theories in which the individual forms the basis of investigation into these phenomena. The literature review concludes with a short discussion on theoretical approaches; it is intended that this be read in the light of what is stated in the introductory remarks that appear before Chapter 1, the research questions as defined in Chapter 1.2.3, and the comments relating to methodology, in Chapter 1.2.4.

2.1 Language Change and Language Contact

2.1.1 Language Change: Historical Approaches

An intense interest in the study of languages began to take place in Europe at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century that was to culminate in the creation of linguistics as a modern, scientific discipline (Lehmann, 1981). Many authors have attributed this growth of interest to an increasing familiarity with Sanskrit amongst European scholars and an awareness by these scholars of the similarities between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek (Jespersen, 1922; Renfrew, 1987; Beekes, 1995). This view would appear well founded, given the prominence of these languages in the seminal research of the early nineteenth century, such as that of Rasmus Rask, Jacob Grimm and Franz Bopp. Indeed, the study of the relationship between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek was to dominate linguistic speculation for the remainder of the nineteenth century, establishing the basis of research in the field of comparative Indo-European linguistics. It was not until the latter part of

the nineteenth century that researchers began to break away from viewing language purely in the context of systematic aspects of change, and to suggest that an understanding of linguistic systems involved an appreciation of the psychological aspects of the speaker. This latter approach has been attributed to Karl Brugmann (Morpurgo Davies, 1986), but finds its champion in the work of Hermann Paul, who introduced the notion of a distinction between the language of the individual and the language custom of the group (Weinreich, Herzog and Labov, 1968).

With the publication of Saussure's *Cours de linguistique générale*, in 1916, the notion was introduced into linguistic literature of a necessary differentiation in the object of linguistic investigation on the basis of language as a social, collective system (*langue*) as opposed to an individual, linguistic event (*parole*). Despite the fact that, for Saussure, the study of linguistics was the study of *langue*, such a notion provided the impetus for alternative approaches. As remarked by Culler (1976:33),

the distinction between *langue* and *parole* has important consequences for other disciplines besides linguistics, for it is essentially a distinction between institution and event, between the underlying system which makes possible various types of behaviour and actual instances of such behaviour... Within linguistics itself, though, study of *la langue* involves an inventory of the distinctions which create signs and of rules of combination, whereas study of *parole* would lead to an account of language use..

Even before the publication of the *Cours*, debate had been raging with respect to which aspects of linguistics should be viewed from the social perspective, and which from the perspective of the individual (Lepschy, 1986). Both Culler and Lepschy identify Saussure as a thinker who was brought up within - and influenced by - the neogrammarian tradition that at the time prevailed in comparative Indo-European linguistics. This is reflected in a previous work, the *Mémoire sur le système primitif de voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes*, which Saussure submitted as his dissertation for Leipzig University in 1878. If the *Cours* invited discussion on the very nature of the linguistic system, it did nothing to suggest the role of sociolinguistics within

this system. Indeed, Saussure established an approach to linguistics that was structural and downplayed the role of the individual within the linguistic system. It is with Saussure's successors that attempts are made to accommodate the individual within linguistic science.

Broadly stated, post-Saussurian linguistics shows a move away from the tendency to accept the homogeneity of the language system and the temporal/spatial means employed in analyzing change within it. The neogrammarians relied on the notion of the regularity of sound changes to account for differences within related languages; but sound changes merely account for historical data relating to a single, idealized language community between two specified points in time and have nothing to say regarding analogic change and change due to borrowing (Jeffers and Lehiste, 1992). Additionally, the concerns of a historical approach to language change can be suggested to be diachronic to the point where synchronic factors are largely overlooked (Hock, 1991). A structural approach such as the one adopted by Saussure may, on the other hand, holds diachronic and synchronic descriptions of a given language to be complementary, but considers that language change takes place outside the linguistic system and therefore does not attempt to account for the phenomenon of change (Lyons, 1981).⁴

2.1.2 Language Change: Sociolinguistic Approaches

If the historical approach to linguistics had been born out of a desire to explain language change - in the context of differences that existed between languages sharing a common ancestor - the approach taken by Saussure could not have been more opposed in its intention. Yet theories circulating in the early 1920s, influenced by both competing theoretical standpoints, achieved a synthesized approach that may be termed structural-functional. 1925 saw the publication of the *Méthode comparative en linguistique historique*, by the French sociolinguist Meillet, in which there is much discussion - and many examples given - on communities that have changed their language. Meillet was in outright opposition to both Saussure's rigid structuralism and

the neogrammarian reliance on unitary linguistic types (Meillet, 1925/1970:132-133):

[t]he experience of linguists is too narrow. If the great languages have often been described in minute detail, the local dialects are far from being described with enough precision. A more serious thing is the fact that there is hardly any state of language which has been observed and described in an exact, precise and complete way. What phonological descriptions, grammars and dictionaries give are either typical cases, more or less arbitrarily chosen, or norms. But there is scarcely any domain of which we could actually say what the whole state of language is. What interests the linguist is not the norms but the way in which language is used.

It would be wrong to attempt to portray Meillet either as the first sociolinguist, or as a researcher single handedly rejecting or refining neogrammarian and structuralist approaches. The first sociolinguistic study may be attributed to Louis Gauchat who, in 1905, undertook a dialect study in the Swiss town of Charmay, and went against existing practices in dialectology by correlating linguistic variability with the sex and age of his informants (Chambers, 1995). Meillet had a tradition - however disparate - of exception to the neogrammarian and structural approaches on which to draw; he was also a contemporary of the Danish linguist, Otto Jespersen. Three years prior to the publication of Meillet's *Méthode comparative*, Jespersen, by way of an explicit declaration of his stance regarding the importance of the speaker to the study of language, stated the following in the preface of his work (Jespersen, 1922:7-8):

Language is activity, purposeful activity, and we should never lose sight of the speaking individuals and of their purpose in acting in this particular way. The only unimpeachable definition of a word is that it is a human habit, an habitual act on the part of one human individual. The act is individual, but the interpretation presupposes that the individual forms part of a community with analogous habits, and a language thus is seen to be one particular set of human customs of a well-defined social character.

Since its gradual formation, with the European 'rediscovery' of Sanskrit, at the end of the eighteenth century, until the

1920's, it may be claimed that linguistics had been content to describe language in terms of historical or social fact. The approaches taken in this period were descriptive and did not undertake to discuss the reasons underlying language change. The work of researchers such as Meillet and Jespersen heralded a departure in the way in which language change was viewed, and allowed for a literature to develop in which increasingly more emphasis began to be placed on the use of language by the individual.

I noted previously that Gauchat's pioneering work in Charmay did not accord with the approaches adopted, at the time, in dialectology. Indeed, dialectology, inasmuch as it involved notions of synchrony and was related to geographical diversity, was a peripheral area of research for linguists who espoused the neogrammarian approach or Saussurian structuralism. Yet, as Wardhaugh (1998) points out, studies of social variation in language grew out of studies of regional variation, which begs a question as to why early researchers in linguistics should have been interested in regional variation to begin with. One may suggest that the answer to this lies in the deficit of conclusions that these researchers were able to draw, regarding language change, by employing existing theoretical approaches. In attempting to answer this question, I venture a hypothesis that also answers another question which may be asked; namely, *what initiated research into language contact?* My hypothesis may be stated as follows: Having their academic interests fuelled by an ever-increasing mass of information regarding the genetic relatedness of the Indo-European languages, the early linguists sought to discover to what extent changes within a language were internally conditioned. The concomitant to this was an attempt to discover to what extent a language had the power to effect structural change in another language.

Researchers employing a historical approach to linguistics continue to draw a distinction between internal and external language change (Wardhaugh, 1998; Hock, 1991). Anttila (1989) isolates four general types of internal change (sound change, grammar change through analogy, rule change and semantic change), with external change being exemplified by borrowing.⁵ In

traditional accounts of language change, emphasis had been placed overwhelmingly on internal change, but a growing awareness of the importance of considering regional (dialectal) variation led linguists to suggest that borrowing between regional dialects of a language was important to the understanding of change. If it were the case that borrowing from regional dialects could account for differences within linguistic structure, so then, potentially, could borrowing from social dialects (Sturtevant, 1907) and borrowing from other languages (Schuchardt, 1883-88). The phenomenon of borrowing offered, as research into pidgins and creoles demonstrated, a very clear explanation for linguistic change that could not easily be accommodated within the context of a discussion on internal factors. In trying to account for change within the language system, linguists began to acknowledge the possibility of language contact as an important factor.

2.1.3 Borrowing as Language Change

I have attempted to trace the development of linguistic investigation by suggesting the existence of certain research aims, together with a broadening of research as a consequence of attempting to achieve such aims. In my analysis, an interest in accounting for structural change led linguists, ultimately, to a discussion of language contact, and from thence to the investigation of other phenomena. Accounting for structural change was - as it continues to be - an important aspect of historical linguistics. But the awareness of contact-induced change, as exemplified by borrowing, stimulated research that blended theoretical linguistics with more sociologically-based approaches, of which creole studies may be cited as an example (Appel and Muysken, 1987).

Distinguishing between various types of borrowing is essential to a discussion of the different orientations within linguistic investigation: It may be suggested that historical linguistics has traditionally placed importance on grammatical borrowing, to the detriment of lexical borrowing, whereas sociolinguistic research has tended to focus on lexical borrowing as a crucial indication of language attitudes and language choice. But an assertion that borrowing can be cleanly bifurcated

into grammatical (that is, structural) and lexical (non-structural) would be an oversimplification. Lexical borrowing may lead to the acquisition, by one language, of the morphology of another (See Hock, 1991:382 for the English suffix *-able*, borrowed from French; Rastorgueva, 1954/1992:51 for the interrogative particle *-mi*, borrowed by the Indo-Iranian language Tajik from the Turkic language Uzbek). If lexical borrowing has the ability to lead to an incorporation of morphological patterns, researchers have likewise indicated that the syntax of a language is also susceptible (See Patnaik and Pandit, 1986 on new patterns of reported speech constructions, restrictive relative clauses and the increased use of passive formations in the Indo-Aryan language, Oriya).

Distinguishing between grammatical and lexical borrowing, whatever the drawbacks inherent in doing so, arises from a need to show borrowing as a complex process that does not have a unified effect on linguistic systems. This basic two-fold division is by no means the only way of approaching the phenomenon of borrowing. Bloomfield (1933), by way of definition, places the emphasis not on the effect of borrowing on the linguistic structure of the recipient language, but in terms of the geographical and social relationship that pertains between the donor and borrower.⁶ Bloomfield (1933:444) distinguishes

between *dialect borrowing*, where the borrowed features come from within the same speech-area... and *cultural borrowing*, where the borrowed features come from a different language.

But, according to Bloomfield (1933:461), there is also intimate borrowing

which occurs when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community... [W]e distinguish between the *upper* or *dominant* language, spoken by the conquering or otherwise more privileged group, and the *lower* language, spoken by the subject people, or, as in the United States, by humble immigrants. The borrowing goes predominantly from the upper language to the lower, and it very often extends to speech-forms that are not connected with cultural novelties.

I concur with Appel and Muysken (1987:153) in suggesting that the lack of agreement, in linguistic literature, regarding what can be borrowed in a language is due to the fact that 'focus has been on the elements borrowed, and not as much on the process of borrowing'. Although the Bloomfieldian approach to borrowing may be criticized for introducing two separate notions of cultural and intimate borrowing, and distinguishing these on the basis of a presence/absence of 'cultural novelty' (a somewhat unscientific term), it makes reference to the fact that the social status of speakers of a language may play an integral part in the actual process of borrowing. This brings my discussion conveniently to the point where one may now consider a review of the literature that has concentrated on analyzing language contact - of which borrowing is an important aspect - in terms of the socio-cultural setting within which contact takes place.

2.1.4 Languages in Contact

The publication - originally in 1953 - of a work by Uriel Weinreich, entitled *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems* (1964), marks the commencement in linguistics of an attempt to provide a principled account of how socio-cultural and psychological factors relate to a theory of language contact. Unlike the approach that linguists such as Saussure had adopted, Weinreich's examination of linguistic change establishes the importance of not limiting the focus of attention to structural considerations. Weinreich (1964:4) states his opinion that

the linguist is entitled to abstract language from considerations of a psychological or sociological nature... But the extent, direction and nature of interference of one language with another can be explained even more thoroughly in terms of the speech behavior [sic] of bilingual individuals, which in turn is conditioned by social relations in the community in which they live.

Through considering language interference within the bilingual group - and as it relates to the individual within the group - Weinreich discusses the functional differentiation of language use. This aspect of language use amongst bilingual groups rapidly established itself as an important issue within linguistic

research, as witnessed by publications in the early to mid 1960s (Ferguson and Gumperz, 1960; Bright and Ramanujan, 1964/1990; Hymes, 1967).⁷

Weinreich was perhaps not the first researcher to conceptualize the existence of a functional dimension within language use; 1953 saw the publication of Haugen's work *The Norwegian Language in America*, in which consideration is given to the importance of socio-cultural factors underlying language use in contact situations. But Haugen's emphasis remains on issues relating to structural change, standardization and the establishment of a common language; elaboration of function is not a matter of primary concern - a perspective reiterated by Haugen in 1966. It is with Weinreich that the notion of a functional differentiation of language use is given prominence, and the suggestion made that it may provide valuable insights into the processes taking place in language maintenance and language shift. Weinreich's approach to language contact differs notably from that of researchers such as Haugen in stating to what extent in the discussion (and to which aspects of the discussion) structural and non-structural factors are pertinent. With respect to language shift, which he defines as 'the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another' (1964:106), Weinreich (1964:106-107) states that

whereas interference, even in its socio-cultural setting, is a problem in which considerations of linguistic structure enter, the matter of language shift is entirely extra-structural, since it can be taken for granted that the respective structure of two languages in contact never determine which language is to yield its functions to the other.

Language functions are seen by Weinreich to provide an important, extra-structural explanation for at least one outcome of language contact, namely, language shift. It may be ventured that it is in Weinreich's suggestions as to the classification and weighting of language functions that a theoretical approach to language maintenance and shift becomes manifest. Weinreich (1964:89) is of the opinion that the role of the mother-tongue is central to any investigation of language function:

The characteristic use of languages in various functions should preferably be described separately for each mother-tongue group, not merely for the bilingual community as a whole. This additional breakdown might show, for example, that the burden of bilingualism is borne entirely by one of the mother-tongue groups, while the other group expects to be addressed in its own language in all cases of intergroup communication.

Having stressed a necessary division of the bilingual community on the basis of the mother-tongue, Weinreich (1964: 89-97) proceeds to provide what he terms to be divisions of a non-linguistic nature. These are as follows: (1) geographic areas; (2) indigenoussness; (3) cultural or ethnic groups; (4) religion; (5) race; (6) sex; (7) age; (8) social status; (9) occupation; (10) rural vs. urban population.

I suggest that Weinreich's 1953 publication provided the theoretical orientation for ensuing research into aspects of language contact, by successfully tempering the predominantly structural approach in linguistics, present since its origin in comparative Indo-European studies, with an altogether more sociological outlook.⁸ But it may be claimed that, despite having isolated extra-structural factors that were important in a study of language change, Weinreich's work does not sufficiently detail either the individual factors themselves nor their interrelation within the context of providing a comprehensive model of language maintenance and language shift. As I now show, it is with the work of Joshua Fishman that great progress is made in the study of language maintenance and language shift. I evaluate Fishman's contributions within a wider discussion of the literature that deals with maintenance and shift firstly as societal phenomena and secondly as processes that are determined by the language attitudes and practices of the individual.

2.2 Maintenance and Shift as Societal Phenomena

2.2.1 Habitual Language Use

Whereas Weinreich defines language shift in terms of a change in habitual language use, Fishman's views - whilst not inconsistent with Weinreich - are based on considerations that are wider. According to Fishman (1964:32-33),

[t]he study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change or stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other... It is suggested here that the three major topical subdivisions of this field are: (a) habitual language use at more than one point in time or space under conditions of intergroup contact; (b) antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural processes and their relationship to stability or change in habitual language use; and (c) behavior [sic] toward language in the contact setting, including directed maintenance or shift efforts.

Fishman makes it clear, like Weinreich, that interference phenomena are not of primary concern in the study of maintenance and shift; rather, Fishman (1964:33) suggests that one should focus on the

degrees of maintenance or displacement in conjunction with several sources and domains of variance in language behavior [sic].

But if the notion of habitual language use is central to a discussion on maintenance and shift, knowing how to evaluate variance in language behaviour in terms that are both quantitative and qualitative aspects of bilingualism is, as Fishman states, a difficult problem.

In his 1964 publication, Fishman notes that one may attempt to quantify habitual language use by ascertaining the degree of bilingual activity, in order to give an answer to the question: "Which language is being used?" Yet the density of switching may vary for the same individual on different occasions and in different situations. Fishman therefore looks at the greater

appeal, for him, of approaching variance in language use by establishing the following categories (Fishman, 1964:35-36):

- a. MEDIA VARIANCE: WRITTEN, READ and SPOKEN language.
- b. ROLE VARIANCE: INNER SPEECH, COMPREHENSION and PRODUCTION.
- c. SITUATIONAL VARIANCE: FORMAL, SEMI-FORMAL, INFORMAL, INTIMATE, etc.
- d. DOMAIN VARIANCE.

The last of these categories leads Fishman to discuss the qualitative aspects of bilingualism, which he views in terms of the location of language maintenance and language shift.

In Fishman's work, one sees a bold attempt to devise a framework that aims towards providing a principled account of language maintenance and language shift. Whether or not such work may be claimed to amount to a model is, however, debatable. In brief, Fishman's approach postulates that an analysis of maintenance and shift relies crucially on considerations of habitual language use, evaluated quantitatively or qualitatively, viewed in the context of an interaction both with psychological and socio-cultural factors and an analysis of behaviour towards language. But whilst I agree with Fishman, in that an exhaustive study of maintenance and shift should involve the interrelation of these three topical subdivisions, Fishman's suggestions are not accompanied by any clear indication as to precisely how language maintenance and language shift are to be analysed. Fishman is, indeed, vague as to how research into these subdivisions should progress. He overtly states that the precise establishment of habitual language use in a contact situation requires

instruments, not yet available, for the measurement of DEGREE OF BILINGUALISM and of LOCATION OF BILINGUALISM along sociologically relevant dimensions (1964:65);

additionally, with respect to investigating psychological and socio-cultural processes,

no conceptual systemization of these processes is currently available (*ibid*);

furthermore, behaviour toward language may itself be divided into three sub-divisions, namely, *attitudinal-affective behaviours*, *overt behavioural implementation* and - overlapping with the two former divisions - *cognitive behaviours*. No more, however, is said of these.

It may be argued that where Fishman's suggestions in the development of study into maintenance and shift are of the greatest significance is in the syncretic nature of the approach proposed. Fishman invites researchers into maintenance and shift to look primarily at the stability of habitual language use within a set of domains, and to consider, for each domain, the potential factors underlying maintenance or shift, irrespective of whether these factors are individualistic phenomena or societal phenomena.⁹ It is this wider view of Fishman's that would appear to particularly commend his approach, given that in any consideration of language choice, a bilingual speaker may find himself in a situation where several factors are operating at one and the same time: The linguistic behaviour of a speaker may, for example, be task-oriented and simultaneously constrained by notions of group identification (Herman, 1968). By establishing the role of habitual language use in determining language maintenance, Fishman provides researchers with an important component to any prospective model of language maintenance and language shift. Habitual language use, then, cuts across individualistic and societal phenomena - or rather, interacts with both. It establishes the need for quantification of data relating to language maintenance and lays the basis for a discussion on code-switching and code-mixing; but before discussing these latter, quantitative instantiations of language choice, one needs to say more about the qualitative aspects of bilingualism, with regards to the domain of language behaviour.

2.2.2 Functions and Domains

Fishman (1964) points out that there is a good deal of confusion, in existing literature, between the terms 'function' and 'domain'. In studying maintenance and shift, it is imperative to be able to distinguish between the two, since, as Appel and Muysken (1987:22) illustrate schematically, the distinction may be stated as one of perspective versus concept (Table 6). Indeed, it may be suggested that function and domain are two separate entities, whose complementarity is an issue of the utmost importance in devising a methodological approach to a study of language maintenance and language shift. Fishman (1964:42) is of the opinion that functions are not

immediately as useful in understanding language maintenance or language shift as the domains seem to be.

PERSPECTIVE	DOMINANT CONCEPT	PRINCIPAL REFERENCE
society	domain	Fishman (1965; 1972)
language	diglossia	Ferguson (1959)
speaker interaction	decision tree	Sankoff (1972)
	accommodation	Giles (1973)
function	functional specialization	Jakobson (1960);
		Halliday et al. (1964)

Table 6: Sociological Models for Language Choice
(Appel and Muysken, 1987:22).

But Fishman is aware of the usefulness of functions in attempting to interpret the factors of the speech event in terms of motive or purpose (that is, in providing a 'motivational-purposive

interpretation of verbal communication'; Fishman, 1964:41). One drawback that is obvious from the available literature is that authors differ with respect to the number and definition of functions. Whilst Mühlhäusler identifies six functions - as does Jakobson - Hymes lists seven (See Table 7, below).

In his paper, entitled *Who speaks what language to whom and when?*, Fishman (1965:79) obviates the problem of enumerating or defining functions by building into his theory of domain variance (previously discussed) a specification that

domains require sub-analysis in terms of the role relations that are crucial to them, as well as sub-analysis in terms of topical variance.

<i>Mühlhäusler (1981)</i>	<i>Jakobson (1960)</i>	<i>Hymes (1974)</i>
1. Referential	1. Referential	1. Referential
2. Directive and Integrative	2. Conative	1. Directive (Conative, Pragmatic, Rhetorical, Persuasive)
3. Expressive	3. Emotive	3. Expressive (Emotive)
4. Poetic	4. Poetic	8. Poetic
5. Metalinguistic	5. Metalingual	5. Metalinguistic
6. Phatic	6. Phatic	6. Contact
		7. Contextual (Situational)

Table 7: Functions of Language Use

(per Mühlhäusler, 1981; Jakobson, 1960; Hymes, 1974). 10

It would seem fair to suggest that, in essence, approaches that employ the notion of functions have the same goals as those that eschew a functional perspective in favour of a domain-based perspective. Functions attempt to account for the processes underlying language choice in bilingual settings by positing that different languages fulfill different functions for the bilingual speaker. Similarly, and in the words of Fishman (1965:86),

the concept of «domains of language choice» represents an attempt to provide socio-cultural organization and socio-cultural context for *considerations of variance in language choice* in multilingual settings.

Fishman makes it abundantly clear that domains are concerned with specifying larger 'institutional-role contexts' (1964:42) and that the domain is, in effect, a 'socio-cultural construct' (1965:75). The role that individual behaviour plays is evaluated in the context of how it reflects a given socio-cultural norm. By establishing a domain as an institutional context, Fishman's approach relies on the notion of linguistic stereotyping, and it is precisely in this respect that theoretical divides occur between researchers looking at maintenance and shift.

As evinced by his adoption of the domain as a core aspect in an analysis of language choice, Fishman takes a stance that may be described as "deterministic" (Saxena, 1995:27), 'society-centred' (Fasold, 1984:187) and focused on the large perspective of 'overall social norms' (Appel and Muysken 1987:27). Other researchers, such as Giles *et al.* (1973), espouse a view of language choice in which the behaviour of the individual is central, and considerations such as the interpersonal speaker-addressee relationship are as pertinent as situational factors. This theoretical division between Fishman and Giles may also be expressed in terms of a division between a *sociological* approach and a *social-psychological* one; if one additionally refers to the work of researchers such as Blom and Gumperz (1972), Gal (1979) and Sankoff (1980), one may add *anthropological* to the list of approaches to language choice. The present literature review will have more to say on individual-centered theories; for the present, it is appropriate to investigate the drawbacks and advantages of the domain-based approach as proposed by Fishman.

2.2.3 Domain Analysis

As with functions, the enumeration of domains would appear to vary from researcher to researcher. Fishman (1964:37-38) cites the research of Schmidt-Rohr, in the early 1930s, in which nine domains were differentiated, and adds that researchers such as Mackey have differentiated five domains, and yet other researchers have offered alternative enumeration.

The exact number of domains that are appropriate in any given study of a speech community is determined by factors specific to the community in question. Fishman (1965:73) is quite categorical on this point:

we can safely reject the implication encountered in certain discussions of domains that there must be an invariant set of domains applicable to all multilingual settings. If language behavior [sic] is related to socio-cultural organization, as is now widely accepted, then different kinds of multilingual settings should benefit from analyses in terms of different domains of language use, whether defined intuitively, theoretically, or empirically.

Critics of the domain-based approach of the type advocated by Fishman would be justified in pointing out an obvious shortfall: Given that domains must be set up on a 'tailor-made' basis, the possibility of a direct comparison of the language choices of respondents in any two given studies - through recourse to a particular domain - does not perforce exist. What is an important domain in one study may be a relatively unimportant one in another - or even wholly inapplicable and therefore absent.¹² Even where two or more studies share the same stated domain, direct comparison is problematic: It would, for example, be inappropriate to look at a domain such as 'neighbourhood' without enquiring into the circumstances under which respondents come to be in their neighbourhood. In Timm's study, it appears that her respondents originated from the town where her research was centred, although this is not made explicit. In Parasher's study, the respondents exhibited a high degree of heterogeneity and many did not share the mother tongue of their neighbours.

Quite aside from any inter-study problems presented by a domain-based approach, there are intra-study aspects that are

vexatious and have to be resolved theoretically. It has been noted that Fishman based his research into language maintenance and language shift by viewing this topic as a field of systematic enquiry comprised of three topical subdivisions: Habitual language use; antecedent, concurrent or consequent psychological, social and cultural processes, and behaviour toward language.

<i>Schmidt-Rohr (1933)</i>	<i>Mackey (1962)</i>	<i>Parasher (1980)</i>	<i>Timm (1980)</i>
1. Family	1. Home	1. Family	1. Family
2. Playground/ street	2. Community	2. Neighbourhood	2. Neighbourhood
3. School	3. School	3. Education	3. Streets
4. Press	4. Mass media		4. Schools
5. Literature	5. Correspondence		
6. Church			5. Church
7. Military			
8. Courts			
9. Bureaucracy		4. Government	6. <i>Mairies</i>
		5. Friendship	
		6. Transactions	7. Markets
			8. Shops
		7. Employment	9. Agricultural work
			10. Other work
			11. Cafés
			12. Bars
			13. Senior Citizen's clubs
			14. Community festivals
			15. <i>Cercles celtiques</i>
			16. Oral media

Table 8: Domains of Language Use (per Schmidt-Rohr, 1933; Mackey, 1962; Parasher, 1980; Timm, 1980). 11

Fishman's claim that individual behaviour is subject to interpretation according to sociocultural norms may be defensible in the second of these subdivisions (although, as noted, there are researchers who would disagree), but such a claim would appear to be somewhat stretched with regard to the last subdivision. Fishman (1964:65) isolates, within this subdivision,

attitudinal-affective behaviors [sic] (loyalty, anti-pathology, etc.), overt behavioral implementation (control or regulation of habitual language use via reinforcement, planning, prohibition, etc.), and... cognitive behaviors (language consciousness, language knowledge, language-related group perceptions, etc).

Language attitudes have been much studied in individual-oriented research; although this is not sufficient grounds in itself to suggest that a macro-societal approach should be ruled out as inappropriate, a closer look at the above quotation from Fishman raises justifiable doubts as to the appropriateness of just such an approach. Research on language maintenance and language shift is centered on the bilingual setting; the knowledge of a language or languages other than the mother tongue are presupposed of the respondents in any survey. It cannot, however be presupposed that all respondents in a survey have the same language knowledge - that is, the same degree of proficiency as each other in language X, language Y, etc. An attempt to generalize on cognitive behaviours at a societal level would therefore appear ill-construed in the extreme.

It is worth noting the following example, illustrating the drawbacks to Fishman's domain-based approach: The present study undertakes to investigate, amongst other things, language use in Mauritius. Given the multilingual and multiethnic nature of Mauritian society, it is not expected that all respondents involved in the completion of a questionnaire will have the same knowledge of, say, English or French. My initial instincts are that Indo-Mauritians are apt to favour the learning and use of English for commercial purposes, where the 'General Population' select French. But even amongst the respondents identifiable as members of the Indo-Mauritian 'group', it is impossible to generalize on the use of English in the commercial domain, based

on considerations of group identity. My Indo-Mauritian - specifically *Bhojpuria* - respondents will be diversified on the basis of language instruction, language proficiency, personal opinions regarding language and identity, etc. In none of these respects does it seem appropriate to make broad (i.e. group-level or societal-level) assumptions about the use of English in the domain of 'commerce' by Indo-Mauritians.¹³

To summarize domain analysis, as it is employed by Fishman, one may suggest that it is the conceptual core of an approach that advocates a macro-societal evaluation of data, by taking social organization as its basis. Domains are institutional constructs and domain analysis seeks to account for language variation through analyzing social location (Fishman, 1989:237). But the other, necessary, component parts of the approach in which domain analysis is used relate to social dynamics or subdomain interactional dynamics (Fishman, 1989:237-239); an attempt to construe dynamic processes as normative would be senseless.

It may have appeared, from the discussion above, that domain analysis is too imperfect a tool to employ in the study of language maintenance and language shift. Nothing could be further from the truth. Despite the many criticisms that may be levelled against it, domain analysis remains a most useful means of establishing patterns of language choice; this may clearly be seen in the context of a discussion on diglossia, to which I now turn.

2.2.4 Diglossia

The notion of diglossia is attributed to Ferguson (1959), although, as Fasold (1984) and Schiffman (1997) point out, the term is encountered, in its French form *diglossie*, in the work of Marçais (1932-33). Like Marçais, Ferguson reported on a language situation in which two forms of Arabic - Classical Arabic and the local vernacular - coexisted, but were used in different contexts and fulfilled different social functions. Ferguson used the term 'diglossia' to refer to the use of different dialects of the same language; as such, it was construed as a phenomenon that obtained in bi-dialectal situations. Its usefulness as a concept to

describe the complementary distribution of languages (not necessarily related to each other), rather than dialects of the same language, was not lost on other researchers. It became viewed as a term that could be applied in discussing the language situation in bilingual settings (Fishman, 1967; Rubin, 1968).

In Ferguson's model of diglossia, two dialects of the same language are distinguished on the basis of a binar opposition: One is the high dialect (H), the other is the low dialect (L). H and L are functionally distributed, so that situations may be described in which the use of H is considered appropriate by the speaker whilst the use of L is not, and vice versa. The notion of appropriateness is, however, not construed as being determined by the individual speaker. Saviile-Troike (1989:55) points out that

diglossia refers to language distribution in the whole society and not in the usage of individuals,

a view reiterated by Fishman (1989:181), who further adds that diglossia differs from bilingualism in that it represents an 'enduring societal arrangement'. Since, according to Fishman's definition, diglossia is to be viewed as a societal arrangement, it is wholly compatible with domain analysis: The former is a characterization of the '*social allocation of functions to different languages or varieties*' (Fishman, 1976:295); the latter, an institutional construct specifying the social location of language variation.

Despite the fact that bilingualism may not be a societal arrangement, Fishman places great importance on it in his society-based approach to language maintenance and language shift. Fishman expresses the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia schematically, thereby producing the means for an analysis of four possible linguistic situations. This, in turn, leads to a conclusion that is both a justification of domain analysis and of the utmost significance to the study of language maintenance and language shift.

The fourth of these linguistic situations effectively describes a language situation of a group whose members are small in number, have frequent fact-to-face interaction with each other and are isolated from other communities - factors which, taken

together, might account for the lack of development of differentiated registers. Yet, as Fishman (1976:299) states,

such groups, be they bands or class - are easier to hypothesize than to find. All speech communities seem to have certain ceremonies or pursuits to which access is limited, if only on an age basis.

		DIGLOSSIA	
		+	-
	+	1. Both diglossia and bilingualism	2. Bilingualism without diglossia
BILINGUALISM			
	-	3. Diglossia without bilingualism	4. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Table 9: Relationships Between Bilingualism and Diglossia
(Fishman, 1976:288).

Although Fishman does not say so, one may add that groups like these are also likely to be non-literate: It is difficult to envisage a language in which the literary form is identical to standard, colloquial usage; and where languages possess a written literature, the potential exists for social or psychological distinctiveness to be asserted by the adoption of a 'higher' dialect, that is, a dialect closer to the written form.¹⁴

The third linguistic situation described by Fishman may also be hard to find since the disintegration, this century, of empires, and the independence of colonial nations. This linguistic situation describes a social configuration in which a ruling group speaks only the 'high' variety, whilst the other group speaks only the 'low' language. Fasold (1984:41) gives the example of this by citing the use of French by the nobility and Russian by the masses, in czarist Russia, and adds that

[d]iglossic communities without bilingualism are not speech communities, since the two groups do not

interact, except minimally through interpreters or by using a pidgin language.

It is by comparing the relationship between bilingualism and diglossia that obtains in linguistic situations one and two that important facts emerge regarding the societal concensus as to the functional specification of languages and the consequences of this to language maintenance and language shift.

2.2.5 Bilingualism with and without Diglossia

In discussing bilingualism without diglossia, Fishman depicts a situation that is so appropriate to Mauritius that it may as well have been written with Mauritius in mind. The situation is one in which rapid, large scale industrialization takes place; the members of a speech community providing the manpower for industries controlled by members of another speech community (comprising the elite) abandon their traditional socio-cultural patterns. The former speech community learns the language of the latter, but there is no social absorption of the former speech community by the elite. Fishman (1976:298) continues:

Under circumstances such as these, no well established, socially recognized and protected functional differentiation of language obtains in many speech communities of the lower and lower middle classes... [t]he languages of immigrants may come to be ridiculed as 'debased' and 'broken' while at the same time their standard varieties are given no language maintenance support.

This lack of functional differentiation of language creates the situation of bilingualism without diglossia, which, Fishman states, tends to be transitional with regard to the linguistic repertoires and speech varieties within a speech community. He concludes (*ibid.*)¹⁵ that

[w]ithout separate though complementary norms and values to establish and maintain functional separation of the speech varieties, that language or variety which is fortunate enough to be associated with the predominant drift of social forces tends to displace the other(s).

Linguistic situations instantiating bilingualism without diglossia are thus unstable and instability of this nature establishes the basis for displacement of language, or, since I have been employing this term up to now, language shift. One objection that may be raised to Fishman's analysis is that he fails to explain the notion of 'drift of social forces'. Presumably, the numerical strength of a particular speech community could be held to constitute a 'social force', as could factors such as political or economic or religious pre-eminence - or a combination of any or all of these. In Mauritius, the demographic strength of a community is no indicator of its political power; one encounters a situation where one community has the former social force, and another the latter. If the above factors indeed constitute 'social forces', a clear guideline as to their relative strengths in determining 'drift' is necessary.

One now comes to the first category described by Fishman of a possible relationship between bilingualism and diglossia: A linguistic situation in which both diglossia and bilingualism exist. In contrast to category two, this indicates a stable situation, in which varieties - by which I mean either dialects of a language or distinct languages - have compartmentalized roles and do not compete with each other in any given domain; also in contrast to category two, this stable situation is held to promote language maintenance. In the present work, I contend that Mauritius is an example of this linguistic situation. Given my opinion, stated above, that the definition of category two had succinctly expressed linguistic developments in Mauritius, this contention now requires an explanation. It is clear from Fishman's work that he considers a linguistic situation in which bilingualism and diglossia exist to be exemplified by societies that are in the process of 'growing up'.¹⁶ It would indeed seem more than reasonable, albeit platitudinous, to suggest that Mauritian society has evolved rapidly and is not as it was prior to the second world war. I may then proceed to claim that the linguistic situation has evolved this century from that described in Fishman's second category to that described in category one; language shift may well have taken place before the linguistic situation became stable.

Accepting the validity of the concept of diglossia allows me to justify my use of domain analysis as a means of investigating language maintenance and language shift, but it is necessary to take into account that domains themselves shift. As Schiffman (1997:211) explains,

[w]hile diglossia as a fact of linguistic culture may be stable, the distribution of domains reserved for one variety or other can vary; the dominance of a particular domain by a particular variety can shift, with one variety encroaching on domains previously restricted to another.

A close scrutiny of several aspects of diglossia hints at the fact that, as a concept, it is in need of refining. Nowhere in the existing linguistic literature does one find any indication sufficiently clear to allow one to distinguish varieties in Mauritius on the basis of the binary opposition H-L. If Creole is L, how should one categorize the heavily francisized form identified by Baker (1972) as 'Refined Kreol'? Assuming that Hindi is H and Bhojpuri is L, what consequences does this have for Bhojpuri re-lexified with Hindi?¹⁷ Will Hindi always be H, irrespective of domain?¹⁸

A fundamental question arises as to whether a variety under consideration is a separate language, or an L form of an H language. With respect to such a question, it is opportune to bear in mind the oft-cited bon mot, attributed to Uriel Weinreich, that 'a language is a dialect with an army and a navy'. In Mauritius, Creole and Bhojpuri are often regarded as varieties (or dialects) of French and Hindi respectively; that this should be so is in no small measure attributable to the perception of French and Hindi as having the distinction of being national - and international - languages and of possessing literary traditions many centuries old. Creole and Bhojpuri, by contrast, are perceived to have a distinctly local, vernacular flavour. In other words, whilst both French and Hindi have an army and a navy, Creole and Bhojpuri have the cane-cutter's machete and the plough. It is also opportune to bear in mind that the status of Creole and Bhojpuri in terms of H/L, dialect/language is highly context sensitive and subject to individual speaker perceptions.

2.3 Maintenance and Shift as Individualistic Phenomena

2.3.1 Socio-Psychological Factors

I have noted the view, expressed by Fishman, that the study of language maintenance and language shift needs to incorporate an analysis of the psychological, social or cultural processes taking place in the speech community under investigation. If this assertion is valid, as I maintain it to be, it is nevertheless the case that these processes will vary from community to community both in number and in the extent to which they impact on habitual language use and, hence, in the degree to which they are pertinent in accounting for maintenance or shift. Mukherjee (1996:17) concisely appraises the situation in the following way:

The number of historical, cultural, social, political, psychological and linguistic factors involved in the processes of language maintenance and language shift is so large and their interaction so complex that the formulation of any comprehensive model to investigate the phenomenon in all its complexity seems fraught with unprecedented dangers.

Treating these 'processes' (per Fishman) or 'factors' (per Mukherjee) as variables, one immediately encounters the problem of deciding how many such variables there should be. Haugen (1956) identifies fourteen, adding four to a list of ten ventured by Weinreich (1953); Lieberman (1974) proposes a more modest figure of seven, whilst Moorghen and Domingue (1982) settle for only three, as Table 10 demonstrates.¹⁹ Ultimately, it is not a question of how many variables exist, so much as what socio-psychological (or historico-political/cultural) processes are involved and how these should be defined.²⁰ In order to provide a working model for language maintenance and language shift, any prospective researcher has to be able to analyse data in a way that is meaningful. Yet while lists of variables are conducive to analysis, the individual items on these lists are discrete entities; socio-psychological factors, however, are not. There is considerable diffusion of meaning in the vocabulary of these lists, with potential for substantial overlap.

<u>Haugen (1956)</u>	<u>Weinreich (1953)</u>	<u>Lieberman (1974)</u>	<u>Moorghen and Domingue (1982)</u>
Geographic area	Geographic area		
Indigenusness	Indigenusness		
Cultural or ethnic group	Cultural or ethnic group		Cultural or ethnic group
Religion	Religion		
Race	Race		
Sex	Sex		
Age	Age		
Social status	Social status	Social status	
Occupation	Occupation		
Rural vs. urban population	Rural vs. urban population	Rural vs. urban population	Rural vs. urban population
Family			
Neighbourhood		Neighbourhood	
Political affiliation			
Education		Education	Education
		Familiarity with interlocutor	
		[Proficiency in the language]	
		Familiarity of topic	

Table 10: Variables of Non-Linguistic Factors Relating to Language Maintenance and Language Shift.

Table 10 refers to the work of Lieberman (1974) and purports to give correspondences between the variables put forward by that author, and Haugen, Weinreich, and Moorghen and Domingue (Lieberman does not actually suggest that language use is determined by the existence of any named process or factor. The

conclusions are stated in terms of 'principles of language usage' as extracted from data on situational language use ²¹). Comparing Lieberman (1974) with Moorghen and Domingue (1982), certain one-to-one correspondences may be claimed with respect to the non-linguistic factors that are held to have a bearing on language maintenance (irrespective of whether these factors are stated as 'factors' or merely summarized as principles). Both Lieberman and Moorghen and Domingue consider, for example, the distinction between the rural and urban setting as important. Other correspondences between Lieberman and Moorghen and Domingue are, however, subject to interpretation. I have suggested that Lieberman identifies education as one of the processes involved in language maintenance and language shift, yet what is actually stated by Lieberman (1974:169) is the following:

The position of English as an educational target results in the somewhat anomalous situation between parents and children, in that although these fall within the scope of familiar and a choice of Patois, the parents insist upon English.²²

Lieberman thus discusses the process of education in the context of how it is reflected in the interaction between parent and child. Haugen (1956) differs from this by isolating education and family as two discrete processes; Moorghen and Domingue (1982), differing from both Lieberman and Haugen, do not emphasize the role of the family. To add to this confusion, Moorghen and Domingue (1982:57-8) discuss both social status and group identity within the factor of education:

English may be considered a reference language for achievement, since those who are most proficient in that language have had at least a full secondary education in either a State-owned or a private college. A Mauritian citizen who holds a diploma from an English-speaking university is certainly fluent in English; but this fluency does not really confer superiority on the user... [But] the use of French can be regarded as containing very strong implications as to social status and as to identity of group... Its importance in formal and semiformal situations cannot be neglected, and it is undoubtedly considered by Mauritians as a prestige language.

The differences in the ways in which researchers consider and identify socio-cultural processes is not a trivial matter, since these differences highlight both the intricate interactions that take place between ostensibly distinct processes and the highly culturally specific way in which any given process may be seen as subsuming various elements. In the introduction of his study on language maintenance and language shift amongst Panjabis and Bengalis in Delhi, Mukherjee (1996:23) asserts that

[t]he impact of any of these (socio-psychological) factors on language maintenance and shift is not unidirectional and constant. In fact, they overlap and interact with each other in a very complex manner. Their importance and nature still vary from community to community.

I made a similar claim in the opening paragraph of this section, where I intended 'community' to represent a given speech community, and community to community variation to indicate alternation in the value of socio-psychological factors when attempting to draw comparisons between different speech communities. Closer investigation of the implications of Mukherjee's assertion reveals that 'community' is not necessarily limited to such a definition.

The research undertaken by Simon (1986:21-2) in Banares highlights the fact that other communities (here, an ethnic community) may be nested within the concept of a speech community.²³ The dynamics of these co-existing communities are not perforce the same, in that they may involve a different degree of conscious identification on the part of the community member:

In certain ways, a speech community such as the Banarsi Boli community is similar to an ethnic community. There is a difference however between ethnic identity per se, and the pragmatic use of ethnic identity. The former is based on enduring phenomena -- language (the actual speech variety as well as the language label), long term religious affiliation, habits of dress and food, etc. The applications or the uses of ethnic identity are not such stable, objective things... An individual assumes an "ethnic identity" when he or she makes a conscious identification with this kind of community.

It is clear from Dua (1981) that the difficulties encountered in existing linguistic literature over how the dimensions of a speech community should be established have a direct bearing on any attempt to quantify socio-psychological processes. I would not, even in extremis, wish to propose that the concept of a speech community be abandoned, since this would invalidate the importance of socio-psychological factors as areas of investigation in language maintenance and language shift. Notwithstanding this, I suggest that there are serious drawbacks to any model that relies on an analysis of socio-psychological processes as one of its component parts. The lack of universality in the significance of any one such process, no less than the complex network of interactions taking place between them at different levels of the speech community, provide a strong argument for the search for a more satisfactory model elsewhere.

2.3.2 Accommodation Theory

Chapter 2.3.1. discussed socio-psychological processes, whilst referring also to socio-psychological factors. In the context of the discussion, these terms were used largely interchangeably, in that they were connected to an analysis of a claim made by Fishman in which a distinction between processes and factors was not strictly necessary. I stated that these processes (or factors) were considered by Fishman as important to the study of language maintenance and language shift - a view with which I agreed - but that there were fundamental problems due to considerations of enumeration, definition, universality, and applicability throughout the speech community. One may now identify another problem, and this relates not to the formulation of the concept of socio-psychological processes, but to the perspective that such a concept takes.

An investigation into socio-psychological processes is dependent on the notion that these processes obtain at the level of the speech community - however the latter term is construed and however polymorphic or multinomial it may be. As such, the concept of a socio-psychological process is socially deterministic: It makes the claim that process X accounts (or fails to account) for language maintenance in community Z.

However small the community in question, this approach is thus still far from being an individual-oriented one. As was illustrated, Lieberman (1974) proposed a list, which I expressed in terms of non-linguistic variables, which contained items not referred to by the other authors cited. These were *familiarity with interlocutor and familiarity of topic* - both of them situational factors. It is relevant to the present discussion to note that these factors are typically associated with individual-oriented approaches and with investigations into language choice. As Appel and Muysken (1987) state, factors including the ethnicity of the interlocutor no less than the style of the conversation or its topic may determine the language chosen.²⁴ As Appel and Muysken (1987:28) also point out, certain approaches consider that 'language choice cannot be explained adequately by referring to situational factors only'. These are none other than the socio-psychological approaches, exemplified by the work of Howard Giles. For the purposes of clarification, it is important to precede the discussion of one of the principal theories associated with Giles by a brief look at a model proposed to account for language choice. This is Giles' *Interpersonal Speech Accommodation Theory*.

The 1970s witnessed the growth in interest in viewing language use from the perspective of an individual's response to the speech act; social psychologists began to examine the notion that speakers modify their speech with respect to their interlocutors in order to create either a feeling of closeness with the interlocutor (convergence) or a sense of distance (divergence). Giles (1973) attempted to define the processes that lay behind the phenomena of convergence and divergence by postulating a theory centered on the principle of accommodation. Although, in origin, Giles had set out to propose a model to account for accent changes within a single language, the socio-psychological implications of his research on language use in bilingual settings was soon evident.

In essence, Giles' formulation of accommodation states that an individual actively elicits positive evaluation from another by downplaying dissimilarities in features that exist between himself/herself and the other. These features may be of a non-

linguistic nature, such as posture, body language or tone of voice; but it is on linguistic adjustment that Giles concentrates.²⁵ Linguistic convergence may be seen as the desire - not necessarily conscious - for approval; here, the speaker will modify his/her speech to achieve just such an objective. Divergence, by contrast, would appear to be the outcome of a conscious decision on the part of the speaker. As suggested by Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire (1982:248), divergence takes place when speakers

either (a) define the encounter in intergroup terms and desire positive ingroup identity, or (b) wish to dissociate personally from another inter-individual encounter (both identity-maintenance functions).

What is important to note here is that both of the scenarios identified by Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire involve identity: Either the speaker affirms his/her identity, irrespective of whether this elicits any approval from the interlocutor, or the speaker takes the measures that he/she considers appropriate to gain approval by attempting to draw closer to the identity of the interlocutor.

It should, however, be borne in mind that linguistic devices used by a speaker, whether for convergence or divergence, may be indicative not only of a certain attitude on the part of the speaker with respect to identity but with respect to perceived norms. By converging (let it be said, for the sake of argument, that this is a conscious effort), the speaker is modifying his/her speech according to his/her perceptions regarding the speech norms of the interlocutor. The strategy is subjective, and need not bear any relation to objective linguistic convergence. Similarly, a speaker may be intending to diverge, and his/her efforts at doing so be lost on an interlocutor who perceives no attempt at divergence. This point does not escape the attention of Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire (1982).

One may demonstrate the subtlety of the Accommodation Theory, and its ability to interpret values and attitudes underlying language use, by the following annotated example:²⁶

X is an Indo-Mauritian from a rural environment whose first language is Bhojpuri and who speaks French, English and Creole - a not uncommon situation. X has to collect goods from an exclusive department store in the capital city and sets off by bus from his village. (Dialogue 1) X meets his neighbour, Y, at the bus stop and addresses her in Bhojpuri. It is the variety of Bhojpuri spoken locally, which shows no great influence from either Creole or Hindi.

X does not need to converge with Y. They have the same ethnic identity, live in the same neighbourhood and have what X perceives to be the same social status. X considers Y to form part of the in-group.

(Dialogue 2) X boards the bus and takes a seat next to Z, a senior colleague at his place of work. Z is also an Indo-Mauritian and also speaks Bhojpuri. X addresses Z in a 'creolized' variety of Bhojpuri.

X and Z have the same ethnic identity. But Z lives in the city and X perceives Z to have a higher social status. X converges with Z, using 'creolized' Bhojpuri, since he believes that this sounds more urbanized and is under the impression that this is the type of Bhojpuri that Z speaks. X desires the social approval of Z.

(Dialogue 3) Z answers X in a 'hindi-ized' variety.

Z believes that a 'hindi-ized' Bhojpuri shows off his education. He diverges with X. Z has no need to gain X's social approval but he does not actually want to dissociate with him. Z is merely pointing out to X that he is an educated Indo-Mauritian who values his culture.

The above example gives a very basic illustration of how language use may reflect the perceptions not only that the speaker has of himself/herself, but of the interlocutor also. Yet the perspectival aspect of the Accommodation Theory presents certain problems. The notion of identity would not appear to be limited to a single factor, such as ethnicity; indeed, as my example shows, ethnicity is unlikely to be a cause for either convergence or divergence when both the speaker and the interlocutor are from the same ethnic group. If this is the case, there is a strong implication that the assertion of identity through convergence or divergence is conditioned by societal differences that are perceived to exist between the speaker and the interlocutor. The number of potential reasons for linguistic convergence or divergence is thus as great as the number of groups that the speaker can identify in his/her society - assuming that such groups are held to possess their own language, language variety, jargon or register.

One may also point to the existence, within the Accommodation Theory, of a paradox. Whilst the theory purports to investigate the perceived norms of a speaker and to draw conclusions as to his/her language use on the basis of this, the researcher deploying this theory must be able to designate both the speaker and the interlocutor as being a member of a given social group. Without this designation, no conclusion could be drawn regarding language use. As such, the researcher is constructing a social identity for the parties involved in the speech act, thereby creating a framework that is deterministic. In effect, Accommodation Theory deals with an outsider's perception of the social identity of a subject engaged in modifying his/her speech on the basis of the perceived social identity of the interlocutor; a somewhat confusing situation. In addition to the above-mentioned paradox, one may also cite the existence of what Labov has termed the observer's paradox. As Le Page (1997:22) explains, this refers to a situation in which

[i]t is not possible to observe the behavior either of very small particles or of an interlocutor without affecting that behavior.

If it is the case that a speaker has an option to converge with or diverge from his/her interlocutor, the possibility must be allowed that, under observation, a speaker's modification of his/her language may also be a function - to a degree that is difficult to quantify - of the relationship between the observer and the observed. These two paradoxes represent a problem that goes straight to the heart of all sociolinguistic investigation on language use, and, ultimately, on language maintenance and language shift, since it calls into doubt the ability of a researcher to effect an analysis of language use that is truly objective and representative. It is with Le Page's work on language behaviour in bilingual settings that one sees an attempt to circumvent some of the obstacles facing researchers in their sociolinguistic investigations.

2.3.3 Acts of Identity

Saxena (1995) has suggested that aspects of the work of Le Page bear a striking similarity to that of Giles, a suggestion that is valid, in that both Giles and Le Page focus on the aspect of linguistic behaviour as motivated by perceptions of identity. An important difference between the approaches taken by Giles and Le Page, as Saxena indeed notes, is that Giles' Accommodation Theory is concerned with interactive behavioural events in which individuals modify their speech in terms of their perceptions of each other. Le Page's approach, by contrast, concentrates on the way that individuals perceive groups - in both immediate and non-immediate contact situations - and assign linguistic attributes to these perceptions. Another important difference exists between Giles and Le Page, relating to the way in which the concept of a group is defined. With Giles, groups - be they linguistic, ethnic, religious, etc. - are held to pre-exist; with Le Page, no such a priori existence of a group is necessary, since it is the individual who creates his/her linguistic system:

[T]he individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985:181).

The creation of a pattern of linguistic behaviour takes place through action, and, according to Le Page, a speech act is an action; more than this, it is an action of projection. To use a metaphor employed by Le Page, the speaker projects model norms onto the social screen and brings these model norms into focus with those of other individuals. Crucially, a speech act becomes an 'act of identity':

Each speech act is an announcement: 'to this extent I wish to be thought of as my own man, to this extent like A, to this extent like B, to this extent like C ... ' and so on, where A, B, and C - and myself, and their properties, are the speaker's own constructs (Le Page, 1980:14).

As Tabouret-Keller (1997) points out, an individual's ability to get into focus with those with whom he wishes to identify is constrained. An individual creates the system for his/her verbal behaviour to the extent that:²⁷

- a) he can identify the groups;
- b) he has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyse their behavioural systems;
- c) his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adapt his behaviour accordingly;
- d) he is still able to adapt his behaviour.

The beauty of the above model is that it operates whatever the input of the individual. To explain this, let me recapitulate the point that the individual is responsible for constructing invariant norms that are, in effect, idealized models. The construction of such models may be problematic: An individual may experience difficulties, for example, in identifying his/her model groups, or lack the strength of motivation to want to resemble a group, or simply be unable to modify his/her speech. As Downes (1998:273) points out, an individual constructs models from the linguistic variability experienced; speech then becomes a 'variable mix of idealized invariant norms'. Acting on this notion of norms, a researcher can integrate linguistic variability into an analysis of the social factors underlying language use. So much for the explanation, but how does this

translate into actual practice? Referring to the methods used by him in surveys conducted amongst schoolchildren in Belize, Le Page (1997:29) states the following:

Without needing to make any prior assumptions about social groups of any kind we were able (using a cluster analysis program) to see what clusters or groups the children formed according to the similarity of their scores on up to 25 variables... We were then able to test for each child the extent to which membership of a cluster correlated with any one of a number of non-linguistic variables, and thus to rank those for their importance in motivating the child's language.

I suggest that the Acts of Identity hypothesis of Le Page represents a potentially powerful tool for identifying the mechanisms involved in language maintenance and language shift. But I offer this suggestion with a caveat. Languages are maintained because speakers from the speech community in question maintain them; language shift occurs because the speakers occasion such shift. In both cases, the phenomenon under investigation is necessarily at the level of the speech community. The language behaviour of individuals, as interpreted by the Acts of Identity approach, has nothing to say about the speech community as a theoretical construct. Summarizing his hypothesis, Le Page (1997:31) makes it clear that,

[b]oth the groups and the linguistic properties they are endowed with are percepts of each individual and idiosyncratic, although clearly constrained by objective realities... This may well be dismissed as "ad hoc social theory"; it is rather a sociolinguistic hypothesis formed after many years of observing multilingual societies. "Explanation" lies in the complex psychological motivation of the individual, coerced by social forces.

This is not to say that my discussion has now come around full circle from Chapter 2.3.1, where I discussed the importance of socio-psychological factors. The above quotation from Le Page highlights the importance of treating individual perception and individual language behaviour as the loci of investigation into language use, and provides a perfect introduction to the notion of social networks.

2.3.4 Social Networks

In Chapters 2.3.1 and 2.3.2, this discussion considered theories and approaches that are to a very large extent dependent on situating the individual in a particular social group. These social groups, as the discussion pointed out in Chapter 2.3.3, are rather more the reflection of *a priori* assumptions on the part of researchers than indicative of a social reality as perceived by the individual himself/herself. As I also pointed out in Chapter 2.3.3, the Acts of Identity hypothesis proposed by Le Page represents a major shift in the way that group identity is regarded by the researcher, in that it construes the existence of the social group to be the product of individual perception. Le Page first proposed his hypothesis in 1978, a year that also marks the introduction of an approach to language behaviour through an analysis of micro-level social clusters, or 'networks'. The researcher principally associated with the networks approach is Lesley Milroy, whose pioneering work in three working class areas of Belfast establishes the rationale of the social network in sociolinguistic investigation.

According to Milroy (1980:135), a social network attempts to explain individual behaviour of various kinds which cannot be accounted for in terms of corporate group membership.

A social network is based on face-to-face associations and represents the patterns that an individual exhibits in his/her social transactions within a community. Not all networks are of the same type, however. Networks are distinguished on the basis of whether they have low or high density, where density refers to the number of links amongst individuals. They also differ with respect to their multiplexity - a term that refers to the *kinds* of links between individuals.²⁸ Effectively, then, a network defines a pattern of social connections between individuals and between the people known to them. The denser and more multiplex the network, the greater the number of social connections.

The concept of networks as an important means of investigating language use represents a break from synchronic accounts of language norms and a move towards an attempt to

provide an account of language practices by looking at how individual speakers respond to social processes. It is, therefore, a study of language use at the micro-level of interaction, and, as such, has an evident sociolinguistic appeal: If it is the case that an investigation of a social network can accurately indicate the levels of interaction between individuals, an analysis of the speech of individuals within such a network ought to permit conclusions to be drawn regarding the factors influencing their linguistic behaviour. As Chamber (1995:68) explains it,

the immediacy of network influence and its directness can be extrapolated to provide clues about the more ineffable and indirect forces at play in society at large.

There are nevertheless some problematic theoretical issues that must be taken into account when discussing the network approach. Much of the existing research employing social networks analysis has been undertaken in areas where communities could be differentiated in terms of socioeconomic class. More specifically, the individuals surveyed in this type of research would appear to have been assigned to a particular socioeconomic class - often the working class: Notwithstanding the Belfast study by J. and L. Milroy one may point to Gal (1979), Labov (1972), Labov and Harris (1986) and Edwards (1992). Quite aside from the fact that this indicates *a priori* assumptions were being made by researchers about socioeconomic class, the notion itself of identifying such a class and ascribing individuals to it is fraught with complications. Regarding the use of class constructs in sociolinguistics, Downes (1998:207) points out that

[t]he models of class used have relied on the importance of occupation... But such 'objective' measures make class problematic with respect to women. Often it has been the occupation of husband or father (and 'his' income) that figures in the assignment of class to women, if they are not independently employed. Thus, many women were assigned to classes only with respect to men.

It should also be added that socioeconomic classes are not necessarily mutually exclusive or clearly demarcated entities at

either the personal or the geographical level; an individual may have parents that are from different socioeconomic classes, or may not be representative of a given socioeconomic class in terms of income, education, profession or any number of sociocultural or ethnocultural factors. Additionally, whilst networks indicate the number and frequency of social connections, they cannot capture perceptual factors relating to those connections - that is, the value of given social connections to an individual. One may argue that *qualitative* assessment of networks is potentially as relevant as *quantitative* assessment in investigating factors determining language use.

In that the phenomenon under investigation is linguistic variation and the focus of analysis is the linguistic variable, it is not immediately obvious how a networks approach would be appropriate in an environment such as Mauritius. Milroy and Milroy (1997:61-3) appear to describe an approach that is ill-suited where multilingualism and code-switching is the norm:

What is important is that variants of a variable should demonstrably be variants of the same underlying linguistic element. At higher levels of linguistic organization (particularly syntax) it is difficult to meet this condition, as it is often not clear what two syntactic variants... have the same meaning and distribution in the language... *There are many areas of the world in which variability with and between languages is very great, and some situations in which speakers may not be entirely certain as to which language they are speaking (My italics).*

Yet there is justifiable support for the importance of a networks approach in the study of language use. Despite quite unambiguous criticism of Gal (1979) over the Oberwart study, insofar as this study had failed to make explicit linkages between political and economic factors on the one hand and patterns of language use on the other, Martin-Jones (1989:116) makes the following comment:

There is growing confidence amongst sociolinguists that the concept of social network can be used to explain some patterns of linguistic variation. It has also been suggested that networks might provide a way of linking analyses of the patterns of language use of individual speakers with analyses of socio-historical processes operating at the 'macro'-level.

Milroy (2001:53) acknowledges the importance of a social theory that can associate network patterns in terms of how they represent the outcome of larger scale social, economic and political processes, although she also identifies the existence of an additional drawback to the social networks approach that I feel is of the utmost significance whilst considering Bhojpurias in Mauritius. Referring to the work of Li Wei (1994), Milroy (2001:43) assesses this drawback in the following way:

In Belfast, a network strength scale was devised to examine the relationship between strength of tie and variation in (monolingual) language behaviour (Milroy, 1987:139-43). However, since this scale was designed chiefly to examine the effect of strong ties contracted within a definable territory, it was not helpful in illuminating the network patterns contracted by the British Chinese, who were dispersed over a wide geographical area. The absence of a particular residential territory to which they could be identified as 'belonging' motivates the choice of a different procedure for examining network structure in this community.

Whilst it may be the case, in Mauritius, that certain districts contain a greater proportion of Bhojpurias than other, and that neighbourhoods are often identified as Bhojpuri-speaking strongholds (although the existence of a Bhojpuri-speaking area *par excellence* would appear to be a red herring, as mentioned in Chapter 1.2.3.1), Bhojpurias are scattered throughout the island.

In attempting to bridge the 'micro-macro gap' in linguistic research, Milroy (2001) commendably takes heed of what a systematic ethnographic approach can offer. I do not necessarily agree with her endorsement of an approach, devised by Danish anthropologist Thomas Højrup, that allocates an individual into one of three 'life-modes' on the basis of whether he/she is self-employed, an ordinary wage earner or a high-powered executive, but I whole-heartedly concur with the recourse to an analysis that acknowledges the creative strategies employed by the individual speaker, whilst recognizing that language behaviour is constrained within a broad socio-economic, sociocultural and political framework. That Milroy is not the only researcher to have contemplated methods of bridging the micro-macro gap, I shall now demonstrate.

2.3.5 Ethnolinguistic Vitality

The concept of 'Ethnolinguistic Vitality' was introduced by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor in 1977 as an attempt to provide a theoretical framework for the analysis of factors affecting ethnolinguistic groups in intergroup situations. According to Giles, Bourhis and Taylor (1977:308)

[the] vitality of an ethnolinguistic group is that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective entity in intergroup situations. From this, it is argued that ethnolinguistic minorities that have little or no group vitality would eventually cease to exist as distinctive groups. Conversely, the more vitality a linguistic group has, the more likely it will survive and thrive as a collective entity in an intergroup context.

Structural variables likely to affect the vitality of ethnolinguistic groups was posited in three general dimensions, or factors, which interacted with each other: Status, demography, and institutional support and control (See Table 11).

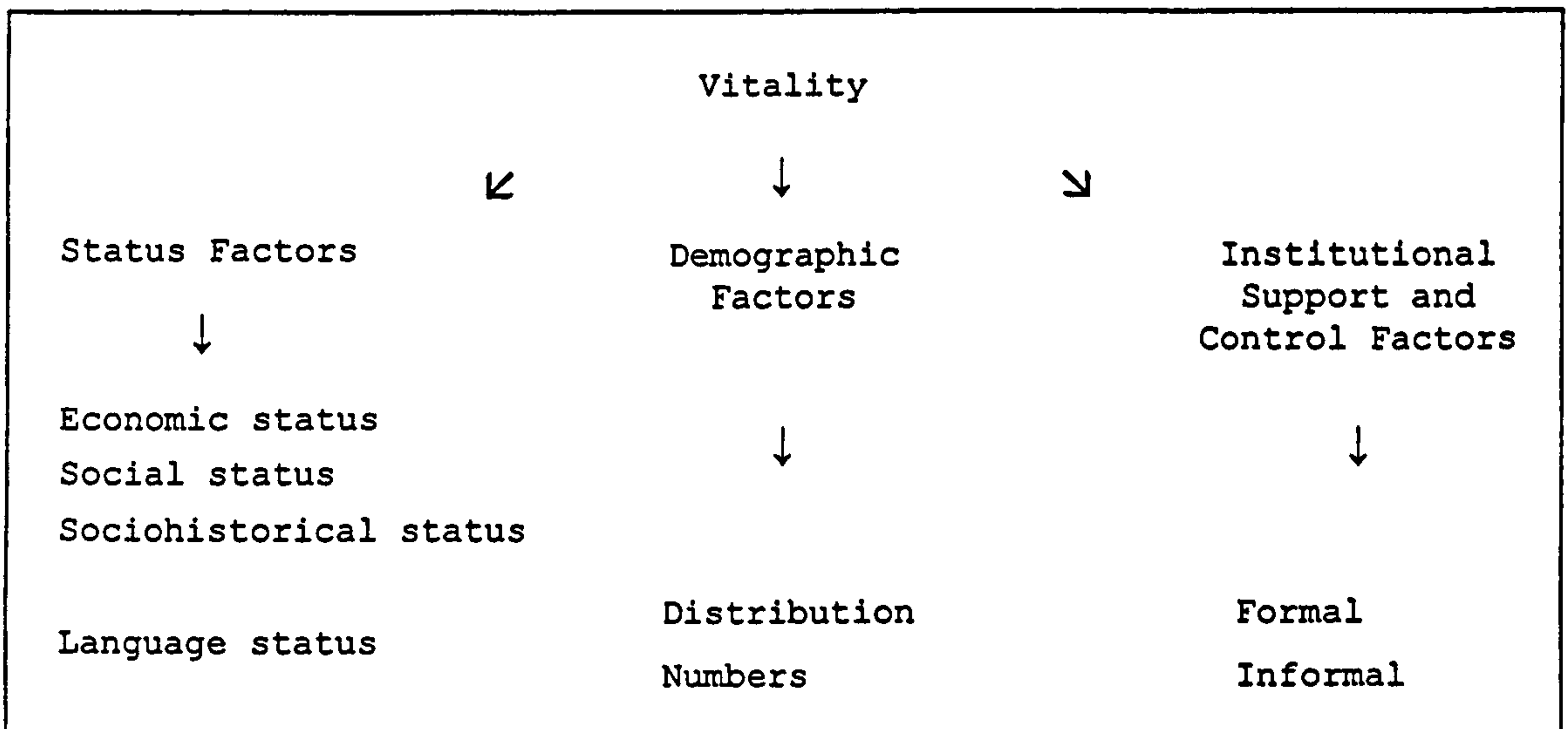


Table 11: Factor Structure of Vitality Construct
(Harwood et al., 1994:169).

A brief discussion on the notions of what constitutes an ethnolinguistic group is necessary in a discussion employing terms such as intergroup and intragroup, since these are often stated in

the literature on ethnolinguistic vitality as if they were axiomatic. Turner (1982:18) suggests that

social categorizations define a person by systematically including them within some, and excluding them from other related categories. They state at the same time what a person is and is not.

In essence, the basis of a social categorization is founded on self-concept or self-identity; but this is not as straightforward as it may seem. Deschamps (1982:91) refers to tests that have been used by social psychologists to elicit social identity, and reaches a conclusion that self-concept varies with the social categories to which an individual belongs. Domination has an important role to play:

[I]t has been noticed that women mentioned their sexual category membership more often than men, blacks referred more frequently to their ethnic affiliation than whites, Jews to their religious affiliation more often than Christians. It would appear that being placed in a position of minority or of being dominated produces in the individuals involved a heightened awareness of the social categories which determine their minority status.

(I argue that the reference to 'minority status' is not appropriate, since, as apartheid South Africa demonstrated, it is possible for an ethnic minority to dominate far larger ethnic groups). This would tend to suggest that self-concept is not so much internally determined as determined within the context of possible outgroup perceptions. Tajfel (1972:295) remarks that

the characteristics of one's own group (such as its status, its richness or poverty, the colour of its skin) acquire their significance only in relation to the perceived differences from other groups and the evaluation of these differences... the definition of a group (national, racial, or any other) makes sense only in relation to other groups. A group becomes a group in the sense that it is perceived as having common characteristics or a common fate only because other groups are present in its environment.

Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory employs the notion that groups do not determine their identity in vacuo. The vitality of any

given group is only capable of interpretation as against the lesser, equal or greater vitality of another group or groups.

Referring back to Table 11, it should be pointed out that the three factors indicated as affecting ethnolinguistic vitality are construed as broad categories containing variables that to a greater or lesser degree interact with each other.

2.3.5.1 Economic and Social Status

Giles et al. (1977:310) perceived economic status as a variable referring to 'the degree of control a language group has gained over the economic life of its nation, region or community'. Saxena (1995) cites the view that economic realities such as unemployment or widespread low income amongst a minority language community may result in a shift towards the majority language, but that this process may also be triggered as a response to economic changes relating to modernization, industrialization and urbanization. Certainly, in the case of Bhojpuri speakers in diaspora, the connection between Bhojpuri and economic backwardness has been remarked on by researchers. Mesthrie (1991), studying the obsolescence of Bhojpuri in South Africa repeatedly shows that speakers of the language consider possession of English to be of economic importance, and maintenance of Bhojpuri to have no economic benefit whatsoever. In Mauritius, it is French rather than English that is associated with economic strength:

French has a prestige value especially among the Franco-Mauritians and Creoles. Members of the Creole population who are rising in the social or economic scale give up speaking Creole in favour of French, and their wives may even pretend to be unable to understand Creole... Politically, especially for the Indo-Mauritian, the French language has come to symbolize the economic and political dominance of the Franco-Mauritian (Benedict, 1961:36).

The pressures that the language of a dominant group places on the maintenance of the language of another group does not have to be overt, nor does the adoption of the language of the dominant group. As Hale (1998:215) explains:

The pressure comes, not, of course, from the dominant language itself, but from the subtle and not-so-subtle propaganda of the associated economically dominant culture and society which encourages speakers of local languages to believe that their futures depend on switching from their native languages to the dominant one. Typically, the propaganda encourages the belief that a choice is not viable - the choice of retaining the local language is thought to be incompatible with the "proper vision" of the future.

It is clear that economic status is intimately related to social status, since the strength of a group in the economic sphere gives access to better education, better employment prospects, greater wealth and more *political* power. Interestingly, nowhere in the taxonomic model given by Giles *et al.* does political status appear, although, as shall be demonstrated, subsequent models within Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory incorporate this dimension.

2.3.5.2 Sociohistoric Status

Just as I mentioned the phenomenon of dominance considerations inherent in the formation of self-concepts, dominance figures in the way that speakers view their language symbolically. Where the symbolic value of a language is very strong in cultural terms, and the association of language with ethnic distinctiveness is correspondingly strong, the sociohistoric status of a language is likely to be high. It is perhaps the case that both the criteria of cultural symbolism and ethnic distinctiveness must be met in order that a language be given high sociohistoric status, as data from Bhojpuri in Mauritius indicates: Whilst Bhojpuri is strongly associated with North Indian, Hindu migrants and their descendants, the language appears to have a sentimental, intimate value, but to lack the ability to reflect 'Indian-ness' and 'Hindu-ness' to the same extent as Hindi (See Chapters 1.1.4, 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.5.2). The role of education in the construction of sociohistoric status cannot be underestimated, nor can the association between a language and employment (Discussed in detail in Chapters 3.2 and 4.2.3). This lends support to my claim that not only are the variables stated by Giles *et al.* (1977) subject to interaction, but that they do not necessarily carry the same weight.

2.3.5.3 Language Status

Giles *et al.* identify three dimensions within language status: history, prestige value, and degree of standardization. Status is determined by the manner in which these are a source of pride or shame to their speakers. It is obvious that these must be seen as being, again, related to other variables, since it would make no sense to discuss prestige, for example, without reference to economic or social status. History, as a dimension of language status, overlaps considerably with the variable of sociohistoric status; quite where it is distinct is unclear. What is important here, in the context of a discussion on language in Mauritius, are the notions that degree of standardization and territoriality are important aspects of vitality. Giles' analysis predicts that, of the languages of Mauritius, French and Hindi will have a higher status than Creole and Bhojpuri, since the former pair have both an official standard form and are the languages of many millions outside Mauritius. As for Creole and Bhojpuri, they have no official standard form, not being languages of instruction, and both Creole and Bhojpuri - at least the Mauritian variety - are specific to Mauritius.

2.3.5.4 Demography

Within Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory, demography is identified as a structural variable that has the potential to influence the vitality of a given ethnolinguistic group. This variable contains the notion of distribution, by which Giles *et al.* have in mind the sheer number of individuals comprising the language group and their distribution throughout a given territory; the absolute numbers of a group are also taken into account, as are birth rates, patterns of marriage, and patterns of migration. It may initially seem obvious to the point of being a commonplace that the smaller an ethnolinguistic community in a multilingual setting, the greater the need for interaction with outgroup members. As Mesthrie and Leap (2000:256) state,

[n]umbers of speakers do have a bearing on successful language maintenance; it might seem obvious that the smaller the size of a community, the stronger the threat of language shift and death. However, it is not possible to specify a critical mass of speakers.

Denison's comment that languages die not from lack of rules but from lack of speakers cannot be argued with, especially since the language situation amongst the indigenous minorities in many areas of the world repeatedly affirms this point. But it would be a mistake to assume either that the greater the number of speakers of a given language in a given territory, the greater the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group, or that small ethnolinguistic groups necessarily have poor vitality. Bourhis (2001:17) puts the point across with admirable conciseness when he states that

a linguistic group may be relatively strong on the demographic front but may suffer weak institutional support for its language and lack prestige both nationally and internationally. In contrast, a linguistic group may be weak on the demographic front but enjoy strong institutional control and considerable language status internationally.

It is important, in the Mauritian context, to distinguish between group *numbers* and group *distribution*, as per the distinction made in the vitality construct provided by Giles et al. As the present research will show, in considerable detail in Chapters 3.1.4 and 3.1.5, the importation of a huge number of Indian indentured labourers - predominantly from Northern India - in the first half of the nineteenth century drastically altered the demography of Mauritius; yet whilst the Northern Indian element of the Mauritian population continued to increase, Indians were not viewed by the colonial administration as permanent settlers to Mauritius, and their education was neglected on the basis that they would ultimately return to India (See Chapter 3.2.3). In the theoretical approach of Giles et al. it is specified that group distribution entails three sub-components, of which the first is *national territory*, relating to the notion of ancestral homeland. From the outset of Indian migration to Mauritius, one may suggest that Bhojpurias were designated as being temporary migrants, not worth the trouble of assimilating within Mauritian society. Not only would the objective ethnolinguistic vitality factors of institutional support and control have been brought to bear against these Indian migrants, but their subjective vitality beliefs would have been affected (See Chapter 2.3.5.6).

2.3.5.5 Institutional Support and Control

These twin factors of institutional support and control contain variables that overlap yet again with variables stated elsewhere in the taxonomy stated by Giles et al. As previously remarked, language choices may be engineered, if association of a language with a particular religion is successful. Certainly, the literature on language maintenance and language loss indicates that religion is often an extremely important criterion in determining both of these phenomena (Kloss, 1966, for the maintenance of Pennsylvania Dutch amongst the old order Amish and Mennonites; Gal, 1979, for the maintenance of Hungarian as the language of religion in an area where shift was to German). Many languages have continued in use, albeit in strictly liturgical contexts, long after they have been superceded by other economically or socially more dominant languages (such as Ge'ez and Coptic in Africa; Avestan, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Pali in Asia; Latin in Europe); this would strongly suggest that religion is an important variable. The shift of languages such as Gaelic, as reported, for example, in East Sutherland by Dorian (1982), may then be accounted for in one of two ways: Either one makes the claim that, for Scottish Gaelic speakers, religious identity is attenuated or that both formal and informal religious support has switched from being provided in the language traditionally used by the ethnolinguistic group in question to another language. The latter was in fact the case in East Sutherland. What the importance of religion as a variable predicts is that if one encounters a religion in which religious observation is routinely practised in a specific, living language, maintenance of that language is potentially high.

The formal teaching of languages no less than the use of languages as media of education is a valuable contribution to the maintenance of languages. It has the potential of promoting proficiency in literacy skills and oracy skills. Saxena (1995:45) cites Hornberger, who suggests that 'schools cannot be agents for language maintenance if their communities, for whatever reason, do not want them to be'. I am in agreement with this, and suggest that such an opinion can be extended to include: Schools can be - and frequently are - agents for language shift, irrespective of

whether or not the communities in question want them to be. Access to a language, once denied by the educational system, not only devalorizes the language, but ensures that the resources necessary for the maintenance of the language are not forthcoming (viz. provision of textbooks and presence of qualified teachers in the language; allocation of school time for the study of the language). From a purely interactional point of view, students are denied the ability to reinforce their knowledge of the language. In a recent conversation with Philip Baker, it was pointed out to me that Creole is not spoken in the schoolroom, but is compulsory in the playground. For Mauritian schoolchildren, then, there is little chance in the daytime of even hearing Bhojpuri.

Hornberger's quotation may equally apply to radio and television, as these cannot be agents for language maintenance if their communities, for whatever reason, do not want them to be. Conversely: Radio and television can be - and frequently are - agents for language shift, irrespective of whether or not the communities in question want them to be. Referring to his research in Wales, Colin Baker (1993:53-54) states that

it is majority language mass media that is the destroyer of a minority language and culture rather than minority language television and radio being the salvation of the language.

There is seemingly little that proponents of Bhojpuri can do in Mauritius to compete with either Hollywood, Bollywood, Western pop music and Hindi film songs in terms of capturing public interest. Bourhis 2001:17 defines informal support as

the degree to which a linguistic group has organized itself as a pressure group to represent and safeguard its own linguistic interests in various state and private activities, including: schooling, mass media, business, sports, culture and religion.

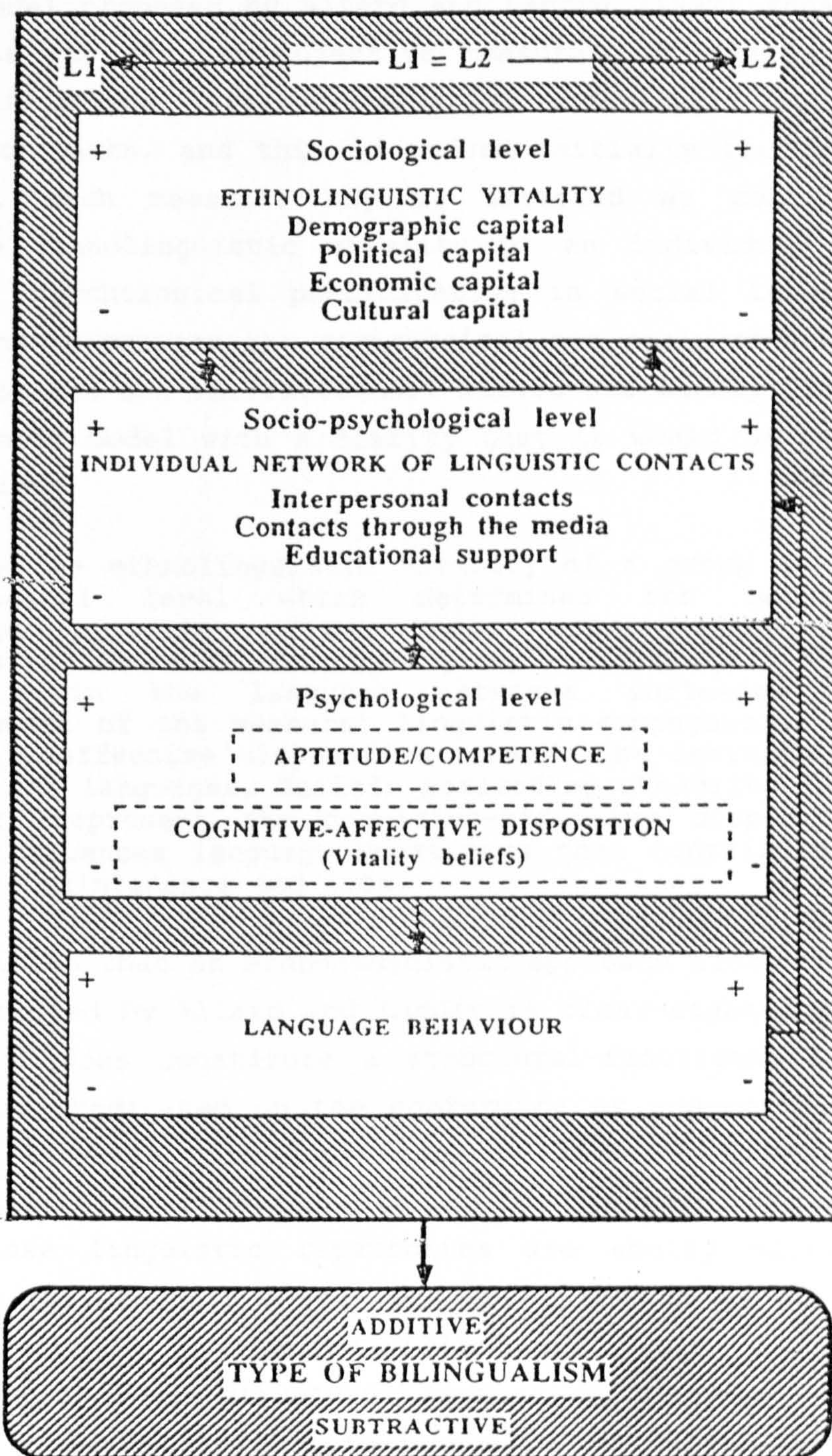
In Mauritius, Bhojpuri has come to be associated with grandparents and folk songs, not with the computer age and globalization; quite aside from any disparagement by or neglect from institutional support factors, it has seemingly lost its appeal amongst the descendants of its original speakers.

2.3.5.6 Subjective Factors

Aside from objective socio-structural processes, described in Chapters 2.3.5.1 to 2.3.5.5, an ethnolinguistic vitality analysis posits that linguistic groups have a self-perception of vitality, and that this may be analysed in terms of subjective vitality factors. These constitute a necessary and complementary aspect of an ethnolinguistic vitality analysis; some research has indicated that subjective evaluation may be of greater importance than objective factors, in that ethnolinguistic groups with positive self-perceptions behave in ways that enhance their vitality (Bourhis and Sachdev, 1984; Giles, Rosenthal and Young, 1985).

Indicators of a group's subjective ethnolinguistic vitality include the skills and motivational factors that promote the acquisition of a second language, as well as intergroup attitudes and attitudes towards code-switching or the use of a language strongly associated with an outgroup. Allard and Landry (1992:171) identify two research questions that are highly appropriate to the present research: (i) Can the ethnolinguistic vitality of groups be validly depicted in terms of beliefs? (ii) What is the degree of relationship between ethnolinguistic vitality beliefs and language behaviour which contributes to language maintenance and loss?

Building on an earlier model of additive and subtractive bilingual development (Lambert, 1985), Allard and Landry (1992) posit the existence of three levels of determinants within bilingual development, in which the first level (*sociological*) 'determines the degree to which the individual will be exposed to each language in a variety of contexts' (*op cit.* p.173). A second level (*socio-psychological*) 'identifies the individual network of linguistic contacts as the social contexts (i.e. family, school, and other community institutions) within which the entirety of the individual's linguistic contacts in the maternal and second languages occur' (*ibid.*). A third level (*psychological*) identifies two factors that determine the language behaviour of the individual: aptitude/competence and cognitive-affective disposition. 'These contribute directly towards the development of the individual's "disposition" to maintain, reduce or widen his/her network in each language' (*ibid.*) (See Illustration 2).



Unilingual	Dominant	Balanced	Dominant	Unilingual
L1	Bilingual L1	Bilingual	Bilingual L2	L2

Illustration 2: Macroscopic Model of the Determinants
of Additive and Subtractive Bilingualism
(Allard and Landry, 1992:174)

The model proposed by Allard and Landry (1992) appears, at first glance, to cluster objective measures of ethnolinguistic vitality within the level representing individual networks of linguistic contacts, and this is indeed partially the case; but importantly, such measures may be asserted as contributing towards the ethnolinguistic vitality of an individual through personal or psychological participation in social interaction. The relationship between the sociological and socio-psychological levels is complex and interactional. Allard and Landry (1992:175) summarize their model with a clarity that it would be pointless to paraphrase:

[I]t is the ethnolinguistic vitality of a group at the sociological level which determines its members' language networks, i.e. their opportunities for linguistic contacts in the group's language. These contacts in the language networks influence the development of the members' linguistic competencies and cognitive-affective disposition towards the learning and use of the languages. Beliefs reflecting ethnolinguistic vitality represent the cognitive-affective disposition which influences language behaviours that contribute to language maintenance and loss.

It is my opinion that an ethnolinguistic approach along the lines of that described by Allard and Landry is clear-sighted and well construed; it does constitute a structural-functional study of language use, predicated on the conformity or non-conformity of speakers to language norms, nor does it advocate a macro-level study of bilingual behaviour in which speakers are passive subjects whose linguistic repertoires are wholly dictated by socio-structural factors, and who are incapable of making linguistic choices. Importantly, Allard and Landry do not deny the influence of socio-structural factors on language behaviour in favour of a purely micro-interactionist approach - and fortunately so, since, as Martin-Jones (1989:114) aptly remarks,

problems arise when attempts are made to account for individual choices. Explanations are typically sought with reference to socio-psychological processes. However... this approach to the study of bilingual discourse over-emphasizes the freedom of choice speakers have in expressing their intentions. It also over-emphasizes the degree to which bilinguals can consciously monitor and control their use of language.

2.4 Towards a Theoretical Approach

Chapter 2.2 of the present research looks at where and how language is used (societal arrangement; social organization of language, etc.), whilst Chapter 2.3 focuses on language use from the standpoint of the individual within his/her social group. This gives a clear idea of the complexity of any account purporting to identify reasons underlying language maintenance and shift phenomena: These phenomena are viewed societally, in that a language is perceived to be maintained or to shift in a society as a whole, but it is the sub-societal factors that give an indication as to the factors that underlie maintenance or shift. To put it crudely, languages die because people no longer speak them; but that is merely an observation - just as censuses make observations - not an explanation. What is needed in the present research is a theoretical approach that consolidates a macro-societal emphasis on habitual language use, analysed in terms of functions, domains, diglossia and societal bilingualism, with a micro-societal perspective of the socio-psychological factors that underpin the language practices of the individual.

I have set out to investigate the language practices of Bhojpurias, and to show if these account for why, as a particular group within Mauritian society, Bhojpurias choose to switch from Bhojpuri to other languages. One should be aware that the notion of 'choice' is perhaps somewhat specious, in that it may be heavily constrained by any number of factors. In this respect, it is evident that a historical perspective is necessary in determining the level of sociostructural domination and coercion in language shift. The present research has been geared to collecting and analyzing data from a wide variety of sources: Chapter 3, for example, demonstrates a strong emphasis on the analysis of socio-historical data that are retrieved from archival data; it is thus very much in the nature of an ethnographic survey of the social progress of the Bhojpuria community and its associated ancestral language. Chapter 4, by contrast, elicits information both from Mauritian informants by way of informal interviews in which the interviewee is encouraged to speak freely, and from a persusal of how the issue of languages is reflected in the Mauritian press, where Mauritian journalists are

writing for a Mauritian readership (Here too, there is an amount of interview data). Chapter 5 of the present research takes a quite different emphasis from the previous chapters: Quantitative data are analysed that relate to seventeen research questions (identified in Chapter 1.2.3), and are elicited by way of the highly structured questionnaire interview. These data indicate the actual patterns of language use of Bhojpuria respondents, which provides information on the socio-psychological aspects of language maintenance and language shift.

In brief, the present research analyses and interprets both qualitative and quantitative data within an ethnolinguistic vitality framework, whilst acknowledging that there are drawbacks in being too dogmatic with any single theoretical perspective: Viewing maintenance and shift in terms of societal phenomena disregards the motivation and role of the individual in the processes of maintaining - or shifting from - a language. Yet viewing maintenance and shift as individualistic phenomena would yield a wealth of information but not allow for the drawing of any conclusion as to the future of Bhojpuri as a language of a community in Mauritius (See also Concluding Remarks, pp.398-400).

The present research investigates language practices - that is, it seeks to establish patterns of 'habitual language use' or 'language behaviour' - for which domain analysis is applicable. To this end, it employs an ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire specifically designed for the Mauritian linguistic environment (See Chapter 5 for details and discussions on design). It attempts to provide a consolidated approach that acknowledges the enormously important contribution to linguistics made by Fishman (Chapter 2.2.2), in viewing individual behaviour as instantiating and reflecting sociocultural norms, and by researchers such as Le Page, by accepting that language use, especially in a multilingual environment such as Mauritius, cannot but be construed as an act (or series of acts) of identity. In that participant observation was not employed, the present research has not adopted a networks approach; it nevertheless recognizes the enormous importance of such an approach in yielding 'fine-grained' detail of language practices, and hence the importance of its incorporation in future research on maintenance and shift.

2.5 Notes to Chapter 2

1. The quotation from Firth is taken from Firth (1948) The semantics of linguistic science. *Lingua* 1(4), 393-404. At the time that Firth expressed his opinion, the term 'sociolinguistics' had not yet appeared. As Currie (1981:36) points out,

[s]ociolinguistics was proposed as a distinctive academic discipline of research in the latter 1940s and early 1950s, and the term 'sociolinguistics' was independently invented at the time for its name.
2. It is worthwhile noting that Fasold (1984) considers maintenance and shift to be the long-term, collective results of language choice.
3. See also Appel and Muysken (1987:23-29) for a distinction, in the context of their discussion on language choice, between deterministic perspectives and person-oriented approaches.
4. Lehmann (1981:21), quoting Saussure, expresses Saussure's general approach to language by stating it in terms of a concentration on 'internal' rather than 'external' linguistics. He also makes the point that Saussure's *Cours* contains a brief chapter on geographical linguistics - an aspect of 'external' linguistics - in which change is referred to. Saussure ascribes change to time alone. 'Geographical diversity is then a secondary side of the general phenomenon'.
5. Hock (1991:380) offers a very similar distinction, in which changes are expressed as being 'intradialectally motivated' (that is, internally motivated) or arise as a result of linguistic contact.
6. I do not propose to enter a discussion as to the implication or appropriateness of the term 'borrowing'. Fasold (1984:263-264) notes the exception taken by Ray

(1968), who sees, in the term 'borrowing', an obligation to pay back. Since 'borrowing' is a well-established term, I see, like Fasold, no point in changing it.

7. The contribution and importance of Ferguson (1959) to the discussion of functional differentiation should not be ignored. This literature review will return to Ferguson in the subsections dealing with diglossia and domain.
8. My view is consistent with the opinion expressed by Currie (1981) regarding the time at which sociolinguistics came into being as a distinct discipline.
9. This distinction between the individualistic and the societal is a theme that Fishman continued to develop. Whilst discussing ethnocultural dimensions, Fishman (1989:189) announces a terminological difficulty: Having looked at the relationship between individual bilingualism and societal diglossia, in the sociolinguistic realm, he is searching for the societal counterpart of individual bi-culturalism for his discussion of the ethnocultural realm. He notes that Saviile-Troike suggests the term *dinomia*, but settles for *di-ethnia*.
10. Sources: Mühlhäusler from Appel and Muysken (1987:29-30); Jakobson from Fishman (1964:41); Hymes from Hymes (1974:204). Note that the order, as given by my sources, has been re-arranged to give a clearer indication of where the following authors' notions of function coincide, and where they do not.
11. Sources: Schmidt-Rohr from Fishman (1964:37); Mackey from Fishman (1964:38); Parasher from Parasher (1980); Timm from Timm (1980).

As with Table 7, detailing functions, the domains have been re-arranged, for ease of comparison. It should be noted that exact correspondence of the domains from study to study is somewhat of a convenient fiction; I have, for

example, equated Timm's domain for the French *mairie* (town hall) with Parasher's domain of 'government' and Schmidt-Rohr's domain of 'governmental bureaucracy', although these researchers may have had radically different perceptions of the administrative institution/environment that they were attempting to capture within a domain. Problems inherent in equating the domains established by different researchers only serve to emphasize the point that one must look very closely at the sociocultural dynamics of the multilingual setting under investigation.

12. The study undertaken by Parasher (1980) not surprisingly fails to include domains considered important by Timm (1980). Parasher's respondents were educated Indian urbanites, for whom domains such as 'agricultural work' and '*cercles celtiques*' (groups devoted to the celebration and furtherance of Celtic culture) would have been utterly alien.

13. Fishman (1964:62) confesses that one has

little systematic information concerning the circumstances under which language consciousness, language knowledge and language-related group perceptions do or do not enter inter reference group behavior [sic.] in contact situations. As a result, it is difficult to say at this time whether or when language maintenance and language shift are ideologically mediated as distinguished from their more obvious situational and instrumental determinants discussed thus far.

14. A casual glance at some of the languages of Europe and Asia appears to confirm this view. Two very good examples would be Norwegian and Bengali, in which the distinctions between the written and spoken forms have been extensively studied in linguistic research. It is worth noting that the high literacy rate in a speech community does not appear to diminish the differences between the written and the spoken forms. Speaking of Dutch, Shetter (1993:17) states the following:

Although to a casual observer the language seems to be the same whether it is spoken or written, the student will soon discover that many words and expressions common in writing sound stiff and high-flown when spoken. A person speaking the language just as it is written runs the risk of 'speaking like a book'. On the other hand, many other words and expressions common in the everyday spoken language are too informal to be used in writing.

15. The following quotation appears in Saxena (1995:30) and Schiffman (1997:209). Strangely, Schiffman undertakes no analysis of this portentous comment and Saxena uses it in a purely illustrative manner.

16. This is indicated by Fishman (1976:292) in his opinion that,

[r]ather than becoming fewer in modern times, the number of speech communities characterized by diglossia and the widespread command of diversified linguistic repertoires has increased greatly as a consequence of modernization and growing social complexity.

17. There may be grounds for suggesting that the Hindi-Bhojpuri relationship in Mauritius creates an instance of what Fasold (1984:46) terms 'double-nested diglossia'. Effectively, this is a situation in which there is a higher and lower form for both H and L. In Mauritius, it is easy to envisage a 'higher' and 'lower' Hindi, given the wide range both in proficiency in Hindi and in the degree of intellectual activity undertaken in the language. Hindi-speakers who have spent considerable time in India and have been exposed to the highly sanskritized form of Hindi are likely to favour this 'higher' form of Hindi over the less sanskritized, 'lower' form, Hindustani-Hindi of the Indian popular cinema. Amongst Bhojpuri speakers who know Hindi, it is possible that a significant Hindi component may be incorporated into the Bhojpuri used, parallel to the influence of Sanskrit in Hindi, resulting in a 'higher' L form. This is, however, an area of research in itself.

18. This latter question arises from the misgivings I have that a given variety, is invariably H or invariably L in all domains. I have no difficulty in accepting that Hindi would be H in a place of Hindu worship, but in the boardroom of a French-run company (where Franco-Mauritians are present), I rather suspect that it would be construed as L, irrespective of the number of Hindi-speakers present. Interestingly, Fasold (1984:44) refers to a linguistic situation, described by Abdulaziz Mkilifi (1978), in which Swahili is H with respect to local vernaculars (L), but L with respect to English. Fasold terms this 'double overlapping diglossia', although Mkilifi's description of this situation as 'triglossia' seems equally appropriate, since it alludes to a phenomenon that differs from the binarity of diglossia.
19. The precise enumeration of these is not problematic - since this is merely a question of reproducing the variables as they are given by the authors in question. Strangely, Saxena (1995:24), in attempting to state the ten variables listed by Weinreich, only cites nine; 'race' is missing. I suggest that this may have arisen due a confusion on the part of Saxena over what Weinreich gives as a single variable, which Saxena quotes as 'cultural or group membership'. Saxena would appear to have borrowed liberally from Mukherjee (1996) - whose work originally appeared as a Ph.D thesis in 1980 - since Mukherjee makes the same error in treating one variable as two. Additionally, both Saxena and Mukherjee state that Kloss (1966) cites six variables, yet procede to name only five of these.
20. I will maintain the use of the term 'socio-psychological' in reference to any non-linguistic process relating to language maintenance and language shift. It should be understood that this term also includes processes that would be more appropriately termed 'historical' or 'cultural'.

21. Since Lieberman (1974) does not list socio-cultural processes as distinct from habitual language use - as specified by Fishman - there is some incorporation of linguistic rather than purely non-linguistic factors in the list of variables attributed to her. Whereas I may exclude 'proficiency in the language' on the basis that it is a linguistic factor, 'familiarity with interlocutor' and 'familiarity of topic' are less clear-cut. It is easy to see how both of the latter factors might be in a very real sense interrelated with social or cultural mores.
22. This statement is a little unclear, but may be understood to mean that Patois has been identified as being maintained in situations where there is familiarity between the speaker and the interlocutor, hence the apparent strangeness of children being urged to shift to English by their parents.
23. To employ a simile, one may liken a speech community to an onion, which, whilst having a compact and identifiable outer shape, is in effect comprised of several layers, each distinct from each other to the extent that they may be separated, but nevertheless connected to each other, and forming part of an organic whole.
24. To this list I may also include the familiarity of the interlocutor with the respondent (or vice versa), since this is mentioned by Lieberman (1974).
25. The following definition, from Giles (1982:105), concisely expresses Accommodation Theory, and is worth quoting in full:

A basic postulate of accommodation theory is that people are motivated to adjust their speech style, or accommodate, as a means of expressing values, attitudes and intentions towards others. It is proposed that the extent to which individuals shift their speech styles toward or away from the speech styles of their interlocutors is a mechanism by which social approval or disapproval is

communicated. A shift in speech style toward that of another is termed convergence and is considered often a reflection of social integration, whereas a shift away from the other's style of speech represents divergence and is considered often a tactic of social dissociation.

26. The generalizations made in the example, regarding varieties of Bhojpuri, and how they are perceived by Mauritians, are actually stated by Moorghen and Domingue (1982:65). I do not necessarily agree with Moorghen and Domingue's view, since I believe that Mauritian perceptions of Bhojpuri are subject to change according to the social context in which Bhojpuri - of whatever variety - is used.
27. The following points are taken from Saxena (1995:48), although they are stated, in unnumbered form, in Le Page (1997:29).
28. By way of illustrating density and multiplexity, note the following:
 - a. Low-density network: A has a link with B, C, D and E, none of whom have links with each other.
 - b. High-density network: A has a link with B, C, D and E, all of whom have links with each other.
 - c. Multiplexity: A has a link with B, C, D and E. But A has several links with B, since A not only works with B and lives in the same neighbourhood as B but is also related to B.

3.0 Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is twofold and has accordingly been divided into two subsections. The first of these, chapter 3.1, will provide information establishing the social configuration that Indian labourers encountered in Mauritius by the time that Indian immigration became both regular and systematic; this will involve a brief but necessary analysis of the demographic and linguistic contribution that both colonizers and slave labourers made to Mauritius throughout the turbulent process of colonization. Importantly, two phases of Indian migration are distinguished: Whilst the present Indo-Mauritian population is essentially descended from Indians who emigrated from all parts of British India in the period of indentured labour that began in the first half of the nineteenth century, a South Indian presence in Mauritius predates this period by more than a century. I will also discuss the complex sociolinguistic environment created when, after the abolition of slavery, the period of indentured Indian labour commenced and many thousands of Indians were uprooted from South Asia. Far more statistics are available regarding Indian migration in the period of indentured labour than in the period of slavery, but there are drawbacks to these statistics. As the discussion will show, even where the statistical record is accurate - which is by no means always the case - interpretation of data can be problematic.

Chapter 3.2 leads on from the preceding discussion by both focusing on the issue of the Indian languages imported into Mauritius by indentured labourers and situating this focus within the context of education. In this way, I believe that the present chapter offers a sufficiently detailed exposition of historical events that have deep resonances in contemporary Mauritian consciousness and have conditioned the language attitudes that Indo-Mauritians now exhibit. As such, the present chapter not only throws important light on ethnolinguistic vitality but prepares the way for an ensuing investigation of language attitudes, undertaken in Chapter 4.

3.1 Socio-Historical Background to Indian Immigration

3.1.1 Settlement of T'Eylandt Mauritius: 1598-1710

The Dutch took possession of Mauritius in 1598,¹ naming it *T'Eylandt Mauritius* after Prince Maurice of Nassau, but forty years were to elapse before the Dutch East India Company sent an expedition to settle the island. Toussaint (1977) suggests that this decision was only taken in order to forestall any settlement by English or French forces. This suggestion would appear correct, given the increasing English and French presence in the Indian Ocean at that time. Dutch interests in Mauritius appear to have been motivated by the need for an Indian Ocean base to safeguard against any threat to their lucrative East Indies spice trade. The Dutch attempt to settle Mauritius began in 1638 and failed twenty years later, as did a further attempt, undertaken by an expedition from the Cape, launched in 1664. This heralded an end to Dutch interests in Mauritius. With the Dutch occupation of the Cape in 1652, the need for an Indian Ocean base had decreased. It is likely that the authorities at the Cape considered a settlement in Mauritius to be of little military value, and too costly to continue funding, for in 1710 the Dutch abandoned Mauritius.

In the seventy two years in which they had attempted to settle Mauritius, the Dutch have been credited with the ruthless plunder of the indigenous forests (Toussaint, 1997) and the extermination of the dodo, the flightless bird peculiar to Mauritius (Adone, 1994; Sambasiva Rao and Sharma, 1989). To what extent the destruction of the flora and the extermination of indigenous fauna of Mauritius can be attributed to the Dutch is a subject open to debate.² What is more certainly a consequence of the Dutch presence is the name of the district of Flacq, from a francisized form of the Dutch *vlakt*, meaning 'plain' (Baker, personal correspondence), the name of a mountain (Pieter Both), and the name of the island itself. The most important of all Dutch legacies - and the one that was to have enormous consequences for Mauritian demography - was the introduction from Java of sugar-cane.

Like the Portuguese, the Dutch had considered Mauritius to be of no consequence to the trade in Asian spices. Portuguese and Dutch involvement in Mauritius differed in that the Dutch, prior to seizing the Cape, had no African territories - unlike the Portuguese - and looked to Mauritius as a potential base in the Indian Ocean from which to protect their trade interests. The French claim, of 1638, on the nearby islands of Réunion (then called *Bourbon*) and Rodrigues encouraged Dutch authorities to maintain a presence within the Mascarenes, until the Dutch mismanagement of Mauritius became so costly that tenure of the island could no longer be considered by the Dutch administration of the Cape.

The mismanagement of financial, human and natural resources that led the Dutch to abandon Mauritius in 1710 is paralleled by the exiguous nature of archival material. Insufficient records exist to enable one to determine the linguistic composition of the early population of Mauritius during this period; future research may prove otherwise, but it currently appears that Dutch colonists kept few records relating to their slave population other than details on purchase prices and escapees.³ Despite the lack of archival material on the Dutch period, it is possible to establish the sources of the slave labour force by deduction and through the accounts of some early travellers to Mauritius. The first attempt to create a settlement, between 1638 and 1658, was made by the Dutch East India Company; one may therefore assume, since enslavement of the indigenous peoples of the Indonesian archipelago is known to have taken place, that Austronesians were brought to Mauritius as slaves. Toussaint (1977:19) confirms this and adds to the list both convicts (not specified by ethnic origin) and slaves from Madagascar. The latter would have been readily available due to the practice that rival Malagasy chiefdoms and kingdoms had adopted of selling their captives into slavery. From 1652 onwards, the Dutch also had access to African slaves from the Cape, during the second attempt to settle Mauritius, between 1664 and 1710. The early linguistic composition of Mauritius is likely to have been extremely complex, with Austronesian languages of Asia, Malagasy (also Austronesian) and an unknown number of mainland African languages present alongside Dutch.

3.1.2 French Colonial Period: 1715-1810

The French did not take possession of Mauritius immediately after the Dutch abandoned it, nor were their successes at settlement any the more immediate. Landing in 1715, they renamed Mauritius the *île de France* and promptly departed, leaving the island unsettled until 1722. The first three administrators appointed by the French East India Company either became discouraged by the enormity of the task of settling the *île de France*, or proved to be incompetent. It is only with the arrival of Mahé de Labourdonnais, a sea captain serving in the French East India Company, that the first serious attempt was made to develop the *île de France* as a settlement. Under Labourdonnais' administration as governor (1735-1746), the present capital, Port Louis, was developed as a ship-building centre and the first sugar factory was opened. It is from the period of Labourdonnais, also, that the regular importation of slaves to Mauritius begins. As Toussaint (1977:31) notes, slave-ships were sent to the African coast rather than to Madagascar in order to procure slaves, since 'slaves from Africa were reported to be more docile than those imported from Madagascar'.⁴

The profits made by the French East India Company were considerable during Labourdonnais' governorship and in the decade succeeding it. The outbreak of the Seven Years War (1756-1763), however, saw a dramatic decline in French fortunes, both in India and in the Indian Ocean. Britain was consolidating its hold on India - to the detriment of the French. By 1764, the French East India Company was in severe financial difficulties and appealed to the Crown for assistance. A purchase of the Mascarene islands was effected in the same year and they became subject to French government control in 1767. Further political conflicts, this time during the Napoleonic Wars, saw France and Britain battling for the supremacy of the Mascarenes. At the outset of these wars, the French lost their possessions in India, and the military successes of the British in India finally enabled, in 1810, an expedition of some ten thousand troops to be launched from there against the *île de France*. France conceded the loss of the island in the same year. The Treaty of Paris, in 1814, confirmed British accession of the *île*

de France - which was renamed Mauritius - as well as Rodrigues, whilst the treaty allowed France to retain possession of the island of Réunion.

According to Benedict (1961:16), the population of the *île de France* at the commencement of Labourdonnais' governorship, in 1735, was around 1,000, including 200 Europeans. Toussaint (1977:96) does not give an indication of the population for this period, suggesting that there are no reliable statistics available before 1767. Both authors are nevertheless in agreement as to the sharp increase in the population between the time of Labourdonnais and the end of the French East India Company monopoly. Benedict suggests (*ibid.*) a figure, for 1767, of 'nearly 20,000' for the overall population (of which 15,000 slaves), where Toussaint (*ibid.*) gives the following:⁵

<i>Date</i>	<i>Europeans</i>	<i>Mixed</i>	<i>Slaves</i>	<i>Total</i>
1767	3,163	587	15,027	18,777

Table 12: Composition of Mauritian Population, 1767
(Toussaint, 1977:96).

The population of the *île de France* continued to increase dramatically during the period of administration by the French government. By 1797, it is clear from Benedict and Toussaint that the population was nearing 60,000, of which around five-sixths were constituted by slaves and one-sixth by the free population.

Early censuses reveal certain inconsistencies with respect to the nature of the labour being imported into the *île de France*. Between 1788 and 1797, the increase was in the order of between 16,000 and 17,000 - that is to say, consistently high. Yet revolution in France and the dismembering of the *ancien régime* had had an impact on the colonies. Colonial Assemblies were established to determine policy in the French overseas territories, and, in 1794, these Assemblies imposed a prohibition on slavery. According to Toussaint (1977:52), the official decision to end slavery meant that there was 'no great

increase in the slave population between 1788 and 1797'.⁶ This claim is possibly untenable, given the statistics available for the period. Much confusion appears to arise over the composition and status of the *île de France* population; nowhere is this more in evidence than in the case of the Indian population.

3.1.3 Indian Presence in *île de France*

It is a popular belief amongst many Mauritians that Indian immigration to Mauritius commenced only after the Act of Emancipation of 1834 abolished slavery throughout the British Empire. This is not, however, the case. Stein (1982:74) points out that the French undertook the colonization of Mauritius in 1721 and that the arrival of slaves began the following year. Exact details on the composition of the slave population do not appear to have been kept and this issue has been the subject of some debate amongst researchers in the past:

[Les premiers esclaves] étaient d'origine malgache, mozambique, ouest-africaine et indienne. Dès les premières années il y avait en outre des artisans libres indiens à Maurice. La force respective des différents groupes d'esclaves est controversée entre Baker (Baker 1976, Baker/Corne 1981) et Chaudenson (1979c), et la discussion n'est pas encore close.

[The first slaves were of Malagasy, Mozambican, West African and Indian origin. From the outset there were, in addition, free Indian artisans in Mauritius. There is disagreement between Baker... and Chaudenson as to the respective sizes of the different slave groups... and the discussion remains open].

Benedict's estimate of a total Mauritian population of around 1,000 in 1735 differs substantially from that given by Baker and Corne (1981:201), and Chaudenson (1979a:53). Stein (1982:75) provides information in the form of a table indicating the origins of the non-European population of Mauritius in 1735, as interpreted by Baker and Corne, and Chaudenson (Table 13). If one further accepts Chaudenson's claim that the European population of Mauritius numbered around 660 in 1735, one may conclude that, despite differences in the statistics of Baker and Corne, and those of Chaudenson, the total population for Mauritius at the time would not have exceeded 2,300.

Accordingly, one may calculate Indians to have comprised not less than 20% of the total population - even taking the lesser percentage stated by Baker and Corne.

Area of origin	Baker and Corne (1981)		Chaudenson (1979a)	
West Africa	695	(42.38 %)	481	(32.88 %)
Madagascar	486	(29.63 %)	474	(32.40 %)
India	459	(27.99 %)	485	(33.15 %)
slaves	269			
artisans	190			
Mozambique	0	---	23	(1.57 %)
<u>Total:</u>	<u>1,640</u>	<u>(100.00 %)</u>	<u>1,463</u>	<u>(100.00 %)</u>

Table 13: Origin of Non-European Population of Mauritius, 1735
(Stein 1982:75).

<i>Population</i>				
Free	13,952 (18.7%	Men	3,697	26.5 %
		Women	3,469	24.9 %
		Children	6,786	48.6 %
				100 %
Slave	60,646 (81.3%	Creoles	16,784	27.7 %
		Malagasy	11,030	18.2 %
		Indian	6,162	10.1 %
		Mozambican	26,670	44.0 %
				100 %
<u>Total:</u>			<u>74,598</u>	

Table 14: Composition of Mauritian Population, 1806
(Stein, 1982:77).

With statistics provided by Milbert, for 1806, one is given a clearer indication as to the composition of the Mauritian population (Table 14).⁷ There are, however, problems with the statistics given by Milbert. Stein (1982:76) reproduces a table from Toussaint (1972:335) that gives the total population of Mauritius in 1809 as 68,782, of which 13,360 (19.4%) comprised the free population and 55,422 (80.6%) were slaves. This would appear paradoxical, given that the figures from Milbert, for a period three years earlier, state a higher population, both for free people and slaves (13,952 and 60,646 respectively). This indicates an actual decrease in the total population of Mauritius between 1806 and 1809 of 5,816 - a decrease not accounted for by war or disease, and contrary to the demographic trends of Mauritius (Additionally, Milbert's figures would tend to indicate that Indians accounted for around 8.26% of the total population in 1806 - a significant decrease from the 20% derived by Baker and Corne, and Chaudenson's figures for a period 71 years earlier). Benedict (1961:17) offers a possible solution to the arithmetical inconsistency by suggesting that the status of Indians may not have been as clear-cut as that of the other slaves:

There were Indians in Mauritius during the French period. Labourdonnais is alledged to have imported Indian artisans for the building of Port Louis. Early French travellers mention the presence of Indian slaves and indentured labourers (Milbert 1812, Vol. II, pp. 169-74; St.Pierre 1800, p. 111; Munro 1789, p. 38; Grant 1801, p. 75). In 1806 there were 6,162 Indian slaves in the island (Milbert, Vol. II, table 1, pp. 232-3) about 10% of the slave population. Most of them were apparently South Indians from the French colonies in the sub-continent. They were favoured as domestics, but some worked as free artisans, as masons, ratan weavers and plumbers (Prentout, p. 151).

If all Indians in this period were regarded as belonging to the slave population of Mauritius, then they would indeed have accounted for around 10% of this section of the community, as Benedict suggests (A more accurate calculation yields a figure of 10.16%). Yet the letters of de Saint Pierre make it clear that not all Indians were slaves. In Letter 12, entitled '*Des Noirs* (*'On [the] black [population]'*), de Saint Pierre (1773:174-5)

mentions that, alongside the French population of Mauritius, there existed 'Indians and negroes':

Les premiers sont les Malabares. C'est un peuple fort doux. Ils viennent de Pondichéry ou ils se louent pour plusieurs années. Ils sont presque tous ouvriers... Ce peuple est d'une teinte plus foncée que les insulaires de Madagascar qui sont de véritables Nègres: mais leurs traits sont réguliers comme ceux des Européens, et ils n'ont point les cheveux crépus... Il seroit à souhaiter qu'il eût un grand nombre de Malabares établis dans l'Isle, surtout de la Caste des Laboureurs; mais je n'en ai vu aucun qui voulût se livrer à l'agriculture.

[The former are Malabars. They are a gentle people. They hail from Pondicherry from whence they hire themselves out for several years. They are almost all workmen... These people have a skin that is darker than the island-folk of Madagascar, who are truly negroid, but their features are prominent, like those of Europeans, and they do not have curly hair... One would hope that there could be a larger number of Malabars established on the island, especially as part of the labouring caste, but I never saw any who wished to be involved in agriculture].

Quite how many 'Malabars' were included in the category of 'free' cannot, without the presence of additional archival material, be determined. The possibility also exists that some descendents of these Indians from Pondicherry may have been counted by Milbert as part of the Creole population. ⁸

If one removes from Milbert's figures the number given for the Indian slave population, one arrives at a total population for Mauritius of 68,436, of which 13,952 are free and 54,484 are slaves. This is more consistent with the statistics given by Toussaint for 1809. But removing Indians from Milbert's statistics is problematic in that it suggests that Toussaint's statistics consistently - and inexplicably - disregard the Indian population. If this is not so, how is the Indian population accounted for by Toussaint? If it were simply the case that Indians were grouped under the category 'free' by Toussaint and 'slave' by Milbert, one does not resolve the problem encountered with respect to the disparity between the total population figures given by these two sources. If, on the other hand, one postulates that Milbert included children in his enumeration of the population, whereas Toussaint did not, a possible solution

arises. Amended to indicate Indians as free, and disregarding children, the following figures from Milbert may be given for the adult Mauritian population in 1806, which are then consistent with Toussaint's statistics for 1809 (See Table 15).

Year	Population			Total
	White	Free	Slave	
1806 (Milbert)	- Not given -	13,328	54,484	67,812
1809 (Toussaint)	6,227	7,133	55,422	68,782

Table 15: Total Adult Population of Mauritius, 1806/1809
(per Milbert and Toussaint).

It is certainly advisable to approach any calculations regarding the Indian population of Mauritius prior to the Indian immigration era with extreme caution. The differences that exist between the census information of Milbert and Toussaint serve to illustrate that enumeration and classification of the total Mauritian population was by no means a matter easily agreed upon. Given also the uncertain status of an unspecified number of Indians prior to 1834 and the lack of information regarding intermarriage between Indians and other ethnic groups, what emerges is an understandably unclear picture with respect to the early Indian presence in Mauritius. It is, then, unsurprising that no less a vagueness is present in the information available on the areas of early Indian emigration:

Les Indiens forment trois divisions principales, savoir les Talinga, les Malabares et les Bengalis. Quelques-uns viennent de Dacca, de Chatigan, etc.

[The Indians are divided into three main groups, namely the Talinga, the Malabars and the Bengalis. Some of them come from Dacca, from Chittagong, etc.] (Milbert, 1812, Vol.II:169-170; quoted in Stein, 1982:77.)

As Stein (1982:77) rightly points out, 'Talinga' designates Telegu-speaking people, whilst 'Malabars' designated, at the time, Tamils. Benedict (1961:18) reaffirms this tripartite division in the early Indian population of Mauritius, attested by d'Unienville (1838, Vol.1, p. 277). Given the existence of a French territory in South India, namely Pondicherry, the French plantocracy of Mauritius had been able to obtain Indian slave labour through negotiation with French officials. Indeed, importation of Indian labour from Pondicherry to Mauritius was still taking place in 1838 according to Bendict (*ibid.*) - albeit no longer in the form of slavery. Despite an association between South Indian labour and the French planting interest in the Mascarenes, the British accession to Mauritius resulted in a change in the source of Indian labour.

3.1.4 Indian Immigration under British Rule

With the abolition of slavery in Mauritius, plantation owners began to be faced with a severe shortage of available labour. Although, under the conditions of emancipation, freed slaves were required to remain as paid employees of their former masters for a period of four years, very few chose to remain on the plantations after the expiry of this period. As Ramyead (1985:1) points out, the majority of emancipated slaves, numbering around 30,000, 'resolutely downed their tools and left the plantations'. Benedict (1961:17) offers the explanation that labouring on the plantations was associated with the despised status of slavery, hence freed slaves chose to become small planters and artisans. Plantation owners in Mauritius had clearly predicted such a crisis of labour, since the period of regular Indian immigration began in 1835 - the same year that the abolition of slavery took effect in Mauritius.

Benedict (*ibid.*) states that in 1834, 36 male labourers were imported from Calcutta and 39 from Bombay - a total of 75, which is also given by Ramyead (1985:273) and Tinker (1974:70). Figures relating to the importation of Indian labour show a marked increase in the period 1835 to 1838, which is abruptly reversed in the period 1839 to 1842. This sharp decline in Mauritian immigration between 1839 and 1842 was the result of an Act, passed by the Governor-General's council in India, on 29 May

1839, prohibiting Indian emigration for manual labour. When immigration was again permitted to Mauritius, by a further Act given assent on 2 December 1842, the number of arrivals over the following year reached a figure not exceeded at any other point in the era of Indian labour importation, with the exception of 1859 (See Appendix 3(a): Table 13, and Appendix 3(b) for accompanying notes regarding the accuracy of immigration details).

Indian emigration had been halted by the Indian government due to investigations and reports highlighting the extremely unsatisfactory conditions under which Indian labourers were being recruited and exported (Tinker 1974:65-72). Indian emigrants were subject to deception, coercion and misrepresentation on a massive scale, often finding life in the colonies harsh beyond endurance. Speaking of the indentured labourers of Natal, Mesthrie (1991:6) states the following:

Conditions of work in the early years were most unsatisfactory, as the high suicide rate bears out. Long working hours, inequitable male-female recruitment patterns, floggings, overcrowding in barracks, and poor pay have led more than one historian to remark that the main difference between the conditions of slavery and indentureship was that the latter was not for life.

That Indians chose to emigrate in such vast numbers may seem inexplicable, but there were reasons that compelled such emigration and few that deterred it. Irrespective of the harsh life that lay in store for Indian labourers, circumstances ensured that there was a ready supply of Indian labour - especially from the region of the gangetic plain. As Ramyeed points out (1988:24):

In the 1830s and thereafter, Bihari peasants had a very strong incentive to emigrate since... they were suffering from oppression and exploitation at the hands of rapacious landowners. Then came the severe famine of the early 1840s in northern India which provided a sudden further incentive for emigration... Acute scarcity and famine in Bihar following crop failures in 1865-6 and 1873-5 caused emigration to escalate.

This view is affirmed by Tinker (1974:53):

In Bihar, there was a kind of semi-slavery known as *kamiuti*, by which the poor people sold their services, and sometimes those of their children in years to come, in order to obtain resources to meet their pressing needs. Such people were easy prey for the recruiters for emigration overseas. It required little persuasion to show that they would be better off by engaging themselves to indenture.

Mishra (1979:15-17) and Tinker (1974:46-49) both refer to the Hindu objection to travelling outside the traditional Hindu area, since such an act was construed to result in the loss of caste through contact with barbarians. One may then wonder how it came to be that Indians were not constrained to limit their migration to within the Hindu area, demarcated by the Indus in the west and the Brahmaputra in the east, and more specifically, were able to break the taboo regarding crossing the *kala pani* - the 'Black Water' of the Indian Ocean. Mishra (*ibid.*) suggests that religious injunctions against foreign travel were not widely followed and that, in any case, those to whom such injunctions applied were the Brahmins, who would have been minimally represented amongst indentured labourers. Tinker (*ibid.*) lends agreement to this point by noting that, although Indian society was very conservative in the 1820s and 1830s, people of high caste were not sought by the East India Company for work in the plantations. Tinker additionally refers to the fact that Hindu notions of caste did not affect the tribal peoples of east central India (collectively referred to as *Dhangars* or 'Hill Coolies' by the British administration), since they lay outside the fold of Hinduism.

Despite difficulties in establishing both the number of Indian immigrants and their place of origin, it is clear that Mauritius imported by far the greatest number of Indian labourers of all the colonies (See Table 16). According to Mishra (1979:17), the first emigrants in the indentured labour period were from the tribal areas of Bengal, Bihar and the Chota Nagpur plateau. At this time, the inhabitants of these areas were coming into contact with outsiders and beginning to migrate to the cities in search of work, especially to metropolitan capital, Calcutta.

<i>Colony</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Indian Immigrants</i>
Mauritius	1834 - 1912	453,063
British Guiana	1838 - 1917	238,909
Natal	1860 - 1911	152,184
Trinidad	1845 - 1917	143,939
Reunion	1829 - 1924	118,000
Fiji	1879 - 1916	60,969
Guadeloupe	1854 - 1885	42,326
East Africa	1895 - 1901	39,771
Jamaica	1854 - 1885	36,420
Dutch Guiana	1873 - 1916	34,000
Martinique	1854 - 1889	25,509
Seychelles	1899 - 1916	6,319
St. Lucia	1858 - 1895	4,350
Grenada	1856 - 1885	3,200
St. Vincent	1861 - 1880	2,472

Table 16: Indian Emigration to Colonies
(Clarke et al., 1990:9).

Tinker (1974:49) claims that the Dhangars formed perhaps between two-fifths and one half of the indentured labourers in the 1840s and 1850s leaving from the port of Calcutta. If this is correct, Mauritius, as one of the first of the colonies to make use of indentured labour, would have absorbed a considerable number of non-Indo-Aryan speakers, since the Dhangars were comprised of Santals, Mundas and Oraons - speakers of the Austronesian languages attested on Indian soil (Tinker, 1974:47). In order to estimate the number of Dhangars that may have emigrated to Mauritius, a certain amount of figure work is necessary. One must firstly take into account that Calcutta was not the only port from which Indian labourers left for the colonies.

Benedict (1961:18) gives figures for the period 1834-1900, showing the port of embarkation of 420,325 Indian immigrants to Mauritius. This is not the figure indicated by Ramyeed, who

indicates 439,954 arrivals, of which 337,358 male and 102,596 female (See Appendix 3(a): Table 16(i)). If Ramyead's figures are accurate, this means that Benedict has understated the number of Indian arrivals by 19,629. One may nevertheless use Benedict's figures in order to calculate the percentage of Indians leaving from particular ports, as Table 17 illustrates:

<i>Port</i>	<i>Number of Embarkees</i>	<i>Percentage of Total</i>
Calcutta	253,434	60.30 %
Madras	137,080	32.61 %
Bombay	29,811	7.09 %
<u>Total:</u>	<u>420,325</u>	<u>100.00 %</u>

Table 17: Ports of Embarcation for Indian Indentured Labourers, 1834-1900 (Benedict, 1961:18).

Using the statistics given by Ramyead (Appendix 3(a): Table 13), if one calculates two-fifths and one half of all arrivals from Calcutta over the period 1840-1859 (inclusive), to estimate the number of Dhangars arriving in Mauritius, one arrives at a figure of 63,831 and 79,788 respectively (i.e. 60.30% of 105,855 and 132,318). In other words, if Tinker's estimated proportions are correct, Dhangars would have accounted for between 14.12% and 17.65% of the total of all Indian immigrants to Mauritius in the period 1834-1912, assuming both Benedict's percentage for Calcutta and Ramyead's total to be reasonably accurate. It is possible to then conclude that around one-sixth of the Indians arriving in Mauritius in the period of Indian indenture would have been tribal people whose first language was non-Indo-Aryan.⁹

3.1.5 Languages Transplanted: The Indian Diaspora

Given the demographic strength of the Dhangars, it is strange that the use of the Austronesian languages of these early immigrants to Mauritius is not attested on Mauritian soil. The

reasons for this may be due, in part, to the fact that the Dhangars were outnumbered by Indian migrants who were speakers of Indo-Aryan languages; but there is a flaw to this argument. It is unlikely that the proportion of speakers of Telegu, a Dravidian language, would ever have accounted for more than 10% of the total of Indian indentured labourers, and yet the language is attested as one of the ancestral languages of Mauritius.¹⁰ Far more plausible is the hypothesis that the Dhangars would have used Indo-Aryan languages in interaction with non-tribal Indians, resulting in a rapid loss of the Austronesian languages in diaspora. Such a hypothesis is strengthened if one considers the very nature of indentured labour and the ramifications of this on linguistic minorities.

It should be noted that not all Indian emigration was under the system of indentured labour. Clarke et al. (1990:8-9) identify three other migration processes for Indians in the colonial period. The first of these was emigration under the *maistry* and *kangani* systems, used for ensuring the provision of short-term labour in the plantations of Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. Secondly, commerce was a tradition well established amongst Indians, particularly along the coast of East Africa. Thirdly, colonial administration made use of a number of Indians in clerical and administrative posts. It is, however, indentured labour that represents the most dramatic form of Indian emigration since, unlike the *maistry* and *kangani* systems mentioned, indentured labour precipitated the movement of Indians far away from India, for substantial periods of time. It is certain that these geographical and temporal factors would have had a profound effect on the maintenance of certain Indian languages and the loss of others in colonies such as Fiji, Natal and Mauritius.

In severing the ties with their home communities, it may be suggested that minority groups such as the Dhangars merged their linguistic identity with larger linguistic groups. Such a suggestion would be consistent with Clarke et al. (1990:13), who make the important point that many South Asian communities in diaspora have undergone a clustering together of peoples who would originally have been linguistically and culturally quite

distinct. This process of 'cultural homogenization' (Clarke et al., *ibid.*) may provide the basis for an explanation as to why languages such as Bengali and the Austronesian languages of the tribal peoples are absent in Mauritius. An analysis of data regarding the place of origin of North Indian immigrants to Natal and Fiji shows quite clearly that a large proportion of these indentured labourers came not from the immediate area of the port of Calcutta or even its hinterland, but from areas further west (See Appendix 2: Table 10). But there are problems in asserting that the maintenance of particular languages spoken by indentured labourers was merely a consequence of the numerical strength of the migrants speaking them.

Mesthrie's identification of individual dialects spoken by North Indian immigrants to Natal (Mesthrie, 1991:24) reveals that, of the 1,384 migrants in his sample, 500 are Bhojpuri speakers and 447 are speakers of Awadhi (See Appendix 2: Table 11). These two dialects alone therefore account for 68.42% of the total, whilst there are only 47 (around 3%) Bengali speakers.¹¹ Data such as this offers a clear indication that the numerical strength of a speech-community is certainly an important factor in its maintenance. Neither Bengali nor the individual Austronesian languages of the Dhangars had the number of speakers required to ensure their maintenance. Yet in Mesthrie's sample, Khari Boli is indicated as having been spoken by remarkably few North Indian migrants - less, in fact, than Bengali.¹² Purely on considerations of the numerical strength of the speech community, as indicated by Mesthrie, one would predict that this dialect would have failed to be maintained. That this was not the case provides an interesting contrast with the fate that befell Awadhi, which, despite being the second most widely spoken language of indentured labourers to Natal, passed out of use.

3.2 Languages and Education

3.2.1 Language and the Plural Society

In 1978, the Honourable Kher Jagatsingh, then Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs made the following lucid comments on the Mauritian educational system (Jagatsingh, 1978:1):

We inherited a colonial system of education, belief and values, with no sense of real direction and purpose. Education and culture for nation building and for creating national unity have now become a permanent challenge. Our educational policy in the post-independence phase has been based upon our single-minded and relentless option to provide for the harmonious development of each and every Mauritian in the context of the delicate fabric of our plural society.

Jagatsingh's appraisal is noteworthy in many respects, not least because it reflects the awareness that many ordinary Mauritians appear to have regarding both the historical development of policies towards education and the need to have a system in which all Mauritians receive the same opportunities irrespective of the communities to which they belong. Yet if the development of education in Mauritius can be accurately expressed as the move away from a situation favouring the economic elite and the creation of a system embracing the multicultural ethos, it seems equally accurate to suggest that this development has continued to disfavour many Mauritians - albeit unwittingly - in ensuring that a good education remains the privilege of the few. It may additionally be suggested that language rather than social group has served to create a disparity in access to education, but that, given the strong association between language and social group in Mauritius, the outcome has been the perpetuation of the approach associated with French rule: To educate the administrators required for the maintenance of the status quo and to keep the majority poorly educated - if even literate.

The present chapter is not intended as an exhaustive description of the historical and political development of education in Mauritius. For that, certain publications already exist that, between them, more than adequately document the

progress of educational policies in Mauritius under colonial administration (Prithipaul, 1976; Ramdoyal, 1977; Bunwaree, 1994). In this chapter, I shall focus on the education of Indian indentured labourers and examine the extent to which language proved to be a key issue in this process. Whilst there will inevitably be reference to - and discussion of - several of the reports commissioned under the British administration, I will attempt to evaluate the impact of policies on the maintenance of Indian languages in general and, ultimately, the effect that these have had on the maintenance of Bhojpuri.

The history of Mauritius, short as it may be, is not without its fair share of ironic developments. I shall demonstrate that the present educational system could not be less propitious to the maintenance or development of the ancestral languages - this despite the best political will to redress the injustices committed by colonial administration on the cultural integrity of indentured labourers. The ultimate irony is that, whilst attempting to forge a concept of nationhood in which all the communities of Mauritius could be equal, the post-colonial administration has succeeded where the French and British failed: It has promoted the 'melting pot' approach on the basis of acknowledging the contribution of every ethnolinguistic group. Yet this approach has had a drawback inherent to the 'melting pot' ethos, in that it has engendered the devalorization of certain ethnolinguistic groups and allowed some languages and their associated cultures to dominate; namely, those of the former colonial powers: French and English.

The feelings regarding the social integration of the Indian labouring classes through education were conflicting. The sugarocrats believed the immigrants should move towards the habits of the General Population whilst the British officials visualised that they should move towards the language and religion of the English. The Indians till the end of the nineteenth century were neither creolised from below nor anglicised from above (Kalla, 1983:132).

During fieldwork undertaken in Mauritius between February and August 2000, the resentment felt by Indo-Mauritians on the related issues of abusive labour practices and educational disadvantage was still very much in evidence. One informant,

currently a senior civil servant at the Mauritius Examinations Syndicate, spoke of how Indians were discouraged in the nineteenth century from pursuing education. He cited the example of a Creole schoolmaster who dissuaded Indian children from attending his school by smearing grease on the lips of the schoolchildren, ostensibly to promote clearer diction (This incident is cited by Ramyeed (1985:37) as having taken place at the Rose-Belle Government School in the 1870s. It is likely that my informant would have been familiar with Ramyeed's work). The same informant stated, from his own experience, how sugar estates would employ child labourers, knowing this practice to be illegal, oblivious of the schooling or study needs of such children. He himself had been employed as a child, at the rate of one rupee and fifty cents daily, six days a week, to clear weeds from between rows of cane. The overseer of the French-owned plantation, noticing some unplucked weeds, fined the child labourer three rupees - the equivalent of two days' wages - leaving the child in fear of having to account for the loss to his father. Another informant, a senior academic at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, related how the police had appeared in his grandfather's village, at the time when the latter was a child and studying in the local *baiTHka*, in order to investigate the presence of 'secret signs' painted on nearby walls and stones. These 'signs' were none other than the names of God (*Rāma*) and short invocations in the devanagari script; to the British authorities, however, they represented potentially seditious inscriptions and were accordingly effaced. Anecdotes such as these serve as a powerful reminder to Indo-Mauritians of the abuses endured under colonial administration. They also indicate quite clearly how sensitive the issue of language and education continues to be in the Indo-Mauritian consciousness and why there continues to be a deeply felt need amongst Indo-Mauritians for vigilance in the safeguarding of their social identity.

3.2.2 Education under French rule

The French plantocracy of the eighteenth century does not appear to have placed much importance on its own education. In his *Voyage à l'Isle de France*, Bernardin de Saint Pierre (1773) depicts a society in which the enjoyment of luxury and the

construction of ever more lavish and extravagant dwellings were of paramount importance, whilst intellectual pursuits such as reading or writing for pleasure were singularly neglected. Saint Pierre noted that the youth did nothing but pass the time idly and dream of going to Europe which, for the French settlers, continued to provide the cultural models on which their society was based. Since education was so little valued for the ruling class, it is unsurprising that the concept of education for the working population should have been dismissed.

Only in the last decade of the eighteenth century were plans formerly made, by a proclamation of a newly created Colonial Assembly, that the state would be responsible for the education of each individual. It is the opinion of Prithipaul (1976:46) that this proclamation assumed there would be

a uniform type of education that would be made equally available to all citizens, no matter what class or socio-economic group they came from.

The Colonial Assembly, however, was elected locally and by free citizens only (Nagapen, 1996:46). Although French Revolutionary ideas may have determined that education for all was politically appropriate, the official body that was charged with making arrangements was constituted by plantocrats who were far more concerned with economic advantage than with political opprobrium. In any event, French Revolutionary ideas were short-lived; by 1803, Mauritius was under a Napoleonic administration - in which education for the non-European majority was once again seen as unnecessary and undesirable.

Summarizing the role of education during the French period, Bunwaree (1994:79) makes the important point that plantocratic interests

wanted the masses to remain illiterate since they feared that literacy might start empowering the oppressed. People brought from Africa to work on the fields quickly found their cultures stifled by the dominant French culture... They quickly lost their mother tongues, traditions and cultures but they were also deprived from schooling which made it hard for them to integrate into the culture of the dominant group. A form of cultural alienation had already started.

By withholding education and doing nothing to alleviate illiteracy amongst the non-European workforce, the French were able to create an environment where the local patois rapidly developed - to the detriment not only of the languages of Africa but those of Asia: Although Baker and Corne (1981:192) do not posit the presence of Indians in Mauritius before 1728, by 1735 there were an estimated 459 Indians, forming around 28% of the non-European population - of which the majority,

would almost certainly have been speakers of Dravidian languages though there were at least a few from Bengali-speaking areas of India.¹³

By the time of the British accession, in 1810, Creole had spread to become the lingua franca of Mauritius, as evidence from contemporary sources shows.¹⁴ This was to be of the greatest significance to education policies not only throughout the period of British rule, but well beyond.

3.2.3 Education of Indentured Labourers

It may be suggested that the perception of the Indians by the French plantocracy - at least during the period of French rule - was not negative. Allen (1983:64) remarks that Indian workmen and slaves were generally deemed to possess the qualities of

industry, sobriety, intelligence, grace and docility, qualities which more than compensated for their supposed physical frailty.

But this idealised picture does not appear to have continued long after the advent of systematic immigration. Since the prosperity of Mauritius relied on the cultivation of cane, which required hard physical labour, a physically frail work force - whatever other qualities it may possess - was clearly surplus to requirement. An agent for Menon, Lambert and Co., a mail service agency with an interest in increasing its profits by bringing in African labour, had the following to say about the relative virtues of the servile population in 1856 (Quoted in Carter and Ng, 1997:20):

[l]e noir de la côte d'Afrique est celui qui est le plus propre au rude labour colonial... l'africain est

fort, robuste, actif... l'indien est mou, indolent, chetive (sic).

[It is the Black man from the African coast who is most suited to brute colonial labour... the African is strong, robust, active... the Indian is soft, idle and shirking].

Yet one suspects that the owners of the sugar estates, together with the agencies that supplied them, may have been somewhat disingenuous. A report, in the same year, made by C. W. Wiehe, President of the Chamber of Agriculture, made the point that

[t]he African, who is not perhaps so intelligent as the native of India, is more robust, and tho' it is doubtful whether he would prove a more efficient labourer than the Indian, there can be no doubt that he is more likely to settle permanently in the Colony and contribute to form a resident population (In Carter and Ng, *ibid.*).

Given the nature of the indenture system, there could be no guarantee that an Indian labourer would not return to India after his or her period of indenture was complete.

One may well ask why it is that the French failed to provide education for a section of the population for whom they appear to have had a high regard (at least during the period of French rule), and it fell to the British to educate emancipated slaves and indentured labourers, despite their concerns over the transient nature of Indian immigration. I suggest that there was indeed a strong disinclination on the part of the British administration to provide education for Indian labourers, motivated by the belief that it was unnecessary - not to mention unnecessarily costly - to educate people who would be free to return to their country of origin on expiry of their contractual obligations. But this is far from saying that the provision of education for Indians by the British administration was a purely philanthropic matter. If it is the case that the French attempted to render the slave population supine by keeping it uneducated, it is equally the case that the British were required to educate the workforce in order to keep it. In a despatch to the Governor of Mauritius, dated 29th September 1846, Lord Grey of the Colonial Office refers to

[t]he actual loss entailed upon the Colony by the premature departure of labourers whose introduction has been effected at a heavy expense. (SA 40/38 Grey to Governor, 29 Sept. 1846. Cited in Deerpalsingh and Carter, 1996:134).

Grey, in the same despatch, made it abundantly clear that it was very much in the interest of the Colony to create an environment in which Indian settlement became permanent. He even suggests to the Governor that the implementation of a village community organization (known as the *panchayat* in India) might be favourable, adding

the people of India are strongly and justly attached to this ancient institution; there is therefore every reason to believe that if they were permitted to carry it with them into a new country this would form a very powerful motive to them to emigrate, not, as at present, individually with the view of returning to their native country, but in families, and for the purpose of permanent settlement. (*op cit.*, p.135).

It is under the governorship of Gomm (1842-49) that an island-wide system of education for Mauritius was devised - along British lines; that is to say, English was chosen as the language of instruction rather than French. It fell, however, to Gomm's successor, Higginson, to implement the system and Higginson entertained particular opinions regarding the choice of language of instruction for Indians. As Ramyeard (1985:17) points out, Governor Higginson (1851-1857) was the first administrator to take 'an earnest interest' in the education of the Indians. In his opinion, it was preferable for Indians to be educated in the Indian vernaculars, a view that was to meet with resistance from the French plantocracy. Accordingly, an experimental school, for which Higginson secured a grant of £200, was opened in the district of Savanne, in 1852. This experiment was not successful, a fact which lent support to the opponents of education through the medium of Indian languages.

Mauritian authors who have studied the development of education in Mauritius repeatedly point out that the greatest opposition towards Indian education came from the French community (Ramdoyal, 1977; Kalla, 1983; Ramyeard, 1985; Bunwaree, 1994). Not only had French plantocratic interests considered the

education of the workforce undesirable, but the notion of providing an education in a language other than French was extremely unpopular. I may here suggest that the Francophone community equated any attack on the hegemony of French as an attack on the social status of its speakers - perhaps with good reason: In 1847, the Colonial Office had declared English as the only medium of expression in the High courts of Mauritius, in what was certainly part of a greater plan to consolidate English as the language of administration and of the intelligensia (Kalla, 1983). If Indians were to be educated, it was in the French interest that the language of education should not be in the Indian vernaculars or in English: Education in the Indian vernaculars would prevent the process of creolization, which had proven to be advantageous to the French plantocracy in the past (Communication with the workforce was possible through Creole, whilst French remained the cultural property of the Franco-Mauritian community). Education in English would confer significant social advantages on the Indians by giving them greater access to employment other than cane production. Moreover, the large and ever increasing Indian population would turn to English as the language of higher culture, thereby diminishing the prestige of French - and ultimately of the French community.

If it was the case that French attitudes towards Indian education were self-serving, the same may be suggested on the part of the British administration. By 1853, as Kalla (1983:120) points out, out of a total population of 213,374, 109,695 people were from the Indian labouring classes - that is to say, 51.4%. The percentage was to rise to 63% by 1858.¹⁵ The British administration was quite aware that the Indian element had become an important issue in the administration of the Colony. Importantly, the linguistic situation in the indenture period was quite unlike that during previous Indian immigration, in that the sheer number of indentured labourers entering Mauritius permitted the maintenance of Indian languages throughout large sections of the community. The British administration therefore found itself in an extremely awkward position: If the Indians were to be educated - which was a necessary condition, in order

to induce them to stay in the Colony - the attachment of these labourers to their languages had to be taken into account.

From Higginson's point of view, the use of Indian vernaculars, served two functions: Not only would the Indian population be placated, but the teaching of the gospel could be undertaken through these vernaculars.¹⁶ If Higginson was guided by the developments taking place in India, one may suggest that there was, inherent in the plan to provide education in the Indian vernaculars, an attempt to gradually transform the Indian population, via Christianity, to being English-speaking.¹⁷ With respect to advocating the use of Indian languages, Higginson found support from the Court of Directors of East India Company, which was concerned that Indian children not be alienated from their mother tongues (Bunwaree, 1994). The Indian community, however, were suspicious of any form of education in which the teaching of Christian scripture was promulgated (Durand and Durand, 1978). Thus, support for Higginson's plans met with a lukewarm response from the Indian community.

In 1855, Higginson called for a Special Committee on the Education of Children to investigate and report on the educational situation. As Ramyeed (1985:17) explains, this Committee discovered that

[o]ut of 23,500 French and African Creole children of learning age, 5,500 were obtaining a primary and secondary education, whereas 18,000 (consisting of African Creoles) were obtaining no education at all. There were, furthermore, 5,500 Indian children of learning age who also received no instruction at all in any state or state-aided school.

The Committee did not, however, share Higginson's opinions regarding education in Indian languages and considered that educating Indians separately from Creoles would prevent the fusion of the immigrant population necessary to encourage a resident agricultural population (Ramdoyal, 1977; Bunwaree, 1994). The Committee accordingly proposed that 'education should be the same in kind and in the mode of communication' for children from both the Creole and Indian communities (Kalla, 1983:25). As a result of this Committee, Higginson enacted an

ordinance (Ordinance No. 21 of 1857), in which French was stated as the medium of instruction.

Regarding both the intention of the Committee and the application of Ordinance No. 21, there is disagreement amongst Mauritian authors. Ramey (1985:18) expresses the view that the recommendation to school Creole and Indian children together was well-intentioned, albeit short-sighted, and that Ordinance No. 21 lapsed after three years, for 'lack of confirmation'. Bunwaree (1994) makes no reference to this lapse, but does not appear to impute any good will on behalf of the Committee towards the cause of Indian education. A cynical, but perhaps more accurate interpretation of the Committee's recommendations, both as regards jointly educating Creoles and Indians, and making schooling compulsory, is that they would deliberately antagonize both the Creoles and Indians and be rejected by these communities. This, in any event, proved to be the case: The Creoles objected to their children to be schooled alongside the children of indentured labourers and the Indians do not appear to have welcomed the prospect of education in French.¹⁸

3.2.4 Vernacular Education and Indian Schools

The opinions of the French plantocracy, the British administration and the Indian community regarding language and education in the first few decades of the indenture period foreshadow the language debate that was to continue in Mauritius well into the following century and, crucially to my discussion, continue to do so. It is a debate in which multiple parties have been involved, within each of which there has been a diversity of opinion. If it is possible to generalize the attitudes of the French, British and Indian vis-à-vis education in the nineteenth century, one should not forget that the reality was far more complex. Whilst one may assert that French plantocratic interests generally supported the use of French as the medium of education for the Indians, the British proposed Indian vernacular education and the Indians themselves resisted proposals for education in both French and English, it is important to reiterate the following: French planting concerns ran counter to the education of the Indians and there existed a

conflict of interests between the British administration and the Indian community with regards to the ultimate aim of providing education through the medium of Indian vernacular languages. One may indeed view the first five decades of the indenture period as one in which the conflicting interests of the French, British and Indians were linguistically marked. *Economic interests* - vested in the French plantocracy - favoured creolization as a means of creating a homogeneous labour force; in this process, the education of the labour force was undesirable, but if labourers were to be educated, acculturation to French was to be preferred. The *administrative interests* of the British determined that anglicization was to be promoted, in that the majority Indian population - once anglicized - would be more sympathetic (and more amenable) to British rule. As for the Indians, their *community interests* lay in the maintenance of their Indian cultural identity and hence the retention of the ancestral Indian languages.

Ordinance No. 21 of 1857 had sought to consolidate French as the medium of education, with English being taught additionally. One may see in this stipulation how acutely aware the British administration was of the need to placate French planting interests, even at the cost of abandoning plans to anglicize the Indians. But despite the fact that Governor Higginson bowed to pressure from French planters, the application of Ordinance No. 21 failed. The Court of Directors of the East India Company, being averse to the idea of educating Indians in languages other than their own, proposed that the attendance of Indian children at school be made optional rather than compulsory. This was agreed to by Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for India, in a decision that was perhaps more shrewd than it was based on any genuine concern for the Indian population of Mauritius: By removing the requirement for Indians to send their children to French-medium schools, the process of creolization could be impeded. Additionally, by offering education to the Indian community as an option, the British administration would be seen to be working in the Indian interest, and the non-compulsory attendance of Indian children (through parental fears of proselytization) would have the double benefit of meeting with the approval of the Indian

community at the same time as being extremely cost-effective. Despite its failure, Ordinance No. 21 nevertheless succeeded in its suggestion that provision be made for the establishment of both government funded and grant-aided primary schools, the latter of which were to be supported by the community and in which labourers would have a greater say in the education provided to their children.

Separate schools were opened for Indian children in the opening years of the 1860s and, by 1862, there were nine Indian schools, of which two were funded by the government and seven were grant-aided. The figure had risen to forty-one by 1867; but, by 1872, this number had dropped considerably.¹⁹ As Ramyeard (1985:19) points out,

[w]hen the Mauritian Royal Commission arrived in 1872, they found 33 Creole and 22 Indian schools including four grant-aided.

The conditions under which Indians laboured in nineteenth century Mauritius could not have been less propitious to the education of its young. The school attendance record of Indian children was extremely poor, since these children formed an important part of a close-knit socio-economic unit and were needed either for direct labour in the cane fields, as additional wage earners, or for domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning or baby-sitting whilst the adults were at work. Economic hardship also meant that when the temporary structures that housed Indian schools were destroyed - as was the case during the cyclonic season of 1868 - there were insufficient funds available amongst the families who sent their children to grant-aided schools to make good the repairs. Even when such grant-aided schools were functioning and ministering to the needs of the small minority of Indian children as did attend, the education was of a substandard and ineffectual nature: Instruction consisted of barely three hours of tuition, was given in Bhojpuri and Tamil, and concentrated largely on imparting elementary English and French - languages imperfectly known to the instructors.²⁰ Ramyeard (*ibid.*) further notes that the census of April 1871 records a figure of 21.035 for Indian

boys between the ages of five and fourteen for which the average daily school attendance in that month was 794 (3.7%) of the total, adding that

out of 18,077 girls of the same age group, the average daily attendance was not more than 35.

Aside from the government funded schools and the grant-aided schools, there existed the system of *baiTHkas* and *madrasahs*. Whereas instruction was given in the vernacular languages and not devoted to the acquisition of French or English, both teaching and attendance were erratic and subject to the same exigences of bad weather and disruption by labour requirements during harvest periods as were the schools.

The picture that emerges of Indian education in the first five decades of the indenture period is one in which neglect is conspicuous and the language question is seen to occupy a central role. The point is perhaps moot as to whether or not the French in Mauritius - both plantocrats and missionaries - were in favour of the education of Indians in French, or whether or not the British administration truly desired the creation of an anglophone, anglophile Indian community via the provision of basic education in Indian vernacular languages. The poor system of education, accessible to only a minority of Indian children, kept the Indian community largely illiterate and ensured that, despite its demographic strength, this community would continue to occupy a socially subservient position.

3.2.5 Government Vernacular Education

Under the governorship of Sir Arthur Phayre (1874-78), the British administration undertook to review the issue of Indian education. Indians now constituted around two-thirds of the total population - a percentage that remains to this day - and the provision of adequate education for this community could no longer be delayed. In 1877, four vernacular schools were established, in the district of Grand-Port (south east Mauritius), in which secular education was given. The languages taught in these schools were Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and Marathi.²¹ Like Higginson, Governor Phayre believed that it was necessary for Indian children to be taught in the vernacular languages and

the choice of languages for the vernacular schools appears to have reflected some awareness of the major Indian languages attested on Mauritian soil.²² Higginson and Phayre's opinions were shared by the Reverend W.Wright, Supervisor of the vernacular schools, who continued to lend his support to the cause of Indian education after the termination of Phayre's governorship. In 1880, a fifth vernacular school was opened in Grand-Port.

Government vernacular education for the Indians was not, however, a matter on which the British administration was unequivocally in favour. In the same year as the fifth vernacular school opened, the government appointed a Special Committee on State Indian Vernacular Schools to assess the validity of this form of education. In its report, the Special Committee stated that it had not expected to find the schools so good or so well organized and declared them to have been a success. Quite perversely, the Committee then concluded by stating an opinion that the continuance of such schools would serve no advantage. Here, linguistic considerations appear to have been foremost, and the Committee made sure to impress the point that

Indian immigrants have adopted the Creole patois to communicate amongst themselves... The Hindoo children will nearly all settle down in Mauritius and gradually merge into the general population. They will thus have but few opportunities of using their own vernaculars which will gradually be forgotten.²³

It is tempting to see, in the decision of the Special Committee of 1880, an intention to promote the creation of a homogeneous, Creole-speaking working population through the removal of education in the vernacular Indian languages. But there is another perspective which is equally - if not indeed more - pertinent. Languages without literary traditions are frequently derogated, as are their speakers.²⁴ If the Special Committee had serious misgivings concerning the teaching of vernacular Indian languages, Bhojpurias themselves appear to have had similar disinclinations towards education in Bhojpuri. Ramyeard (1985:32) makes the crucial point that

literacy and vernacular education presented a problem to Bhojpuri-speakers, because Bhojpuri was not a written language, nor was it regarded as being suitable to be so, and formal education thus, of necessity, had to be in KhB, the language perceived to have both literary and cultural prestige, whether as Hindi or Urdu. It was towards KhB., therefore, that they looked for their educated and cultured modes of expression; there was no hope of Bhojpuri ever achieving this for them.

3.2.6 Current Educational System

Arguably the most significant development in the twentieth century with respect to education policy and planning was the Education Act of 1941, which acted on the recommendations of the Ward Report earlier in the same year. Ward had been appointed as Director of Education in Mauritius and had inherited a situation that was in urgent need of reform. Ward's predecessor, Bateman, had expressed his opinions on the inefficiency of the school system in the following words:

[s]chools exist in Mauritius and cannot now be closed, but they were better closed than remain monuments of wasted energy, where children are looked after... but certainly not educated. (Quoted in Ramdoyal, 1977:117).

The problem appears to have been two-fold, in that schools were not properly managed and the level of financial mismanagement, quite aside from the recruitment of teaching staff who were either not suitably qualified or absent from work for the majority of the time, had resulted in schools being under-resourced and ill-suited to impart quality education. Also, the ability to maintain student attendance seems to have been missing, resulting in the wholesale departure of children from the schools to the sugar cane fields (or back home) at times of planting or harvest.

Under the Education Act, a single Educational Committee was created that had responsibility for the administration of schools of all levels, and provision was made for a unified approach in matters relating to examinations. The Education Ordinance, introduced in 1944, implemented a recommendation of

the Ward Report that schoolchildren should be examined in English, French and arithmetic at the 'standard six' stage (discussed later in this section), and that examinations in these subjects be held on the same day to pre-empt the possibility of examination papers being bought and sold by candidates. In the same year as the Education Ordinance, the Annual Report on Education mentioned the need to educate children of Indian ancestry on aspects of Indian culture; accordingly, primary schools were required to provide religious instruction to Muslims and Hindus, in line with the fact that Mauritian Christians were being taught Christian precepts through the school system. In effect, by the close of the pre-war period, Mauritius had acquired an educational system not dissimilar to that with which the Mauritian schoolchild of 2000 would be familiar.

An investigation of the literature available on the postwar educational system of Mauritius quickly reveals that the main emphasis given by the Mauritian government throughout this period has been on the social inclusion of Mauritian nationals, irrespective of the community to which the individual belongs. The rhetoric of the many National Development Plans, beginning with the first such plan in 1971, makes it clear that governmental thinking reflected an acute awareness of the problems attendant on the processes of decolonization, and that the Government of Mauritius was all too aware that, in the matter of education, Mauritius had inherited a colonial legacy ill suited to the mood of the times. But this colonial legacy is still in place. At the close of the twentieth century, little would appear to have changed since the time of the Ward Report. Despite attempts to 'mauritianize' the curriculum in primary and secondary schools after independence in 1968, the Government of Mauritius has seemingly achieved nothing other than the inclusion of one compulsory subject at the primary school level - EVS (Environmental Studies) - alongside the subjects designated as compulsory in the Ward Report: English, French and arithmetic (officially designated as 'Mathematics'). The issue of the role of language - or languages - in education has not been given sufficient consideration by successive governments in the post-war period, despite its key role in education.

At the beginning of the present research, it was indicated that Mauritius is an island of paradoxes and ironies, and nowhere is this more obvious than when looking at the issue of language and languages in education. The Mauritian Government's Master Plan of 1991 made no pretence as to the connection that existed, in the mind of those who commissioned and compiled it, between education and the economy. The education system was to be called to provide managers, professionals and technicians for the 'second phase' of industrial development (The first phase' is that of labour-intensive industries that do not require an educated or motivated workforce; the second, that of capital-intensive production where technical skills are required). Herein lies a double irony: Firstly, despite the attempts of education policies to improve the access of all Mauritians to the labour market and thereby to improve their socioeconomic conditions, such policies are little distinguished from those of the French and British colonial administrations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As Chapters 3.2.1 - 3.2.5 illustrated, these policies were predicated upon viewing Mauritians in terms of their value to the economy. Such innovation as there has been lies in the teaching of both English and French as the languages by which Mauritians may access the labour market - but here again, this smacks of colonialism. Previous administrations had favoured either English or French, according to politico-economic motives. The second irony is that the desire to create equality amongst the communities has prompted the Government of Mauritius to retain a language policy that is utterly in keeping with colonial times, in that the overwhelming majority is disfavoured. Bunwaree (1994:182) makes this abundantly clear:

In a country in which the common language, Creole, and the ethnic languages apart from Creole, particularly Bhojpuri, are scarcely recognised, success at school depends upon a family background in which English and French are available and their speech encouraged. But since ethnic English and ethnic French populations are very small in Mauritius, this language policy does not appear as a communal differential of any significance.

Whether or not one suggests that the language policies of the Mauritian Government have sinister motives - and many of my Mauritian informants suggested precisely that - the fact remains that education in languages that are not vernaculars has not yielded good results. The pro-creolist author, Dev Virahsawmy (Virahsawmy 1984:118), attributes the high failure rate in the Cambridge Proficiency Examinations that are compulsory at the end of primary school to

la mauvaise politique de langue au niveau du pré primaire et du primaire. Ignorer la réalité linguistique de l'enfant est une invitation à la catastrophe.

[the bad language policy implemented in pre-primary and primary school. To ignore the actual linguistic environment of the child is a recipe for disaster].

The Cambridge Proficiency Examinations (CPE) are the only open examinations that are compulsory in the Mauritian education system. They represent the culmination of six years of study, between the ages of five and eleven or twelve (the latter if born in the summer months). Each year is termed as a 'standard', hence the CPE represent 'standard six'. A Mauritian child may be sent to a pre-primary school between the ages of three and 5, but this not compulsory - nor is education after the CPE. In other words, the Mauritian education system only requires a child to attend six years of schooling and to enter for the CPE. Those who are successful in the CPE enter into a secondary school where they study a further five years to obtain a school certificate (SC) or seven years for a higher school certificate (HSC). Thereafter, a student may apply to study a university degree.

During a visit to the Lekraj Teelock State Secondary School (Flacq district) in June 2000, I discussed CPE failure rates with half a dozen members of staff from different discipline areas. What emerged from our discussions are the serious pressures that are put on many students by their parents to gain high grades in the CPE, and the high failure rates notwithstanding such pressures. Mauritian secondary schools apply a principle known as 'ranking', in which the more

prestigious schools (referred to as 'star schools') accept the students who have the 10% highest cumulative examination scores nationally.²⁵ Such high achievers enter State Secondary Schools (or Royal Colleges), or a few select schools designated as 'private'.²⁶ The other students enroll in the ordinary Private Schools or leave education entirely. Those who fail the CPE have the right to re-sit examinations once and, if repeatedly unsuccessful, may avail themselves of technical and vocational training offered by the Industrial and Vocational Training Board (IVTB). IVTB training, however, is somewhat stigmatized and there is widespread belief that it offers poor quality of teaching. My informants in Lekraj Teelock State Secondary School appeared to be in agreement when the figure of a failure rate in excess of one third was posited by a member of staff (One informant suggested the figure to be "between a quarter and a third"). In voicing their opinions, my informants echoed the assertion of Ramdoyal, a much respected authority on Mauritian education, who stated in his official government report of 1990 that

some 30% of all children fail the CPE at both first and second attempts and drop out of the system. Such children may have little to show after six to seven years of schooling and many of them are virtually illiterate. (Ramdoyal, 1990:30).

On analyzing figures provided by an informant in the Mauritius Examinations Syndicate, I found the figures for CPE failure rates in the period 1995-1999 to be wholly consistent with Ramdoyal and my most optimistic informant from Lekraj Teelock (See Chapter 3.2.7). What was clear both from my discussions with teachers and pupils throughout the period of fieldwork in Mauritius and a frequent perusal of the Mauritian press was that success at the CPE is a cause for much concern amongst Mauritians within the educational system. On many occasions, informants told me that the selection of an oriental language for CPE purposes was made not on the basis of any interest in studying the language but rather a belief that it would be easy to pass examinations, allowing the student to concentrate on English, French, EVS and Mathematics. The truth of this - and the implications - I will now consider.

3.2.7 Languages in the School Curriculum

In Mauritian primary schools, twelve subjects are taught; these are the four compulsory subjects (English, French, Environmental Studies and Mathematics) and eight optional subjects relating to the study of oriental culture, of which seven are oriental languages and the eighth a non-language option (Asian Studies). At the secondary school level, the range of languages varies from institution to institution according to staffing, although Hindi, Urdu, Tamil and Arabic are generally available as languages of study if the student pursues a Humanities subject combination (For Management Studies or Technology subject combinations, English and French predominate, although Hindi is occasionally available; for the Science subject combination, only French is available). Given that pre-primary education officially makes use of French and English only, it is evident that the presence of oriental languages in the Mauritian education system is particularly important at the level of the primary school.

An analysis of the CPE results for the period 1995-1999 show quite clearly that the pass rate for girls is consistently higher than that for boys in all subjects, but that the differences are particularly marked with regards to languages (Table 18). The greatest variation in the pass rate between the genders in EVS occurred in 1998 (6.36%) and the greatest such variation for Mathematics in 1999 (6.23%), although the difference in the pass rates for boys and girls in both EVS and Mathematics hovers at around 5% when averaged out across all five years. The figure is far higher for both English and French, where the greatest variation for both occurred in the same year (11.18% for English and 11.80% for French in 1999). Here, the statistics from the Mauritius Examinations Syndicate indicate a pass rate difference of around 10% between boys and girls. More dramatic still is an analysis of the data for Hindi: In no year has the pass rate for boys reached or exceeded 55% (the highest being 54.33% in 1995), whilst the pass rate for girls has not fallen below 75.12% (1996). This gender differentiation in pass rates holds for all oriental languages (See Tables 19-21. Since a very similar pattern obtains in all five years, tables for earlier years are not given).

Year	Subject	Pass rate %	Pass rate %
		Boys	Girls
1995	English	65.22	74.50
	French	73.28	83.07
	EVS	73.32	78.11
	Mathematics	69.59	74.29
	Hindi	54.33	77.56
1996	English	67.15	75.63
	French	72.27	82.23
	EVS	70.05	74.75
	Mathematics	70.07	74.54
	Hindi	53.82	75.12
1997	English	65.46	74.59
	French	72.40	81.95
	EVS	68.79	72.61
	Mathematics	70.52	75.13
	Hindi	52.14	76.85
1998	English	65.82	76.92
	French	73.71	85.05
	EVS	67.78	74.14
	Mathematics	71.44	76.93
	Hindi	52.42	77.55
1999	English	64.72	75.90
	French	69.15	80.95
	EVS	68.07	74.19
	Mathematics	69.51	75.74
	Hindi	53.61	77.29

Table 18: 1995-1999 Cambridge Proficiency Examinations
Results for Compulsory Subjects and Hindi, by Gender.
(Source: Mauritius Examinations Syndicate).

CPE 1999 GRADE DISTRIBUTION

Subject	Entered	Examined	% Pass	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C	Grade D	Grade E	Grade F
English	29148	28000	70.14	22.56	11.96	10.55	10.51	14.56	29.86
Maths	29148	28004	72.53	22.19	7.51	8.42	12.34	22.08	27.47
French	29148	28009	74.88	33.25	12.79	11.29	9.58	7.97	25.12
EVS	29148	28008	71.04	30.27	11.05	9.84	9.73	10.14	28.96
Asian	16245	15406	67.47	26.04	8.25	8.31	9.24	15.62	32.53
Hindi	9809	9323	65.57	32.03	7.51	6.21	6.73	13.10	34.43
Urdu	3233	3038	67.31	17.94	11.06	9.87	10.20	18.24	32.69
Tamil	1483	1412	71.95	14.16	8.43	15.72	14.09	19.55	28.05
Marathi	364	352	72.16	14.49	6.25	12.22	14.49	24.72	27.84
Telugu	484	460	73.26	18.70	7.83	12.39	16.30	18.04	26.74
Chinese	107	104	81.73	41.35	11.54	9.62	12.50	6.73	18.27
Arabic	765	717	75.87	14.09	6.42	9.76	20.64	24.97	24.13

Table 19: Grade Distribution for Cambridge Proficiency Examinations, 1999: Total

(Source: Mauritius Examinations Syndicate).

CPE 1999 GRADE DISTRIBUTION

Subject	Entered	Examined	% Pass	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C	Grade D	Grade E	Grade F
English	15061	14424	64.72	20.08	10.78	9.21	9.98	14.66	35.28
Maths	15061	14423	69.51	21.81	7.04	7.90	11.47	21.31	30.49
French	15061	14426	69.15	28.08	11.60	11.15	9.82	8.50	30.85
EVS	15061	14427	68.07	30.05	10.29	9.08	9.05	9.60	31.93
Asian	8185	7653	55.55	17.13	6.81	7.57	8.61	15.43	44.45
Hindi	4913	4615	53.61	22.32	6.48	6.20	6.22	12.39	46.39
Urdu	1656	1524	54.46	9.71	8.79	8.14	9.58	18.24	45.54
Tamil	741	700	61.57	7.43	7.29	13.29	14.29	19.29	38.43
Marathi	190	181	64.64	9.94	3.31	14.92	9.94	26.52	35.36
Telugu	237	223	60.54	9.87	4.93	10.76	16.59	18.39	39.46
Chinese	41	40	72.50	37.50	12.50	5.00	12.50	5.00	27.50
Arabic	407	370	63.51	7.03	4.05	6.22	17.84	28.38	36.49

Table 20: Grade Distribution for Cambridge Proficiency Examinations, 1999: Boys

(Source: Mauritius Examinations Syndicate).

CPE 1999 GRADE DISTRIBUTION

Subject	Entered	Examined	% Pass	Grade A	Grade B	Grade C	Grade D	Grade E	Grade F
English	14087	13576	75.90	25.19	13.22	11.96	11.07	14.45	24.10
Maths	14087	13581	75.74	22.60	8.00	8.98	13.26	22.90	24.26
French	14087	13583	80.95	38.74	14.05	11.44	9.33	7.40	19.05
EVS	14087	13581	74.19	30.50	11.87	10.65	10.46	10.71	25.81
Asian	8060	7753	79.23	34.84	9.67	9.05	9.85	15.81	20.77
Hindi	4896	4708	77.29	41.55	8.52	6.22	7.22	13.79	22.71
Urdu	1577	1514	80.25	26.22	13.34	11.62	10.83	18.23	19.75
Tamil	742	712	82.16	20.79	9.55	18.12	13.90	19.80	17.84
Marathi	174	171	80.12	19.30	9.36	9.36	19.30	22.81	19.88
Telugu	247	237	85.23	27.00	10.55	13.92	16.03	17.72	14.77
Chinese	66	64	87.50	43.75	10.94	12.50	12.50	7.81	12.50
Arabic	358	347	89.05	21.61	8.93	13.54	23.63	21.33	10.95

Table 21: Grade Distribution for Cambridge Proficiency Examinations, 1999: Girls

(Source: Mauritius Examinations Syndicate).

In terms of grade 'A' results obtained in English, French and Hindi, there are some interesting distinctions revealed in the data from the Mauritius Examinations Syndicate (Table 22).

Year	Subject	Grade A (%)	
		Boys	Girls
1995	English	28.00 (2)	32.06 (2)
	French	38.60 (1)	47.65 (1)
	Hindi	15.70 (3)	29.93 (3)
1996	English	21.48 (2)	25.16 (3)
	French	27.68 (1)	35.06 (1)
	Hindi	19.54 (3)	34.94 (2)
1997	English	26.96 (1)	34.58 (3)
	French	26.86 (2)	35.20 (1)
	Hindi	17.61 (3)	35.07 (2)
1998	English	18.81 (2)	24.05 (3)
	French	29.33 (1)	40.66 (1)
	Hindi	16.21 (3)	30.84 (2)
1999	English	20.08 (3)	25.19 (3)
	French	28.08 (1)	38.74 (2)
	Hindi	22.32 (2)	41.55 (1)

Table 22: 1995-1999 Cambridge Proficiency Examinations
Results for English, French and Hindi, by Gender.
(Source: Mauritius Examinations Syndicate).

Whilst it is still quite obvious that the girls are performing better academically than the boys in all subjects, the distinction in terms of 'A' grades between the genders indicates that boys are faring quite well in English; the percentage difference between boys who are obtaining 'A' grades and girls who are doing the same lies between 3.68% (1996) and 7.62% (1997). Given the relative differences that exist in the pass rates in general, one could suggest that the 'A' grade results obtained by boys in English represents an ability to match the girls in terms of examination success in that subject. With French, however, the girls continue to take the lead; the difference in the percentage of 'A' grades lies between 7.38%

(1996) and 11.33% (1998)- which is entirely in keeping with the figure of around 10% that separates the boys and the girls in terms of pass rates in French. It is again with Hindi that one sees the greatest difference between the examination results of boys and girls. Whilst a higher proportion of girls obtained 'A' grades in French and Hindi than in English in the period 1995-1999, the proportion for boys is higher in French and English than in Hindi (See the bracketing numbering in Table 22, referring to the order of percentage scores). This disparity in the ordering of the languages in which 'A' grades are obtained is borne out by the stark difference in the percentages of boys and girls that obtain 'A' grades in Hindi. In 1995, the percentage of girls obtaining such a grade was 14.23% higher than that for the boys; in 1999, the figure was 19.23%.

In brief, Mauritian schoolboys sitting the 'standard six' CPE are more likely to obtain 'A' grades in English and French (and also EVS and Mathematics) than in Hindi, whilst Mauritian schoolgirls are more likely to obtain 'A' grades in either French or Hindi than in English (or EVS or Mathematics). That said, it is necessary to bear in mind that the percentage of girls obtaining 'A' grades is higher in all subjects than that for the boys. Furthermore, the percentage of 'A' grades amongst both girls and boys is considerably higher in Hindi than in any of the other oriental languages with the exception of Mandarin Chinese. This tantalizing fact would appear to strongly confirm two beliefs widely held amongst Mauritians; the first is that children from the Sino-Mauritian community are by far the most diligent and capable students, and the second is that the acquisition of Hindi for CPE purposes is greatly facilitated by the existence of Bhojpuri as a language of the home or of the community for many students (For the last point, see Chapters 4.1.3 and 4.1.5).

At first view, overall pass rates for the oriental languages at CPE do not differ markedly from those for the four compulsory subjects, allowing for fluctuations from year to year. But this conceals the fact that girls have a far higher pass rate - and a greater proportion of 'A' grades - in the oriental languages than boys. It would not, therefore, appear to be true that oriental languages, if included in CPE cumulative

scores for the purposes of secondary school selection, would benefit the majority of schoolchild with the exception of girls who had been entered for either Hindi or Mandarin Chinese (i.e. the two oriental languages that attract a higher percentage of 'A' grades than all other subjects, apart from French in certain years). Yet the issue of the inclusion of oriental languages for just such purposes was a hotly contested issue at the time of my fieldwork in Mauritius.

The arguments for and against the inclusion of oriental languages are fairly straightforward: On the one hand, some parents believe that their children are being unfairly treated by the educational system. Why should the child making an effort to acquire a literary Asian language not reap the benefits of his/her efforts - especially if showing promise in the language and spending precious time that could otherwise be used in improving his/her knowledge of English, French, EVS or Mathematics? On the other hand are the parents who argue that oriental languages have nothing to do with their children, either socially or culturally, and whose children do not study such languages. Why then should children of Indian and Chinese descent be favoured above those from the 'general population' (Franco-Mauritians and Creoles) by being given the advantage, not available to all, of improving their academic scores by sitting examinations in their ancestral languages? Into this already fraught situation, one may introduce yet another objection to the CPE system, and it is one that has been voiced increasingly over the last decade in Mauritius. Why should the CPE system favour children who have greater access to English and French, and fail to take into account that the home languages of the majority of Mauritian children are Creole and Bhojpuri? Surely, these have just as much right to be put on an equal footing as the 'ancestral languages', English and French?

In Chapter 4.2, I shall be looking at what the Mauritian press reveals about both language attitudes and language practices, but it would be opportune, at this juncture, to refer to an article that appeared in the press in 2000, since it accurately reflects that way that many Mauritians react in any debate on language in education - and to the issue of language status and sociolinguistic inequality.

The following article, which appeared in a weekly review entitled *Week-End* (23 April 2000), addresses points which many of my Mauritian informants made to me regarding the absence of recognition of Creole in the educational system:

Créole: matière pour le primaire et pour le classement au CPE

Deux parents ont logé une affaire en Cour suprême demandant l'enseignement du créole en tant que matière à part entière, et la prise en compte de cette matière pour le classement au CPE... L'absence du créole dans le curriculum de l'école primaire est une injustice qui va à l'encontre des droits fondamentaux de 75% des enfants mauriciens, et qui a des conséquences psychologiques néfastes pour eux, arguent les plaignants.

Gerard Lesage et Jacqueline Grenade, parents d'enfants scolarisés dans le cycle primaire, engagent cette action afin que les autorités mauriciennes accordant le statut de *examination subject* à la langue créole, à égalité avec le français, l'anglais, le EVS, les mathématiques et les langues orientales. Le créole (ou "morisien", comme le soulignent les plaignants pour montrer le caractère national de cette langue), en tant que matière à part entière, serait ainsi pris en compte pour le classement au CPE...

Le "morisien" à l'école primaire permettrait ainsi un meilleur épanouissement éducatif et psychologique de l'enfant mauricien, et augmenterait aussi les chances de réussite au CPE - qui est un système taillé pour une élite... l'anglais et le français devraient rester les langues d'enseignement au niveau secondaire et tertiaire, à cause de leur statut de langue internationale. De plus, tout en reconnaissant l'importance que peuvent avoir les langues orientales, la plainte déposée qualifie de discriminatoire le système actuel, et demande un statut égal dans le cycle primaire pour le "morisien", la langue nationale, comprise et utilisée par la grande majorité des enfants du pays.

[Creole: Subject in primary and CPE evaluation.]

Two parents have brought proceedings to the Supreme Court requesting that Creole be taught as well as become a school subject, and that it should be taken into account in CPE evaluations. The absence of Creole from the primary school curriculum constitutes an injustice, goes against the fundamental rights of 75% of Mauritian schoolchildren and has deleterious psychological consequences for them, argue the plaintiffs.

Gerard Lesage and Jaqueline Grenade, parents of children attending primary school, are bringing this action to force the Government of Mauritius to confer the status of examination subject on Creole, alongside French, English, EVS, Mathematics and Oriental

Languages. Creole (or "Mauritian", as the plaintiffs call it, wishing to indicate the national character of the language) would, as a school subject, thereby form part of CPE evaluation... "Mauritian" in primary schools would promote educational and psychological development in the Mauritian child, and would improve the chances of success at the CPE - which is a system geared to an elite... English and French should remain as the languages of tuition in secondary schools and tertiary education, because of their status as international languages. Additionally, whilst appreciating the importance that oriental languages may have, proceedings are brought on the basis that the current system is discriminatory, and equal status is requested to be given in primary schools to "Mauritian", the national language, understood and used by the overwhelming majority of children in this country].

Although I was initially struck by the naivety and novelty of the request expressed in the above article, I was subsequently to discover that the above matter was by no means an isolated example of individuals and organizations using the courts to urge reform in the Mauritian education system. In discussions with Ms. Pushpawatee Lallah, Secretary of the Federation of Pre-School Playgroups (FPSP), Curepipe, Flacq district, I was informed of an affidavit that was issued in the Supreme Court of Mauritius in April 1997 by the FPSP against the previous Minister of Education, Science and Technology, the Hon. Dr. James Burty David. The Minister (cited as the Respondent) had caused to be published a publication entitled *Pre-School Curriculum*, aimed as a guideline from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to all primary school teachers. The publication stated, in a section headed 'introduction to language' that

Pre-primary schooling plays an important role in language development. First, it is the place where the child will formally learn two languages. Namely English and French... All the activities and the suggested approaches for the development of language skills are listed in the French Curriculum. (Cited from the affidavit).

The FPSP, in connection with two private individuals who were concerned parents of minors attending pre-primary, stated *inter alia* the following in their affidavit of April 1997:

9. I aver that this publication omits to publish a curriculum in language development in the language of the majority of the children, i.e. the Creole language.
14. Further, the Applicants aver that by publishing the Pre-primary curriculum in which the Creole and Bhojpuri language is clearly boycotted, excluded, discouraged and not mentioned of, it is not in the best interest of the educational environment and stability of the children generally.
15. Whereas the Government of Mauritius is a party to the United Nations Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the abovenamed/plaintiff party avers that the Committee on Economics, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) on 31st May, 1994 stated in its Concluding observations at Page 5, Paragraphs 16 and 17 respectively: "The Committee further notes with concern that Kreol and Bhojpuri, the only languages spoken by the large majority of the population, are not used in the Mauritian Educational system" and "Regarding article 15 of the Covenant, the Committee is concerned that the use of the two main languages spoken by 92% of the population, namely Kreol and Bhojpuri, is still banned in the Mauritian National Assembly and actively discouraged in all Government institutions".

A reply was drafted by the Principal Assistant Secretary to the Minister of Education and Science (the title of the office having seemingly changed) in May 1997, which addressed the following points in a less than informative manner:

8. As regards paragraph 9, I aver that:-
 - (a) The Curriculum aims at developing the child's language abilities in English and French in conformity with the policies in the Mauritian Educational System;
 - (b) the role of the pre-primary institutions is to prepare the child for primary education where English and French are taught and there should be no divorce between pre-primary and primary education;
 - (c) the introduction of English and French at pre-primary level ensure a smooth transition from pre-primary to primary schools.
13. As regards paragraph 14 of the affidavit, I deny that Creole (or Kreol) or Bhojpuri has been boycotted, excluded or discouraged
14. As regards paragraph 15, I deny that languages spoken by a large majority of the population are not used in the Mauritian Educational System.

In drafting her reply, the Principal Assitant Secretary seemed unable to appreciate the contradictory nature of points 8 and 13 of her reply. Clearly, in selecting English and French rather than Creole or Bhojpuri as the media of education, the Mauritian education system had taken a decision that quite evidently excluded both Creole and Bhojpuri and discouraged their use. Point 14 merely toed the official line, which I had repeatedly encountered, which appeared to be based on a belief in an alernative reality in which the majority of Mauritians spoke English and French, Creole was universally accepted as being nothing other than a form of badly spoken French, and nobody spoke Bhopjpuri apart from old women sequestered in rural areas. The reply, sent to the Ministry by Ms. Lallah in May 1997, made clear what were the sociolinguistic realities:

4. (1) [A]s is generally well known and admitted on page 19 of the Pre-Primary Curriculum under the rubric "PROFIL DE L'ELEVE MAURICIEN". The great majority of children are almost exclusively Creole speaking and a small minority of children speak either Creole and Bhojpuri or Creole and French;
- (4) the situation in real everyday life is beyonddoubt that in the market, in the shops, hospitals, post offices, governmental offices and in everyday public place (*sic*), the language used by the great majority of adults and children alike, except perhaps in a few select schools attended by a smallsocial elite, is Creole or sometimes Creole and Bhojpuri in a few rural areas;
- (5) Creole may thus be said to have become, over tha last two centuries, the universal vernacular in Mauritius as a whole;
- (6) it was in the above sense that it was avered in paragraph (3) of my first affidavit that the majority of children at the primary level are exposed solely to Creole or Bhopjuri. What was meant was that these were the two languages which were usually spoken in their environment.

The response to Ms. Lallah's remarks, sent by the Principal Assistant Secretary in June 1997, proved the most enlightening in terms of finally discerning the real political intention:

3. As regards paragraphs 4(1) (4) (5) and (6) of the said affidavit I aver that a distinction must be drawn between the language they want their children to learn at school for social, cultural and economic advancement.

The last of the replies here quoted from the Ministry of Education and Science (but by no means the last of the exchanges between the Ministry and the FPSP) contains what appears to be the reasoning behind the language policy of the education system. Indeed, it contains the most felicitous trinity of *social, cultural and economic* factors, which I had already formulated as three of the principal areas of investigation in the present research. One cannot help but feel that, contained in this affidavit of the Government of Mauritius, lies a certain amount of casuistry: Since senior politicians are predominantly from backgrounds of privilege, there can be no doubt that their proficiency in English or French - or both - is high. They have, therefore, no particular interest, and certainly no need, to advocate the widespread use of the vernacular languages in education. On the basis of supporting a language policy that acknowledges and represents the wishes of the majority, politicians have but to maintain the linguistic status quo. Whether such a status quo is truly in accordance with the language attitudes of Mauritians, or at least Bhojpurias, I shall investigate in the ensuing chapters.

3.3 Notes to Chapter 3

1. Sambasiva Rao and Sharma (1989:4) state that the Dutch occupied the island in 1698. This is assumed to be a printing error.
2. Benedict (1961:16) claims that the unleashing of pigs, goats, monkeys and rats into the Mauritian ecology was of Portuguese doing
3. The source of such information is the *Archieven van de Compagnieen op oost-indie*, housed in the Hague.
4. This is a view that seems to be confirmed in the letters of de Saint Pierre, and suggests that the attitude of Malagasy slaves may have been due to the fact that they were subject to harsher treatment in French hands than in Dutch ones.
5. What is more than a little confusing is that Toussaint (1977:38) also states that

[i]n 1766, the population of the île de France was composed of 1,998 whites and 'free men' and 18,100 slaves, a total of 20,098.

Either Toussaint's figures for 1766 are incorrect, or both he and Burton Benedict are in error with respect to the population of Mauritius in 1767. There is nothing to account for a decrease in the total population, in one year, of 1,321 let alone a decrease of more than 3,000 slaves in the same period.

6. Quite how the decision of 1794 could possibly relate to the importation of slaves between 1788 and 1794 is unclear; it may be that Toussaint is inferring that the slave population does not show a marked increase between the census for 1788 and that for 1797. This would, however, be an utterly false inference; Toussaint himself gives the figure of 35,915 slaves in 1788 (p.38) and 49,080 in 1797 (p.96).

7. Stein (1982:77) does not claim that the figure for the total population is actually given by Milbert. Indeed, he notes that such a figure has been calculated.
8. This is by no means an unusual suggestion. Although the literature of the time may give the impression that the first Indians in Mauritius hired themselves out for work and returned to India on expiry of the contracted term, this is not necessarily the case. As happened in the period of indentured labour (and as the current demography of Mauritius shows), the option or intention of Indians to return was not always put into practice. Being a minority group within Mauritius, the earlier Indians would have been more easily subject to marriage outside of their community.
9. This proportion is likely to be even greater, since these statistics are given on the basis that no Dhangars emigrated to Mauritius outside the period 1840-59.
10. The estimate of 10% is based on linguistic and demographic figures given by Baker (1972:12) and Benedict (1961:34-7)
11. Mesthrie (1991:24) points out that there are certain drawbacks to making assessments on language based on the district of origin of a speaker:

The assumption of one language per district is not always a safe one (For example, did all the people who claimed Patna as their home district speak Magahi, the usual variety of the area, or were there some Bhojpuri speakers among them, as in present day India?).

The drawback are, in fact, quite numerous. When one considers, for example, that tribal people would have been dispersed throughout Bihari districts, an analysis of the type that Mesthrie undertakes ascribes to such people the use of an Indo-Aryan language. Additionally, the bilingualism or multilingualism of speakers is not represented.

12. The use of the term 'Hindi' is not always clear-cut; it may be used both to refer to modern standard Hindi, the national language of India, based on the Khari Boli dialect. It may also be used to describe a large number of related languages that are spoken in the areas of India where Hindi is the official language.

13. Carter (2000:28) pushes the date of the first Indian presence in Mauritius back to the last decade of the seventeenth century. She claims that an arson attack against the Dutch in 1695 was undertaken by four or five individuals bearing, in the Dutch fashion, a Christian name together with an indication of their provenance: Aaron of Amboina (an East Indian), who had escaped some months before the attack and who was joined

by Esperance, a Bengali woman slave, who ran away to be with her lover in the forests. Her friend Anna, also a Bengali slave, and two others, Paul of Ceylon and Antoni of Malabar, were recruited as accomplices.

Carter (2000:30) also states that a list of households in the Eastern suburbs of Port Louis, in 1806, indicated 122 headed by Bengalis. Two points are important here: Firstly, householders would have formed part of the free population, so a much larger total Bengali presence is indicated; secondly, although such migrants are termed 'Bengali' by the Dutch, it is by no means certain that they would not have been from Bihari areas. If this is so, the Bihari presence in Mauritius predates the period of indentured labour quite considerably.

14. Freycinet, in his *Voyage autour du monde* of 1827, gives quite lengthy examples of Creole that are strikingly reminiscent of the modern form. Although these are not the earliest examples of Creole in Mauritius, such earlier examples relate far less clearly to a language that a Creole speaker of today would unhesitatingly recognise as his or her own. Freycinet also makes the following

noteworthy remarks about Creole (Quoted in Chaudenson, 1981:99):

On conçoit en effet que chacune des races de noirs qui existent dans la colonie a dû altérer le français d'une façon particulière, et que ce nouveau langage a dû se régulariser ou conserver sa rudesse originelle, selon les idées et le degré de culture d'esprit de ceux qui le parle. On distingue donc le créole mozambique de celui des noirs indiens, malais et malgaches, et plus encore du créole usité, par goût et par habitude, parmi les mulâtres et les personnes riche de l'île.

[One assumes, in effect, that each of the black races living in the colony must have transformed their French in their own particular way and that this new language must have regularized - or maintained its original coarseness - according to the ideas and the degree of cultivation of those speaking it. One thus distinguishes the Creole of the Mozambicans from that of the Indians, Malays and Malagasys, and further still from the Creole in use, through taste or custom, amongst the mulattos and the rich of the island].

15. Kalla (*ibid.*) incorrectly states the figure of 63% for the year 1854. The appendix given by him at page 137 makes it clear, however, that this is an oversight.
16. In Higginson's experience, attempts to christianize the Indians in India had been most successful when Christian scriptures had been presented through the medium of Indian languages (Ramyeard, 1977).
17. Ramdoyal (1977:69) bluntly asserts that during the period 1840 to 1870, the British government tried to make Mauritius 'English and Protestant, instead of French and Catholic'.
18. Little is known about the Indian community in the 1850s. Certainly, religion was an important factor in promoting social solidarity; the importance of religion - and its maintenance - would no doubt have impacted on attitudes towards education. As Kalla (1983:132) states:

The Indians recognised the educational shortcomings of both the government and grant-aided schools. They were aware that schools meant proselytization either through the vernacular or French.

19. These figures are taken from the *Report on Government and State-aided elementary schools in Mauritius for 1871*, Mauritius Archives. Bunwaree (1994:85) gives the figures for grant-aided primary schools as 39 in 1859; 59 in 1867 and 57 in 1882. She does not distinguish schools specifically designated for Indian children.
20. Rameyad (1985:19) provides interesting data supplied by his grandfather, who was born in 1860, to the effect that the Bhojpuri used in the classroom of Indian schools was mixed with the Khari Boli dialect 'to sound more prestigious'. It is important to note that young children from Bhojpuria backgrounds are unlikely to have had any exposure to the Khari Boli dialect at the period under discussion, prior to the establishment of the Arya Samaj in Mauritius, in the early twentieth century.
21. Hindi was taught in the Kaithi script, rather than the Devanagari - a somewhat strange choice, given that the latter was far more widely used for printing purposes. I suggest that the British administrators in Mauritius were not familiar with developments taking place in India regarding script. King (1994:66) cites the opinions of a Senior Inspector of Schools in Oudh, A.Thomson, who, in 1870, referred to Kaithi as 'a barbarous system of writing' and the comments of C.Browning, Director of Public Instruction for Oudh, who - in a similar vein - asserted that the Kaithi script would never lead students to higher learning.
22. It should be noted that Telugu was not represented; the reasons for this are unclear, but it seems likely that either the British administrators assumed the choice of Tamil would be acceptable to Telugu-speaking Indians, or Telugu speakers did not constitute a sufficiently large

group in the estate camps around the areas of the four pilot schools. Bhojpuri, too, was unrepresented; this is very unlikely to have been due to any insufficiency in the number of Bhojpuri speakers: It is far more likely to have been motivated by the inability of administrators to appreciate the differences and relationships between Hindi and a number of closely related dialects often designated as 'Hindi'.

23. *Report of the Special Committee on Indian Vernacular Schools, 1880.* Mauritius Archives.

24. As Calvet (1998:39) lucidly points out,

[s]ocieties with an oral tradition are generally regarded as societies without writing and therefore deprived, which is a very reductive way of defining them and, at the same time, a way of disparaging them in comparison with Western societies.

25. At the time that the present research was undertaken, only the four compulsory subjects (English, French, EVS and Mathematics) formed the basis for determining the cumulative score of CPE students. Oriental languages were, however, to be included in this formula at the beginning of the following academic year, although only in the schools and colleges deemed to be 'High Demand Colleges' as opposed to 'Very High Demand Colleges'. Traditionally, the 'Very High Demand Colleges', such as Royal College (Curepipe, Plaine Wilhems district), have been associated with the French-speaking Franco-Mauritian elite; it is unsurprising that such institutions should wish to exclude oriental languages from the CPE grading.

26. In Mauritius, a Private School does not generally speaking have the cachet of similarly named institutions in the United Kingdom. With the exception of the Lycée Labourdonnais and Bocage, and a few organizations funded by religious groups such as the Loretto Convent, Private Schools are notorious for being under-resourced and attracting the less qualified teachers.

4.0 Introduction

The present chapter contains the transcriptions of three interviews, together with one English translation of an interview conducted in Creole. These interviews have been incorporated into the present work on the basis that they provide extremely interesting insights into Mauritian attitudes regarding language use. The three interviews represent Mauritians from very different backgrounds: Two are Bhojpurias, the third from the Sino-Mauritian community. Amongst the former, one interviewee is a well-respected academic whose reputation lies in an authoritative publication regarding the establishment of Hindi in Mauritius and who regularly gives public talks on topics relating to Indo-Mauritian history and culture; the other Bhojpuria interviewee is a blue-collar worker with little formal education but who, as the interview shows, is well-informed and more than able to express his opinions cogently. The Sino-Mauritian interviewee was the Minister of Arts and Culture at the time that my fieldwork was being undertaken.

It became evident, in the process of working on the transcription and analysis of the following interviews, that whereas the three interviewees held quite different opinions on the use - and usefulness - of Bhojpuri and Creole in Mauritius, there are some startling similarities in some of the points made relating to the downgrading of one or both of these vernacular languages. The view, for example, that Creole is merely a form of 'bad French', but the undoubted lingua franca, is shared by all three interviewees. Similarly, the lack of a literary/literacy tradition in Bhojpuri in Creole runs like a thread throughout all three interviews, although it is not always clearly alluded to. Similarities aside, there are clear-cut differences in the opinions stated relating to personal language choice. Between the two Bhojpuria informants, one favours the use of English and Hindi as languages of the home, whilst firmly excluding Creole; the other attempts to promote conversation in Bhojpuri, using Creole when this is not possible. These are culturally-oriented decisions. The Sino-Mauritian interviewee, by contrast, favours languages not on the basis of cultural

importance but on their 'suitability' as languages of science and in the acquisition of new knowledge.

I have annotated what I consider to be important points made in the interviews. Such notes not only clarify ambiguous or potentially obscure comments but contain additional information drawn from documentary data, other interviews and participant observation. In this manner, I have attempted to emphasize the highly informative nature of the following interviews and to place them in a context in which the opinions stated can be fully appreciated and evaluated.

In the present chapter, I examine data illustrating the attitudes of Mauritians to the spoken and studied languages of Mauritius. I do so with caution, being acutely aware of the fact that the notion of determining societal language attitudes may be inherently flawed: The attitudes of an individual do not necessarily reflect the attitudes of the majority of the social group to which the individual may be said to belong. In a sense, then, by seeking to define the attitudes of social groups, one is dealing with generalizations, and doing so within the context of being able to ascribe particular sociological labels to groups of individuals - labels that, whilst having a degree of validity derived from existing sociological research, may not accurately reflect social realities. A Mauritian male may be a Hindu francophone from a Marathi background; to what social group should one then say he belongs? To that of Hindus, as opposed to Muslims; Marathis, rather than Bhojpurias; Indo-Mauritians as opposed to non-Indo-Mauritians, or to a specific social group designated as *male Hindu Marathi francophone*? In brief, I will proceed on the basis that a person has several social identities, all of which are capable of co-existing, any number of which may be subject to alternation in importance, depending on the nature of the social interaction in which the individual is engaged.

Chapter 4.1 focuses on three interviews that I consider extraordinarily important because of the opinions voiced by the interviewees with respect to the language issue in Mauritius. There are many differences of opinion exhibited over the role that Bhojpuri plays in Mauritius, possible reasons for its decline, and the relationship between Bhojpuri and the other

languages of Mauritius. Whereas it must be stressed that these are only the opinions of three individual Mauritians, there are resonances with opinions expressed to me by a large number of Mauritian informants during the course of my fieldwork. I am acutely aware of the fact that my very presence as a researcher focusing on Bhojpuri (no less than my identifiably Mauritian Bhojpuria name) may have affected the responses of the interviewees, and this has directed me to exercise caution in claiming that the data from the interviewees are entirely representative of privately held opinions. In order to compensate for the personal nature of the interviews, Chapter 4.2 gives an insight into what individual Mauritians think about languages by analysing data from a context where personal interaction is absent. Here, my data is drawn predominantly from newspaper articles, which are commented upon and discussed in the light of supporting information gleaned from participant observation and personal conversations.

4.1 Interviews

4.1.1 Transcription: Systems and Conventions

All three interviews were conducted between a single interviewer and a single interviewee. The interviews with L. P. Ramyeard and G. J. were conducted in the interviewee's houses, whereas the Hon. Dr. Tsang Mang Kin was interviewed in his private office, in the Seeneevassen Building, Port Louis. Both L. P. Ramyeard and the Hon. Dr. Tsang Mang Kin were interviewed with nobody else present. G. J.'s son-in-law had asked to be present during the interview with G. J., out of interest, and was seated at the back of the room with his young child. The interviews with L. P. Ramyeard and G. J. lasted just under thirty minutes. The Hon. Dr. Tsang Man Kin had announced at the outset that he would be pressed for time and was only available for an interview of around ten minutes. In all three cases, the interviewee was asked which language he would prefer to employ for the purposes of the interview. L. P. Ramyeard chose to speak in English; the Hon. Dr. Tsang Mang Kin requested English or French; G. J. offered Hindi, Bhojpuri or Creole. Because of the

greater familiarity of the interviewer with Creole, G. J. was asked to speak in that language.

Since the interviews were recorded with the primary intention of eliciting opinions on Bhojpuri in Mauritius, I have opted for a broad transcription of such. Where an interviewee has stuttered or stammered, this is not annotated. Nor do the transcriptions indicate incidences of self-correction, in which the interviewee has reiterated a word or part of a sentence and concluded differently on the second (or subsequent) occasion. I have nevertheless retained false starts, since these are often revealing - especially so in the case of the Hon. Dr. Tsang Mang Kin. Additionally, without retaining false starts, there are many instances where the ensuing sentence would not be comprehensible.

Interruptions are indicated by the use of three full stops at the end of the interrupted utterance, and three full stops at the beginning of the interrupting utterance. Elsewhere, three full stops signify a pause during a false start. Exclamation marks are used when the interviewee has placed emphasis on the word in question; underlining is employed to indicate emphasis where an exclamation mark could not be used (i.e. when the word stressed is sentence-medial, or where more than one word is stressed). The use of round brackets indicates the absence of the bracketed word in the actual speech. Round brackets therefore signify an insertion into the text by the interviewer, for the sake of explanation or grammaticality. The use of square brackets is restricted to marking the presence of emphasis not corresponding exactly to that indicated in the transcription. Square brackets are restricted to the English translation of the Creole interview which should, accordingly, be referred to.

Several different methods have been used in the transcription of Creole, with varying degrees of success. It is clear that European authors have, in the past, regarded Creole as an aberrant form of French and have, accordingly, attempted to give a transcription of Creole on the basis of French orthography. By contrast, other authors have opted for a phonemic transcription which, disregarding French orthography. Baker (1972:52) expresses the consequences of both such approaches in the following way:

Contemporary spelling of Kreol is very variable. Some Mauritians write in full the French term from which they assume the Kreol form to be derived, even adding inflectional endings (especially plural endings) which have no significance in Kreol. Others make some attempt to reconcile phonetic realities with the limitations of current French orthography.

The result of these opposing trends has been the proliferation of transcription systems that attempt either to represent Creole in a close a manner as possible to French - thereby retaining redundant letters - or introduce a number of symbols and diacritic marks not found in French orthography, nor, unfortunately, on typewriters. I did not wish to add to the number of existing transcription methods by producing yet another. Ultimately, I decided upon the transcription advocated by *Ledikasyon Pu Travayer* (LPT) that avoids both the francisizing trend of earlier methods and the disfiguring diacritics of later phonemically-based approaches. Spelling has been checked in accordance with the *Diksyoner Kreol-Angle* (1985), published by LPT.

It should be noted that the transcription used by LPT in the *Diksyoner Kreol-Angle* is based on earlier work by Philip Baker and Vinesh Hookoomsing, who set out to design an orthographic system that would be suitable for both Creole and Bhojpuri. In 1984, Baker and Hookoomsing were invited to discuss this system, which they termed *lortograf linite* ('Unified orthography'), with the then Prime Minister Anerood Jugnauth; the LPT dictionary was based on draft suggestions from Baker and Hookoomsing, used without permission (Baker, personal communication). The reasoning behind *lortograf linite* is expressed by Baker (1988:41) in the following way:

If Mauritian children [are] to acquire basic literacy initially in their mother tongues and in phonemic romanized scripts, then it would seem desirable that the transcriptions proposed for MC [Mauritian Creole] and MB [Mauritian Bhojpuri] should have as much in common as is consistent with a phonemic approach. This is the basic principle underlying Baker and Hookoomsing's (1987) lortograf linite [...]

With the exception of the representation of word-final /n/ and nasalization, the transcription advocated by LPT accords with

Baker and Hookoomsing's system. In terms of the treatment of /n/ and nasals, LPTs transcription accords with that of *Lalit*, a political organization which produced its own system.

Although the Baker and Hookoomsing/LPT transcription for Creole would appear to have met with some success, in that newspaper articles, short stories and plays, and dictionaries have employed it, I found no evidence of the acceptance and implementation of lortograf linite - or any other systematic romanized transcription system - to Bhojpuri. Here again, Baker (*ibid.*) demonstrates characteristic insight and foresight with regards to developments and drawbacks:

In so far as MB is written at all, it is almost always in non-systematic romanized transcriptions. However, as the numbers who continue to learn Hindi throughout the secondary level up to School Certificate increases, so the likelihood that some demand for the writing of MB in devanagari (*sic.*) will emerge increases. This would not pose any technical problem since Indian Bhojpuri has long been written in an adaptation of devanagari but it would mean that educational planners would need to make provision for the consecutive use of two different scripts for MB.

At the time of writing, the use of romanization as opposed to devanagari for Bhojpuri continues to be controverted by Mauritian academics and interested parties alike.

In the transcription given for the interview with G. J., I have italicized quotations that are clearly not in Creole, such as *hundred per cent* and *kahan jate ho?*, whilst exercising discretion as to single word insertions. The distinction between instances of borrowing and insertion-type code-switching (see section (e) for definition) is not always clearcut. It is usually obvious, through the pronunciation, whether a word is French or Creole. In the sequence *un, deux, trois*, for example, *un* is nasalized - as is the case in French, though not in Creole. But with lexical items from other languages, problems of a different kind arise; I have considered *baytka* (from the Bhojpuri/Hindi 'baiTHka') and *brek* ('school-break') to be legitimate borrowed words in Creole, irrespective of their pronunciation, and have not therefore italicized them. In cases such as these, I have been guided by the *Diksyoner Kreol-Angle* (1985), whilst conscious of the fact that this is a concise,

prototype dictionary and that there is more than one variety of Creole in Mauritius (Baker, 1972). In the transcription of the interview with L. P. Ramyeed, decisions had to be made over the Indian kinship terms used by the interviewee. I decided that, since the language of the interview was formal standard English, these should be indicated as instances of insertion-type codeswitching, and accordingly italicized.

4.1.2 Code-Switching

Whereas it is not within the scope of the present research to undertake a thorough investigation of code-switching, I consider it pertinent to make the following remarks and observations in the context of analysing interview data.

I accept the broad tripartite classification of code-switching, as proposed by Muysken (1995). I further give the following definitions (The code-switched element is italicized):

(i) *Insertion*

The insertion of a single lexical item or a phrasal constituent, expressed in language X, embedded in the matrix clause of language Y.

e.g. bann *outbreak* lafyev tifoed dan Madagaskar

'outbreaks of typhoid in Madagascar'

(ii) *Congruent lexicalization*

Switching of a more substantial nature than insertion, involving two or more consecutive lexical items or phrasal constituents.

e.g. Just last week mo finn get enn reportaz lor lafyev.tifoed dan Madagaskar

'Just last week, I saw a report on the typhoid epidemic in Madagascar'

(iii) *Alternation*

An instance of switching between one language and another at the sentential rather than the clausal

level. An alternation is indicated by the termination of a sentence in language X (or where language X is the matrix language) and the commencement of a new sentence in language Y (or where language Y is the matrix language).

e.g. *It's terrible, sa lafyev tifoyd la, lor Madagaskar... mmm... terib! Be ki fer? They don't have the money to buy the medicines, alor li beze.*

'It's terrible, this typhoid (business) in Madagascar; terrible! But what can one do? They don't have the money to buy the medicines, so they're screwed'.

Informal speech in Mauritius very frequently involves code-switching. As a general rule, the more informal the conversation, the greater the likelihood that the participants will code-switch. It is important to note, however, that notions of formality/informality amongst speakers can be very fluid with respect to status considerations. For example, a speaker may chose to employ English exclusively, on the basis that Creole would be too informal - even if the subject under discussion is the usefulness of the Creole language. Such an instance would suggest the speaker's maintained use of English and sustained avoidance of code-switching in order to appear more authoritative (The implication here is that the speaker views English as a high prestige language and code-switching as non-prestigious). The same speaker, however, may address the National Assembly on matters of national policy, using insertion, congruent lexicalization and alternation with English, French and even Creole - despite the fact that Creole is not recognized as a language of the National Assembly, according to Section 49 of the Constitution of Mauritius. Nor is the above example a hypothetical one; I observed this to be the case with the Hon. Dr. Tsang Mang Kin, Minister of Arts and Culture, both in parliament and in the personal interview which is transcribed in the present work.

During the period of fieldwork in Mauritius, I observed that code-switching appears to be heavily associated with notions of the appropriacy of a given language (or languages) to the subject matter under discussion. If there is a certain fluidity with regards to *status considerations*, as suggested above - and by '*status considerations*', I mean the social interaction factors obtaining between the participants in a speech act - there is considerably less such fluidity in evidence as concerns code-switching determined on the basis of *subject matter*.

I was privileged, in May 2000, to be invited to both a *kirtan* (a religious ceremony to mark the inauguration of a new business venture) near St. Pierre, Moka District, and to a neighbourhood Ramayana reading outside Vacoas, Plaine Wilhems District. The former was attended by around sixty people of all age groups, the latter by around a dozen females and a dozen males, all of whom - with the exception of two male participants - were above thirty. On both occasions, the participants were Hindu, but, at the *kirtan*, there were some non-Bhojpurias present, including the owner of the new business who was from the Telugu community. The *kirtan* comprised of a long reading from the Bhagavad Gita which was delivered in the original Sanskrit by a member of ISKCON (commonly referred to as the 'Haré Krishna' organization). A subsequent commentary and sermon were delivered in English, throughout which there was substantial alternation-type code-switching between English and Creole. Informal conversation amongst the participants was in Creole. The Ramayana reading was in Awadhi, the language in which the poet Tulsidas composed the version in question, and the commentary in Hindi. Some congruent lexicalization-type code-switching took place between Hindi and Bhojpuri, with Hindi as the matrix language, together with fewer instances of alternation-type code-switching between the same two languages. Both Bhojpuri and Creole were employed for informal conversation amongst the participants - notably Bhojpuri amongst the elderly (of both sexes) and Creole amongst the middle-aged. It is interesting to note that at neither the *kirtan* nor the Ramayana reading was French used, strongly indicating that French is not seen as a language appropriate for Indian cultural activities.

I suggest that code-switching is far more sensitive to subject matter than to status considerations. Given the promotion of Creole, through historical factors, as the language of egalitarianism, non-communalism and 'Mauritian-ness', it is no longer the case that the use of Creole in contexts where English and French once predominated brands the speaker as ignorant and uneducated. The current *lingua non grata* would very much appear to be Bhojpuri. Yet, the situation is not quite as simple as that. Amongst older Mauritians, there continues to be a distinct impression of Creole as a linguistic interloper, a shabbily dressed boor at a cocktail party. I assert that this impression of Creole is particularly pronounced amongst Indo-Mauritians, irrespective of their educational background (Why this should be the case is not difficult to see, given the historical antagonism between the Franco-Mauritian and Indo-Mauritian communities, as explained in Chapter 3.2). In the interview with L. P. Ramyeed, it is clear that the interviewee does not consider Creole to be a language with any cultural value to speak of. Whereas this view is not stated in the interview with G. J., off-tape conversation with this informant made it clear that he held similar opinions to the former interviewee. During mealtime conversation, immediately after the interview had been conducted, G. J. repeatedly referred to Creole as a language without pedigree, a type of broken French without grammar, a language really quite unsuited for anything other than practical, mundane matters. The following comments were noted:

Kreol pena enn langaz sa... enn dyalek; pena gramer...
Kot to pe ale ar Kreol?

'Creole isn't a language, it's a dialect; it doesn't have any grammar... Where are you going with Creole?'

Dan bazar, li byen bon; me pena liv dan sa langaz la.
U pa kapav ekrir sa langaz la.

'In the market, it's all well and good; but there are no books in that language. You can't write that language down'.

Putting aside the irony that G. J. has given a most lucid interview in Creole, which was ultimately to be transcribed in an orthography specifically designed for the language, his comments are strikingly in keeping with a large number of others of made to me by Indo-Mauritians during my stay in Mauritius.

My observations of language use at the *kirtan* and the Ramayana reading, detailed above, strongly indicate that French is not seen as a language either appropriate in the discussion of the Hindu religion or suitable for Indian cultural activities. Similarly, despite having become a lingua franca in daily use amongst Indo-Mauritians - although by no means all of them - it seems evident that there is a reaction against Creole at the level of cultural activity. Its use at the *kirtan* may be explained on the basis that not all those present, though Hindu, were assumed to be from Bhojpuri-speaking backgrounds or to have any knowledge of Hindi. If Bhojpuri and Hindi could not be used, nor any other Indian ancestral language, for the same reason, nor French, for the reasons already stated, by elimination one would be left with English and Creole - precisely the languages that were employed. Otherwise stated, English and Creole represent the 'acceptable' non-Indian languages for code-switching purposes, where matters of a religious or cultural nature are being discussed by Indo-Mauritians. There would appear to be very little flexibility in this respect.

4.1.3 Interview One: Lutchmee Parsad Ramyeed, O.B.E.
(18th August, 2000. Quatre-Bornes)

Q: What are your general opinions and reflections regarding the maintenance of Bhojpuri in Mauritius?

- You know, as far as language maintenance is concerned, Bhojpuri, even only ten or fifteen years ago in Mauritius, was different from what it is now. Bhojpuri and Standard Hindi - Modern Standard Hindi - have been very much attacked by the Creole dialect. Bhojpuri has even been attacked by French, because in some of the homes where Bhojpuri was spoken (and) Hindi was spoken, with the modern

trend, people have adopted French. In Mauritius, very unfortunately to my mind, you see, people who belong to the elitist group in Hindi, like myself - I do belong to the elitist group in Hindi - have different opinions. My opinion about Bhojpuri... my mother tongue is Bhojpuri and in fact I do speak Bhojpuri very well up to now, although I have much more practice in speaking Hindi than Bhojpuri. This is why Bhojpuri is a weakening language; it's a lack a practice. Now let me speak about the weakening side of it. Why do I say that it is a 'weakening' language?

Several things have taken place in Mauritius. One of them is that in very many homes - very many Hindu homes - both in urban and in rural areas, the elderly people have passed away, have died. One by one they have passed away; the *dada*, the *dadi*; the *phuphas*, the *phuphu*; the *chachas*, the *chachi*. These were the Bhojpuri-speaking people and they have passed away; one by one they have gone away, leaving in their place young father(s) and mother(s). And the young fathers and mothers - if not all of them, then many of them - are Creole-speaking. It (= Creole) has found a place in several homes. There are exceptions; for instance, in my home it hasn't found a place, you know, because at home, myself I do speak English and we shift, now and then, to Hindi. So we have two languages in my house: English and Hindi. But such houses in Mauritius are rather few. Mostly, to my disappointment and to my sorrow, I find that Creole has got a place in very many homes. So I was saying that these elderly people have passed away one by one, leaving in their place a young father and mother who are in very many cases Creole-speaking. So the children who are at home are picking up more Creole than they are picking up Bhojpuri or Hindi.

Q: Why do you think it is the case that Indo-Mauritians - people who are self-consciously proud of their cultural identity - should actually choose to employ Creole rather than Hindi or even Bhojpuri?

- Well, it's the atmosphere. Outside, in the streets, in the markets, in the shops, everywhere, it's mostly Creole which is being used. Therefore, they tend to use that language. I'll come to that at a later stage. You know, there are two categories of people in Mauritius where Bhojpuri and Hindi are concerned: We have the active side and the passive side. Now, the passive side includes people who do not speak the language at all. What I mean by 'side' is supporters: active supporters and passive supporters. Every movement in the world, including languages, has (its) active supporters and its passive supporters. Now, the passive supporters include those people who do not speak the language but they can understand it. Why I call them 'supporters' (is) because if tomorrow you go to their place and you say: "Will you give us some financial assistance? We are running a Hindi school/We are running a Bhojpuri place/We are teaching our culture", and all that, they have hardly any time left to go and study Bhojpuri, to go and study Hindi, but they will readily give you something, so they are supporting it passively.

In every country, in every part of the world, these passive supporters are numerous - they are much more numerous than the active supporters. In point of fact, the strength of a language depends very much on how many passive supporters it has. Of course, the real strength will lie in the active supporters; but the passive supporters tend to be quite numerous - in Mauritius, they are very numerous, the passive supporters - this is where I am mentioning your mention of the Indo-Mauritians (who) are proud of their culture. While speaking their Creole, they are still proud of their language and culture. Well, for instance, I went to a function once and the President was someone who knows Hindi and Bhojpuri but was speaking in English. There was somebody sitting at the back and he suddenly said - you know, there was a swami also in the audience - so he said: "ego swami baiThe aile baTa, yah angrezi men bolta!".¹ You see, he took objection to that: How is it (that) in an audience in which there is a swami sitting, this man allows himself to be speaking in English?

So, one (point) is the weakening of Bhojpuri. There were elders who were speaking Bhojpuri who have passed away one by one, leaving the younger people who are mostly Creole-speaking and, so, while they have passed away, Bhojpuri has passed away with them. Bhojpuri has passed away in the home together with those elders, you see. I am ending this paragraph by saying that Bhojpuri has passed away from the house together with those elders. This is One (= the first point). Now, let us see what is being taught in the schools.

Every school in Mauritius teaches the Oriental languages. This is a very good thing in Mauritius, that there is hardly any school where there is no Oriental language taught. The Tamils, they are learning Tamil; the Muslims are learning Urdu, Arabic; the Hindus are learning Hindi. So, the languages taught in the schools (have been taught) since very many years. Since Hindi has been taught in this country, it has always been (Modern Standard) Hindi and not Bhojpuri. Since the coming of the immigrants - when they started coming in 1834 - they had schools of their own being run, so the language being taught there was all the time Hindi. But rarely Bhojpuri - if ever Bhojpuri - was taught. Probably in the beginning, when they had just arrived in Mauritius, the language they were using for the Ramayana and all that was still Bhojpuri and it went on for very many years like that. The *tika* - the explanations for the Ramayana - were mostly in Bhojpuri. Even today in Mauritius, in some of the Ramayana circles in Mauritius, they still use Bhojpuri, but it's mostly Hindi. So, the language which is being taught in the schools is not Bhojpuri; it is Hindi.

So, the children who are learning the Oriental language, they are learning Hindi and not Bhojpuri. If you ask a child to translate for you: 'I am eating bread', he or she will easily do that in Hindi, but might find difficulty to do it in Bhojpuri now, because there is no practice of it at all. At home, it is a home where very often Creole is being spoken. In the school, they are learning Hindi. So where does Bhojpuri come in? Very easily

the child will say: "mein roti khata hun"/"mein roti khati hun"; but: "ham roti khaten" - which is the Bhojpuri - he or she has lost the practice of it. In my day, when I was speaking to my mother, I would not think of saying: "mein roti khata hun". It would be foreign to me. I would say, rather: "ham roti khaten". You see, that was our language, but this has slowly, very slowly, passed away. My mother has passed away. Her Bhojpuri has passed away together with her, although she has left the language to her children. And so, the children who are going to school have little contact with Bhojpuri. They are learning Hindi there; they are not learning Bhojpuri, and the learning and practice of Bhojpuri is getting worse.

If Bhojpuri were taught at school, then it is a language which could have flourished. But it is not taught at school. In no school I know where Bhojpuri is taught, although, in the rural areas, there are traces of Bhojpuri still left. In Vallée des Prêtres once there was a teacher who was teaching French. He said: "*Paul pleure. Il a mal aux dents*" He put the question: "*Pourquoi Paul pleure-t-il?*", so the children were looking at him as if he had two heads. Many of them were hardly understanding what he was saying. They came from Vallée des Prêtres, which is a Bhojpuri-speaking place - there are still, among the rural areas in Mauritius, very few pockets of Bhojpuri-speaking areas. That teacher was a Creole but he knew some Bhojpuri. So he said: "*kahe rohata pol?*" So, at once, in a chorus, the class said: "*okar dant dukhata*"- *Il a mal aux dents. "okar dant dukhata"*. You see, they could say that. I know one case in one Bhojpuri-speaking area where a Creole person had to go to court. You would expect him to be speaking Creole - he was a *pakka* Creole himself. But instead, he could not speak Creole; but he could speak Bhojpuri. That Creole had to be given an interpreter. So he spoke in Bhojpuri and that Bhojpuri got translated into English or French, or whatever it was for the court. But that was at a time when it was so, but it is no longer so

now. So what I have said is that the children have lost contact with Bhojpuri, because they learn Hindi at school.

You cannot say that Bhojpuri is a living language. Because what do we call a living language? A living language is a language which we do speak currently, which you can speak at home; you meet a friend on the road, you speak that language to him. But we do not have that. What we do have is (that) you meet with people who speak Hindi to you. Most of my friends speak Hindi to me, especially the elitist group. We speak Hindi. He (= a hypothetical friend) can speak Bhojpuri, I can speak Bhojpuri, but we rarely converse in that language. Whenever we want to make it more intimate, we drop in a line of Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri tends to make it more intimate.

Q: That's exactly what Abhimanyu Unnuth-ji has said to me - that it's the language of intimacy.

- Yes; it's the language of intimacy. Whenever you want to make the conversation more intimate, you insist on Bhojpuri.

Q: But, in your opinion, what's facilitated the shift from Bhojpuri to Hindi without any loss in identity?

- What has facilitated the shift from Bhojpuri to Hindi? You know, right at the very beginning, when the immigrants came to Mauritius, in just a short lapse of time they found out that Bhojpuri was not the language through which their children could achieve progress - right there, in the course of the nineteenth century, because Bhojpuri had no printed literature. We had no books printed in Bhojpuri, whereas there was printed literature, even at that time, in Hindi. There was literature in Hindi. They had their book: *Prem Sagar*, containing short stories in Hindi. So, while they would be speaking Bhojpuri at home, they encouraged the children to be learning Hindi, to be speaking Hindi, because they found that the future - their own future and the future of the children - lay more in Hindi than in

Bhojpuri. That was right at the beginning; and this is a trend which has persisted throughout the years. Down the ages, that has been the trend.

Q: I had an interview with a speaker last night - a very capable Bhojpuri-speaker - and he suggested to me that, if Bhojpuri is ever lost, the 'identité indien' would be lost as well. Do you agree with that viewpoint?

- Yes and no. Yes, because Bhojpuri carries with it our cultural root; our emotional root. This is in Bhojpuri, whereas Hindi - after all - although adopted by all Bhojpuri speakers was a foreign language to them, because when the immigrants came to Mauritius they didn't bring Hindi with them, they brought Bhojpuri. To a certain extent, that intimacy would be lost; the intimacy brought in by Bhojpuri would not be there. But that intimacy is being replaced by Hindi. They (= Indo-Mauritians) feel now the same intimacy while speaking Hindi - especially those who do not speak Bhojpuri. That intimacy would be more or less transferred to Hindi, although I would agree that it would not carry the same emotional and cultural intimacy. In fact, I would fully agree with Unnuth, who is a good friend of mine, that it's the language of intimacy. It's very well put. It's the language of intimacy.

In some of the rural areas, I can say that, to a certain extent, Bhojpuri can be considered as a living language, where it is being spoken hand in hand, where it is being spoken when friends meet, in close circles, etc. But this is diminishing day by day. Even people like Abhimanyu Unnuth himself, when we meet, any other language would be foreign to us apart from Hindi. But I have heard him in his close circles; he is using Creole. You see, he is using Creole and I wonder whether Creole has not found a way into his own house. I am speaking in a rather frank manner here. You know, the attack of the Creole dialect on Bhojpuri has been an attack which has lasted for very many years and it has been constant and steady. It has never died, this attack. This attack has been an unconscious

attack. Without knowing it, it has been attacking the language - Bhojpuri and Hindi - both have been attacked by Creole; and as a result of all that, even in the rural areas, Bhojpuri has been weakened.

Q: Do you think that part of the attack which Creole has launched against Bhojpuri - and it's certain that the niche that Bhojpuri used to occupy has been taken over in many areas of Mauritius...

- ... taken over by what?

Q: ... by Creole, as the language of the home, so even at the level of domestic language Creole has entered in...

- ... yes, yes...

Q: ... Do you think that part of the attack was conscious as well as non-conscious, by politicians pushing the use of Creole?

- No, it has never been conscious; it has always been unconscious. Among many of our politicians today - our Hindu politicians - there are very many of them who can hardly speak Hindi or Bhojpuri, so they use all the time Creole with their constituents and all that. They're using it in a very spontaneous manner. They have not made an effort to push it; this has never been there. It's just as in England; people are speaking - they are a monolingual nation - they are using English without being conscious that they are using English. They are using their own language. In France, they are using French in a very unconscious manner.

So, what I have said is that, even in rural areas, Bhojpuri - it's sad to say that - but it is a weakening language. You see, many of the Hindi and Bhojpuri fanatics would not agree with that. They would say: "Oh, no, no, no, no; Bhojpuri is still living there". But I (would) rather face it as it is. But then, on the positive side, there

are, on the MBC, Bhojpuri programmes, especially by this man Devnarayan Mohabir. He speaks Bhojpuri in a spontaneous, living way. There are almost weekly programmes going on. So this tends to keep Bhojpuri alive. This bumps life into Bhojpuri. All is not lost, you know! So there are redeeming factors. There are songs in Bhojpuri; you can hear those songs early in the morning on the radio, very often.

Q: Even the contest recently, the 'Bhojpuri Bahar' was very popular. I noticed that, in the audience, there were probably more under-thirty's than over-thirty's - a lot of young people.

- A lot of young people, yes; and this is a good sign for Bhojpuri. Again, it's a question of this intimacy, of this cultural and emotional intimacy. One day, not very far from me, where lives my daughter, very near here, I was passing opposite a Telugu house. Someone had died some days before and there was a ceremony going on there. It was in Telugu. The prayers were going on in Telugu. Two Tamils were passing on the road - two Tamil boys - and they heard this Telugu prayer and Telugu language going on. One said to the other: "Eh, eh; arretez, arretez; Tamil, Tamil!" These fellows don't know a word of Tamil, very probably, but then they were stopped by this cultural and emotional attachment to the language. He [= the speaker cited] is a passive supporter. If you tell him that there is a Tamil school running and you want some financial assistance, he will give you (money). He doesn't know the language, but he is ready to support it.

So, on the positive side, you have these Bhojpuri programmes, Bhojpuri songs, and so the language is becoming more what we call in English a 'studied language', not a living language. There is a difference between a living language and a studied language; the studied language also can flourish to a certain extent, just as, to very many Hindus in this country - to many of us - English is a living and spontaneous language, but to very many (others)

it is a studied language. So, Bhojpuri and Hindi are also getting into the category of 'studied languages'. Again, now, if you look at the Hindi writers of Mauritius, people like Abhimanyu Unnuth, Dr Munishwarlal Chintamunnee, people like myself, we have been writing in Hindi also. These are people, with two or three exceptions, that have all been Bhojpuri-speaking. They are all Bhojpuri-speaking; that is the basis. The foundation, in a sense, has been Bhojpuri. For instance, for my first degree, which was the London (University) B.A., I had taken Hindi as one of my subjects. I remember, in the exam room, while I was doing my translations, when I would get stuck with something from English into Hindi, then I would say to myself: "How would I say that in Bhojpuri?" That would help me. I would say it in this way. Hindi and Bhojpuri are very much akin to each other. If someone knows Bhojpuri and he is sitting in an audience where a Hindi speaker is speaking, he will follow him, he will be able to follow him, through his knowledge of Bhojpuri. So you can see this affinity between the two. The large majority of Hindi writers in Mauritius have been Bhojpuri-speaking; so, Bhojpuri has been a foundation to them.

I have already said that the emotional and cultural root of the great majority of Indo-Mauritians, including many of those who do not speak the language, who speak neither Hindi nor Bhojpuri, but yet their cultural root is Bhojpuri. However much we may deride the language, this would not obliterate the fact that Bhojpuri remains their cultural root. Their cultural root, the emotional root, lies in Bhojpuri. So, from that point of view, I would say that Bhojpuri will continue to live in Mauritius. There will be these passive supporters for years and years and years to come.

4.1.3.1 Analysis of Interview One

In Ramyead's very lucid exposition of the role played by Bhojpuri, three main points arise, and these may be summarized as follows:

- (i) There is a strong sentimental attachment to Bhojpuri for Bhojpurias, although this attachment does not necessarily find expression in the cultivation of Bhojpuri either as a language of the home or the language of intellectual activity.
- (ii) The association of Bhojpuri as an unwritten language of informal communication has prompted Bhojpurias to turn to Standard Hindi as the language that both affirms and dignifies Indian social and cultural distinctiveness.
- (iii) Creole has become, for most Mauritians, the language of everyday communication. In that Bhojpuri is identified with Indians whilst Creole is used by all ethnic groups within Mauritius, Bhojpuri cannot compete with Creole in terms of being the lingua franca (Discussed in Chapters 4.1.4.1 and 4.1.5.2).

In the interview, Ramyead makes the important point of displaying the retention in Mauritius of Indian kinship terms. Creole has the words *granper/ granpapa, granmama, tonton* and *matant*, corresponding precisely to the French *grandpère, grandmère, oncle* and *tante*, but these, unlike Indian kinship terms, do not distinguish between maternal and paternal lines. Ramyead gives an indication of the richness of Indian kinship terms by citing *dada* (paternal grandfather), *dadi* (paternal grandmother), *phupha* (husband of father's younger sister) *phuphu* (father's younger sister), *chacha* (paternal uncle), and *chachi* (paternal uncle's wife). Ramyead additionally uses the term *phuphu* to refer to a father's younger sister although, in Hindi at least, the usual term is *phuphi*. But whilst it may be the case that Bhojpurias have maintained such kinship terms, this is more indicative of the use of code-switching by lexical insertion (see Chapter 4.1.2) than it is of the maintenance of the language from which these terms originate.

The view that knowledge of Bhojpuri is useful in the acquisition of Hindi was one that I had encountered in an interview, two months prior to that with Ramyeed, with Dr. Chintamunnee, whom L. P. Ramyeed refers to in his interview. Dr. Chintamunnee had suggested that the interaction between Bhojpuri and Hindi was mutual and of a cyclical nature: Not only does Bhojpuri assist the student in the acquisition of Standard Hindi, but the literacy and oracy skills acquired in Hindi develop the ability to study Bhojpuri in an academic context, thereby reinforcing both interest and competence in Bhojpuri (To use Dr. Chintamunnee's argument, Hindi 'provides the necessary academic and institutional support' for Bhojpuri). Although this would initially appear to be plausible, I would draw attention to the following points: It is likely to be the case that the majority of students who study Hindi do so in order to gain good grades in their school examinations. For such students, there is unlikely to be any interest in Bhojpuri, since this language is not formally examined. It should also be noted that knowledge of Hindi does not necessarily result in the valorization of Bhojpuri. An Bhojpuria student of Hindi has access to a broad spectrum of cultural expression (film, drama, poetry, prose, etc.) which more than adequately fulfils any interest in Indian culture; a non-Bhojpuria student of Hindi is even less likely to have any interest in Bhojpuri, given the absence of any communal or sentimental association with the language.

Ramyeed makes the important point that some Indian migrants to Mauritius brought with them manuscripts in Hindi, written in Kaithi script, some of which have survived and are displayed in the Museum of Indian Immigration, Mahatma Gandhi Institute. From the very outset of the indenture period, there was literature in Hindi, albeit very limited in amount and in scope, but none in Bhojpuri; this has not helped to promote the cause of Bhojpuri as a language central to cultural maintenance. Ramyeed (1985:32) makes this point quite unambiguously by stating that

had Bhojpuri been a prestigious written language with an established written literature, the Bhojpuri-speakers, like the Telegus and Tamils, would have continued to cultivate their own language, and KhB would have stood no chance whatever in Mauritius.

4.1.4 Interview Two: Hon. Dr. Tsang Mang Kin, Minister for Arts and Culture (17th August, 2000. Port Louis)

Q: What official policies does the Government of Mauritius have to ensure the preservation and the maintenance of the Ancestral Languages of Mauritius?

- Well, I think first of all the very existence of all these institutions where different languages are taught. You have the MGI, you have all the different institutions where they teach languages. This is one thing. Second thing; you look at the teaching of the Asian languages, including Chinese also - the Indian languages and Chinese languages - all these languages are taught at the primary level; and then you also know that there are, after school hours, there are different institutions, small groups, socio-cultural groups, that teach those languages after school hours or on Sundays. And here, Government provides a teacher each time you are able to have fifteen students. In the past, you had to have twenty-five students, which was a handicap for certain languages with a minority of people speaking that language - Chinese, for example. But then Government decided now - only recently, about one or two months ago - that we should bring the number down from twenty-five to fifteen. In other words, this is an indirect way of helping the issue of the language. That's one thing.

I think, talking about the policy of the Ministry of Education, the proper person (to consult) would be the Minister of Education himself.

(The interview is interrupted by an incoming telephone call, during which time the cassette recorder is switched off. Before recommencing, the interviewer informs the interviewee that that he has repeatedly sought to arrange a meeting with the Minister of Education, through the Prime Minister's Office, but the Minister has so far been unable to arrange a date. The interviewer makes it clear that he is interested in finding out how the Government of Mauritius supports languages outside the educational system as well as within it).

- Yes... OK. Well, the proper person to talk about this policy regarding languages would be the Minister of Education... anyway. But then, I think I mentioned (that) the most important thing is the existence - the very existence - of course leading to degree level at the MGI and then what is being done at the primary level and also at the secondary level. But what we do here at the Ministry is that - for the past twenty years, we have followed and in fact encouraged that policy - is the running of drama competitions in about ten languages; the Indian languages, Chinese and also Arabic.² We do this here in Mauritius and in Rodrigues, but in Rodrigues you don't have all these languages, because there we do English, French and Creole mainly. Prizes are given in all those languages. I have... we have a list of all those prizewinners; and I'm glad that now we have a theatre for ourselves, the former Trafalgar Hall, which has been renamed, which is now called (the) Serge Constantin Theatre, in Vacoas, where we encourage rehearsals and where we have those drama festivals. In fact, in the past we did not have a place to perform, or even for rehearsals. Now, all these drama groups all across the island have a place where they can go to for their rehearsals. So we encourage those languages and also, what we were doing in the past, we have been bringing in people from India and elsewhere to provide the right pronunciation to the Mauritians. This is one of the efforts we have been making to improve the standard of the spoken language in this country, in all these different languages. So this is one thing; and then we have competitions, short stories, different competitions in all different languages.³

Now, now; script-writing too, yes, we encourage the writing of scripts - and here, I have brought in people from outside, from Zimbabwe - there is an African group that teaches script-writing. Also, we have recourse to film-makers from different parts of the country (the world?), from India, from France, Britain. When they come over here - I don't go to them because we don't have all the means, but when I happen to know, and always I do know,

about the whereabouts of those artists when they come to Mauritius, film-makers, etc. - I rope them into my programme, I invite them to address the students, who are very glad to meet those professionals. As I said, we don't have the means to pay them, but once they are here, they are invited to share their knowledge for one week and they do it very gladly, very happily. So they take delight in making new friends as well, of people doing the same jobs like them, who are interested in the same activities or hobbies like them. So this is the other way for me to encourage the languages. The other thing which is developing right now apart from this is (that) I have a friend, who is a film-maker, who has decided that Mauritius should be the place where he is going to do dubbing. Say, for example, the regulations in France provide for the dubbing of films made in the languages spoken in a given country, for example. So now they would accept that films made in one language - in Hindi or Bhojpuri - can be translated into French. This provides jobs for Mauritians. So, this is how, indirectly, the teaching of foreign languages can be an interesting economic activity.

Now, there's one problem. We not only have competitions for writing of novels but for writing of plays and, right now, I am encouraging the - I dare not say it bluntly - but I am trying to encourage the emergence of an image industry that will one day lead to a film industry in Mauritius. So I encourage people to write scripts for the cinema, in all these different languages, and I can say that, in Mauritius, in all these different languages, plays are being acted - local plays by local playwrights in different languages in Mauritius - and we give prizes for the best plays in the different languages.

Q: One thing springs to mind on the support that's given, from a cultural and artistic point of view, to languages such as Bhojpuri and Creole: You can actually submit plays for competitions in those two languages, but those are two languages that are not represented at the educational level - Bhojpuri and Creole. Is there not a discrepancy there?

- Well, I don't know. You have an institute promoting Bhojpuri, you also have lots of groups here promoting Creole, but I say bluntly (that) I don't like the scripts provided by... the artificial scripts that are being imposed on us. I don't like them. This is very personal. I prefer, for example... I have encouraged... I have friends who wanted to put up a play by Samuel Beckett: Godot; 'Waiting for Godot'. I had it translated into French, but it is not that awful phonetic script. I don't believe in that. This is very personal. Now, about the teaching of Creole? Well, you see, when you teach those children to write those phonetic scripts, you confuse them. This is why they fail at exams. So I do not encourage that. I am deliberately, I am loudly, squarely, strongly against the phonetic script. And learning Creole? I don't think - this is very personal - I don't think... I think it's a waste of time. I'm very blunt about it.

I say today we have access to knowledge; it's English, French, Chinese, Hindi - science in those languages. We should be looking forward, we should learn, to acquire new knowledge in those languages. We know Creole at home; why do we want to have a B.A. in Creole? I don't believe in this. For me, it's just a waste of time. I'm sorry to be very blunt; I'm known to be blunt, OK? I have an opinion, OK? But I speak Creole; I love Creole. I will always say, because people may not know, for me, the greatest role that Creole could play in our country, it has played it and is still playing it. It is the meeting place for all the different people from different cultures. For example, I will say they are very unfortunate in Sri Lanka not to have a creole that would make the Sinhalese and the Tamils to meet. Because each one in his own language suspects the other of all sorts of things. So you don't have a meeting place. For us, Creole is the meeting place - I love it for that- and it has brought harmony in the country and it is a very, very important role it is playing. But from there to promote it?

4.1.4.1 Analysis of Interview Two

It may be suggested that Dr. Tsang Mang Kin gives an insight into the way that the language issue in Mauritius is perceived at the bureaucratic, official level, since there are a number of occasions where a distinctly administrative approach to language 'management' is discernible in his opinions. It is worthwhile noting that, here also, three distinct points may be identified:

- (i) The languages that ought to be promoted in Mauritius are languages associated with extraterritorial literary cultures. These are languages that also have international status and potential commercial value.
- (ii) The vernacular languages (only Creole is alluded to) have a function in Mauritian society, but only in terms of providing a lingua franca.
- (iii) The development of phonetic scripts for the vernacular languages of Mauritius (of which the emphasis is on Creole) is undesirable; Mauritians should concentrate on learning established literary languages.

It is interesting that the Minister answered the questions put to him in a way that indicates that he perceives language maintenance as a matter for the Ministry of Education rather than the Ministry of Arts and Culture. Whilst he states the position of the Government of Mauritius regarding the teaching of 'Asian languages', he substitutes this term for the actual term used in the question, namely the 'Ancestral Languages'. But these terms are neither synonymous nor interchangeable. Hindi, Chinese (Mandarin) and Arabic, whilst promoted by the Ministry of Arts and Culture, are not ancestral languages for Mauritians, as I have discussed in Chapters 1.1.3 and 1.1.4. Indeed, the approach that the Minister takes regarding the 'Asian Languages' is rather reminiscent of the view that 'Hindi' is an appropriate label for Bhojpuri and can be substituted accordingly, as language information from census reports strongly suggests has been the approach taken by the Mauritian government in the past.

In an interview, in May 2000, with Mrs. Manda Boollel, Administrator at the British Council in Rose-Hill, I stressed the point that Hindi and Chinese were taught in Mauritian schools rather than Bhojpuri and Hakka (or Cantonese) on the basis that they were two of the 'Ancestral Languages' of Mauritians. Mrs. Boollel agreed that this represented a fiction and that Hindi and Chinese had become languages of instruction since they represented languages 'appropriate for higher culture and learning'. In this respect, Mrs. Boollel noted that there was 'no synergy' between the actual 'Ancestral Language' and the language taught. At the educational level, as was demonstrated in Chapter 3.2.7, it is clear that the Mauritian government is interested in promoting the teaching of national and international languages that have higher prestige than the vernacular languages of Mauritius. It would appear that this is also the case with respect to the promotion of languages in terms of arts and culture.

The association of language with socio-economic advantage is quite evident in the opinions of Dr. Tsang Mang Kin, and the opinions echo the sentiments of Ramyeed, that Indian indentured labourers were quick to appreciate the shortcomings of Bhojpuri in the quest for social progression. There are, however, significant differences in the opinions of Ramyeed and those of Tsang Mang Kin. Tsang Mang Kin does not refer to the relationship between Bhojpuri and Creole, and does not perceive Creole as having any socio-economic value. This may be a perspectival difference that arises at the community level, given that Ramyeed and Abhimanyu Unnuth - both of them Bhojpurias - posit a linguistic inequality between Bhojpuri and Creole. Abhimanyu Unnuth suggested to me that the ideal situation, as regards the use of Bhojpuri and Creole as vernacular languages, would have been one in which there was 'two-way traffic'; that is, a situation in which Bhojpurias used Creole in mainly Creolophone areas and non-Bhojpurias used Bhojpuri in predominantly Bhojpuri-speaking areas. But, as Unnuth then pointed out, the willingness of Indo-Mauritians to converge to Creole speakers - and the corresponding disinclination of Creole-speakers to reciprocate linguistically - proved deadly to Bhojpuri. With the use of Creole uncontested

amongst Mauritians of all ethnic backgrounds, the position of Creole as the single lingua franca was quickly consolidated. A not dissimilar point was made to me by Dr. Chintamunnee, another Mauritian of Bhojpuria ancestry, who stated his opinion that it is Bhojpuri speakers themselves who bear the responsibility for occasioning language shift, through their reluctance to use Bhojpuri outside the home.

Another clear distinction between Tsang Mang Kin's opinions regarding Creole and those of Ramyeard (and Unnuth and Chintamunnee) is that, whereas the latter view Creole in terms of the negative effect on Bhojpuri, the former positively evaluates the role of Creole in bringing about some form of social cohesion. That said, Tsang Mang Kin takes a rather pragmatic view of Creole and, whilst praising its past achievements in a way that Ramyeard, Unnuth and Chintamunnee do not, asserts that it has now outlived its usefulness. It is perhaps ironic that the Mission Statement of the Ministry of Arts and Culture states an expression of intent

(t)o foster a balanced and harmonious Mauritius (*sic.*) society through consolidation of existing pluralism, promotion of creativity and the celebration of cultural values. (<http://ncb.intnet.mu/mac/vision.htm>)

If Creole is indeed, as the Minister suggests, a 'meeting place' for Mauritians, no less than language that has brought harmony to the various cultural groups, it is all the more poignant that its role as the inter-communal lingua franca of Mauritius has not accorded it higher prestige at an official level. More to the point, given the focus of the present research, how much greater the threat from the promotion of extraterritorial languages on Bhojpuri - a language that has receded in favour of Creole and has remained associated with a particular community?

The Minister's strong objections to transcriptions for Creole could be contested, given the existence of the thorough and consistent system discussed in Chapter 4.1.1, although it is incontestable that the issue in question relates less to new orthographies for vernacular languages as to the promotion of established, international languages rather than regional languages lacking a literary tradition and commercial value.

4.1.5 Interview Three: G.J. (17th August, 2000. Vacoas)

Q: *Ki u premye langaz?*

- Mo premye langaz, se bojpuri. Bojpuri seki mo premye langaz.

Q: *Seki premye langaz u maman?*

- Mo maman, wi; e osi mo 'nn aprann sa mem; mo komans koz bojpuri mem. Bojpuri. Fode mo komans al lekol, lerla mo komans... anfin, wi, kapav dir.

Q: *U maman ti kapav koz kreol, franse?*

- Non, non, non, non, non, non. Bojpuri mem. Bojpuri mem.

Q: *E u papa?*

- Bojpuri mem. Ennde, ennde, ennde, ennde kreol.

Q: *E angle-franse, non?*

- Non, non, non, non. Hinndi, wi. Hinndi, wi. Hinndi ti aprann, li ti pe fer ramayana, tu sa la.

Q: *Kot u papa maman ti 'nn aprann hinndi? Dan baytka?*

- Dan baytka, wi; dan baytka. Ti ena baytka avan baytka kot mo ti pe reste la, atuse sivala - manndir; sivala, atuse ar nu vwazen, koste mo vwazen. Sa bann manndir la, mo dada finn done sa teren la, later la, pu ranz manndir. Alors ladan, ti pe fer ramayana. La mem ti pe montre lir, hinndi. Pa finn al lekol, naryen sa; koma sa mem. Enn profeser vini montre u hinndi. Aprann ladan mem, u komans lir. Seki u poz mwa, mo pu reponn u sa mem, en? Ale, poze.

Q: *Lor baytka, ena boku dimunn la?*

- Wi, wi; li plen. Li ena sosyete, li ena holi - tu sa la - u kone?

Q: *Tu dimunn endyen?*

- Wi, tu endyen mem.

Q: *Pena kreol?*

- Non, non, non, non, non, non. Pena. Kreol, laskar, sinnwa, personn napa vinn ladan. Tu endyen mem vinn ladan. Tu endyen vinn ladan e aprann hinndi ladan mem.

Q: *E bojpuri?*

- Bojpuri? Laplipar li pe koz tu bojpuri. *Hundred per cent. Cent pourcent Bhojpuri.* Aster la, nu komans al lekol, nu komans aprann *a, b, c, d, - tu sa la - un, deux, trois, quatre, cinq. C'est dans l'école que nous commençons à apprendre.*

Q: *Ki u premye langaz etranze?*

- Langaz etranze, se kreol... wi, kreol. Premye lang etranze seki nu komans koze, mwa dir boku, kreol.

Q: *Lor lekol?*

- Wi, dipi mo lekol. Sa zis dan klas. Ler u sor an deor, u gayn brek, ler dite - *parsi-parla - me la u pe al koz bojpuri.* Me u rant dan lekol, u koz kreol. La, koz kreol. La, profeser komans montre u franse, komans montre u angle; peryod angle.

Q: *Me ti koz kreol ar profeser?*

- Wi, koz kreol mem. Ler u dan sekou, trwazyem - katryem osi - u koz kreol. Li, li pu koz franse, pu koz kreol, parski

lalang pa ase vire. Pa ase vire. Ankor ariv, senstal la pu koz franse ar li. U pe konpran la? Alor li kom sa. Alors ler u komans ariv dan senkyem, sizyem, alor profeser koz franse ar nu, koz angle ar nu. Lerla, nu reponn li an angle; lerla nu reponn li an franse. Parski ledikasyon finn komans grandi. Nu lir liv, tu sa la. Ledikasyon komans grandi. Me, kom sa, tu an kreol; reponn an kreol.

Q: E ar u bann zanfan, ki langaz u servi?

- La mazorite kreol. Me, an parti, mo servi bojpuri; an parti - an dis pursan, kenz pursan. Ki fer mo dir sa bojpuri la? Pu zot konpran li. Zot konpran, zot. Mo dir, pli konpran li, zot pa pu bliye nu kiltir. Akoz sa mo dir zot, mo reponn zot an bojpuri; pu zot pa bliye sa bojpuri la, pu zot pa bliye sa hinndi la. Ti ena akoz sa mo reponn koma sa. Parfwa mo ti reponn an kreol mem.

Q: Bann zanfan la ti kontan koz bojpuri?

- Bann zanfan la, non. Zot lalang atase lor bojpuri. Zot lalang atase, parski, depi piti-piti, zenn, komans al lekol, tu kreol-kreol mem finn ale. U pe konpran? La pu dir zot an bojpuri, zot pa pu konpran; alor, oblize koz kreol.

Q: U kontan ki bann zanfan aprann bojpuri?

- Wi, mo kontan. Boku, ankor. Napa ti perdi kiltir. Sa enn lang... bojpuri la li ena boku plas - ziske dan Lend - isi osi u al dan lakanpayn, bojpuri mars boku. E dan lavil, lavil osi, ena bojpuri marse. Kot mo ti pe travay, Por Lwi, Caudan *Waterfront* la, bann mekanisyon sorti dan lakanpayn, tu sa la vini, laplipar bojpuri. Mwa osi mo koz bojpuri ar zot, dan travay. Dan travay, kapav servi bojpuri. Zot dir: "hai pyes chahien": Bizen kelke pyes pu sanze dan bis. Koz an bojpuri mem: "jo hai an kagaz likh dela": Amenn papye, mo mark li. An bojpuri mem. Ziska u ena kreol, sorti montayn long. Ekstra! Zenn ankor. Zenn! Pli zenn ki u. Li pu vini tap sa dan bojpuri mem. Byen kler, parey kuman u. Li tap sa dan

bojpuri parski laplipar pe koz bojpuri mem. Li osi tap sa dan bojpuri mem.

Q: Sa kanmem byen rar.

- Dan lakanpayn u gayn li. Tap sa dan bojpuri mem. E li koz sa bojpuri la kler kler. Nu kalite napa koz sa kalite la - sa bojpuri la. Me li pe koz sa kler. E ena kreol dan Moris, li pe sant sa pli byen ki nu kalite. Me zot sant sa byen. Aben, bojpuri ena boku valer. Deza u kone, mem dan Moris, ena enn *Human Trust Fund* - san la ena - 'kalbas'... ena enn sosyete bojpuri, koma Sarita Boodhoo. U kone sa? Sa lir liv dan bojpuri, inn ekrir - zafer maryaz, tu sa la - dan bojpuri li ekrir. Alor li koma sa. Ena enn bel valer, sa.

Q: Ki u krwar ladiferans ant bojpuri e hinndi?

- Ena enn ti diferans. Enn ti diferans gramatikal ena. Gramer; enn diferans de gramer, ena. Bojpuri, li dir li: "kahan jaibe?". Hinndi, dir li: "kahan jate ho?". "kahan jate ho?". Bojpuri, li dir li: "kahan jaibe?". Enn sel diferans; u konpran li la? Pa telman - enn ti pe. Enn ti pe, koma franse-kreol. *Absolument français avec créole.*

Q: E ki langaz meyer pu kiltir endyen? Bojpuri u hinndi?

- Bojpuri. Bojpuri. Alor, dan bojpuri pu endyen, si u koz bojpuri u pli konpran li vit. U koze ek zanfan, u koze ek gran dimunn, u koze ek nenport ki sa la an bojpuri, li pli konpran li vit otan ki vit. Ek enn vye dimunn, aster la, si pu al koz kreol ar li, li pa abitye koz kreol, li gayn problem pu konpran. U koz franse ar li, li gayn problem pu konpran. Me tandik u koz bojpuri ar li la, enn sel ku li ramas li. Komsa, nu bizen konsider li - koma dir - bojpuri la, li pe vini enn langaz enternasyonal. U pe konpran?

Q: Me u krwar ki bojpuri enportan pu bann endyen, bann morisyen, bann tu dimunn?

- Wi, boku boku. Bojpuri byen byen enportan pu li swiv so kiltir. Sinon, li pe bliye so kiltir. Me koma pe arive aster la? Prop endu, vre endu, pe bliye so kiltir. Kan li pe marye, seki panndit la pe dir, li napa fer konn naryen. Pu li, li pe marye, li pe met so topi, li pe met so kurta, li pe marye. Mem naryen li napa pe konpran tu seki panndit la pe dir. Panndit la bizen koz an kreol ar li pu li konpran. E purtan, li enn vre endyen. Li enn vre endyen. Li pe marye, li. Fode panndit la dir li an kreol. Fode li tradir li an kreol; lerla li konpran. Parski depi piti-piti, ni so papa-maman finn koz bojpuri, ni finn montre li; finn montre li angle-franse. Pli boku koz kreol, angle, franse pu li gayn sertifika. Li aprann pu gayn sertifika, pu gayn so pen. Maman-papa pa finn montre li. Li osi, piti la, pa an tor, li. Maman-papa pa finn koze an bojpuri. Isi dan lavil dimunn onte pu koz bojpuri. Lerla u koz bojpuri, dimunn la - koman dir - prann u pu enn senp baya: "Li enn pe baya; li enn pe kuyon; li pe koz bojpuri". U pe konpran? U mem kuma u, sorti angleter, u vinn la, u pe koz bojpuri. Dimunn napa pu dir u sesi-sela, me pu dir: "San la, inn vini enn pe barbar, sa! Enn pe jangli, sa!" Alor, se a koz de sa dimunn la napa koz bojpuri. Zot onte pu koz bojpuri. Seki koze la, seki kone valer la, li koze bojpuri. Li pu koze, li - ala, koma Anil - li pa onte pu koz bojpuri nenport dan kot li ete. Mo konn li. Nenport kot li pu ete, swa li angleter, swa li dan Moris, swa li dan lekol, fer montre zanfan.

Q: Me kot sa ont la vini?

- Li pe vini dakote paran. Paran napa pe koze ek so zanfan. Li pe koz kreol. Tu dimunn pe koz kreol, aster la. Li kone koz bojpuri la, me li onte. Li onte pu koz sa. Me koma mwa, mo pa onte, nenport kot u pu amenn mwa. Dir mwa mo barbar; dir mwa mo jangli; dir mwa mo ganwar - dimunn sorti ganw: vilaz. Mo pe dir mo ganwar. Koze, koze; mwa, mo konn mo kiltir, mwa.

Q: Be ki u krwar lavenir pu bojpuri dan Moris?

- Lavenir pu bojpuri, li ena boku lavenir. Me fode bann paran deside. Paran kann zis kreol, angle, franse, zot. Mwa bon endyen pe dir so zafan... so zafan pe dir li: "Papi". Bon endyen, so zafan pe dir so papa: "Papi". Eski li vre, sa? "Papi" ki dir? Dimunn ki fer pese. Dimunn ki fer pese. Zafan la pe dir so papa: "Papi; to enn papi, twa. To 'n fer pese!" Zafan la pe dir; zafan la pa kone.

Q: Me eski bojpuri ena enn rol lor lekol?

- A wi! Wi, wi, wi. Dan sistem edikatif, wi, wi, wi. Kan u kann bojpuri... ladan lekol ena lang maternal. Lang maternal, non; oryantal, non. Oryantal la, tu sa la... hinndi ladan. E kan u koz bojpuri, u ramas sa hinndi la direct. Direk, u ramas. Parski tu le de mars ansam. Bojpuri ek hinndi mars ansam. Li pa telman ansam, me le - koma dir - de kuzen sa.

Q: Donk langaz hinndi pa pu detwir bojpuri?

- Pa pu detwir; pa pu detwir. Lekol - tu lekol - pe montre hinndi. Ena profeser, zafan vinn profeser, vinn enspekter hinndi. Aktyel dan Moris. Mwa ki finn aprann hinndi, sa mo pa ti aprann hinndi, mo pa ti kone ki apel hinndi. Se gras a enn sel dimunn. Dan Moris se Bissoondoyal; Profeser Bissoondoyal. Li mor, li. So garson, Uttama Bissoondoyal, dan MGI.

Q: Ki sa Bissoonndoyal? Bassdeo?

- Bassdeo, Sookdeo; de frer sa. De tenor, sa. Se gras a li ki finn enn hinndi dan Moris - ki lekol, par lekol, pe montre hinndi; gras a Sookdeo Bissoondoyal. E se bann zafan vinn profeser hinndi, gras a Sookdeo Bissoondoyal, Bassdeo Bissoondoyal. Tu lekol montre hinndi. Pe fer gran, gran drama dan hinndi. Pe fer fim hinndi aster dan - fim pe fer dan Moris. Si pa ti kon hinndi, pa ti pu kapav fer. Si u pa kapav fer hinndi, parey koma sa fim la pe zwe? Pa ti pu kapav; sa ve dir dimunn la pe interese ar hinndi, ar bojpuri.

Q: E lavenir pu bojpuri dan Moris?

- Bel lavenir pu ena. Bel, bel, bel lavenir pu ena. Seki kosantre dan hinndi la. Parski letan aprann angle-franse, letan u aprann - de lang mem enternasyonal isi - angle-franse, apre ki enternasyonal? Hinndi. U met trwazyem hinndi. Enternasyonal, sa. Be si u pa konn sa, aster bann zanfan dan Moris zot aprann angle-franse plis hinndi. Li kon angle-franse plis hinndi. Li [fi]nn pas so SC, HSC; plis SC, HSC dan hinndi. Alor, lerli aplay enn travay - angle-franse pa pe gayn, aplay hinndi li - hinndi la, li ena enn HSC ladan. Li gayn sa HSC ladan. E plis li konn angle-franse. Li bat tu le trwa ansam, la. Trwa langaz enternasyonal li ena. Li gayn travay.

Q: Purkwa u krwar bann endyen, madrasi, marati pa kontan koz bojpuri?

- Li pa kone. Li pa kone. Li kone byen pe, me so langaz la li konn pli boku. Marati li konn so marati boku - li oblize koz sa mem. Parey in koz kreol pli boku, parski lalang vire byen vit dan kreol.

Q: Me dimunn dir mwa ki madrasi pa kontan ditu pu aprann bojpuri.

- Wi, pa kontan. Li pa konsider li enn endu, madras Moris. Madras Moris li pa konsider li enn endu. E purtan li sorti dan Lend. Isi, in fer so sosyete - *Tamil Council* - in fer so sosyete; madras in fer so sosyete; *Tamil Council*. E madras, la plipar in batize dan Moris pu li gayn travay. Li pa konsider li enn endu. Marati li pa konsider li enn endu. Ena so lang separe, li. Telegu, li pa konsider li enn endu, selman tu fet relizye li fer parey koma endu mem. Madrasi parey: muruga, se krisna. Me li pa pu priye krisna li; li priye muruga.

Q: Donk langaz bojpuri pa kapav servi pu reyni bann grup endyen?

- Kapav servi, wi; tu konpran. Reyni grup endyen, u servi langaz bojpuri - *full, entièrement, cent pourcent*, zot konpran. Me so labus pa uver pu koze. So labus amare pu koze. Li pa 'n abitye. Li konpran, li konpran, parski li get fim endyen boku, li kone. Laplipar endyen dan Moris zot get fim endyen. Antye lil la, zordi la, zedi la, tu endyen reveye; pa dormi la. Laplipar get fim endyen. Tu! Alor, li koma sa. Alors li gayn lespri lor sa, plis. *Il est vrai* li pa abitye ek bojpuri la, me ar sa li abitye, li konpran tu. La u koz bojpuri, li fini kone. Li pa nesaser absoliman li aprann bojpuri. Me sa... lang hinndi avek bojpuri, la li mars ansam. Li mars ansam.

Q: Enn dernye kestyon la: Mo finn koze - de mwa, trwa mwa par la - ar Abhimanyu Unnuth. Li dir mwa ki bojpuri pa kapav disparet dan Moris, parski bojpuri enn langaz ki servi dan kozri entim.

- Sa enn ekriven sannla, Abhimanyu Unnuth la. Ale, koze.

Q: Ena enn kalite entim dan bojpuri ki pa pu ekziste dan hinndi. U dakor sa lopinyon la?

- Wi, wi, wi, wi. Sa Abhimanyu Unnuth la, sa enn gran ekriven, sa. Mwa, mo konn li byen. Me sa bug la tenor sa, mo dir u. Tenor. Sa pa pu disparet dan Moris, sa. Se gras a sa bojpuri la ki azordi nu ena enn premye minis endu. Se gras a sa bojpuri la ki nu ena enn premye minis endu - depi karant bann ane pe vini mem. U pe konpran ki mo pe dir la? Si pa ti ena sa bojpuri la, azordi nu premye minis pa ti ena premye minis endu. Isi, fer met enn premye minis lezot ras: Revolisyon; revolisyon, mo dir u. Bizin endu premye minis. Bizin endu, koma Fiji. Isi osi parey.

Q: U pa pu kontan enn premye minis -

- - lezot ras? Non, non, non, non, non! Non, non, non. Per sa, mo dir u. Mazarite ki pu dir u sa mem - bann endu ki pu zwayn... Mo pa kontan. Mo pa pu kontan ki ena enn mizilman, ki ena enn marati, ki ena enn mizilman - se pa ki - enn madras, premye minis. Non! Mo kalite endu; bizin premye minis la. Nu ki boku isi.

Q: Enn bojpuri non?

- Wi! Bojpuri mem. Parski enn lang li pa sovaz sa. Ena boku kapav dir enn lang sovaz sa. Non, li pa enn lang sovaz. Ena boku respe ladan. Boku, boku respe ladan. Endu la li pa enn ras ki - koma dir - lang bojpuri, mo pe dir u, li pa enn lang - koma dir - sovaz. Pareyman lezot lang. Dan lezot lang ena boku sovazri; boku, boku sovazri ena. Dan sa langaz bojpuri la, pena sa. Li pirman prop, prop, prop. E lang bojpuri la, li enn lang ki nu pa finn gayn lokazyon koz ar u boku. Me la nu gayn lokazyon; nu pe koz aster la.

4.1.5.1 Translation of Interview Three

The informant was born in Lalmatie (Flacq district) on 20th July 1937, and is the youngest of eight children. He lives in Vacoas (Plaine Wilhems district) and works as a mechanic in Port Louis. He regards himself first and foremost as a Hindu. He is fluent in Bhojpuri. Although he claims to have little knowledge of either English or French, he is able to follow conversation in both with no apparent difficulty.

Q: What is your first language?

- My first language, it's Bhojpuri. Bhojpuri is my first language.

Q: Was that also the first language of your mother?

- Of my mother, yes; and I also learned it; I started speaking it - Bhojpuri. I had to attend school so, at that point in time, I started... that's to say, yes (Bhojpuri).

Q: Was your mother able to speak Creole or French?

- No [emphatic]. Just Bhopuri. Just Bhojpuri.

Q: And your father?

- Just Bhojpuri. (Well, also) a little, little Creole.

Q: Not English and French?

- No [emphatic]. Hindi, yes. Hindi, yes. He learned Hindi, (so) he could follow the Ramayana and stuff.

Q: Where did your father and mother learn their Hindi? At a baiTHka?

- A baiTHka, yes; in a baiTHka. There used to be a baiTHka, near where I am now, next door to the temple. The temple next to my neighbour. My dada gave that property - that piece of land to the temple (association) - so that the temple could be set up. So, in there, there were Ramayana recitations. One was shown how to read, (was taught) Hindi. One didn't go to school, or anything like that. It was just so. A teacher would come and teach you Hindi. You would learn in there (= at the baiTHka) - you would learn to read. Whatever you ask me, I'll answer, alright? Go ahead; ask away.

Q: Were there a lot of folk at the baiTHka?

- Yes; it was full. There was a society, a holi (organisation) - all that kind of stuff, if you know what I mean.

Q: So everyone was Indian?

- Yes; all Indian.

Q: Were there no Creoles present?

- No [emphatic]. None. Creoles, Muslims, Chinese - nobody (like that) went there. All who went there were Indian. All who went there were Indian and they learned Hindi there.

Q: Bhojpuri also?

- Bhojpuri? Most of them were Bhojpuri-speaking. A hundred percent; a hundred percent Bhojpuria.⁴ At that time, we started attending school, learning the alphabet and how to count. It's at school that we started to learn.

Q: What was your first foreign language?

- (My first) foreign language was Creole; yes, Creole. The first (foreign) language we started to speak - and (by that) I mean, a lot - was Creole.

Q: At school?

- Yes, from the time I was at school. But that was just in class. The moment you were outside, when you got a break, (or) at tea-time, (and) here and there, then you could speak Bhojpuri. But the moment you were in school, you spoke Creole. There, you spoke Creole. The teacher taught you French and started teaching you English; (you started getting) English classes.

Q: So you spoke Creole with the teacher?

- Yes, Creole. When you're in second, third - fourth (grade) also - you speak Creole. The teacher, he is going to use French and Creole, because the language (= French) isn't well known enough. It isn't sufficiently well known. So it gets to the stage where you begin to use French with him. You understand? It's like that. By the time you're in fifth (grade) or sixth, the teacher is speaking to us in French and in English. By then, we're replying in English and French, because the level of education starts to get higher.

We're reading books and stuff. The level of education starts to get higher. It's like that; everything's in Creole. You reply in Creole.

Q: So what language do you use with your children?

- Most of the time, Creole. But, some of the time, I use Bhojpuri - some of the time, say, ten or fifteen percent of the time. Why do I use Bhojpuri? So that they (get to) understand it. They understand it. I say that if they understand it better, they won't forget our culture. That's why I speak - I reply to them I Bhojpuri, so that they don't forget their Bhojpuri, so that they don't forget their Hindi. That's why I reply in that way, (but) sometimes I reply in Creole.

Q: Are the children happy to speak Bhojpuri?

- Those children, no. They're tongue-tied in Bhojpuri. They're tongue-tied because, from the time they were very little - (very) young - they started going to school, where all the Creoles were going, if you see what I mean. There, if you speak to them in Bhojpuri, they don't understand, so you're obliged to speak Creole.

Q: Would you like your children to learn Bhojpuri?

- Yes, I would. Very much, in fact. The culture shouldn't be lost. Bhojpuri is a language that has a lot of importance - even in India. Here also, in the countryside, Bhojpuri is widely used. In town also, Bhojpuri is used. Where I work, in Port Louis - at the Caudan Waterfront - the mechanics are from the countryside and are largely Bhojpurias. Me too, I speak Bhojpuri with them, at work. At work, one is able to use Bhojpuri. Some people will say, for example: "hai pyes chahien": I need some spare parts for the bus. They're using Bhojpuri. "jo hai an kagaz likh dela": Bring the sheet of paper, I'll sign it - this, in Bhojpuri. You've even got a

Creole, from Montagne Longue... fantastic!⁵ Young, as well. (Very) young; younger than you. He comes out with Bhojpuri, nice and clearly, like you do. He comes out with Bhojpuri because most of the others speak Bhojpuri. He too can come out with Bhojpuri.

Q: But this is really quite unusual.

- In the countryside, you come across this kind of thing. He comes out with Bhojpuri and his Bhojpuri is crystal clear. Even our folk can't speak like that - that kind of Bhojpuri. But he speaks it clearly. There's also a Creole in Mauritius who sings it better than our own folk can. They sing well. So, Bhojpuri has a lot of value. You already know that there's a Human Trust Fund in Mauritius - there is - 'Calabash'...⁶ there's a society for Bhojpuri, represented by people like Sarita Boodhoo; you know about that? They read books in Bhojpuri; they write about things such as weddings, and all that kind of stuff, in Bhojpuri.⁷ So, it's like that. It has a great deal of value.

Q: What do you think is the difference between Bhojpuri and Hindi?

- There's a little bit of difference. There's a little bit of difference in the grammar; a grammatical difference. A Bhojpuri speaker says: "kahan jaibe?". A Hindi speaker says: "kahan jate ho?". "kahan jate ho?". The Bhojpuri speaker will say: "kahan jaibe?". Just one difference, if you see what I mean. Not that much - a little bit. A little bit, like French and Creole. In fact, exactly like French and Creole.

Q: So which language is better suited for Indian culture? Bhojpuri or Hindi?

- Bhojpuri. For Indians, if you speak Bhojpuri, you'll understand an Indian much faster. You speak with children,

you speak with important folk, you speak with no matter who in Bhojpuri and you'll understand them as quick as a flash. With old folk, (even) now, if you were to speak Creole to them - they're not used to speaking Creole - they would have difficulty in understanding. If you speak French to them, they would have difficulty in understanding. Whereas, if you speak Bhojpuri to them, they catch it in one go. In this respect, we ought to consider it... how should one say?... Bhojpuri has become an international language. Do you get my drift?

Q: But do you think that Bhojpuri is an important language for Indians, for Mauritians - for everyone?

- Yes, very much so. Bhojpuri is very important in allowing people to maintain their culture. Without it, one forgets one's culture. What's happening now? Bona fide Hindus, real Hindus, are forgetting their culture. When one of them gets married, he doesn't understand a thing which the pandit is saying. For him, he's getting married, so he puts on his Indian headgear, his Indian shirt and gets married. He has no comprehension of anything the pandit is saying. The pandit would need to be speaking Creole for him to understand. Yet, he's actually Indian. He's a true Indian. He's getting married. The pandit has to speak to him in Creole. One has to translate things for him in Creole, at which point, he understands. Since he was small, neither his mother nor his father spoke Bhojpuri, or taught him. They taught him English and French. He spoke rather in Creole, English and French in order to get his (school) certificate. He learned (these languages) to get his certificate, to earn his crust. Mother and father did not teach him (Bhojpuri). It isn't the small child who is to blame. Mother and father didn't speak in Bhojpuri. Here in the towns, people are ashamed to speak Bhojpuri. The moment you speak Bhojpuri, people - how do you say? - take you for a simple country bumpkin: "He's a bit of a bumpkin; he's a bit daft; he speaks Bhojpuri". You know what I mean? Or even with people such as yourself, from England; you come here and you're

speaking Bhojpuri, and nobody is going to say this or that (to your face), but they'll mutter: "This person's become a bit coarse, a bit of a jungle-bunny!". So, it's because of this that people don't speak Bhojpuri. They're ashamed to speak Bhojpuri. Those who speak (it), those who know the value (of it), they speak Bhojpuri. They'll speak it, they will - in fact, just like Anil (= the informant's son-in-law); he's not ashamed to speak Bhojpuri wherever he is. I know him. Wherever he may be, either in England or in Mauritius or in school, he teaches the children

Q: So where does this shame come from?

- It comes from the parents. The parents fail to speak (Bhojpuri) to their child. They speak Creole. Everyone is speaking Creole now. They know how to speak Bhojpuri, but they're ashamed to. They're ashamed to speak it. As for me, I'm not ashamed, no matter where you might take me. Tell me I'm coarse; tell me I'm a jungle-bunny; tell me I'm a bumpkin - a person from a (small) village. I'll say: "Yes; I'm a bumpkin. Go ahead and say whatever you want; me, I know my culture".

Q: So what do you think is the future for Bhojpuri in Mauritius?

- (As for) the future for Bhojpuri, it has a great future. But parents should make their minds up. Parents, they know only Creole, English and French. As a pious Indian, I say to the child.. the child can say to him: "Papi". (To) a pious Indian, a child says to his father: "Papi". Isn't this the case? (So now,) what does "Papi" mean? (It is) a person who commits sin. A Person who commits sin. That child is saying to his father: "Papi; you're a papi, you are! You've sinned!". (That's what) the child says; the child doesn't know (any better).

Q: But does Bhojpuri have a role to play in the schools?

- O yes! Yes [emphatic]. In the educational system, yes [emphatic]. When you know Bhojpuri... at school, there's (a role for) the mother tongue. Mother tongue(s), no; oriental (languages), no. (Those) oriental ones, and all that... (no; there isn't a role. But) Hindi's there. And when you (can) speak Bhojpuri, you pick up Hindi directly. Directly, you pick it up. Because both work in tandem. Bhojpuri and Hindi work in tandem. They're not exactly the same, but they - how should I say? - (they're like) two cousins.

Q: So the Hindi language isn't going to destroy Bhojpuri?

- It isn't going to destroy (it); it isn't going to destroy (it). Schools - all schools - teach Hindi. (If) there is a teacher, the children (can) become teachers, (can) become Hindi inspectors. (This is happening) at the moment in Mauritius. I who learned Hindi, had I not learned Hindi, I would not have known what is meant by 'Hindi'. It's thanks to one solitary individual. In Mauritius, it's Bissoondoyal; Professor Bissoondoyal. He's dead now, (but) his son, Uttama Bissoondoyal, is at the MGI (= Mahatma Gandhi Institute).

Q: Which Bissoondoyal? Bassdeo?

- Bassdeo, Sookdeo; these were two brothers; two orators. It's thanks to him (= Sookdeo) that there has been Hindi in Mauritius - that, in school after school, Hindi is taught; thanks to Sookdeo Bissoondoyal. Also, his children became Hindi teachers, thanks to Sookdev Bissoondoyal (and) Bassdeo Bissoondoyal. All schools teach Hindi. One can put on lavish drama productions in Hindi. One can make Hindi movies now in - can make films in Mauritius. If you didn't know Hindi, you wouldn't be able to do this. If you didn't know Hindi, how could these films be played? It wouldn't happen. This is to say, people have become interested in Hindi, in Bhojpuri.

Q: What of the future of Bhojpuri in Mauritius?

- It has a bright future, a very bright future - which is based on Hindi. The time it takes you to learn two international languages - and here, English and French are (the) international (languages) - after that, what (other language) is international? Hindi! You put Hindi as your third. It's international. So, what if you don't know it? Children nowadays in Mauritius learn English and French and Hindi. They know English and French and Hindi. They pass their SC (= School Certificate) and HSC (= Higher School Certificate), together with an SC and HSC in Hindi. So when they apply for a job, (whoever has) English and French (only) won't get it; (but they do if) they apply with Hindi. They have an HSC in Hindi. They get their HSC in it. On top of this, they know English and French. They speak all three. They have three international languages. They get work.

(For the following five minutes or so, the informant speaks about the benefits that Mauritians have in being multilingual; he also states his opinions on the importance of English as an international language. Since the examples given by him on both issues are of a very general and repetitive nature, they are not transcribed here).

Q: Why do you think that Indians, Tamils and Marathis dislike speaking Bhojpuri?

- They don't know it. They don't know it. They know only very little, but they know their own language much better. Marathis know Marathi well - (and) are required to speak it. Similarly, they speak Creole much more, because they quickly become accustomed to talking in Creole.

Q: But some people tell me that Tamils are not at all happy to learn Bhojpuri.

- True, they're not happy. Mauritian Tamils do not consider themselves to be Hindus. Mauritian Tamils do not consider themselves as Hindu. Yet they came from India. Here, they've created their society - the Tamil Council. They've created

their society. Tamils have created their society; the Tamil Council. And the majority of Tamils are baptised in Mauritius so that they can get jobs. They don't consider themselves as Hindu. Marathis don't consider themselves as Hindu. They have their own language, they do. Telegus don't consider themselves as Hindu, only all the religious festivals they have are the same as the Hindu ones. Tamils are the same: Muruga is (none other than) Krishna. But they don't pray to Krishna; that lot, they pray to Muruga.

Q: So Bhojpuri can't be used to unite Indian groups?

- It can, yes; they all understand (it). To unite Indian groups, you employ Bhojpuri. They understand it fully; one hundred percent. But their mouths are not open (when it comes) to speaking (it). Their mouths are clamped shut when it comes to speaking. They're not accustomed. They understand; they understand because they watch Indian films a lot. They know (it). The majority of Indians in Mauritius watch Indian films. The whole island, today, Thursday - all the Indians are awake; they're not sleeping. Most of them are watching the Indian film. All of them! So it's like that. They get more into the spirit of things like that. It's true that they're not accustomed to Bhojpuri, but they're used to that (= films); they understand everything. When you speak Bhojpuri, they know (what it means). It's not absolutely necessary for them to learn Bhojpuri. But... Hindi and Bhojpuri, they work in tandem. They work in tandem.

Q: One last question. I spoke, two or three months back, to Abhimanyu Unnuth. He said to me that Bhojpuri could not possibly disappear from Mauritius, because Bhojpuri is a language of intimate conversation ...

- He's a writer, that Abhimanyu Unnuth. But do go on.

Q: ...that there is an intimate quality in Bhojpuri that doesn't exist in Hindi. Do you agree with that?

- Yes [emphatic]. That Abhimanyu Unnuth is a great writer. I know him well. That guy is quite some orator, I'm telling you. An orator. It's not going to disappear in Mauritius. It's thanks to Bhojpuri that, today, we have a Hindu prime minister. It's thanks to Bhojpuri that we have a Hindu prime minister - and have had for the last forty years. Do you understand what I'm saying? If it hadn't been for Bhojpuri, our prime minister would not today be a Hindu prime minister. Here, if you were to install a prime minister of another ethnic group (you would have) a revolution. Revolution, I tell you. There needs to be a Hindu prime minister. There needs to be a Hindu, like in Fiji. Here, it's the same.

Q: You wouldn't be happy with a Prime Minister from...

- ... from another ethnic group? No! No! [Emphatic]. That fills me with dread, I tell you. The majority would tell you the same - (any group of) Hindus whom you met (would tell you the same)... I don't like (that prospect). I would not like it if there were a Muslim, if there were a Marathi, if there were a Muslim - goodness knows what else - a Tamil, as prime minister. No! My kind of Hindu; there needs to be a prime minister like that. It's we who are many here.

Q: Not a Bhojpuria, then?

- Yes! A Bhojpuria. The language is not savage. There are many who would tell you that it's a savage language. No; it's not a savage language. There's a lot of respect for it; a great deal of respect for it. The Hindus are not a race that - how should I say it? - the Bhojpuri language, I'm telling you, is not - how should I say? - a savage language. The same goes for other languages. In other languages, there's a lot of savagery; an awful lot of savagery there. In the Bhojpuri language, there's none of that. It's completely clean. And Bhojpuri is a language that we have not had much opportunity of using with you. But we have the occasion; we may speak it now.

(The interview ends at this point, with supper being announced. Three generations of this family are present: The informant representing the eldest and his grandchildren representing the youngest. With the informant, one is able to code-switch between Bhojpuri and Creole. With the informant's son-in-law, code-switching is similarly between Bhojpuri and Creole, but with the addition of English. In total, there are four males and six females, with two females under two years old. Interestingly, none of the females use any language other than Creole throughout supper, although - with the exception of the informant's wife - they are all schooled in English, French and Hindi).

4.1.5.2 Analysis of Interview Three

G.J. makes some extremely pertinent remarks that parallel not only comments articulated by Ramyeard but agree with much of the published information from researchers who have investigated the Mauritian linguistic environment. It should be pointed out that G.J. is a lively and animated speaker and had initiated the request to be interviewed so that he could share his opinions on Bhojpuri with an interested party. His comments are of particular relevance to the following issues:

- (i) A strong connection exists between Bhojpuri and a Northern Indian, Hindu identity and the importance of Bhojpuri in maintaining Indian sociocultural identity is paramount.
- (ii) The widespread use of Creole has contributed to the decrease in use of Bhojpuri, as have upwardly mobile Bhojpurias who advocate the use of languages other than Bhojpuri for social advancement.
- (iii) The relationship between Bhojpuri and Hindi is expressed as one in which Bhojpuri assists the learning of Hindi, a language useful not only in the maintenance of Indian identity but for educational advancement and employment.

(iv) Hindi movies are enormously popular amongst Mauritian Bhojpurias and this popularity generates an interest in the learning and practise of language (See also Chapter 4.2.2).

It is clear from G.J.'s comments, early in the interview, that he does not include Muslims within the term *endyen* ('Indian'). Mauritian Muslims are, for G.J., as emphatically non-*endyen* as Sino-Mauritians or Creoles (The latter term is used informally, and often abusively, to designate people with African or Malagasy ancestry). In an interview with Mrs Soorya Nirsimloo-Gayan, Associate Professor at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, in July 2000, I discussed the scope of the terms *endyen* and *endu* at length. As Mrs. Nirsimloo-Gayan pointed out, terms and definitions are apt to vary according to whether speakers are referring to or interacting with the ingroup or to an outgroup. A term such as *endu* may therefore have the meaning 'adherent of Hinduism' if used between, say, Telugu speakers who are discussing the religious affiliation of another Telugu speaker, the term being here used to establish that the subject is neither Muslim nor Christian.

From the closing minutes of the interview with G.J., one gets the distinct impression that the term *endu* is in the process of being rejected by non-Bhojpuria Indo-Mauritian Hindus, who prefer to define their identity through the use of language names (See Chapter 4.2.1 on the use of the Tamil language in this respect). It is doubtful as to whether there is any clearcut distinction between *endyen* and *endu* for most Mauritians. Mrs Gayan has suggested that the terms may overlap considerably, although the former would appear to be somewhat more restrictive than the latter. Mrs Gayan ventured the opinion that she, as a Mauritian of Telugu ancestry, would not suitably be defined by the term *endyen*, since this has become exclusively associated with Hindus of North Indian ancestry. It therefore excludes not only all non-Hindus but also Hindus of Dravidian, Gujarati and Marathi ancestry. G.J. appears to validate Mrs Gayan's opinion, and additionally to assert the existence of a strong connection between Bhojpuri and both *endyen* and *endu*.

The importance of weddings in the sociocultural life of the Indo-Mauritian community cannot be over-emphasized. Weddings are exuberant social events, usually held over three days, to which every family member is invited and at which well-wishers are welcome. All generations are present and family news is traded, contacts established, gossip traded and business opportunities discussed. It is my experience that when such a large number of Mauritians are present, representing a diversity of age-groups, professions and educational backgrounds, the language of interaction is predominantly Creole. What is strikingly evident is that language use is quite sharply differentiated according to the nature of the interaction: Business talk contains a heavy admixture of English - and, to a much lesser extent, French; gossip and polite banter is in Creole; the language of teasing (and swearing) is, likewise, Creole. Hindi and Bhojpuri would appear to be very largely restricted to interaction between the elderly (of both sexes), or to the kitchen/cooking area, which is invariably staffed and run by female relatives.

Despite G.J.'s assertions to the contrary, an officiating priest at a Hindu wedding in Mauritius does not use Bhojpuri in the ceremony. I attended three Bhojpuria weddings during the fieldwork, in different districts: Vacoas (Plaine Wilhems District), Grand Bois (Savanne District) and Montagne Blanche (Moka/Flacq District boundary). In all three cases, Sanskrit was used for the invocations, with explanations given in Hindi. I ascertained this to be the accepted practice, in a discussion with the officiating priest at the second of these weddings.⁸ G.J.'s comments regarding the importance of Bhojpuri for wedding purposes do not, in my opinion, refer to the actual use of the language in the ceremony. Rather, I suggest that G.J. regards Bhojpuri as a language that is indissolubly linked with Indian identity. Its importance is, at an abstract level, that it permits one to feel 'more Indian' and, at a more tangible level, it gives one greater access to Hindi - a language indeed used during the wedding ceremony itself. However, I cannot dispute the importance of *jhumars* (Bhojpuri songs) which are an integral part of any Bhojpuria wedding and whose popularity and practice does not appear to be restricted to the elder generations or to either sex.

G.J. associates communities with particular languages - Bhojpurias with Bhojpuri, Marathis with Marathi - but does not make the outright claim that languages are the exclusive property of people from given ethnolinguistic communities. Indeed, G.J. refers to a Creole who is able to sing in Bhojpuri, better, in fact, than any Bhojpuria; and this is no language myth. I was able to track the identity of this unnamed non-Bhojpuria in a news item reported in a daily newspaper less than a month before the interview with G.J. (*L'Express*, 24 July 2000). The singer in question was Louis Freeman Lagare who, at 58, is a well-respected exponent of Bhojpuri songs. *L'Express* mentions how, from the age of 10, Lagare attended *baiTHkas* to learn Hindi and Bhojpuri (Note Lagare's use of code-switching, from Creole to French to Creole, and the use of a French-based transcription by *L'Express* in which silent letters and accents are present):

Sa lépok zis hindous ki ti appranne hindi ek Bhojpuri. Sa lépok la tu dimunn ti fanatik, sakenn ti res dans so coin. Mais moi, j'avais envie d'apprendre ces langues... Je me faufile en douce de la maison pour aller rejoindre Balmick. Mes parents n'en savait rien. Puis un jour, mon frère m'a suivi. J'avais mon ardoise et un crayon avec moi. Il m'a demandé: 'Kot to pe allé avec sa?' Et il est allé tout raconter à mes parents... sa jour la mone dormi dehors. Zotte pane laisse moi rentre.

[At the time, only Hindus learned Hindi and Bhojpuri. At the time everyone was obsessed about staying with their own. But I wanted to learn these languages... I used to sneak out of the house to go and meet (my teacher). My parents knew nothing about this. Then one day my brother followed me. I had a slate and a pencil with me. He said: 'Where are you going with that?'. Then he went and told my parents everything... that day, I slept outside. They didn't let me back into the house].

Whilst the presence of Bhojpuri songsters younger than Lagare, also from non-Bhojpuria backgrounds, suggests that the taboo of associating with Bhojpuri culture may have lessened, it is opportune to point out that it is still far rarer for a non-Bhojpuria to sing - or speak - in Bhojpuri than for a Bhojpuria to employ Creole. In this respect, the comment made by Abhimanyu Unnuth regarding the inidirectional flow of language convergence proves to be pertinent and accurate.

G.J.'s attitudes towards Creole are somewhat ambivalent: it is a language he professes to use the majority of the time, and one that he learned whilst very young, but he does not appear to attach any educational or cultural importance to it. It is viewed merely as an expedient when dealing with people who are not familiar with other languages, either through lack of education or as a result of failing to maintain the ancestral language. There are also some noteworthy similarities drawn by G.J. between Creole and French on the one hand, and Bhojpuri and Hindi on the other; these similarities are rather intriguing. G.J. maintains that Bhojpuri and Hindi differ from each other in exactly the way that Creole differs from French, yet he does not positively evaluate Creole. This would tend to imply that he perceives Bhojpuri to be a form of vernacular Hindi, related to the literary language taught in Mauritian schools but in some way inferior to it. As with Ramyeed, G.J. is a proponent of Bhojpuri - but seemingly less for its own sake as for the fact that it is a vehicle for the acquisition of Hindi. This somewhat paradoxical view of Bhojpuri as both a language with great sociocultural value and a vernacular that serves to facilitate the learning of a higher status, literary language is succinctly expressed by Chintamunnee (n/d:6 and 7-8):

Language and culture cannot be dissociated. Language is, in fact, the vehicle of culture. It has its roots in the society and it develops in the society and, therefore, it helps to preserve one's identity. To teach a child his ancestral language is to open to him a door to a culture.

We should from the very outset accept the limitations of Bhojpuri. Social reality should be taken into consideration in the forming of a language policy. Bhojpuri should lead to the learning of Hindi. The learning of Hindi will help the Bhojpuri speaking child to acquire his cultural and literary heritage.

Whilst G.J. has no difficulty in identifying Creole as a potential threat to Bhojpuri, it may be suggested that the impact of Hindi has not been similarly evaluated.

After the interview with G.J., his son-in-law, Anil, a school-teacher in his early forties, informed me that his father, a civil servant, had refused to allow the use of

Bhojpuri at home, despite it being his mother tongue, the mother tongue of his wife and the mother tongue of the children. Anil was strictly prohibited ever to use the language in public, since his father considered that to be the mark of an uneducated person. Against all odds, Anil has nevertheless maintained full proficiency in Bhojpuri - a language that he still uses to speak to his *chacha* (i.e. his father's younger brother). Anil's father had advocated the use of French as the language of interaction; this, according to Mrs. Geeta Rughoonundan, Researcher at the Mauritius Institute of Education, was not an untypical situation. When I asked Mrs. Rughoonundun what, in her opinion, posed the greatest threat to Bhojpuri in Mauritius, she replied that, in all probability, it was not Creole but French. Many upwardly mobile Bhojpuria families have, according to Mrs. Rughoonundun, associated French as 'the language of social refinement and of the bourgeoisie' - an association quite distinct to that made with English, 'the language of economic prosperity and education'.

In the interview, G.J. is scarcely exaggerating when he says that most of the 'Indians' will be awake, watching the Hindi movie. Quite aside from the visual aspect of Bollywood, there is phenomenal interest in Mauritius for the soundtracks accompanying Hindi movies. The popularity of a Hindi movie depends largely on the popularity of its songs; if a film is a blockbuster, one can expect to hear songs from the soundtrack weeks or months later, emanating from radio sets, car radios or hi-fi's. Due to Mauritian entrepreneurship, cassettes recordings of the soundtrack become widely available, as do illegal video recordings. The importance of Bollywood should neither be ignored nor underestimated in a discussion on language in Mauritius; through the popularity of song, it encourages many Mauritians, especially the young, to take an active interest in the memorizing and understanding of lyrics in Hindi. Hindi therefore becomes not only the language of pedagogy but the language of glitz, glamour and all that is appealing to the adolescent. Bhojpuri, by comparison, remains the language of the *dadas* and the *dadis*, as suggested by Ramyeed - and, one may add for good measure, of Mauritius rather than the exotic and exciting world beyond.

4.2 Mauritian Press

4.2.1 Language and Social Identity

It becomes increasingly clear, after a very short space of time spent in Mauritius, that Mauritians are extraordinarily concerned with matters relating to language, ethnicity and religion. One could suggest that in a country where over a million people occupy an area the size of the county of East Sussex, and where around a dozen languages are still currently spoken by a heterogeneous population of Hindus, Muslims and Christians, such concern should come as no surprise. Despite the multilingual, multiethnic and multifaith character of Mauritius, hailed by many Mauritians as being indicative of social harmony, there is considerable antagonism within Mauritian society. When I arrived in Mauritius to undertake fieldwork research, in February 2000, I was immediately made aware of a grim anniversary event. Mauritian television and newspapers were discussing the death, in February 1999, of a popular singer belonging to the 'General Population' and the series of ethnically-motivated riots that had taken place over the ensuing months. Mauritius had made the international news, but not in a positive way. An article published in a British newspaper had reported these events in the following way:⁹

[...] Mauritius is proud of its melting-pot image, a legacy of four centuries of colonial history. The Dutch arrived first, followed by the French and then the British. African slaves were shipped in to work the sugar plantations, while the Indians came as indentured labourers and the Chinese as merchants.

But cracks have appeared in Mauritius's multicultural façade. In February race riots brought Port Louis to a standstill for two days and in May the Chinese casino was destroyed by a fire believed to have been started by Muslim extremists. The riots, the worst since Mauritius gained independence in 1968, were sparked off by the death in police custody of a popular Creole musician called Kaya, arrested after he openly smoked marijuana at a decriminalisation rally.

He came from Roche Bois, a Port Louis suburb that is, one local says, the Mauritian Soweto. It is synonymous with *la malaise Créole*, the resentment of Creoles at their poverty-stricken and marginalised status in a country run by the majority Indian population since independence [...]

Events such as those that took place in early 1999 may be extreme - and still rare - examples of communal violence, but it is important to view them as the worst instantiation of social tension that is always present in Mauritius. Skimming through the national press in Mauritius frequently reveals how precarious the multicultural balance actually is. *5-Plus Dimanche*, a weekend newspaper, carried, for example, two news items on the same page relating to incidents of religiously-motivated tension.¹⁰ The first of these took place on 20 March 2000, in the vicinity of the Sainte-Thérèse church in Curepipe, and involved disturbances between Christian worshippers who wished to hold a quiet prayer ceremony, and Hindus celebrating the festival of Holi - in the traditionally noisy, exuberant manner. The second news item gave details of a conflict between the Muslim father of a female student at the Collège Windsor, in Rose Belle, and the school authorities. The parent had asserted the right of his student daughter to wear the Islamic veil (the *hijab*) as a symbol of her Muslim faith; the school authorities had responded by saying that the veil could indeed be worn - but only before and after school classes, not during.

In a rather perceptive article appearing in the same edition of *5-Plus Dimanche*, it is suggested that four factors have contributed to the upsurge of communalism in Mauritius: politics, religion, sport, and education. I will not debate the first of these, since it is quite clearly an obvious candidate; nor, having already given two examples of religiously-motivated tension, will I discuss this factor further until I come to my analyses of questionnaire data in Chapter 5.1.3. As for sport being the cause of communal tension, this notion merits a brief comment, since it is - perhaps surprisingly - related to the ensuing discussion of ethnicity and language. The author of the article states the following, regarding sport:¹¹

Le sport est un autre grand facteur de division. Autrefois, les clubs de foot avaient pour nom Hindu Cadets, Tamil Cadets, Muslim Scouts. C'était clair. Au moins on n'était pas hypocrite. Et puis, les appellations communales furent interdites, mais ce n'est pas pour autant que le sport était décommunalisé. Les Hindi speaking se sont identifiés au Cadets Club, les Tamouls au Sunrise, les Musulmans

au Scouts Club et comme auparavant les Créoles à la Fire Brigade, les 'Mulâtres' au Racing Club et les Blancs au Dodo Club. Celui-ci s'est sabordé pour ne pas s'ouvrir aux autres communautés.

[Sport is another important factor in divisiveness. Beforehand, football clubs used to have names such as: *Hindu Cadets*, *Tamil Cadets*, *Muslim Scouts*... It was obvious. At least we were being honest about it. Then, communally-based designations were officially banned, although it didn't follow that sport became de-communalised. Hindi speakers became identified with the *Cadets Club*, Tamils with *Sunrise*, Muslims with the *Scouts Club*, and - as before - Creoles with the *Fire Brigade*, Mulattos with the *Racing Club* and Whites with the *Dodo Club*. The latter arranged it so it didn't have to open its doors to members of other communities].

The appeal of sport may be international and there may some truth to the claim that it 'brings nations together', but amongst Mauritians, it does not serve the purpose of an inter-community public relations exercise. The reason I state this point is that there is an intriguing parallel here with the role of English in Mauritius, as shall be discussed in section two of the present chapter. What it is important to note, for the moment, is the following: Just as I asserted, in the introduction to this chapter, that social identities are composite and fluid constructs, I now suggest that the conflicts that exist between Mauritians are of the same nature. The reference to sport as a source of social tension is based on an awareness that this involves issues of ethnicity, ethnicity, in turn, contains a linguistic dimension. If the author of the above article failed to cite ethnicity as one of the prime causes of communalism, it is perhaps because the point is so well acknowledged by Mauritians that to have stated it as such would have been unnecessary. Rather, the author lists education as the fourth of four specified causes. I could not agree more with him. In the fourth section of this chapter, I will discuss the role of language in the educational system, particularly in the context of the Cambridge Proficiency Examinations. If further proof were needed of the interaction between issues that create social tension, the author of the article provides it:

Quant à l'éducation nationale, elle devient aussi un enjeu communal. Pour ou contre l'apprentissage des langues orientales, pour ou contre l'inclusion de ces langues pour le classement au CPE. On n'a qu'à voir l'hystérie qui gagne certaines personnes lorsque cette question est évoquée. Elle est devenue, de toute façon, un argument politique.

[As for national education, it is also becoming a communal issue. For or against the teaching of Oriental languages, for or against the inclusion of these languages in the CPE grading, one has but to look at the hysteria that grips certain people when this matter is broached. It has become, in any case, a political argument].

Along which lines should an analysis of language attitudes progress? I am loath to list the languages of Mauritius one by one - after having restricted this list in the questionnaire to Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French and English - since I feel that this would be an unduly dry approach and would somewhat miss the point: surveying language attitudes in a multilingual environment such as Mauritius is a complicated matter, and an undertaking rendered pointless if attitudes towards a given language are not highlighted by contrast to corresponding attitudes to others. For this reason, I consider that a more illuminating approach would be one in which attitudes are identified and analysed in particular contexts rather than by a mechanical listing of the roles of all five languages listed above. Since the present work does not set out to investigate Mauritian party politics or the role of sport in Mauritian society, the four categories provided by the author of the article cited above do not provide a convenient point of departure. I have here restricted the discussion of language attitudes, as they are reflected in the Mauritian press, to three areas: social identity, the languages of entertainment and the media (Chapter 4.2.2) and the languages of employment (Chapter 4.2.3). I have already discussed the outstanding importance of education as a factor in determining language use (Chapter 3.2), and touched upon the sensitive subject of religion in Mauritian society; in investigating language and religious practice, I will rely on analyses of SPSS data as given in Chapter 5.1.3 and summarized in the conclusion.

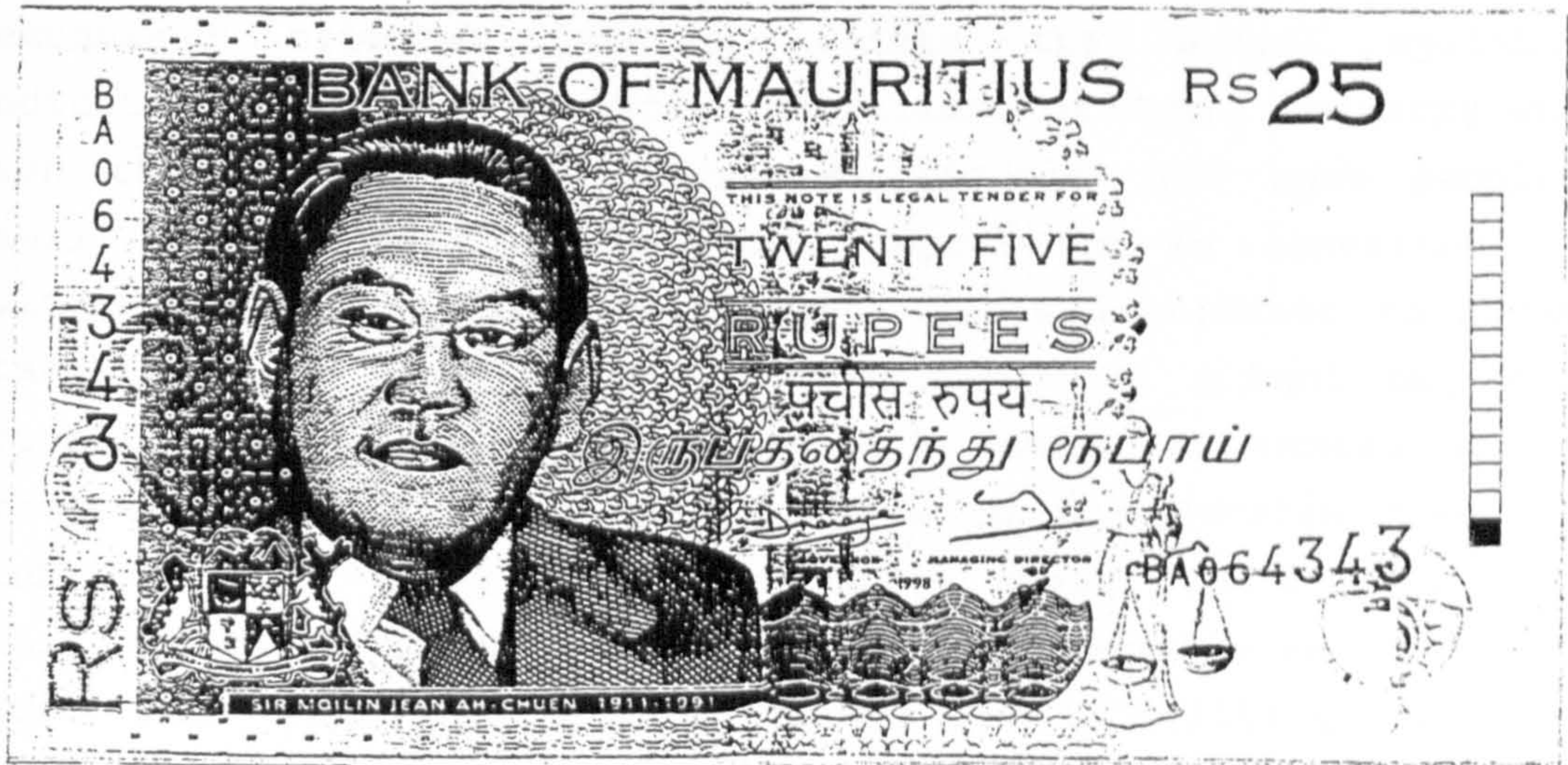
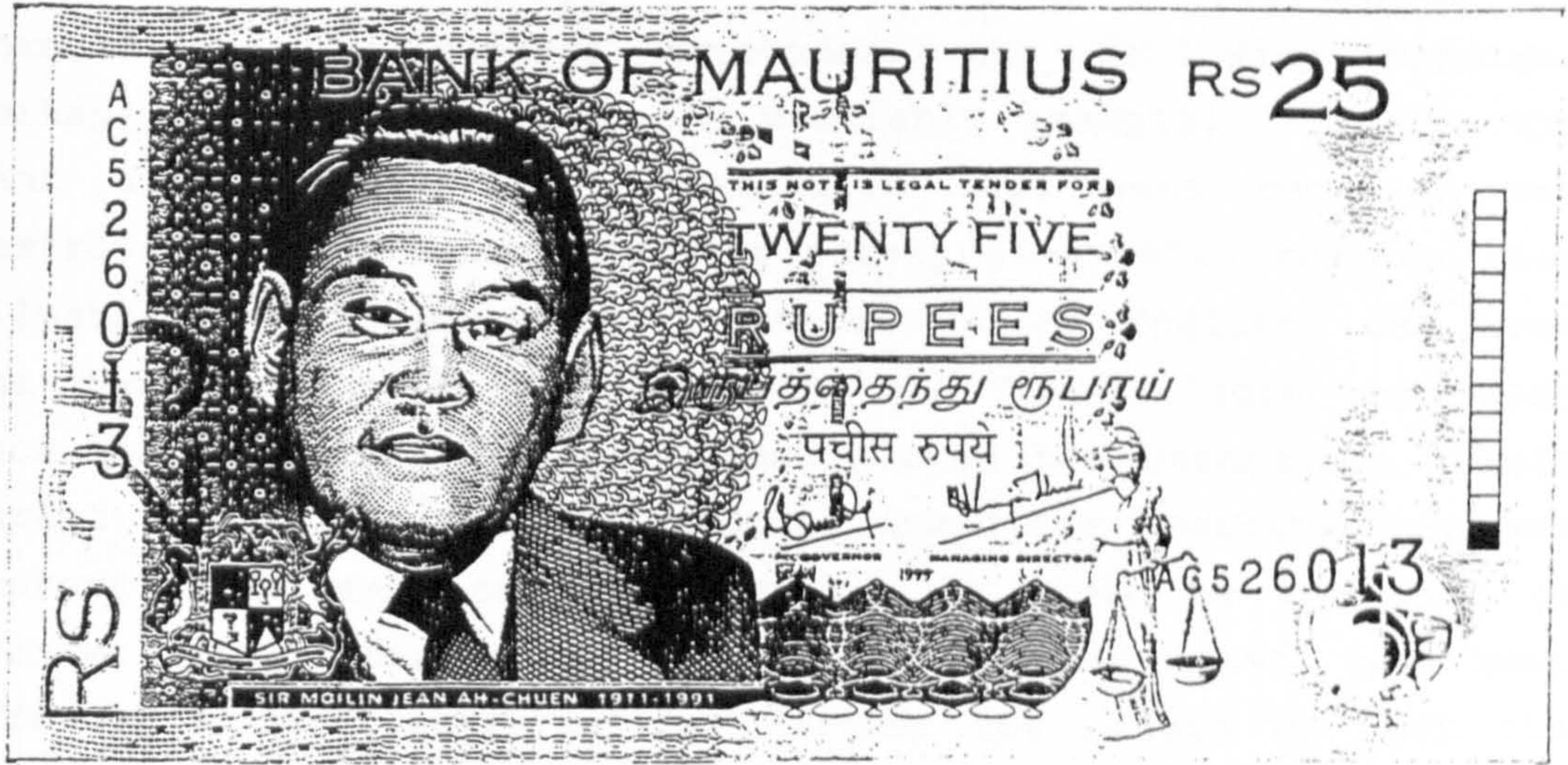


Illustration 3: Mauritian 25 Rupee Banknote:
Currently in Circulation (Above), Recalled (Below)

If I wished to illustrate both the sensitivity of Mauritians with regards to language and the interplay of factors in the formulation of language attitudes, the following provides perhaps the most poignant and memorable example: In 1999, the Bank of Mauritius issued banknotes that were recalled and destroyed in the same year, for purely linguistic reasons (See Illustration 3). Mauritian banknotes employ English, but bear the denomination in English, Hindi and Tamil. Those that were recalled had, for the first time, placed the Devanagari (Hindi script) above the Tamil, provoking immediate demonstration and protest from Tamil community groups. It would be too glib to proffer the explanation that Tamil sensibilities had been offended without investigating further the nature of both the offence and of the people who took it as such. As shown by the census data provided in Chapter 1 of the present work, Tamil is not a major currently spoken language of Mauritius. The number of respondents returning Tamil in this context does not exceed one percent of the population. Yet to rely on statistics such as these is to miss the point entirely: The existence of Tamil as a recognised oriental language within the school syllabus indicates that there are still Mauritians of Tamil ancestry who wish their children to learn the language. For such people, Tamil has a symbolic value and represents an assertion of cultural and ethnic distinctiveness. It is irrelevant to argue that a parent of a child learning Tamil at school may not actually speak (or have ever spoken) Tamil, as indeed it is irrelevant to point out that players in the Sunrise football club - despite their Tamil ancestry - speak Creole when they train together. Defence of the Tamil language, when it comes under some perceived attack, serves as a rallying call to Mauritians with Tamil-speaking ancestry because it is capable of being interpreted, at least by some of the in-group, as an attack on social identity; the issue of actual language use is, it may be suggested, merely incidental.

The attitudes of Mauritians of Tamil ancestry to Tamil demonstrate a certain degree of ambivalence. On the one hand, the language can be invoked to lend credence to the accusation of oppression, as the following newspaper article indicates:¹²

Tamil Council: "Le GM nous a humiliés avec l'affaire de billets et la mort de Sabapathee".

"Où sont l'Equal Opportunités Act et les réformes électorales? Notre pays a reculé sous Ramgoolam. Les tamouls n'ont pas oublié l'affaire de billets et la mort de Rajen Sabapathee", a déclaré M. Kanaksabee.

[Tamil Council: "The Government of Mauritius has humiliated us over the matter of the banknotes and the death of Sabapathee".

"Where is the Equal Opportunities Act and where are the electoral reforms promised? Our country has declined under [the Prime Minister]. Tamils have not forgotten the matter of the banknotes and the death of Sabapathee", said M. Kanakasabee (Chairman of the Tamil Council)].

On the other hand, there is a reluctance amongst some Mauritians of Tamil ancestry to encourage their children to learn Tamil, if this might interfere with examination success, as the following article from *Le Mauricien* of 25 April 2000 suggests:

La MBC invitée à mieux prononcer les mots tamouls.

[...] Le président de la fédération s'est plaint que certains parents hésitent toujours à envoyer leurs enfants suivre des cours de langue tamoule à cause, dit-il, des leçons particulières du CPE qui prennent tout leur temps.

[Mauritian Broadcasting Corporation invited to improve its pronunciation of Tamil words.

[...] The President of the [Tamil Federation of Quatre Bornes] has complained that some parents still hesitate to send their children to Tamil language classes since, he claims, those CPE lessons take up all their time].

Language attitudes, then, may be defined, in the Mauritian context, as attitudes that are conditioned by the way in which an individual member of a self-determined social group perceives the importance of a given language in maintaining his or her own social identity. If one considers a knowledge of - or, rather, association with - Tamil as relevant in construing one's identity, it is unlikely that one will either derogate the study of Tamil or remain impartial when its importance in wider society is ostensibly questioned or compromised. In the following sections, I will assess the accuracy of this assumption by looking at attitudes towards English - a non-ancestral language for Mauritians.

4.2.2 Languages of Entertainment and Media

I remarked, in the last of the notes to the preceding chapter, that the importance of the Indian film industry should not be underestimated in the Mauritian linguistic context. I now expand on this point by offering the following suggestion: Since the learning of languages - other than curricular languages - represents, for the Mauritian schoolchild, an endeavour that effectively takes place in moments of leisure, it is highly relevant to the present research to consider the linguistic practices and language exposure of Mauritians in their spare time. I posit that these twin issues reveal a considerable amount about language attitudes, not least about motivational aspect of language learning. It is with an analysis of the role that English plays in Mauritius that one detects a clear compartmentalization in the way that Mauritians view language as the following discussion will demonstrate.

Mrs Manda Boollel of the British Council made an interesting comment that there is a marked reticence on the part of Mauritians to attend English language films.¹³ As a result, cinema houses in Mauritius do not screen English films, since these are not commercially viable. It is not difficult to see that there is, here, a possible chicken-and-egg scenario: If cinemas restrict the choice of films available to the cinema-going public overwhelmingly to those in French or Hindi, this creates a familiarity with films in those languages, and cinemas become associated as a place in which one goes to see films in those languages. The more popular such films are, the less inclined the management of a cinema will be to take the financial risk of introducing English language titles. The arrival of the television in most Mauritian homes, together with the growth of the video market and the arrival of the DVD medium, has inevitably resulted in a decrease in numbers of Mauritians attending the cinema, yet television programming in Mauritius does not appear to differ significantly from the cinema with respect to offering films in English. A glance at a guide to a day's programming indicates that Hindi and French far outstrip English in amount of transmission time (See Illustration 4).

mbc1	canal+	mbc1
16.05 Patjhad (H)	16.15 Dilbert	07.00 Good morning Mauritius
16.25 Imtihaan (H)	16.40 Les Griffin	08.00 Les Z'amours (F)
16.50 Manzil (H)	17.00 4 cartoons de Tex Avery	08.30 Sublime mensonge (F)
17.10 Swabhimaan (H)	17.30 Court Festival d'Annecy	09.00 Urgences
17.35 Aurat (H)	17.40 D2 Max	09.45 Les mots de l'économie
18.00 Samachar	18.10 Nulle part ailleurs (1ère partie)	10.00 Aurat (H)
18.30 Jamais deux sans toit (F)	18.50 Nulle part ailleurs (2ème partie)	10.20 Swabhimaan (H)
19.00 Programme en telugu	19.25 Nulle part ailleurs (suite)	10.45 Bollywood Today (H)
19.30 Le journal télévisé et la météo	19.45 Le pire des Robins des Bois	11.10 Mewalal (H)
20.05 De Berlin à l'Afrique Australe: investir dans l'avenir	20.10 Jour de Rugby	11.35 Manasha (T)
20.30 Sports Lap	20.55 L'équipe du dimanche	12.00 Informations en créole
21.00 Envoyé spécial (F)	21.40 Golf	12.10 Le journal de la santé (F)
23.00 Le journal télévisé de France 2 (en différé)	23.40 Exodes	12.25 Jungle love story (H) avec Mickey
23.40 Crimes en série (F) avec Pascal Légitimus	23.45 Quartier libre <i>Le p'tit Tony (V.O.)</i>	15.00 Samachar
01.05 La 5ème rencontre (F)	01.20 Exodes	15.10 Pop video clips
02.25 Un siècle d'écrivains (F)	01.25 Driller Killer (V.O.)	15.20 Star ki pasand (R)
03.15 Nocturnales (F)	02.55 Cinéma de quartier <i>Je suis une légende (V.O.)</i>	15.45 Jaldi Jaldi (H)
04.15 Le monde des animaux (F)	04.25 Fin des émissions	16.05 Hina (H)
04.45 Arrêt sur images (F)	télé réunion	16.50 Sea Hawks (H)
05.40 Thalassa (F)	16.05 Sabrina	17.10 Swabhimaan (H)
06.40 Le journal de RFO	16.30 Prince de Bel Air	17.35 Aurat (H)
mbc2	17.00 Sunset Beach	18.00 Samachar
16.00 Minikeums (F)	17.40 Duel de clips	18.30 Jamais deux sans toit (F)
17.00 Des chiffres et des lettres (F)	18.10 Melrose Place	19.00 Anjuman (H)
17.30 Les Z'Amours (F)	19.05 Amour, gloire et beauté	19.30 Le journal télévisé et la météo
18.00 Questions pour un champion	19.30 Journal	20.20 La dernière marche (F) avec Susan Sarandon
18.30 Entre nous	20.05 Météo route	22.20 China Beach (A) avec Michael Boatman
19.30 Le journal télévisé et la météo	20.10 La trilogie marseillaise	23.00 Le journal télévisé de France 2 (en différé)
20.10 Talk back	21.50 Union libre	23.40 I was a teenage vampire (A) avec Robert Sean Leonard
21.00 News	22.50 Shakawen	01.05 C'est au programme (F)
21.20 Naa Hridayamlo Nidurinche Cheli (T)	23.45 Le flic de mon coeur	02.15 La 5ème rencontre (F)
00.00 Doordarshan	00.30 Journal	03.35 Le journal de la santé (F)
05.00 News on the hour	01.00 Fin des émissions	03.50 Nocturnales
05.30 Fox Files (A)	mbc3	04.15 Un siècle d'écrivains (F)
06.00 News on the hour	16.00 BBC World	05.00 Net Plus Ultra
06.30 The Book Show (A)	18.00 MCA Programme My first series- My first cookery	05.15 C'est pas sorcier (F)
	19.00 Media Mirror	05.45 MTV Music
	20.00 Pyramide (F)	06.40 Le journal de RFO
	20.30 Tour de Babel (F)	
	21.00 Maurice (A) avec Rupert Everett	
	22.30 Entertainment time out	
	23.00 BBC World	
	03.00 Worldnet Prog.	
	05.00 MCA Programme Tertiary Gene time	
	05.30 Teleschool Senior English Literature	
	06.15 Teleschool Junior English	

Illustration 4: Television Programming Schedule, 11 August 2000

A Mauritian journalist for *L'Express* makes the following pertinent remarks about English:¹⁴

Communicating effectively in English is not something inconceivable. Yet, it is an oppressive task for the majority of Mauritians. Mr Martin Hyde, senior lecturer of "language studies", has pointed out that Mauritians should revise their spoken English. I don't know how others have digested this but it is indeed a bitter remark for our nation - a country where the official language is English! Not only 'laymen' but also professionals also fall into this category. Perfection is still far away when there is not even minimum practice. There is a general preference for French but why not for English? The simple reason is that we are more exposed to French language than English. Can that exposure not be reversed?

The Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) is an influential form of media; yet it is not making full use of its potential for the betterment of the society. Well, when we look at the "programmation chart", there are half as much programmes in English as in French. But how many of them does the MBC produce? The Mauritius College of the Air (MCA), on the other hand, provides the MBC with programmes in English. However, is it not high time we stopped viewing English language solely from an educational point of view? All that we can think about as local programmes in English is the appalling "Edu-mag" [...] ¹⁵

I suggest that the reason why French is given preference over English in Mauritian television programming may have to do with an assumption regarding the relationship between French and Creole. As far back as 1902, the issue of Creole as synonymous with French was being put forward - and dismissed - in the Mauritian press.¹⁶ Bhojpuri and Hindi have, as has already been mentioned, likewise been paired as varieties of the same language in Mauritius; and a similarity could be suggested in both pairs of languages: Many of my respondents, including Dr. L.P. Ramyeed, G.J. and Dr. Chintamunnee, assert that Bhojpuri is instrumental in assisting Mauritians to acquire Hindi. Although my research interests did not guide me to elicit the same information with respect to French and Creole, a good case could be made that the situation there is analogous. I do not subscribe to the view that Creole is 'broken French' any more than I do that Bhojpuri is 'Hindi without grammar'. Creole and French are separate languages. But to many Mauritian minds, this

distinction is not clear-cut. In construing Creole as a simplified form of local French, for which standard French is the appropriate register in an educated environment, Mauritian media have sought to equate French with Creole. MBC broadcasting practices strongly suggest this. By giving extensive transmission time to French, Mauritian broadcasting has created a familiarity with standard French, thereby consolidating it as a language that Mauritians are likely to be far more comfortable with, in terms of listening and speaking, than English.

Two important additional points should be made with respect to English and French in Mauritius. Firstly, attitudes to French have not, in the past, been favourable amongst Indo-Mauritians. In the following chapter of the present work, I will give detailed reasons for this, within the context of the development of education. Secondly, French continues to be associated with the Franco-Mauritian community, and, through this association, with socio-economic advantage. But the absence of an Anglo-Mauritian community has meant that English is not associated with any given social group in Mauritius.

4.2.3 Languages of Employment

Mauritians are acutely aware that the country they live in is a speck on the world map, a little dot of land in the midst of the Indian Ocean, dwarfed by the vastness of Africa and Asia. In personal conversation and in the press, this feeling of smallness and isolation is constantly referred to. Yet there is a discernable sense of pride amongst many Mauritians, who will willingly list their virtues to the outsider: Intrepid, entrepreneurial and quick to seize opportunities abroad, Mauritians have migrated to many parts of the world in considerable numbers. They have been able to do this because of their multilingual abilities and their education. Through its industrious population, Mauritius is becoming an economic giant, another Singapore, with substantial investments in the opening markets of Africa and Madagascar, and important commercial links with Asia. And, indeed, much of this is true; but, as with most idealised views, there is also a darker side. If Mauritians have been emigrating in considerable numbers since the 1950s, it has

not been so much to share their expertise with the rest of the world, but rather to seek better opportunities for economic advancement than they would have had in Mauritius.

Emigration has been, and continues to be, an important factor in Mauritian society and this has had significant linguistic consequences. In order to emigrate, one must have both a *marketable skill* and an *ability* to do so: With emigration to North America, Australia and the European Community now far more restricted than ever before, Mauritians realise that opportunities to settle abroad will only arise if they are suitably qualified - and able to speak the language of the host country. Pasted to almost every bus stop, public shelter and sizeable wall in Mauritius, one finds an innumerable number of posters and handwritten notices, advertising private tuition in English, or classes in computing or accountancy - advertised in English, the language of education and employment. It is hard to imagine that any Mauritian would seriously contest the view that English is not vital for employment purposes, so thoroughly has English established itself in the Mauritian psyche as the international language *par excellence*.

For many Mauritians I spoke to, English was perceived as being an important language due to the enormous number of people in the world able to speak it. This is a perspective that is by no means untypical, and certainly not one particular to Mauritians. By that criterion, English, Mandarin, Hindi-Urdu, Spanish, Russian and Arabic are clearly the six most 'important' languages on earth, each being spoken as a first or second language by in excess of 200 million people. But this is statistical order of importance - a criterion that makes Javanese 'more important' than Italian, Polish 'more important' than Swedish, and languages such as Icelandic (or Sanskrit) unimportant in the extreme. The sheer numbers of people speaking a language may be impressive, but if one is the citizen a country where one's mother tongue is disparaged in favour of one or more of these 'important' languages, one would have, I believe, every right to feel that our politicians and educationalists had taken a wrong turn. I was, accordingly, extremely surprised by the following recommendations of the Honourable Kadress Pillay, Minister of Education, published in

the 1998 Action Plan of the Ministry of Education and Scientific Research:¹⁷

LANGUAGES FOR SCHOOL AND LIFE

In this Action Plan, we recommend that each and every young Mauritian, irrespective of creed, culture, rank and origin should be exposed to a third language at primary and secondary school.

For the time being, this third language will be either an Asian language or Arabic.

The purpose of this innovation is to create an inclusive curriculum in line with an inclusive pedagogy. We must ensure that all Mauritians of the 21st century can access at least one of the languages of tomorrow's economic giants: India and China [...]

As and when resources allow, the range of choices within this spectrum will be extended to cater for individual, national and regional interests. Consideration is already being given to Spanish, the third language of UNESCO and one of the international languages of the United Nations.

Spanish - and Portuguese - aside, the litany of languages considered important by some Mauritians is predictable: English, French, Hindi and Chinese (Mandarin). As the interview data in the previous chapter of the present work illustrated, the Minister of Education's colleague, the Honourable Tsang Mang Kin, considered these four languages to signify access to knowledge and science. One could suggest that this is not an isolated opinion, and, far from being restricted to knowledge and science in Mauritian minds, crucially applies to employment prospects.¹⁸ Some Mauritians indeed go further, in suggesting that the learning of some regional languages of Asia may also have employment benefits. This was the opinion of two speakers at a forum debate organised by the Movement for National Unity in March 2000:¹⁹

N. Sanyassee et S. Balajee, respectivement de la Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha (militant pour l'enseignement du télégou à Maurice) et de la Mauritius Marathi Mandali Federation (militant pour l'enseignement du marathi), ont trouvé que les langues orientales peuvent servir l'île Maurice dans la perspective d'un déplacement des activités commerciales et économiques vers l'Est, d'où l'intérêt

de connaître le chinois, d'être proche de la Malaisie, de l'Indonésie, du Japon. En Inde, les pôles du développement aujourd'hui sont Bombay, Hyderabad et Chennai, parmi d'autres, d'où l'intérêt pour Maurice d'avoir un certain nombre de gens maîtrisant parfaitement les langues parlées dans ces régions. L'exemple de Hyderabad, destiné à devenir un centre informatique de premier plan avec l'implantation de Microsoft, a été cité.

[N. Sanyassee and S. Balajee, from the Mauritius Andhra Maha Sabha (arguing for the teaching of Telugu in Mauritius) and the Mauritius Marathi Mandali Federation (arguing for the teaching of Marathi), respectively, found that Oriental languages can be useful in Mauritius, from the point of view of situating commercial and economic activity in the Orient, where there is a benefit to knowing Chinese, being close to Malaysia, Indonesia and Japan. In India, the leading areas of development are Bombay, Hyderabad and Chennai, amongst others, so there is an advantage for Mauritius to produce people who have perfectly mastered the languages spoken in those areas. Hyderabad, destined to become a centre for information technology of the first order with the arrival of Microsoft, was cited as an example].

This is not, however, a view shared by all Mauritians. In a very lucid counter-argument to that which suggests Mauritians have a benefit in learning Asian languages for commercial purposes, a Mauritian contributor to *Le Mauricien*, retorts as follows:²⁰

En parcourant la carte du monde, on s'aperçoit que le hindi et le mandarin ne sont parlées au quotidien que dans seulement deux pays - l'Inde, où moins de 50% de la population parle le hindi, et la République populaire de Chine et Taiwan pour le mandarin. Par contre, l'anglais, le français et l'espagnol sont parlés au quotidien dans plus de 130 pays du monde. L'anglais est la langue qui émerge dans le sous-continent indien, car cette langue est mieux comprise du nord au sud de l'Inde. L'ex-Premier ministre indien Deve Gowda ne parlait pas un mot de hindi, mais il a pu diriger les affaires de ce pays grâce à sa maîtrise de l'anglais. Les logiciels qui produisent les ingénieurs indiens sont rédigés en anglais et non en hindi ou mandarin. Les Silicon Valleys de l'Inde - Bangalore, Hyderabad et Madras - n'utilisent pas le hindi comme médium de communication. Tous les centres financiers et technologiques du monde utilisent l'anglais au détriment du hindi et du mandarin. Le commerce international se fera à travers le e-mail et Internet, qui utiliseront l'anglais durant les prochains siècles.

Une récente émission de la BBC-Radio a soutenu que l'Inde et la Chine auront chaque autour de deux milliards d'habitants en l'an 2050. Evidement, la Chine et l'Inde compteront des centaines de millions de chômeurs et n'ouvriront pas leurs portes aux immigrants mauriciens. Je vois mal comment un Mauricien peut prétendre que l'Inde et la Chine sont deux pays d'avenir au niveau des langues. Les indiens et chinois auront intérêt à apprendre le créole, car l'île Maurice aura besoin de bras additionnels pour ses industries textile et sucre. L'Inde et la Chine ne sont pas aujourd'hui des Eldorado pour les Mauriciens et ne le seront pas dans le prochain siècle.

Les Mauriciens doivent se spécialiser en *electronic-mailing* et en informatique en langue anglaise. L'Eldorado pour les Mauriciens est et demeurera les pays suivants: Grand-Bretagne, Etats-Unis, Italie, Canada, Australie, Singapour, Arabie saoudite, Koweit - où la langue anglaise est aux commandes. L'avenir de l'île Maurice repose sur l'Afrique et Madagascar (notre prochain grenier agricole), où l'anglais et le français sont parlés au quotidien. Ceux qui apprennent le hindi et le mandarin vont être déçus lorsqu'ils découvriront la réalité toute nue.

[Glancing at the world map, one realises that Hindi and Mandarin are only spoken as everyday languages in two countries - India, where 50% of the population speaks Hindi, and the Republic of China and Taiwan for Mandarin. By contrast, English, French and Spanish are the everyday languages of more than 130 countries worldwide. It is English that dominates in the Indian sub-continent, as it is this language that is most widely understood from north to south. The former Prime Minister of India, Deve Gowda, could not speak a word of Hindi, but he managed to run the country thanks to his knowledge of English. The software produced by Indian engineers is in English - not in Hindi or Mandarin. The Silicon Valleys of India - Bangalore, Hyderabad and Madras - do not use Hindi as a medium of communication. All the financial and technological centres in the world use English, to the exclusion of Hindi and Mandarin. International commerce will take place through the e-mail and the Internet, which will employ English in the centuries to come.

A recent broadcast on BBC-Radio maintains that India and China will each have around two billion inhabitants by 2050. Clearly, China and India will have hundreds of thousands of unemployed people and will not open their doors to Mauritian immigrants. I fail to see how any Mauritian can imagine that India and China are the countries of the future, from the point of view of languages. The Indians and Chinese would be better off learning Creole, since Mauritius will need additional labour for its textile and sugar industries. India and China are not Eldorados as far

as Mauritians are concerned, and will not be in the coming century.

Mauritians must specialise in electronic mailing and information technology in English. Eldorado for Mauritians is - and will remain - the following countries: Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Canada, Australia, Singapore, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait - where English dominates. The future of Mauritius depends on Africa and Madagascar (our next agricultural producer), where English and French are spoken on a daily basis. Those who learn Hindi and Mandarin will be disappointed when they wake up to stark reality].

Given the acknowledged and paramount role of English as the language of employment and world commerce by Mauritians, it may seem paradoxical that so few Mauritians should actually be willing to use English in informal conversation with other Mauritians. But here, the key word must surely be 'informal'. Shortly after my arrival in Mauritius, in February 2000, I visited K.J., a civil servant in his thirties from the Vacoas area. In a long discussion, held in English, K.J. advised against the use of English when requesting goods or services, or shopping in Mauritius. K.J.'s reason was twofold: Mauritians would keep their distance from someone whom they imagined was Mauritian, and able to speak Creole, but insisting on using English. This would be viewed as a deliberate attempt on the part of the speaker to keep his interlocutor at a distance or to be self-aggrandising. On a purely practical point, the use of English would raise the price asked for goods and services, where prices are not advertised or subject to negotiation. That there should be this attitude that English equates with formality is perhaps unsurprising, since it is the language of school lessons, of parliament and of the news service.

In March 2000, an English public speaking competition was held in Rose-Hill. This was widely reported in the press and featured as a news item on MBC. One of the eight finalists (out of fifty-six entrants) was Rosyla Peermamode, aged seventeen, from Rodrigues College. The news item that accompanied this event is highly illustrative of prevailing attitudes towards English:²¹

Rosyla n'est pas de ceux qui sont prédisposés par leur environnement à maîtriser la langue de Shakespeare. "Dans mon village de Grand-La-Fouche-Corail - située à 45 minutes de Port-Mathurin en bus - la plupart des gens parlent le créole", souligne Rosyla, qui déclare toutefois lire beaucoup.

La jeune finaliste déclare même pratiquer l'anglais chez elle. Bravant, pour cela, le rire que provoque une langue étrangère dans son entourage: "Même les frères et soeurs se moquent parfois de moi".

Rôle effacé de l'anglais

[...] Langue de l'administration et de la scolarité depuis 1944, elle n'est que très peu parlée. "People in Mauritius are not speaking good English. Competitions like the Public Speaking Competition aims at improving the quality of spoken English", déclare Mme Shoba Ponappa, directrice du British Council.

Outre les raisons liées à l'histoire coloniale, chacun y va de sa petite idée, en ce qui concerne le rôle effacé de cette langue à Maurice. "On ne donne pas assez de chances aux Mauriciens de parler l'anglais. Les gens critiquent ceux qui parlent le français en disant qu'ils cherchent à frimer. Cela doit être encore pire si l'on parle anglais", pense Axelle Jasmin, 17 ans étudiante au Couvent de Lorette de Curepipe, qui fréquente assidument la bibliothèque Carnegie, dans cette même ville [...]

[Rosyla is not from amongst those who are predisposed by their environment to master the language of Shakespeare. "In my village of Grand-La-Fouche-Corail, 45 minutes away from Port-Mathurin by bus, most people speak Creole", points out Rosyla, who adds at the same time that she reads a lot.

The young finalist even admits to practicing English at home, risking the laughter that a foreign language provokes: "Even my brothers and sisters have a laugh at my expense every now and again".

The subdued role of English

The language of the administration and the school system since 1944, English is very little spoken in Mauritius. "People in Mauritius are not speaking good English. Competitions like the Public Speaking Competition aims at improving the quality of spoken English", states Mrs. Shoba Ponappa, Director of the British Council.

Aside from reasons linked to colonial history, everyone has their own pet theory regarding the subdued role of this language in Mauritius. "We don't give Mauritians enough opportunities to speak English. People criticise those who speak French, by saying that they're trying to sound superior. It's even worse if one speaks in English", believes Axelle Jasmin, a 17 year-old student at the Loretto Convent in Curepipe, who assiduously frequents the Carnegie library in the same town].

Unique amongst the languages currently spoken or studied at school, English is not associated with any given community within Mauritius. International it may be, and of the utmost significance in commerce and technology, but Mauritian it is not; and, not being a potential marker of Mauritian identity, it has retained a sense of the foreign about it, with few Mauritians prepared to disregard peer pressure and to use it informally. The article that has just been quoted concludes with a most pertinent remark:

Il y a toutefois encore beaucoup de chemin à faire pour que l'anglais soit perçu comme la langue de tous les Mauriciens.

[There is still a long way to go before English can be seen as the language of all Mauritians].

One may posit that such a future for English in Mauritius is not a certainty, since Creole would appear to more than amply fill the role of Mauritian lingua franca. For the time being at least, indications are that attitudes to English seem destined to remain mixed: In formal, educational and commercial contexts, Mauritians generally demonstrate a willingness to be familiar with English; in informal contexts, or where cultural and leisure activities are concerned, English has yet to make an impact on the Mauritian linguistic repertoire.

4.3 Notes to Chapter 4

1. "There is a swami seated (here), (yet) he talks in English!"
2. The ten languages in question are English, French, Hindi, Urdu, Marathi, Telugu, Tamil, Mandarin - and Bhojpuri and Creole. Despite the Minister's objection to phonetic scripts, if plays are produced in Bhojpuri and Creole, one infers the existence of scripts employing a system of transcription.

The Minister states that Arabic is one of the languages in which plays are performed for the Drama Festival, although this is not borne out by the details on the official website from the Ministry of Arts and Culture for 1999 entries. (<http://ncb.intnet.mu/mac/drama.htm>)

3. The Ministry of Arts and Culture, at the time the present interview was being conducted, comprised an *Arts Division* and a *Culture Division*, the former being divided into the following sections:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 1. Music | 5. Literature/Literary forms |
| 2. Dance | 6. Architecture/Architectural Expressions |
| 3. Drama | 7. Cinema and photography |
| 4. Fine Arts | 8. Composite Arts |

The *Culture Division* comprises three sections:

1. Training
2. Celebration
3. Preservation

The somewhat artificial attempt to clearly distinguish the roles of the *Arts and Culture Divisions* is confusing, given that a Ministry document defines training in the *Culture Division* as training given in drama, music and dance - presumably an overlap of the work undertaken by the *Arts Division* (<http://ncb.intnet.mu/mac/vision.htm>).

4. The interviewee uses the term 'Bhojpuri' to denote both the language and the person of Bhojpuri-speaking ancestry. Thus his remark that most of those who attended the baiTHka were 'Bhojpuri' is not inconsistent with his following remark: 'One hundred percent'. I have here drawn the distinction between the language and the person, by referring to the latter as 'Bhojpuria'.
5. Montagne Longue, also known under the English translation Long Mountain, is located in Pamplémousses District, about five miles north-east of the outskirts of Port Louis.
6. This reference to *kalbas* ('Calabash') was obscure. I was unable to identify the institution, assuming it is an institution. However, it is not unlikely that the interviewee was alluding to the village of Calebasses, in Pamplémousses District, about three miles due north of Long Mountain.
7. The reference here is to a publication by Sarita Boodhoo (1993) *Kanya Dan: The Why's of Hindu Marriage Rituals*. Mauritius: Mauritius Bhojpuri Institute.
8. My observation is borne out by Chintamunnee (n/d:11), former Head of the Department of Languages at the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, who states the following regarding the use of Hindi in Mauritius:

Generally, the purohits (officiating Hindu priests) address the gathering in Hindi during religious ceremonies. Though the mantras read by them are in Sanskrit yet the explanation is always in Hindi. In 'Satyanarain Swami Ki Katha', for example, the Katha (discourse) is in Sanskrit but the purohit will translate it in Hindi and while commenting on Sanskrit texts, he will narrate a story or tale in Hindi from Puranas to make his point.

9. 'Melting pot that is starting to boil over' (Kathy Marks); *The Independent*, 13 September 1990.

10. 'Le pire évité' (Michaëlla Seblin); 'Le port du 'hijab' au centre d'un controverse' (Michaëlla Seblin); *5-Plus Dimanche*, 2 April 2000.
11. 'Maurice sur un volcan' (Darlmah Naëck); *5-Plus Dimanche*, 2 April 2000.
12. *Le Défi PLUS*, 19-25 August 2001. The reference to Rajen Sabapathee is to a former 'Mr Mauritius', who was implicated in a drugs scandal, ambushed and shot dead at his house. Allegations were made of police corruption and of a cover-up in the investigation of the shooting. Sabapathee was a Mauritian of Tamil ancestry.
13. Mrs Boollel's opinions were noted in an interview that took place at the British Council in Rose-Hill in May 2000.
14. 'For a better recognition of English Language' (Ashwin Goorapah); *L'Express*, 19 April 2000.
15. I was able to contact Martin Hyde, Senior Lecturer in the Language studies Department of Canterbury Christ Church University College. Though e-mail correspondence (September 2001). Hyde made, *inter alia*, the following extremely relevant observation, that is entirely consistent with my analysis of Mauritian attitudes to English:

I got the impression that English is massively stuffy in Mauritius - not a language of fun. I was amazed at the RP of the 1950s that came out of the newscasters' mouths. I guess as a modern Brit I found the accent a bit repellent - it brings connotations of things I really would rather not have connotations about. Immersed as us Brits are in class consciousness this affective reaction of mine may very well seem incomprehensible to Mauritians. I had the impression English in Mauritius - at least in formal occasions - was frozen in the past.
16. The following quotation is from Ramsurren (1983:40) *The development of national identity and a national literature through Bhojpuri and Hindi folklore*:

In 1902 there was an attempt to do away with the English language. A certain lover of French had written in a local daily newspaper *The Standard* of 7th January 1902 entitled "La question de la langue": "on n'enseigne pas l'inconnu par l'inconnu, pour bien apprendre une langue étrangère, la première condition est de posséder sa langue maternelle." * But how curious it was. That countryman said that the mother-tongue of Mauritian people was French to which *The Standard* objected vigorously saying - "Il est certain que tous les créoles de Maurice comprennent plus ou moins le français, mais la majorité ne le parle pas, le patois est sa langue maternelle" **

* "One does not teach the unknown through the unknown. In order to properly learn a foreign language, the first step is to have a good grasp of one's mother tongue" (= French).

** "Certainly, most Creoles in Mauritius understand French, more or less, but the majority does not speak it; Creole is their mother tongue".

17. *Action Plan: For a New Education System in Mauritius (Pre-school, Primary school, Middle school and College education)*. Ministry of Education and Scientific Research, March 1998 (p.140).

The Action Plan was never implemented, since the government resigned in August 2000, before implementation could occur. In the last few days that the Minister of Education held office, he made the following comments to the Mauritian press, appearing in *L'Express*, 14 August 2000:

Questions à Kadress Pillay, Ministre de l'éducation: "Je pensais avoir du temps pour changer le système".

▪ Vous avez évoqué la possibilité d'introduire l'espagnol, et maintenant on entend parler du portugais.

- J'avais pensé à l'espagnol parce que c'est une langue avec un rayonnement international et que c'est une porte ouverte sur toute une culture. C'est la langue la plus parlée après l'anglais. Mais le sentiment a émergé que dans un contexte d'impératif économique, notre rôle dans la Sadc, nos relations avec le Mozambique, le portugais était plus pratique. Même pour les Mauriciens qui partent travailler là-bas.

[Questions to Kadress Pillay, Minister of Education: "I thought I would have time to change the system".

▪ You raised the possibility of introducing Spanish and now we hear speak of Portuguese.

- I thought of Spanish because it's a language with an international flavour and it opens the door to a whole culture. It's the most spoken language after English. But we began to feel that, in a purely economic context, and given our role in the Southern African Development Council and our relations with Mozambique, Portuguese would be more useful, even for Mauritians who go there to work.]

18. In the interview with G.J., English, French and Hindi were mentioned as being necessary for finding work, but Hindi was the trump card that would guarantee the job-seeker an advantage.

19. 'Un forum-débat du MUN sur les langues à Maurice: Les langues au service de l'intérêt de Maurice' (B. Burrin); *Week-End*, 12 March 2000.

20. 'Avenir incertain' (S.M.); *Le Mauricien*, 25 April, 2000.

In completely rejecting and rebutting views expressed by others, including the Hon. Kadress Pillay and Tsang Mang Kin, I felt that this article needed to be quoted in full. I was unable to discover the identity of S.M. and understand from the newspaper office that the article was submitted with those initials only.

Perhaps the author is being unduly severe in his/her assessment of Hindi and Mandarin as languages spoken in only two countries. Given the sizeable and numerous diaspora communities of Indian and Chinese origin, Hindi and Mandarin could well have a significant role to play in international commerce. However, I concede the point that India and China could end up exporting cheap labour to Mauritius.

21. 'Jeunes anglophiles à vos marques' (Arlyne Jeannot); *L'Express*, 15 March 2000.

5.0 Introduction

In the present chapter, I aim to provide quantitative data regarding language use amongst Mauritian Bhojpurias, in contrast to the largely qualitative data that has been supplied elsewhere in the present research. I considered the inclusion of quantitative data as important, in that it effectively provides a means of validating certain hypotheses whilst acting as a form of blind testing. Prior to the analysis of such data, I could only have predicted the existence of particular patterns of actual language use based on interpretation of a large amount of information gleaned from sources as diverse as government census information, policy documents, existing linguistic research, personal interviews and the local press. With quantitative data of the type detailed in the present chapter, one is able to analyse the unexpected - that is, to learn something about language in the Mauritian linguistic environment that may never before have been identified, written about or discussed.

The present chapter is structured in such a way that the questionnaire forming the basis of data elicitation is discussed from its inception through to its design, implementation, and transformation into a data set. Thereafter follows the analysis of the data in terms of the four domains specified in Chapter 1.2.3 and the seventeen research questions identified in Chapters 1.2.3.1 - 1.2.3.4. These questions have been repeated in precisely the same sequence in which they initially appeared, for both ease of reference and clarity. Furthermore, details of the type of statistical techniques used in extracting the data are given immediately after each question, since four different statistical techniques are used: two-way MANOVA, one-way MANOVA, one-way between-groups ANOVA and descriptive statistics. This diversity within statistical techniques is justified on the basis of fitness for purpose. Where it has been possible to merge questionnaire answers and create scores for such answers, MANOVA and ANOVA are appropriate techniques to use; where the information is too selective or restrictive, and the limitations of non-continuous, ordinal data are evident, a purely descriptive approach to the data is taken.

5.1 Questionnaire

5.1.1 Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire produced for the present research was informed by a pilot study designed and implemented in November and December, 1999. The pilot study had contained 19 respondents from the Indo-Mauritian community living in and around Tottenham, North London; these were people who were born in Mauritius and had been settled in the United Kingdom for many years. In ethnocultural terms, the respondents to the pilot study may be termed as 'twice transplanted', in that they were of Indian ancestry but not born in India, and living in England, but not born in the United Kingdom. This caused particular problems with questionnaire design, since the respondents were divorced from the Mauritian linguistic environment and exhibited difficulties both in recalling what languages they had used with family members and friends in Mauritius, and in formulating responses to questions regarding language attitudes.

Ultimately, the pilot study - as a study in itself - was not successful, inasmuch as I was reluctant to tailor the questionnaire so that it would be appropriate to Mauritians living and working in the overwhelmingly monoglot linguistic environment of the United Kingdom. To have done so would have defeated the object of testing the feasibility of a questionnaire intended to be answered on Mauritian soil. However, some very pertinent suggestions for improvement were made by respondents and these more than compensated for the absence of usable data in the pilot study. Some respondents felt that the questionnaire was too long to read and contained what appeared to be substantial amounts of repetition; the more perceptive amongst them noted that many of the situational contexts were repeated, but that the question was subtly different on the second occasion. The problem here lay in nuance, which may well have eluded such respondents as perceived wholesale repetition. This alerted me to the absolute need for clearly stated questions that were neither capable of misinterpretation or of generating more than one answer. It also convinced me that it would be utter folly to attempt to administer the questionnaire in written form - in any language.

Both the pilot study questionnaire and the questionnaire administered in Mauritius were based on models and recommendations that have appeared in research undertaken in the 1980s and 1990s (Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981), Agnihotri (1987), Mukherjee (1996), Sachdev and Wright (1996)). In keeping with the approach adopted by Sachdev and Wright, the questionnaire elicits information through a series of responses on a Likert-type scale and seeks to assess to what extent respondents associate different languages with instrumental and integrative benefits. Unlike Sachdev and Wright, I have used a 4-point rather than 5-point Likert-type scale. This was prompted by personal recommendations from Philip Baker, who suggested that Mauritian respondents would very likely take the opportunity of a middle value - for example, 'not bothered' - which translates into the frequently expressed sentiment 'pa trakase' in Creole - to avoid replying to a question that would require reflection or the expressing of an opinion. In the final analysis, I might have benefited from employing an expanded Likert-type scale with half a dozen or more possible answer-types, or even a numbered scale from one to ten, where the respondent could allocate a numerical value to his/her response to any given question. I feel, nevertheless, that the recommendation from Philip Baker was sage; since each individual questionnaire had to be delivered verbally and contained just under eighty questions (of which the majority contained a five language list), I considered a clear option of one of four possible replies sufficiently taxing for respondents.

Since the present research takes an ethnolinguistic vitality approach in accounting for language practices, the questionnaire ensures that information is contained about each respondent with regards to social identification, religion, ethnic origin, first language, first language of mother and first language of father as well as the more routine information relating to age group and gender. Questions specifically address perceptions of vitality and status by asking respondents to evaluate, for five languages, the actual pattern of use of their languages in given contexts, and then repeating the contexts but reformulating the question in order to elicit information on the perceived appropriateness of the use of these languages.

5.1.2 Selection of Respondents

I owe a debt of gratitude to academics within the Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Moka, for liaising with Hindu community members and providing me with dependable contacts and letters of introduction which allowed me to gain access to Bhojpuria homes all over Mauritius.

My respondents hailed from the districts of Pamplemousses (north-west), Moka (centre), Flacq (east) and Grand Port (south-east). I decided on a geographical spread in order to take as representative a sample of Bhojpurias as possible. This may have been unnecessary caution, given that a considerable number of respondents were not born in the districts in which I met them. Many informants - as opposed to respondents (the latter participating in the questionnaire, the former not) - were from Plaine Wilhems. Through an absence of contacts, data was not collected from the districts of Black River or Savanne.

For the conditions under which the questionnaire was administered, the reader is referred to the questionnaire frontsheet (Appendix 4(a)).

Of an initial 141 respondents, I coded the questionnaire responses of 124, and excluded 17:

- Whereas the data from 7 Muslim respondents might have illustrated potential differences in the language practices and attitudes of Muslims and Hindus, their inclusion would have necessitated extensive discussions on the role of Urdu as a cultural language, religious tensions within the Bhojpuria community, and the socio-historical differences between Muslim and Hindu groups (See Introductory Remarks, pp.11-12). Also, a number as low as 7 would not have permitted of any statistically meaningful analysis of language practices distinguished along Muslim-Hindu lines.
- For reasons of statistical meaningfulness, I excluded 6 respondents who identified themselves as Bhojpuri-speaking, but for whom neither parent was a Bhojpuria. These 6 females had settled in Bhojpuri-speaking neighbourhoods and subsequently become familiar with the

language, but were from other Indo-Mauritian linguistic groups (Marathi, Tamil and Telugu).

- The questionnaire responses from 3 respondents were excluded on the basis of partial answering and, in the case of 1 respondent, to a lapse of concentration (and evident disinterest) very shortly after the start of the questionnaire interview, resulting in the same responses being given for all languages, irrespective of context.

		Male	Female	TOTAL
<u>Age</u>	11-18	18	3	21
	19-21	12	20	32
	22-49	19	6	25
	50-over	26	20	46
	TOTAL	75	49	124
<u>Occupation</u>	Agricultural	22	8	30
	Artisan	13	-	13
	Businessperson	1	-	1
	Teacher	5	-	5
	Student	25	14	39
	Civil servant	3	1	4
	Retired	6	1	7
	Social/Health	-	4	4
	Housewife	-	21	21
	TOTAL	75	49	124
<u>Religion</u>	Hindu	75	49	124
	Muslim	-	-	-
	Christian	-	-	-
<u>Bhojpuri-speaking parent(s)?</u>	Yes	75	49	124
	No	-	-	-

Table 23: Size and Structure of the Sample

5.1.3 Analysis of Data

The ensuing data permit analyses of the research questions given in Chapter 1.2.3 and follow in precisely the same order, for ease of reference.

The software employed is SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) version 12.0 for Windows.

For each question, statistical analyses are preceded by initial information regarding the following:

- (i) the statistical technique used for data extraction
- (ii) descriptive statistics on the respondents involved
- (iii) additional points to be noted

Where MANOVA tests apply, details are additionally given on

- (iv) multivariate tests using Wilks' Lamda
- (v) 'Between-Subjects Effects'

The statistical analyses are followed by a brief summary statement and analysis at the end of each question; these summaries are not intended to be exhaustive and should be read in conjunction with the more detailed explanation of research findings, given in the conclusion. At the end of each summary statement, the statistical information generated by SPSS is presented by way of supporting information. SPSS output file data have been presented in the following order:

- Descriptive Statistics
This is the main reference sheet, giving data on responses analysed by age and gender, and indicating the mean, standard deviation, and number of respondents.
- Between-Subjects Effects (MANOVA and two-way ANOVA only)
This identifies where significant differences occur, in terms of age, gender, and age and gender combined.
- Post-Hoc Effects (MANOVA) or Post-Hoc Tests (ANOVA)
Post-Hoc Effects indicate where significant differences arise between individual age groups within the five languages of the questionnaire; Post-Hoc Tests give data on one particular language, and there are no multiple effects.

5.1.3.1 Demography

Q.1: Are age and gender significant factors in a respondent's claimed ability to understand, speak, read and write Bhojpuri, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, proficiency (score of understanding, speaking, reading and writing) as variable.

(ii) N = 116, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	28	23	51
22-49	15	5	20
50-over	25	20	45
Total	68	48	116

(iii) The number of females in the age range 22-49 is 5, which is not great enough to permit accurate comparison with the age ranges 11-21 or 50 and over.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in perceived language proficiency amongst groups in both age and gender, and in the interaction between age and gender ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.019	1077.524	5.000	106.000	.000
Age	.459	10.084	10.000	212.000	.000
Gender	.856	3.564	5.000	106.000	.005
Age*Gender	.798	2.534	10.000	212.000	.007

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between age groups in Bhojpuri, Creole, French and English, but not as regards Hindi; that gender differences exist in Bhojpuri and Creole, but not in Hindi, French and English; and there is an interaction with age and gender in Bhojpuri, but not in the other languages.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - indicate a significant difference in means scores for the 11-21 age group ($\underline{M} = 10.451$) and the 50 and over age group ($\underline{M} = 12.5111$) in Bhojpuri. The position with Creole is quite distinct from that with Bhojpuri, in that the younger age group has a higher score than the older group (11-21: $\underline{M} = 12.4902$; 50 and over: $\underline{M} = 11.1556$), and this is higher still in French (11-21: $\underline{M} = 13.4118$; 50 and over: $\underline{M} = 7.6889$) and in English (11-21: $\underline{M} = 13.0588$; 50 and over: $\underline{M} = 6.4$).

Gender. Males have a higher means score for perceived proficiency in Creole (Male: $\underline{M} = 12.7059$; Female: $\underline{M} = 11.3333$). The same is true with Bhojpuri (Male: $\underline{M} = 12.0441$; Female: $\underline{M} = 10.5833$), although this is not the case for all age groups, unlike Creole, as the following point indicates.

Age and gender. The statistics show that males in the 11-21 age group have a higher perceived proficiency than the females in Bhojpuri (Male: $\underline{M} = 11.5$; Female: $\underline{M} = 9.1739$), but that this situation is reversed in the 50 and over age group (Male: $\underline{M} = 12.4$; Female: $\underline{M} = 12.65$) (For data on females in the 22-49 age group, see point (iii) on p.304).

Summary and analysis. Findings only partially support the opinion, widespread in Mauritius, that Bhojpuri is strongest amongst elderly females. The fact that males in the younger age group indicate higher perceived proficiency in this language than the females appears paradoxical, and echoes Labov's findings from research conducted in Martha's Vineyard (1963 and 1972) and in Harlem (1972) (See Summary of Research Findings, pp.384-385, for a further discussion of Labov, and of Milroy's identification of females as innovators). One may hypothesize that elderly females act as a 'reference group' for younger males in representing ethnolinguistic distinctiveness - more so than younger females, whose matched perceived proficiency in Hindi, English and French (languages of the school curriculum) is entirely in keeping with what one would anticipate, given CPE results (See Chapter 3.2.7).

Proficiency	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpuri	11-21	Male	11.5000	3.67675	28
		Female	9.1739	2.40553	23
		Total	10.4510	3.34851	51
	22-49	Male	12.4667	2.79966	15
		Female	8.8000	2.04939	5
		Total	11.5500	3.05175	20
	50+	Male	12.4000	1.25831	25
		Female	12.6500	1.75544	20
		Total	12.5111	1.48664	45
	Total	Male	12.0441	2.80423	68
		Female	10.5833	2.72758	48
		Total	11.4397	2.85380	116
Hindi	11-21	Male	13.9643	2.16850	28
		Female	13.0000	3.00000	23
		Total	13.5294	2.59502	51
	22-49	Male	13.0000	3.13961	15
		Female	12.8000	1.09545	5
		Total	12.9500	2.74293	20
	50+	Male	13.3200	1.67631	25
		Female	13.2500	.96655	20
		Total	13.2889	1.39190	45
	Total	Male	13.5147	2.26256	68
		Female	13.0833	2.17171	48
		Total	13.3362	2.22611	116
Creole	11-21	Male	13.2143	1.93136	28
		Female	11.6087	1.43777	23
		Total	12.4902	1.89074	51
	22-49	Male	13.9333	1.48645	15
		Female	12.0000	1.00000	5
		Total	13.4500	1.60509	20
	50+	Male	11.4000	2.14087	25
		Female	10.8500	2.79614	20
		Total	11.1556	2.43978	45
	Total	Male	12.7059	2.16525	68
		Female	11.3333	2.09694	48
		Total	12.1379	2.23372	116
French	11-21	Male	13.1786	2.96964	28
		Female	13.6957	2.30483	23
		Total	13.4118	2.67714	51
	22-49	Male	11.6667	3.73529	15
		Female	13.2000	.83666	5
		Total	12.0500	3.30032	20
	50+	Male	8.3200	3.24962	25
		Female	6.9000	3.66922	20
		Total	7.6889	3.47604	45
	Total	Male	11.0588	3.87446	68
		Female	10.8125	4.37914	48
		Total	10.9569	4.07408	116
English	11-21	Male	13.0714	3.31024	28
		Female	13.0435	2.86798	23
		Total	13.0588	3.08812	51
	22-49	Male	11.6667	3.73529	15
		Female	12.4000	1.51658	5
		Total	11.8500	3.29713	20
	50+	Male	6.6400	3.60416	25
		Female	6.1000	3.56740	20
		Total	6.4000	3.55732	45
	Total	Male	10.3971	4.53885	68
		Female	10.0833	4.56086	48
		Total	10.2672	4.53078	116

Q.1: Language Proficiency (by age and gender)

Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Proficiency)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpun	10296.301	1	10296.301	1583.188	.000
	Hindi	14440.280	1	14440.280	2872.626	.000
	Creole	12228.540	1	12228.540	3059.389	.000
	French	10287.177	1	10287.177	1065.176	.000
	English	9083.494	1	9083.494	809.117	.000
Age	Bhojpun	120.046	2	60.023	9.229	.000
	Hindi	4.027	2	2.014	.401	.671
	Creole	56.479	2	28.239	7.065	.001
	French	841.245	2	420.623	43.553	.000
	English	1114.759	2	557.379	49.649	.000
Gender	Bhojpun	75.665	1	75.665	11.634	.001
	Hindi	3.495	1	3.495	.695	.406
	Creole	38.359	1	38.359	9.597	.002
	French	.912	1	.912	.094	.759
	English	.063	1	.063	.006	.941
Age * Gender	Bhojpun	60.220	2	30.110	4.630	.012
	Hindi	5.114	2	2.557	.509	.603
	Creole	8.773	2	4.387	1.097	.337
	French	34.152	2	17.076	1.768	.175
	English	4.794	2	2.397	.214	.808

Q.1: Language Proficiency (by age and gender)

Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Proficiency)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	-1.0990	.67283	.236
		50+	-2.0601(*)	.52158	.000
	22-49	11-21	1.0990	.67283	.236
		50+	-.9611	.68535	.343
	50+	11-21	2.0601(*)	.52158	.000
		22-49	.9611	.68535	.343
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.5794	.59153	.591
		50+	.2405	.45856	.860
	22-49	11-21	-.5794	.59153	.591
		50+	-.3389	.60254	.840
	50+	11-21	-.2405	.45856	.860
		22-49	.3389	.60254	.840
Creole	11-21	22-49	-.9598	.52747	.168
		50+	1.3346(*)	.40890	.004
	22-49	11-21	.9598	.52747	.168
		50+	2.2944(*)	.53729	.000
	50+	11-21	-1.3346(*)	.40890	.004
		22-49	-2.2944(*)	.53729	.000
French	11-21	22-49	1.3618	.81991	.225
		50+	5.7229(*)	.63560	.000
	22-49	11-21	-1.3618	.81991	.225
		50+	4.3611(*)	.83517	.000
	50+	11-21	-5.7229(*)	.63560	.000
		22-49	-4.3611(*)	.83517	.000
English	11-21	22-49	1.2088	.88400	.361
		50+	6.6588(*)	.68528	.000
	22-49	11-21	-1.2088	.88400	.361
		50+	5.4500(*)	.90044	.000
	50+	11-21	-6.6588(*)	.68528	.000
		22-49	-5.4500(*)	.90044	.000

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.1: Language Proficiency (by age)

Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.2: Are age and gender significant factors in a respondent's claimed use of Bhojpuri with grandparents, parents, siblings and friends, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors; claimed use of language in domestic contexts (score of speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings and friends at home) as variable.

(ii) N = 80, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	22	52
22-49	14	6	20
50-over	6	2	8
Total	50	30	80

(iii) The number of females in the age ranges 22-49 and 50 and over does not permit accurate comparison with the age group 11-21. Only gender differences will be investigated, and age-gender differences within the age group 11-21.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in claimed use of language in domestic contexts between gender groups and age-gender interaction ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.006	2171.115	5.000	70.000	.000
Age	.925	.553	10.000	140.000	.850
Gender	.667	6.980	5.000	70.000	.000
Age*Gender	.741	2.260	10.000	140.000	.018

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain in Bhojpuri, French and English, but not as regards Hindi and Creole. There is also an interaction with age and gender in English, but not in the other languages.

Gender. Males have a higher means score for claimed use of Bhojpuri in domestic contexts than females (Males: \underline{M} = 11.06; Females: \underline{M} = 8.9). This contrast with French, in which the female means score is higher (Males: \underline{M} = 4.66; Females \underline{M} = 6.2667), as it is with English (Males: \underline{M} = 4.56; Females: \underline{M} = 5.4333).

Age and gender. Females show higher mean scores than males in English in terms of claimed use in domestic contexts, in the age group 11-21 (Male: \underline{M} = 4.8; Female: \underline{M} = 5.1364). It is perhaps noteworthy that males have higher means scores than females in Bhojpuri and Hindi, with the least difference being distinguished between the sexes in Creole, where there is possible fluctuation according to age group.

Summary and analysis. It is pertinent to state that these findings show males indicating a higher perceived use of Bhojpuri in domestic contexts than females, but that the European curricular languages are more highly represented amongst the females than the males. It should not be overlooked that neither French nor English are commonly used vernacular languages amongst Bhojpurias, as the means scores indicate. The present research has shown how English tends to be heavily associated as a language of employment (Chapter 4.2.3), to the point that its use informally is seen as inappropriate - more so even than French. Even if it is the case that perceived use of English amongst females is statistically significant, the fact remains that this language is by far the least used by either gender in domestic contexts.

Domestic Contexts	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpur	11-21	Male	10.6000	4.07346	30
		Female	8.9545	3.56541	22
		Total	9.9038	3.91708	52
	22-49	Male	11.2143	4.33552	14
		Female	8.3333	2.16025	6
		Total	10.3500	3.99045	20
	50+	Male	13.0000	.00000	6
		Female	10.0000	.00000	2
		Total	12.2500	1.38873	8
	Total	Male	11.0600	3.92486	50
		Female	8.9000	3.18780	30
		Total	10.2500	3.79373	80
Hindi	11-21	Male	9.5667	2.68692	30
		Female	9.0909	2.32807	22
		Total	9.3654	2.52850	52
	22-49	Male	10.1429	4.22187	14
		Female	9.0000	2.19089	6
		Total	9.8000	3.70774	20
	50+	Male	13.0000	.00000	6
		Female	10.0000	.00000	2
		Total	12.2500	1.38873	8
	Total	Male	10.1400	3.19445	50
		Female	9.1333	2.19299	30
		Total	9.7625	2.88709	80
Creole	11-21	Male	13.2333	1.52414	30
		Female	13.0000	1.87718	22
		Total	13.1346	1.66897	52
	22-49	Male	12.7143	1.68379	14
		Female	13.1667	2.48328	6
		Total	12.8500	1.89945	20
	50+	Male	11.0000	.00000	6
		Female	13.0000	.00000	2
		Total	11.5000	.92582	8
	Total	Male	12.8200	1.62493	50
		Female	13.0333	1.90251	30
		Total	12.9000	1.72546	80
French	11-21	Male	4.7000	1.02217	30
		Female	6.1364	1.75378	22
		Total	5.3077	1.54080	52
	22-49	Male	4.8571	.86444	14
		Female	6.5000	1.37840	6
		Total	5.3500	1.26803	20
	50+	Male	4.0000	.00000	6
		Female	7.0000	.00000	2
		Total	4.7500	1.38873	8
	Total	Male	4.6600	.93917	50
		Female	6.2667	1.61743	30
		Total	5.2625	1.45605	80
English	11-21	Male	4.8000	.96132	30
		Female	5.1364	.99021	22
		Total	4.9423	.97846	52
	22-49	Male	4.2857	.46881	14
		Female	6.0000	1.78885	6
		Total	4.8000	1.28145	20
	50+	Male	4.0000	.00000	6
		Female	7.0000	.00000	2
		Total	4.7500	1.38873	8
	Total	Male	4.5600	.83690	50
		Female	5.4333	1.25075	30
		Total	4.8875	1.09074	80

Q.2: Claimed Use of Language in Domestic Contexts

Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Domestic Contexts)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpun	3921.183	1	3921.183	285.642	.000
	Hindi	3758.521	1	3758.521	480.447	.000
	Creole	5890.281	1	5890.281	2084.984	.000
	French	1120.237	1	1120.237	726.501	.000
	English	991.122	1	991.122	1107.097	.000
Age	Bhojpun	16.371	2	8.185	.596	.553
	Hindi	25.298	2	12.649	1.617	.205
	Creole	6.735	2	3.367	1.192	.309
	French	.857	2	.429	.278	.758
	English	1.700	2	.850	.949	.392
Gender	Bhojpun	57.594	1	57.594	4.195	.044
	Hindi	21.688	1	21.688	2.772	.100
	Creole	5.007	1	5.007	1.772	.187
	French	37.575	1	37.575	24.368	.000
	English	25.936	1	25.936	28.971	.000
Age * Gender	Bhojpun	6.328	2	3.164	.230	.795
	Hindi	9.067	2	4.533	.580	.563
	Creole	7.346	2	3.673	1.300	.279
	French	3.285	2	1.643	1.065	.350
	English	13.413	2	6.707	7.492	.001

Q.2: Claimed Use of Language in Domestic Contexts

(by age and gender) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Domestic Contexts)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	-.4462	.97487	.891
		50+	-2.3462	1.40711	.225
	22-49	11-21	.4462	.97487	.891
		50+	-1.9000	1.54995	.442
	50+	11-21	2.3462	1.40711	.225
		22-49	1.9000	1.54995	.442
Hindi	11-21	22-49	-.4346	.73593	.826
		50+	-2.8846(*)	1.06222	.022
	22-49	11-21	.4346	.73593	.826
		50+	-2.4500	1.17005	.098
	50+	11-21	2.8846(*)	1.06222	.022
		22-49	2.4500	1.17005	.098
Creole	11-21	22-49	.2846	.44225	.797
		50+	1.6346(*)	.63833	.033
	22-49	11-21	-.2846	.44225	.797
		50+	1.3500	.70313	.140
	50+	11-21	-1.6346(*)	.63833	.033
		22-49	-1.3500	.70313	.140
French	11-21	22-49	-.0423	.32673	.991
		50+	.5577	.47159	.467
	22-49	11-21	.0423	.32673	.991
		50+	.6000	.51946	.484
	50+	11-21	-.5577	.47159	.467
		22-49	-.6000	.51946	.484
English	11-21	22-49	.1423	.24895	.836
		50+	.1923	.35934	.854
	22-49	11-21	-.1423	.24895	.836
		50+	.0500	.39581	.991
	50+	11-21	-.1923	.35934	.854
		22-49	-.0500	.39581	.991

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.2: Claimed Use of Language in Domestic Contexts (by age)

Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparison

Q.3: Are age and gender significant factors in a respondent's belief that Bhojpuri can be used in post offices, banks, when shopping locally and when dealing with the Mauritian water authority (CWA), and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, opinions regarding language use in socioeconomic contexts (score of using languages in post offices, banks, when shopping locally, and when dealing with CWA employess) as variable.

(ii) N = 124, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	23	53
22-49	19	6	25
50-over	26	20	46
Total	75	49	124

(iii) The number of females in the age range 22-49 is 6, which is not great enough to permit accurate comparison with the age ranges 11-21 or 50 and over.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in opinions regarding language use in socioeconomic contexts amongst groups in both age and gender, and age-gender interaction ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.005	4882.475	5.000	114.000	.000
Age	.661	5.234	10.000	228.000	.000
Gender	.906	2.363	5.000	114.000	.044
Age*Gender	.632	5.876	10.000	228.000	.000

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between age groups in Bhojpuri and Hindi, but not as regards Creole, French and English; that gender differences exist in Creole, but not in Bhojpuri, Hindi, French and English; and there is an interaction with age and gender in Hindi, French and English, but not in Bhojpuri and Creole.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicate a significant difference in means scores for the 11-21 age group ($\underline{M} = 9.0189$) and the 50 and over age group ($\underline{M} = 11.6522$) in Bhojpuri. The means scores in Hindi are also statistically significant between these two age groups (11-21: $\underline{M} = 9.0755$; 50 and over: $\underline{M} = 10.7826$).

Gender. Males have a higher means score in their opinions regarding the use of Creole in socioeconomic contexts than females (Male: $\underline{M} = 14.9867$; Female: $\underline{M} = 14.4694$).

Age and gender. Whilst means scores for Hindi, French and English would not appear to show much difference between males and females when age is not factored in, statistically significant differences occur within age groups in these three languages. With Hindi, males in the 11-21 age group have a higher means score than the females (Male: $\underline{M} = 9.8667$; Female: $\underline{M} = 8.0435$), although this is not true of males and females of the 50 and over age group (Male: $\underline{M} = 9.7308$; Female: $\underline{M} = 12.15$). Quite the opposite pattern holds for both French and English. Males within the 11-21 age group have a lower means score for French than the females (Male: $\underline{M} = 13.5333$; Female $\underline{M} = 14.2174$) and a higher means score in the age group 50 and over (Male: $\underline{M} = 14.6538$; Female: $\underline{M} = 13.3$). Similarly, with English, younger males have a lower score than younger females (Male: $\underline{M} = 12.5333$; Female: $\underline{M} = 13.2174$) and older males have a higher score than older females (Male: $\underline{M} = 13.6154$; Female: $\underline{M} = 12.2$).

Summary and analysis. These findings show quite strongly that there is a difference of opinion between the younger age group and the older age group in terms of the perceived use of Bhojpuri and Hindi in socioeconomic contexts. Respondents from the older age group perceive themselves to use Hindi more than those from the 11-21 age group, a situation even more sharply distinguished with Bhojpuri. Males in the 11-21 age group nevertheless perceive themselves to use Hindi more than females of the same age group, and less French and English - a situation reversed in all three languages in the age group 50 and over.

Socioeconomic Cx	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpun	11-21	Male	9.6333	2.45628	30
		Female	8.2174	2.04398	23
		Total	9.0189	2.37366	53
	22-49	Male	9.5789	2.38783	19
		Female	8.6667	1.50555	6
		Total	9.3600	2.21510	25
	50+	Male	11.5385	1.55514	26
		Female	11.8000	1.32188	20
		Total	11.6522	1.44864	46
	Total	Male	10.2800	2.32821	75
		Female	9.7347	2.42191	49
		Total	10.0645	2.37104	124
Hindi	11-21	Male	9.8667	1.88887	30
		Female	8.0435	1.82105	23
		Total	9.0755	2.05547	53
	22-49	Male	9.2632	2.23214	19
		Female	8.0000	.89443	6
		Total	8.9600	2.05102	25
	50+	Male	9.7308	2.12711	26
		Female	12.1500	1.34849	20
		Total	10.7826	2.17984	46
	Total	Male	9.6667	2.04895	75
		Female	9.7143	2.54951	49
		Total	9.6855	2.25008	124
Creole	11-21	Male	14.8000	.92476	30
		Female	14.4348	1.34252	23
		Total	14.6415	1.12821	53
	22-49	Male	15.4737	.61178	19
		Female	14.3333	1.21106	6
		Total	15.2000	.91287	25
	50+	Male	14.8462	.92487	26
		Female	14.5500	1.57196	20
		Total	14.7174	1.24120	46
	Total	Male	14.9867	.89281	75
		Female	14.4694	1.40092	49
		Total	14.7823	1.14452	124
French	11-21	Male	13.5333	1.63440	30
		Female	14.2174	.99802	23
		Total	13.8302	1.42418	53
	22-49	Male	14.4211	1.16980	19
		Female	14.1667	.98319	6
		Total	14.3600	1.11355	25
	50+	Male	14.6538	.68948	26
		Female	13.3000	1.34164	20
		Total	14.0652	1.21842	46
	Total	Male	14.1467	1.34258	75
		Female	13.8367	1.21359	49
		Total	14.0242	1.29705	124
English	11-21	Male	12.5333	1.75643	30
		Female	13.2174	1.34693	23
		Total	12.8302	1.61407	53
	22-49	Male	13.0526	2.43752	19
		Female	13.5000	.54772	6
		Total	13.1600	2.13464	25
	50+	Male	13.6154	.98293	26
		Female	12.2000	1.57614	20
		Total	13.0000	1.44530	46
	Total	Male	13.0400	1.78916	75
		Female	12.8367	1.46269	49
		Total	12.9597	1.66455	124

Q.3: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Socioeconomic Contexts

Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Socioeconomic Cx)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpuri	9185.539	1	9185.539	2284.256	.000
	Hindi	8464.403	1	8464.403	2390.772	.000
	Creole	20337.633	1	20337.633	16341.348	.000
	French	18475.608	1	18475.608	12462.878	.000
	English	15868.414	1	15868.414	6056.236	.000
Age	Bhojpuri	200.058	2	100.029	24.875	.000
	Hindi	119.247	2	59.623	16.841	.000
	Creole	1.107	2	.553	.445	.642
	French	2.367	2	1.184	.798	.452
	English	2.313	2	1.157	.441	.644
Gender	Bhojpuri	11.106	1	11.106	2.762	.099
	Hindi	1.157	1	1.157	.327	.569
	Creole	8.441	1	8.441	6.782	.010
	French	2.221	1	2.221	1.498	.223
	English	.210	1	.210	.080	.778
Age * Gender	Bhojpuri	17.318	2	8.659	2.153	.121
	Hindi	116.552	2	58.276	16.460	.000
	Creole	2.531	2	1.266	1.017	.365
	French	25.129	2	12.564	8.475	.000
	English	28.766	2	14.383	5.489	.005

Q.3: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Socioeconomic Contexts

(by age and gender) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Socioeconomic Cx)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	-.3411	.48654	.763
		50+	-2.6333(*)	.40409	.000
	22-49	11-21	.3411	.48654	.763
		50+	-2.2922(*)	.49826	.000
	50+	11-21	2.6333(*)	.40409	.000
		22-49	2.2922(*)	.49826	.000
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.1155	.45653	.965
		50+	-1.7071(*)	.37917	.000
	22-49	11-21	-.1155	.45653	.965
		50+	-1.8226(*)	.46753	.000
	50+	11-21	1.7071(*)	.37917	.000
		22-49	1.8226(*)	.46753	.000
Creole	11-21	22-49	-.5585	.27067	.102
		50+	-.0759	.22481	.939
	22-49	11-21	.5585	.27067	.102
		50+	.4826	.27720	.194
	50+	11-21	.0759	.22481	.939
		22-49	-.4826	.27720	.194
French	11-21	22-49	-.5298	.29541	.176
		50+	-.2350	.24535	.605
	22-49	11-21	.5298	.29541	.176
		50+	.2948	.30253	.594
	50+	11-21	.2350	.24535	.605
		22-49	-.2948	.30253	.594
English	11-21	22-49	-.3298	.39274	.679
		50+	-.1698	.32619	.861
	22-49	11-21	.3298	.39274	.679
		50+	.1600	.40220	.917
	50+	11-21	.1698	.32619	.861
		22-49	-.1600	.40220	.917

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.3: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Socioeconomic Contexts

(by age) Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.4: Is the self-identification of the respondent a significant factor in a respondent's claimed ability to understand, speak, read and write Bhojpuri, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) ONE-WAY MANOVA: Self-identification as a single factor (by religion, 'Indo-Mauritian'/'Indian' identity, or other), proficiency (score of understanding, speaking, reading and writing) as variable.

(ii) N = 116. Neither the age group nor the gender of respondents is tested, in order to avoid repetition with Q.1.

(iii) Variables were recoded as follows:

1 = 'endu', 'arya samaj(i)', 'by religion' (N = 93);

2 = 'aryen', 'by language' 'by tradition', 'other' (N = 15);

3 = 'endo-morisyen', 'endyen' (N = 8).

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in perceived proficiency based on self-identification ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.038	554.272	5.000	109.000	.000
Self-Identification	.696	4.336	10.000	218.000	.000

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between Bhojpuri, Hindi, French and English, but not Creole.

Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicate a significant difference in means scores in Bhojpuri amongst respondents who self-identify in religious terms ($\underline{M} = 11.9462$) as opposed to defining themselves in terms of language, tradition, etc. ($\underline{M} = 9.4$), or with the use of the ethnic community terms 'Indo-Mauritian' or 'Indian' ($\underline{M} = 9.3750$). The means score for Hindi is similarly higher amongst those using

religious self-identification (\underline{M} = 13.6452) rather than language, tradition, etc. (\underline{M} = 11.3333). It is fascinating to observe that the means scores are far higher for both French and English when respondents identify themselves using 'Indo-Mauritian' and 'Indian' (French: \underline{M} = 15.25; English: \underline{M} = 15.25) than when they identify themselves in religious terms (French: \underline{M} = 10.6344; English: \underline{M} = 10.6667).

Summary and analysis. The overwhelming majority of respondents identified themselves as Hindus, either by using the Creole term *endu* or specifying that they followed arya samajist principles (93 out of 116 = 80%). Because of the relatively small numbers of respondents who selected other criteria for self-identification purposes, it was not possible to investigate any potential age and gender differences within self-identification. It is nevertheless striking that these findings are in complete agreement with what one might have predicted, given the sociocultural identification of Bhojpuri and Hindi as languages primarily associated with Hindus: Perceived proficiency in the two Indian languages mentioned on the questionnaire is higher amongst respondents who identify themselves in terms of their religion, whilst perceived proficiency in the two European languages is higher amongst respondents who identify themselves using non-religious criteria. To what extent the Creole term *endyen* inheres a Hindu identity has been discussed in the present research (Chapter 4.1.5.2); suffice it to say that if respondents returning *endyen* assumed the term to be synonymous with *endu*, the difference between means scores - if adjusted to incorporate *endyen* with *endu* - would be greater still between use of religious self-identification and use of the term 'Indo-Mauritian'.

Proficiency	Self-Id.	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpun	1.00	11.9462	2.58913	93
	2.00	9.4000	2.92282	15
	3.00	9.3750	3.37797	8
	Total	11.4397	2.85380	116
Hindi	1.00	13.6452	2.01971	93
	2.00	11.3333	2.25726	15
	3.00	13.5000	2.77746	8
	Total	13.3362	2.22611	116
Creole	1.00	12.1398	2.21453	93
	2.00	11.9333	2.65832	15
	3.00	12.5000	1.77281	8
	Total	12.1379	2.23372	116
French	1.00	10.6344	3.95019	93
	2.00	10.6667	4.70056	15
	3.00	15.2500	.88641	8
	Total	10.9569	4.07408	116
English	1.00	9.7742	4.45052	93
	2.00	10.6667	4.70056	15
	3.00	15.2500	.88641	8
	Total	10.2672	4.53078	116

Q.4: Language Proficiency (by self-identification)

Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Proficiency)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpun	4662.570	1	4662.570	645.511	.000
	Hindi	7314.491	1	7314.491	1651.016	.000
	Creole	6608.029	1	6608.029	1305.167	.000
	French	6600.066	1	6600.066	426.078	.000
	English	6293.062	1	6293.062	332.749	.000
Self-Identification	Bhojpun	120.371	2	60.186	8.332	.000
	Hindi	69.264	2	34.632	7.817	.001
	Creole	1.677	2	.838	.166	.848
	French	158.381	2	79.191	5.112	.007
	English	223.624	2	111.812	5.912	.004

Q.4: Language Proficiency (by self-identification)

Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Proficiency)	(I) Self-Identification	(J) Self-Identification	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	1.00	2.00	2.5462(*)	.74780	.003
		3.00	2.5712(*)	.99023	.029
	2.00	1.00	-2.5462(*)	.74780	.003
		3.00	.0250	1.17661	1.000
	3.00	1.00	-2.5712(*)	.99023	.029
		2.00	-.0250	1.17661	1.000
Hindi	1.00	2.00	2.3118(*)	.58565	.000
		3.00	.1452	.77552	.981
	2.00	1.00	-2.3118(*)	.58565	.000
		3.00	-2.1667	.92149	.053
	3.00	1.00	-.1452	.77552	.981
		2.00	2.1667	.92149	.053
Creole	1.00	2.00	.2065	.62608	.942
		3.00	-.3602	.82904	.901
	2.00	1.00	-.2065	.62608	.942
		3.00	-.5667	.98509	.834
	3.00	1.00	.3602	.82904	.901
		2.00	.5667	.98509	.834
French	1.00	2.00	-.0323	1.09510	1.000
		3.00	-4.6156(*)	1.45012	.005
	2.00	1.00	.0323	1.09510	1.000
		3.00	-4.5833(*)	1.72307	.024
	3.00	1.00	4.6156(*)	1.45012	.005
		2.00	4.5833(*)	1.72307	.024
English	1.00	2.00	-.8925	1.21003	.742
		3.00	-5.4758(*)	1.60231	.003
	2.00	1.00	.8925	1.21003	.742
		3.00	-4.5833(*)	1.90391	.046
	3.00	1.00	5.4758(*)	1.60231	.003
		2.00	4.5833(*)	1.90391	.046

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.4: Language Proficiency (by self-identification)

Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.5: Is the self-identification of the respondent a significant factor in a respondent's opinions regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri when speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings and friends, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) ONE-WAY MANOVA: Self-identification as a single factor (by religion, 'Indo-Mauritian'/'Indian' identity, or other), attitudes regarding use of languages in domestic contexts (score of speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings and friends at home) as variable.

(ii) N = 84. Neither the age group nor the gender of respondents is tested, in order to avoid repetition with Q.2.

(iii) Variables were recoded as follows:

1 = 'endu', 'arya samaj(i)', 'by religion' (N = 65)

2 = 'aryen', 'by language', 'by tradition' (N = 11)

3 = 'endo-morisyen', 'endyen' (N = 8)

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in attitudes regarding use of languages in domestic contexts based on self-identification ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.011	1361.733	5.000	77.000	.000
Self-Identification	.752	2.365	10.000	154.000	.013

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between Bhojpuri, French and English, but not Hindi and Creole.

Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicate a difference in means scores in Bhojpuri amongst respondents who self-identify in religious terms ($M = 12.4462$) as opposed to those who define themselves in terms of language, tradition, etc. ($M = 10.0$), or with the use of the ethnic community terms

'Indo-Mauritian' or 'Indian' ($\underline{M} = 10.125$). Data indicate that the means score for French is higher amongst those who have 'Indo-Mauritian'/'Indian' self-identification ($\underline{M} = 9.75$) or define themselves in terms of language, tradition, etc. ($\underline{M} = 7.8182$) rather than religious self-identification ($\underline{M} = 6.9692$). This is also the case with English, where the higher means scores occur amongst those who select the terms 'Indo-Mauritian' and 'Indian' ($\underline{M} = 8.50$) or use language, tradition, etc. to self-identify ($\underline{M} = 7.2727$) as opposed to religious criteria ($\underline{M} = 6.6923$). Given below are the terms that respondents used for self-identification purposes:

Self-identification + variable recoding	Male	Female	Total
Indo-Mauritian (= 3)	2	5	7
Indian (= 3)	1	0	1
Hindu (= 1)	50	20	70
Arya samaj(i) (= 1)	5	4	9
Aryan (= 2)	1	0	1
By language (= 2)	1	0	1
By religion (= 1)	7	14	21
By tradition (= 2)	8	6	14
Total	75	49	124

Summary and analysis. In close parallel to perceived proficiency (Q.4), attitudes towards the use of the two Indian languages in domestic contexts are more favourable amongst respondents who identify themselves in terms of their religion, whilst attitudes to the two European languages are more favourable amongst respondents who identify themselves using non-religious criteria. As with Q.2, it should be borne in mind that neither French nor English are perceived by Bhojpurias as particularly appropriate languages for informal, domestic use. Here, the means scores are far lower than for Bhojpuri, Hindi or Creole, irrespective of the self-identification of respondents. Although religious identification does throw some interesting light on attitudes towards French and English, it is clear that the domestic context is not viewed as the domain of either language.

Domestic Contexts	Self-Id.	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpur	1.00	12.4462	2.91028	65
	2.00	10.0000	4.64758	11
	3.00	10.1250	3.48210	8
	Total	11.9048	3.34239	84
Hindi	1.00	12.4615	2.44998	65
	2.00	10.8182	2.60070	11
	3.00	12.2500	1.98206	8
	Total	12.2262	2.46592	84
Creole	1.00	12.0154	2.25342	65
	2.00	13.1818	2.18258	11
	3.00	12.8750	1.12599	8
	Total	12.2500	2.18910	84
French	1.00	6.9692	1.90369	65
	2.00	7.8182	2.22792	11
	3.00	9.7500	1.48805	8
	Total	7.3452	2.06808	84
English	1.00	6.6923	1.88682	65
	2.00	7.2727	1.95402	11
	3.00	8.5000	1.51186	8
	Total	6.9405	1.92229	84

Q.5: Attitudes Regarding Use of Languages in Domestic Contexts
(by self-identification) Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Domestic Contexts)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpur	4586.723	1	4586.723	440.750	.000
	Hindi	5457.827	1	5457.827	922.372	.000
	Creole	6266.892	1	6266.892	1330.599	.000
	French	2603.117	1	2603.117	709.762	.000
	English	2181.978	1	2181.978	626.676	.000
Self-Identification	Bhojpur	84.302	2	42.151	4.050	.021
	Hindi	25.412	2	12.706	2.147	.123
	Creole	16.254	2	8.127	1.726	.185
	French	57.913	2	28.957	7.895	.001
	English	24.674	2	12.337	3.543	.033

Q.5: Attitudes Regarding Use of Language in Domestic Contexts
(by self-identification) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Domestic Contexts)	(I) Self- Identification	(J) Self-Identification	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpun	1.00	2.00	2.4462	1.05174	.058
		3.00	2.3212	1.20869	.139
	2.00	1.00	-2.4462	1.05174	.058
		3.00	-.1250	1.49896	.996
	3.00	1.00	-2.3212	1.20869	.139
		2.00	.1250	1.49896	.996
Hindi	1.00	2.00	1.6434	.79307	.102
		3.00	.2115	.91142	.971
	2.00	1.00	-1.6434	.79307	.102
		3.00	-1.4318	1.13030	.418
	3.00	1.00	-.2115	.91142	.971
		2.00	1.4318	1.13030	.418
Creole	1.00	2.00	-1.1664	.70755	.231
		3.00	-.8596	.81313	.543
	2.00	1.00	1.1664	.70755	.231
		3.00	.3068	1.00841	.950
	3.00	1.00	.8596	.81313	.543
		2.00	-.3068	1.00841	.950
French	1.00	2.00	-.8490	.62437	.367
		3.00	-2.7808(*)	.71755	.001
	2.00	1.00	.8490	.62437	.367
		3.00	-1.9318	.88987	.082
	3.00	1.00	2.7808(*)	.71755	.001
		2.00	1.9318	.88987	.082
English	1.00	2.00	-.5804	.60836	.608
		3.00	-1.8077(*)	.69914	.031
	2.00	1.00	.5804	.60836	.608
		3.00	-1.2273	.86704	.338
	3.00	1.00	1.8077(*)	.69914	.031
		2.00	1.2273	.86704	.338

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.5: Attitudes Regarding Use of Language in Domestic Contexts

(by self-identification) Multiple Comparisons

5.1.3.2 Education

Q.6: What do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius, and places that give technical education? Does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, attitudes regarding language use in educational contexts (score of primary schools, secondary schools, University of Mauritius and places that give technical education) as variable.

(ii) N = 124, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	23	53
22-49	19	6	25
50-over	26	20	46
Total	75	49	124

(iii) The number of females in the age range 22-49 is 6, which is not great enough to permit accurate comparison with the age ranges 11-21 or 50 and over.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in attitudes of groups, in both age and gender, and age-gender interaction, regarding language use in educational contexts ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.006	3726.425	5.000	114.000	.000
Age	.509	9.162	10.000	228.000	.000
Gender	.747	7.714	5.000	114.000	.000
Age*Gender	.836	2.135	10.000	228.000	.023

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between age groups in all languages, that gender differences exist in Bhojpuri, Hindi and Creole and that there is an interaction with age and gender in Bhojpuri and Hindi.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - indicate a complex pattern of significant differences in means scores between all three age groups which, for ease of reference, will be analysed language by language.

Bhojpuri

Statistically significant differences exist between the means score of the 50 and over age group with that of both the 11-21 and 22-49 age groups (The latter do not exhibit significant differences with each other). The means score for the 50 and over age group ($\underline{M} = 11.9565$) is higher than the 11-21 age group ($\underline{M} = 10.2830$) and the 22-49 age group ($\underline{M} = 9.88$). It is intriguing that the youngest age group does not have, as might be expected, the lowest means score.

Hindi

As with Bhojpuri, the 50 and over age group has the highest means score ($\underline{M} = 14.8913$), followed by the 11-21 age group ($\underline{M} = 12.7170$) and the 22-49 age group ($\underline{M} = 12.32$). Again, There is no significant difference between the 11-21 and the 22-49 age groups.

Creole

Unlike with Bhojpuri and Hindi, the significant difference in means scores obtains between the 11-21 and 22-49 age groups. Here, the youngest age group has the highest means score ($\underline{M} = 10.7358$), followed by the 50 and over age group ($\underline{M} = 10.0435$) and the 22-49 age group ($\underline{M} = 9.520$). Given the comparatively low scores in Bhojpuri, Hindi and Creole in the 22-49 age group, one might predict correspondingly high means scores in this age group for French and English, and this is precisely the case.

French

In sharp contrast to the differences between the means scores of the 50 and over and 22-49 age groups in both Bhojpuri and Hindi (which represent the highest and lowest respectively), there is no significant difference in the

means scores of these two age groups in French. It is with the 11-21 age group that both of the older age groups differ significantly. The highest means score is achieved by the 22-49 age group ($\underline{M} = 14.840$), followed by the 50 and over age group ($\underline{M} = 14.7609$), and the 11-21 age group ($\underline{M} = 13.5849$).

English

In English, significant differences are found between the oldest and youngest groups, and not between the 22-49 age group and either of the former. The 50 and above age group has the highest means score ($\underline{M} = 15.0217$), followed by the 22-49 age group ($\underline{M} = 14.76$) and the 11-21 age group ($\underline{M} = 14.3019$). This pattern is quite distinct from those relating to attitudes regarding Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole and French, in that the youngest and oldest groups diverge the most significantly from each other - not from the 22-49 age group.

Gender. Males have a higher means score in their attitudes regarding the use of Bhojpuri in educational contexts than females (Male: $\underline{M} = 11.68$; Female: $\underline{M} = 9.5102$). The same holds for Hindi (Male: $\underline{M} = 14.0267$; Female: $\underline{M} = 12.5510$) and Creole (Male: $\underline{M} = 10.56$; Female: $\underline{M} = 9.7347$). Interestingly, females appear to rate Hindi more highly as a language of education than Creole, which in turn is more highly rated than Bhojpuri, whereas males put Hindi before Bhojpuri, and Creole last of all.

Age and gender. The statistics show that males have higher means scores in their attitudes regarding Bhojpuri in educational contexts than females in all age groups. The least variation between genders in Bhojpuri occurs in the 50 and over age group (Male: $\underline{M} = 12.3077$; Female: $\underline{M} = 11.50$), and it also this age group that shows the least variation in Hindi (Male: $\underline{M} = 15.1923$; Female: $\underline{M} = 14.50$). Not only do these statistics indicate that males consider Bhojpuri and Hindi more suitable for educational purposes than do females, but that the 50 and over age group shows a greater similarity in attitudes between the sexes than the age group 11-21.

Summary and analysis. Of all the research questions, this one yielded possibly the most interesting set of findings, in that clear patterns emerged between age groups and groups distinguished in terms of gender, and these patterns were evident in - and consistent with - those that emerged in the analyses of the other research questions. It is the older age group that exhibits the most positive attitudes towards the use of the Indian languages in educational contexts, but the positivity does not decrease in accordance with the decrease in age: The 11-21 age group evaluates the Indian languages more highly in educational contexts than does the age group 22-49. In terms of gender, males are more positive than females in their evaluation of Indian languages in educational contexts.

With Creole, the younger age group is the most positive, with the age group 22-49 again proving to be the least positive with respect to non-European language use in educational contexts. The expectation is, accordingly, that the 22-49 age group has more positive attitudes towards the use of the European languages in educational contexts, and this is borne out by the data.

A completely different pattern obtains for French than for either the Indian languages or for Creole. With French, it is the 22-49 age group that evaluates the languages most highly, followed by the age group 50 and over and, lastly, the age group 11-21. Yet another pattern obtains for English, where the age group 50 and above is the most positive and the age group 11-21 the least positive. It is with English that the oldest and youngest age groups show the greatest differences of opinion.

For ease of reference, the information just given may be represented in the following way:

Ranking of languages considered most appropriate in educational contexts, by age group (means indicated)		
50 and over	22-49	11-21
English (15.0217)	French (14.84)	English (14.3019)
Hindi (14.8913)	English (14.76)	French (13.5849)
French (14.7609)	Hindi (12.32)	Hindi (12.717)
Bhojpuri (11.9565)	Bhojpuri (9.88)	Creole (10.7358)
Creole (10.0435)	Creole (9.52)	Bhojpuri (10.283)

Educational Contexts	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpur	11-21	Male	11.4667	3.56935	30
		Female	8.7391	2.70046	23
		Total	10.2830	3.47174	53
	22-49	Male	11.1579	3.80443	19
		Female	5.8333	.98319	6
		Total	9.8800	4.05504	25
	50+	Male	12.3077	2.46202	26
		Female	11.5000	2.54434	20
		Total	11.9565	2.50295	46
	Total	Male	11.6800	3.28453	75
		Female	9.5102	3.10324	49
		Total	10.8226	3.37386	124
Hindi	11-21	Male	13.5000	1.81469	30
		Female	11.6957	2.36326	23
		Total	12.7170	2.23931	53
	22-49	Male	13.2632	2.66338	19
		Female	9.3333	1.21106	6
		Total	12.3200	2.92575	25
	50+	Male	15.1923	.93890	26
		Female	14.5000	1.35724	20
		Total	14.8913	1.17810	46
	Total	Male	14.0267	2.01329	75
		Female	12.5510	2.58248	49
		Total	13.4435	2.35921	124
Creole	11-21	Male	11.1333	1.65536	30
		Female	10.2174	2.29538	23
		Total	10.7358	1.99182	53
	22-49	Male	9.9474	2.12063	19
		Female	8.1667	.75277	6
		Total	9.5200	2.02320	25
	50+	Male	10.3462	2.20803	26
		Female	9.6500	2.56032	20
		Total	10.0435	2.36602	46
	Total	Male	10.5600	2.01508	75
		Female	9.7347	2.34321	49
		Total	10.2339	2.17939	124
French	11-21	Male	13.0333	2.25118	30
		Female	14.3043	1.42812	23
		Total	13.5849	2.02327	53
	22-49	Male	15.0000	1.29099	19
		Female	14.3333	1.21106	6
		Total	14.8400	1.28062	25
	50+	Male	14.4231	1.23849	26
		Female	15.2000	1.23969	20
		Total	14.7609	1.28556	46
	Total	Male	14.0133	1.89945	75
		Female	14.6735	1.37519	49
		Total	14.2742	1.73598	124
English	11-21	Male	14.2667	1.28475	30
		Female	14.3478	1.11227	23
		Total	14.3019	1.20232	53
	22-49	Male	15.0000	1.29099	19
		Female	14.0000	1.09545	6
		Total	14.7600	1.30000	25
	50+	Male	14.8846	1.45126	26
		Female	15.2000	1.23969	20
		Total	15.0217	1.35793	46
	Total	Male	14.6667	1.36890	75
		Female	14.6531	1.23408	49
		Total	14.6613	1.31215	124

Q.6: Attitudes Regarding Language Use in Educational Contexts

(by age and gender) Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Educational Contexts)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpuri	9677.204	1	9677.204	1067.406	.000
	Hindi	15611.771	1	15611.771	4488.485	.000
	Creole	9193.613	1	9193.613	2064.035	.000
	French	19363.558	1	19363.558	7700.636	.000
	English	19999.236	1	19999.236	12231.447	.000
Age	Bhojpuri	170.269	2	85.134	9.390	.000
	Hindi	206.773	2	103.387	29.724	.000
	Creole	37.204	2	18.602	4.176	.018
	French	34.949	2	17.474	6.949	.001
	English	13.417	2	6.709	4.103	.019
Gender	Bhojpuri	204.113	1	204.113	22.514	.000
	Hindi	107.391	1	107.391	30.876	.000
	Creole	29.932	1	29.932	6.720	.011
	French	4.961	1	4.961	1.973	.163
	English	.947	1	.947	.579	.448
Age * Gender	Bhojpuri	69.055	2	34.527	3.808	.025
	Hindi	34.293	2	17.146	4.930	.009
	Creole	3.882	2	1.941	.436	.648
	French	12.680	2	6.340	2.521	.085
	English	5.770	2	2.885	1.764	.176

Q.6: Attitudes Regarding Language Use in Educational Contexts
(by age and gender) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Educational Contexts)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	.4030	.73055	.846
		50+	-1.6735(*)	.60675	.018
	22-49	11-21	-.4030	.73055	.846
		50+	-2.0765(*)	.74815	.017
	50+	11-21	1.6735(*)	.60675	.018
		22-49	2.0765(*)	.74815	.017
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.3970	.45250	.656
		50+	-2.1743(*)	.37582	.000
	22-49	11-21	-.3970	.45250	.656
		50+	-2.5713(*)	.46340	.000
	50+	11-21	2.1743(*)	.37582	.000
		22-49	2.5713(*)	.46340	.000
Creole	11-21	22-49	1.2158(*)	.51206	.050
		50+	.6924	.42529	.238
	22-49	11-21	-1.2158(*)	.51206	.050
		50+	-.5235	.52440	.579
	50+	11-21	-.6924	.42529	.238
		22-49	.5235	.52440	.579
French	11-21	22-49	-1.2551(*)	.38474	.004
		50+	-1.1760(*)	.31954	.001
	22-49	11-21	1.2551(*)	.38474	.004
		50+	.0791	.39401	.978
	50+	11-21	1.1760(*)	.31954	.001
		22-49	-.0791	.39401	.978
English	11-21	22-49	-.4581	.31025	.306
		50+	-.7199(*)	.25767	.017
	22-49	11-21	.4581	.31025	.306
		50+	-.2617	.31772	.689
	50+	11-21	.7199(*)	.25767	.017
		22-49	.2617	.31772	.689

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.6: Attitudes Regarding Language Use in Educational Contexts

(by age) Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.7: What do respondents (distinguished according to first language) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) One-way between-groups ANOVA: First language of the respondent as factor, attitudes regarding use of Bhojpuri in educational contexts (score of primary schools, secondary schools, University of Mauritius and places that give technical education) as variable.

(ii) N = 124: Bhojpuri as first language (N = 100)
 Creole as first language (N = 19)
 Other first language (N = 5)

(iii) The number of respondents indicating a language other than Bhojpuri or Creole as their first language is too small to be included in the ensuing analysis. Analysis by age and gender is not provided by this statistical test.

Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicate a significant difference between the means scores of respondents who declared Bhojpuri as their first language ($\bar{M} = 11.63$) and those who declared Creole ($\bar{M} = 7.6316$).

Summary and analysis. There is a clear correspondence between Bhojpuri as a first language and positive attitudes towards its use in educational contexts. It is relevant to add that the respondents who indicated a language other than Bhojpuri or Creole as their first language gave 'Hindi', in 4 cases, and 'Rajasthani' in 1. Crucially - and despite the positive attitudes towards French and English in education - not a single respondent indicated these as first languages. Conversely, whilst 100 respondents out of 124 (= 80.65%) indicated Bhojpuri as their first language, the attitudes regarding its use in educational contexts are less positive than those for Hindi, French and English, according to the findings indicated for Q.7.

First Language	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Min.	Max.
Bhojpuri	100	11.6300	3.07698	.30770	4.00	16.00
Creole	19	7.6316	2.26594	.51984	4.00	12.00
Other	5	6.8000	2.77489	1.24097	4.00	10.00
Total	124	10.8226	3.37386	.30298	4.00	16.00

Use of Bhojpuri (Educational Contexts)	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	339.566	2	169.783	19.371	.000
Within Groups	1060.531	121	8.765		
Total	1400.097	123			

Q.7: Attitudes Regarding Use of Bhojpuri in Educational Contexts

(by respondent's first language) Descriptives

Dependent Variable: Bhojpuri Educational Contexts
Tukey HSD

(I) First Language of Respondent	(J) First Language of Repondent	Mean Ifference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpuri	Creole	3.99842*	.74091	.000
	Other	4.83000*	1.35668	.002
Creole	Bhojpun	-3.99842*	.74091	.000
	Other	.83158	1.48803	.842
Other	Bhojpun	-4.83000	1.35668	.002
	Creole	-.83158	1.48803	.842

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.7: Attitudes Regarding Use of Bhojpuri in Educational Contexts

(by respondent's first language) Post-Hoc Tests

Q.8: What do respondents (distinguished according to study of Hindi) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) One-way between-groups ANOVA: Study of Hindi as factor, attitudes regarding use of Bhojpuri in educational contexts (score of primary schools, secondary schools, University of Mauritius and places that give technical education) as variable.

(ii) N = 124:	CPE Hindi and above	(N = 71)
	Formal elementary study	(N = 31)
	Informal study or none	(N = 22)

(iii) Analysis by age and gender is not provided by this statistical test.

Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test indicate a significant difference between the means scores of respondents who asserted study of Hindi to CPE level and above ($\underline{M} = 10.4507$) and those who stated that they had learned Hindi informally or not at all ($\underline{M} = 12.5455$). Very little difference exists between the means scores of students of Hindi to CPE level and above, and those who declared formal elementary study ($\underline{M} = 10.4516$).

Summary and analysis. Formal study of Hindi, to whatever level, has the effect of producing less positive attitudes towards the use of Bhojpuri in educational contexts than those exhibited by respondents who have had no formal tuition at all in Hindi. This is entirely consistent with general expectations, given what the present research has demonstrated regarding the intimate sociohistorical relationship that has existed between Bhojpuri and Khari Boli Hindi in Mauritius (Chapter 1.1.4) and the view of Bhojpuri as an expedient to the acquisition of Hindi rather than an object of study in its own right and for its own worth (Chapters 4.1.3.1 and 4.1.5.2).

Details of Study	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Min.	Max.
Informal/None	22	12.5455	2.13201	.45455	9.00	15.00
Formal Elementary	31	10.4516	3.11811	.56003	6.00	15.00
CPE and above	71	10.4507	3.65196	.43341	4.00	16.00
Total	124	10.8226	3.37386	.30298	4.00	16.00

Use of Bhojpuri (Educational Contexts)	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	79.387	2	39.694	3.637	.029
Within Groups	1320.709	121	10.915		
Total	1400.097	123			

Q.8: Attitudes Regarding Use of Bhojpuri in Educational Contexts

(according to study of Hindi) Descriptives

Dependent Variable: Bhojpuri Educational Contexts
Tukey HSD

(I) Categories for Hindi Study	(J) Categories for Hindi Study	Mean difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Informal/None	Formal Elementary	2.09384	.92099	.063
	CPE and above	2.09475*	.80614	.028
Formal Elementary	Informal/None	-2.09384	.92099	.063
	CPE and above	.00091	.71122	1.000
CPE and above	Informal/None	-2.09475*	.80614	.028
	Formal Elementary	-.00091	.71122	1.000

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.8: Attitudes Regarding Use of Bhojpuri in Educational Contexts

(according to study of Hindi) Post-Hoc Tests

Q.9: What do respondents (distinguished by their mother's first language) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

Q.10: What do respondents (distinguished by their father's first language) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri in primary schools, secondary schools, the University of Mauritius and places that give technical education, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) Descriptive: Percentages of responses (scored 4-16) indicating attitudes regarding the use of Bhojpuri in educational contexts (score of primary schools, secondary schools, University of Mauritius and places that give technical education), analysed in terms of the first language of the respondents' parents.

Note: A score of 4 is the lowest possible, since it represents four answers with the value of one point each which, in terms of the questionnaire, represent the most negative answers possible (See Appendix 4(a) p.xxxii for questions 60-63 in the original Creole, and Appendix 4(b) p.xlv for the English equivalents).

(ii) N = 124.

(iii) Analysis of variance cannot be used with the following data since, in the case of 'mother's first language', there is an insufficient number of responses to any language other than Bhojpuri (N = 116). Accordingly, a descriptive analysis is also given for the data for 'father's first language', to permit direct comparison between parents' first language. With 'father's first language', it should be noted that there are 16 responses for Creole, as opposed to a single such response for 'mother's first language'.

Summary and analysis. Analysis of the data indicates that a higher percentage of respondents evaluated Bhojpuri favourably as a language that should be used in an educational context when this was the mother's first language (A score of 13 or more indicates that at least one maximum score of 4 points was given in one of the four educational contexts specified in the questionnaire). With the mother's first language - for which only Bhojpuri is analysed - the percentage of scores of 13 and above is 35.3% (N = 41), which is not markedly different to the figure of 36.9% when Bhojpuri is the father's first language (N = 38). Importantly, when the father's first language is Creole, this percentage falls to 12.5%, although it should be noted that this represents only two respondents. Given that the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated Bhojpuri as the first language of their mother and father, one may suggest that the possibility of collecting and analysing sufficient data on other first languages - including Creole - would prove problematic in the extreme.

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4.00	2	1.7	1.7	1.7
6.00	15	12.9	12.9	14.7
7.00	9	7.8	7.8	22.4
8.00	3	2.6	2.6	25.0
9.00	8	6.9	6.9	31.9
10.00	7	6.0	6.0	37.9
11.00	5	4.3	4.3	42.2
12.00	26	22.4	22.4	64.7
13.00	11	9.5	9.5	74.1
14.00	9	7.8	7.8	81.9
15.00	13	11.2	11.2	93.1
16.00	8	6.9	6.9	100.0
Total	116	100.0	100.0	

First language of mother = Bhojpuri

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
8.00	1	100.0	100.0	100.0

First language of mother = Creole

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
6.00	1	20.0	20.0	20.0
7.00	1	20.0	20.0	40.0
8.00	1	20.0	20.0	60.0
9.00	1	20.0	20.0	80.0
10.00	1	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	5	100.0	100.0	

First language of mother = Hindi

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4.00	2	100.0	100.0	100.0

First language of mother = other

Q.9: Attitudes Regarding Use of Bhojpuri in Educational Contexts

(by mother's first language)

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4.00	1	1.0	1.0	1.0
6.00	11	10.7	10.7	11.7
7.00	8	7.8	7.8	19.4
8.00	4	3.9	3.9	23.3
9.00	5	4.9	4.9	28.2
10.00	7	6.8	6.8	35.0
11.00	5	4.9	4.9	39.8
12.00	24	23.3	23.3	63.1
13.00	11	10.7	10.7	73.8
14.00	8	7.8	7.8	81.6
15.00	13	12.6	12.6	94.2
16.00	6	5.8	5.8	100.0
Total	103	100.0	100.0	

First language of father = Bhojpuri

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
4.00	3	18.8	18.8	18.8
6.00	4	25.0	25.0	43.8
7.00	1	6.3	6.3	50.0
8.00	1	6.3	6.3	56.3
9.00	3	18.8	18.8	75.0
12.00	2	12.5	12.5	87.5
16.00	2	12.5	12.5	100.0
Total	16	100.0	100.0	

First language of father = Creole

Valid	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
6.00	1	20.0	20.0	20.0
7.00	1	20.0	20.0	40.0
9.00	1	20.0	20.0	60.0
10.00	1	20.0	20.0	80.0
14.00	1	20.0	20.0	100.0
Total	5	100.0	100.0	

First language of father = Hindi

Q.10: Attitudes Regarding Use of Bhojpuri in Educational Contexts

(by father's first language)

Q.11: What do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) believe regarding the appropriateness of Bhojpuri when speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings and friends, and does this differ from Hindi, Creole, French and English?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, attitudes regarding use of languages in domestic contexts (score of speaking to grandparents, parents, siblings and friends at home) as variable.

(ii) N = 84, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	22	52
22-49	15	6	21
50-over	8	3	11
Total	53	31	84

(iii) The number of females in the age ranges 22-49 and 50 and over is not great enough to permit accurate comparison either between females of different age groups or between males and females of either of these two age groups. Additionally, the small number of males in the 50 and over age group further limit analyses of age. Statistically robust analyses can only be made between males and females (all age groups combined), males and females in the age group 11-21, and males in the age groups 11-21 and 22-49.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences amongst groups in attitudes regarding language use on domestic contexts in both age and gender, and age-gender interaction ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.007	2208.401	5.000	74.000	.000
Age	.526	5.609	10.000	148.000	.000
Gender	.789	3.964	5.000	74.000	.003
Age*Gender	.610	4.152	10.000	148.000	.000

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that differences obtain between age groups in all languages except English; that gender differences exist in Creole; that there is an interaction with age and gender in Hindi.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - do not indicate any significant differences between the means scores of the 11-21 and 22-49 age groups in any language (Statistical significance is indicated with the younger groups and the 50 and above age group that only contains 8 respondents). It is nevertheless possible to identify a pattern in the language attitudes of the two younger male age groups. Males in the 11-21 age group rank the five languages indicated in the questionnaire in the following order, with respect to appropriateness of use in domestic contexts: Hindi ($\underline{M} = 13.00$), Creole ($\underline{M} = 12.4667$), Bhojpuri ($\underline{M} = 12.0333$), English ($\underline{M} = 6.90$), French ($\underline{M} = 6.80$). Hindi is not considered quite so appropriate by the 22-49 age group, who rank the languages in the following way: Creole ($\underline{M} = 12.80$), Bhojpuri ($\underline{M} = 11.9333$), Hindi ($\underline{M} = 11.60$), French and English ($\underline{M} = 4.5333$). It is noteworthy that the attitudes towards both French and English are far less favourable in the 22-49 age group than in the 11-21 age group, since this is quite a distinct trend from that regarding attitudes to French and English in educational contexts.

Gender. There are statistically significant gender differences in attitudes regarding the appropriateness of Creole in domestic contexts, indicating that males ($\underline{M} = 11.8302$) are less positive than females ($\underline{M} = 12.9677$).

Age and gender. Between the males and females in the 11-21 age group (the only age group for which a gender comparison is statistically robust), females are seen to be far less favourable in their attitudes towards Hindi than the males (Female: $\underline{M} = 10.7727$; Male: $\underline{M} = 13.0$). Indeed, Females and males in the 11-21 age group differ quite markedly from each other in the ordering of languages in terms of appropriateness.

Summary and analysis. Analysis of these data strongly urge a reassessment of the notion that Indian languages are promoted in the home principally by females, since this is by no means substantiated by my findings regarding language attitudes in domestic contexts. In keeping with the ranking of languages provided in the analysis of Q.6, the following is presented for ease of reference:

Ranking of languages considered most appropriate in domestic contexts, by gender (means indicated)	
Males	Females
Hindi (12.7925)	Creole (12.9677)
Bhojpuri (12.4528)	Hindi (11.2581)
Creole (11.8302)	Bhojpuri (10.9677)
English (7.0377)	French (7.9677)
French (6.9811)	English (6.7742)

It is extremely surprising to find that female respondents evaluate Creole more highly than males, given that female respondents indicate lesser levels of perceived proficiency in Creole than males (Q.1). It is perhaps an even greater surprise to note that Creole is evaluated more positively by females than are either of the Indian languages - although the more positive evaluation of French by females, and of English by males, conforms to a pattern that has already been encountered.

Interestingly, females in the 11-21 age group parallel the responses of the 22-49 age group (males and females combined) in terms of how the five languages of the questionnaire are ranked, as demonstrated in the following:

Ranking of languages considered most appropriate in domestic contexts, by age group (means indicated)		
50 and over	22-49	11-21
Bhojpuri (15.2727)	Creole (12.9524)	Creole (12.8077)
Hindi (14.7273)	Hindi (11.3333)	Bhojpuri (11.4615)
Creole (8.2727)	Bhojpuri (11.2381)	Hindi (12.0577)
French (6.1818)	French (7.9048)	French (7.3654)
English (6.1818)	English (7.4762)	English (6.8846)

Domestic Contexts	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpun	11-21	Male	12.0333	3.89060	30
		Female	10.6818	2.88488	22
		Total	11.4615	3.53393	52
	22-49	Male	11.9333	2.76371	15
		Female	9.5000	1.37840	6
		Total	11.2381	2.66279	21
	50+	Male	15.0000	.53452	8
		Female	16.0000	.00000	3
		Total	15.2727	.64667	11
	Total	Male	12.4528	3.42258	53
		Female	10.9677	3.02747	31
		Total	11.9048	3.34239	84
Hindi	11-21	Male	13.0000	1.80038	30
		Female	10.7727	2.70681	22
		Total	12.0577	2.46873	52
	22-49	Male	11.6000	2.52982	15
		Female	10.6667	.81650	6
		Total	11.3333	2.19848	21
	50+	Male	14.2500	.70711	8
		Female	16.0000	.00000	3
		Total	14.7273	1.00905	11
	Total	Male	12.7925	2.08805	53
		Female	11.2581	2.78050	31
		Total	12.2262	2.46592	84
Creole	11-21	Male	12.4667	1.40770	30
		Female	13.2727	1.60896	22
		Total	12.8077	1.53442	52
	22-49	Male	12.8000	1.85934	15
		Female	13.3333	.51640	6
		Total	12.9524	1.59613	21
	50+	Male	7.6250	1.40789	8
		Female	10.0000	.00000	3
		Total	8.2727	1.61808	11
	Total	Male	11.8302	2.35123	53
		Female	12.9677	1.68293	31
		Total	12.2500	2.18910	84
French	11-21	Male	6.8000	1.84578	30
		Female	8.1364	1.80727	22
		Total	7.3654	1.93045	52
	22-49	Male	7.5333	2.41622	15
		Female	8.8333	2.78687	6
		Total	7.9048	2.52794	21
	50+	Male	6.6250	1.18773	8
		Female	5.0000	.00000	3
		Total	6.1818	1.25045	11
	Total	Male	6.9811	1.94630	53
		Female	7.9677	2.15227	31
		Total	7.3452	2.06808	84
English	11-21	Male	6.9000	1.60495	30
		Female	6.8636	2.03061	22
		Total	6.8846	1.77845	52
	22-49	Male	7.5333	2.41622	15
		Female	7.3333	2.65832	6
		Total	7.4762	2.42114	21
	50+	Male	6.6250	1.18773	8
		Female	5.0000	.00000	3
		Total	6.1818	1.25045	11
	Total	Male	7.0377	1.81831	53
		Female	6.7742	2.10887	31
		Total	6.9405	1.92229	84

Q.11: Attitudes Regarding Language Use in Domestic Contexts

(by age and gender) Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Domestic Contexts)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpur	7329.822	1	7329.822	780.862	.000
	Hindi	7554.075	1	7554.075	1711.365	.000
	Creole	6268.941	1	6268.941	2787.171	.000
	French	2391.855	1	2391.855	626.408	.000
	English	2103.290	1	2103.290	569.181	.000
Age	Bhojpur	148.536	2	74.268	7.912	.001
	Hindi	98.183	2	49.091	11.122	.000
	Creole	130.936	2	65.468	29.107	.000
	French	32.629	2	16.314	4.273	.017
	English	15.193	2	7.597	2.056	.135
Gender	Bhojpur	10.066	1	10.066	1.072	.304
	Hindi	2.583	1	2.583	.585	.447
	Creole	17.907	1	17.907	7.962	.006
	French	1.328	1	1.328	.348	.557
	English	4.497	1	4.497	1.217	.273
Age * Gender	Bhojpur	17.068	2	8.534	.909	.407
	Hindi	31.131	2	15.565	3.526	.034
	Creole	5.424	2	2.712	1.206	.305
	French	16.854	2	8.427	2.207	.117
	English	4.715	2	2.357	.638	.531

Q.11: Attitudes Regarding Language Use in Domestic Contexts
(by age and gender) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Domestic Contexts)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	.2234	.79215	.957
		50+	-3.8112(*)	1.01679	.001
	22-49	11-21	-.2234	.79215	.957
		50+	-4.0346(*)	1.14032	.002
	50+	11-21	3.8112(*)	1.01679	.001
		22-49	4.0346(*)	1.14032	.002
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.7244	.54321	.381
		50+	-2.6696(*)	.69725	.001
	22-49	11-21	-.7244	.54321	.381
		50+	-3.3939(*)	.78197	.000
	50+	11-21	2.6696(*)	.69725	.001
		22-49	3.3939(*)	.78197	.000
Creole	11-21	22-49	-.1447	.38776	.926
		50+	4.5350(*)	.49772	.000
	22-49	11-21	.1447	.38776	.926
		50+	4.6797(*)	.55819	.000
	50+	11-21	-4.5350(*)	.49772	.000
		22-49	-4.6797(*)	.55819	.000
French	11-21	22-49	-.5394	.50523	.537
		50+	1.1836	.64850	.168
	22-49	11-21	.5394	.50523	.537
		50+	1.7229	.72729	.052
	50+	11-21	-1.1836	.64850	.168
		22-49	-1.7229	.72729	.052
English	11-21	22-49	-.5916	.49702	.463
		50+	.7028	.63796	.516
	22-49	11-21	.5916	.49702	.463
		50+	1.2944	.71547	.173
	50+	11-21	-.7028	.63796	.516
		22-49	-1.2944	.71547	.173

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.11: Attitudes Regarding Language Use in Domestic Contexts

(by age) Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

5.1.3.3 Sociocultural Activity

Q.12: What languages do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) use at weddings?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, opinions regarding language use at weddings as variable.

(ii) N = 124, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	23	53
22-49	19	6	25
50-over	26	20	46
Total	75	49	124

(iii) The number of females in the age range 22-49 is 6, which is not great enough to permit accurate comparison with the age ranges 11-21 or 50 and over.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in opinions regarding language use at weddings amongst groups in both age and gender, and age-gender interaction ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.014	1627.594	5.000	114.000	.000
Age	.401	13.212	10.000	228.000	.000
Gender	.512	21.750	5.000	114.000	.000
Age*Gender	.572	7.346	10.000	228.000	.000

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between age groups in Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole and French but not English, that gender differences obtain in French and English only, and that there is an interaction with age and gender in Bhojpuri, Creole and French.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - indicate a significant difference in means scores between the

age group 50 and over and both of the younger age groups, in all languages other than English. Respondents from the age group 50 and over evaluate their use of both of the Indian languages more highly than those from the 22-49 age group, who in turn evaluate the Indian languages more highly than respondents aged 11-21 (Bhojpuri: 50 and over: $\underline{M} = 3.15$; 22-49: $\underline{M} = 2.48$; 11-21: $\underline{M} = 2.30$. Hindi: 50 and over: $\underline{M} = 3.65$; 22-49: $\underline{M} = 2.68$; 11-21: $\underline{M} = 2.66$). This pattern is completely reversed with Creole, where the older age group is the least positive in terms of perceived language use, and the youngest age group is the most positive (50 and over: $\underline{M} = 2.46$; 22-49: $\underline{M} = 3.08$; 11-21: $\underline{M} = 3.40$). Yet another pattern obtains with French, for which the age group 22-49 identifies a greater perceived use than the other groups (50 and over: $\underline{M} = 1.07$; 22-49: $\underline{M} = 1.48$; 11-21: $\underline{M} = 1.32$).

Gender. Females have a higher means score than males in the opinions regarding their use of French (Female: $\underline{M} = 1.39$; Male: $\underline{M} = 1.17$). It is very interesting to note that this does not hold for the European languages in general, since males have a higher means score than females in English (Male: $\underline{M} = 1.23$; Female: $\underline{M} = 1.00$).

Age and gender. Given the more positive opinions on the use of Indian languages by males, it is surprising that, with Bhojpuri, females in the 50 and above age group ($\underline{M} = 3.30$) have a higher means score than the males ($\underline{M} = 3.04$); but the predicted pattern is reaffirmed amongst males in the 11-21 age group, who are more positive in their use of Bhojpuri ($\underline{M} = 2.43$) than females ($\underline{M} = 2.13$). This situation is reversed with Creole, where the males in the 50 and above age group have a higher means score ($\underline{M} = 2.65$) than the females ($\underline{M} = 2.20$), and the females in the 11-21 age group have a higher means score ($\underline{M} = 3.57$) than the males ($\underline{M} = 3.27$). It is unsurprising that females in the 11-21 age group have a higher means score than the males with respect to the perceived use of French (Female: $\underline{M} = 1.57$; Male: $\underline{M} = 1.13$) although, here again, there is a seemingly anomalous result: Females in the 50 and above age group ($\underline{M} = 1.00$) have a lower means score in French than the males ($\underline{M} = 1.12$).

Summary and analysis. As has already been demonstrated in the analyses of research questions 1-11, males generally tend to exhibit more positive opinions of their use (or attitudes towards) the Indian languages than females, and females have higher means scores with respect to their perceived use (or attitudes towards the use) of French than males. This trend is reflected here. With opinions regarding the use of languages at weddings, age is certainly an important factor; the use of Creole perceptibly increases amongst the younger age groups, with the youngest displaying the most positive attitudes, whilst the use of European languages is highest amongst the 22-49 age group - although one should point out that neither French nor English have high means scores in comparison with Bhojpuri, Creole and Hindi. Where females have either a higher means score than the males in Bhojpuri, or a lower means score in French (both of which go against the trend referred to), it is noteworthy that this takes place in the age group 50 and above.

The importance of the wedding as a sociocultural institution in Mauritius has been discussed in Chapter 4.1.5.2 (p.271); it is opportune to add that Bhojpuri songs have remained a central feature of weddings, as Boodhoo (1999:109) points out:

Formerly pre-wedding songs were sung several days before the event. These were known either as *satmangra*, seven auspicious days, *aathmangra* - eight auspicious days, or *teenmangra* three auspicious days. These days, the *geet gawai* or singing by women groups is performed one day before the marriage ceremony which is usually a Friday evening, as most marriages are performed during the week-end in Mauritius.

Despite the disappearance of the 'auspicious days', Mauritian Hindu weddings still retain many of the customs associated with the Bhojpuri belt in India, and women are highly instrumental in the organization of these events. If the perceived use of Bhojpuri for females in the age group 50 and above is higher than amongst males, I suggest that this is primarily because of the maintenance of activities such as the *geet gawai* and the simple fact that weddings bring together the most elderly females in the community in environments where they are able - and culturally encouraged - to use their mother tongue.

Use at Weddings	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpuri	11-21	Male	2.43	.935	30
		Female	2.13	.869	23
		Total	2.30	.911	53
	22-49	Male	2.68	.478	19
		Female	1.83	.983	6
		Total	2.48	.714	25
	50+	Male	3.04	.824	26
		Female	3.30	.657	20
		Total	3.15	.759	46
	Total	Male	2.71	.835	75
		Female	2.57	1.000	49
		Total	2.65	.902	124
Hindi	11-21	Male	2.73	.907	30
		Female	2.57	.662	23
		Total	2.66	.807	53
	22-49	Male	2.68	.478	19
		Female	2.67	.516	6
		Total	2.68	.476	25
	50+	Male	3.73	.452	26
		Female	3.55	.510	20
		Total	3.65	.482	46
	Total	Male	3.07	.827	75
		Female	2.98	.750	49
		Total	3.03	.796	124
Creole	11-21	Male	3.27	.450	30
		Female	3.57	.507	23
		Total	3.40	.494	53
	22-49	Male	3.16	.375	19
		Female	2.83	.753	6
		Total	3.08	.493	25
	50+	Male	2.65	.689	26
		Female	2.20	.768	20
		Total	2.46	.751	46
	Total	Male	3.03	.592	75
		Female	2.92	.909	49
		Total	2.98	.732	124
French	11-21	Male	1.13	.346	30
		Female	1.57	.507	23
		Total	1.32	.471	53
	22-49	Male	1.32	.478	19
		Female	2.00	.000	6
		Total	1.48	.510	25
	50+	Male	1.12	.326	26
		Female	1.00	.000	20
		Total	1.07	.250	46
	Total	Male	1.17	.381	75
		Female	1.39	.492	49
		Total	1.26	.439	124
English	11-21	Male	1.17	.379	30
		Female	1.00	.000	23
		Total	1.09	.295	53
	22-49	Male	1.47	.513	19
		Female	1.00	.000	6
		Total	1.36	.490	25
	50+	Male	1.12	.326	26
		Female	1.00	.000	20
		Total	1.07	.250	46
	Total	Male	1.23	.421	75
		Female	1.00	.000	49
		Total	1.14	.345	124

Q.12: Opinions Regarding Language Use at Weddings

(by age and gender) Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Use at Weddings)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpun	618.271	1	618.271	958.995	.000
	Hindi	835.975	1	835.975	2012.227	.000
	Creole	812.528	1	812.528	2399.169	.000
	French	171.860	1	171.860	1277.210	.000
	English	118.677	1	118.677	1211.691	.000
Age	Bhojpun	21.970	2	10.985	17.039	.000
	Hindi	26.673	2	13.337	32.102	.000
	Creole	23.697	2	11.849	34.986	.000
	French	5.088	2	2.544	18.905	.000
	English	.436	2	.218	2.227	.112
Gender	Bhojpun	2.070	1	2.070	3.211	.076
	Hindi	.349	1	.349	.840	.361
	Creole	.599	1	.599	1.768	.186
	French	2.604	1	2.604	19.352	.000
	English	1.485	1	1.485	15.163	.000
Age* Gender	Bhojpun	4.449	2	2.225	3.450	.035
	Hindi	.095	2	.047	.114	.892
	Creole	3.712	2	1.856	5.481	.005
	French	2.798	2	1.399	10.397	.000
	English	.436	2	.218	2.227	.112

Q.12: Opinions Regarding Language Use at Weddings

(by age and gender) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Use at Weddings)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpun	11-21	22-49	-.18	.195	.632
		50+	-.85(*)	.162	.000
	22-49	11-21	.18	.195	.632
		50+	-.67(*)	.200	.003
	50+	11-21	.85(*)	.162	.000
		22-49	.67(*)	.200	.003
Hindi	11-21	22-49	-.02	.156	.991
		50+	-.99(*)	.130	.000
	22-49	11-21	.02	.156	.991
		50+	-.97(*)	.160	.000
	50+	11-21	.99(*)	.130	.000
		22-49	.97(*)	.160	.000
Creole	11-21	22-49	.32	.141	.069
		50+	.94(*)	.117	.000
	22-49	11-21	-.32	.141	.069
		50+	.62(*)	.145	.000
	50+	11-21	-.94(*)	.117	.000
		22-49	-.62(*)	.145	.000
French	11-21	22-49	-.16	.089	.178
		50+	.26(*)	.074	.002
	22-49	11-21	.16	.089	.178
		50+	.41(*)	.091	.000
	50+	11-21	-.26(*)	.074	.002
		22-49	-.41(*)	.091	.000
English	11-21	22-49	-.27(*)	.076	.002
		50+	.03	.063	.889
	22-49	11-21	.27(*)	.076	.002
		50+	.29(*)	.078	.001
	50+	11-21	-.03	.063	.889
		22-49	-.29(*)	.078	.001

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.12: Opinions Regarding Language Use at Weddings (by age)

Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.13: What languages do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) use when they are praying?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, opinions regarding language use at prayer as variable.

(ii) N = 124, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	23	53
22-49	19	6	25
50-over	26	20	46
Total	75	49	124

(iii) The number of females in the age range 22-49 is 6, which is not great enough to permit accurate comparison with the age ranges 11-21 or 50 and over.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in opinions regarding language use at prayer, but only as regards age ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.006	5170.793	4.000	115.000	.000
Age	.833	2.748	8.000	230.000	.006
Gender	.960	1.204	4.000	115.000	.313
Age*Gender	.886	1.787	8.000	230.000	.080

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between the 50 and above age group and the two lower age groups, regarding Creole only.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - reveal that the age group 50 and above unequivocally rejected the use of Creole as a language of prayer, which is reflected in the lowest possible means score ($\bar{M} = 1.0$). Whilst evidently not considering it as a particularly appropriate language of prayer, the 11-21 age group achieved a higher means score ($\bar{M} = 1.21$) and the 22-49 a means score higher still ($\bar{M} = 1.28$).

Summary and analysis. It is startlingly evident that no language other than Hindi is considered at all appropriate for prayer by Mauritian Bhojpurias. Overall means scores were low for Bhojpuri (\underline{M} = 1.16) as well as for Creole (\underline{M} = 1.15), with the European languages scoring least of all (French: \underline{M} = 1.03; English: \underline{M} = 1.0). Tellingly, languages perceived as important for educational purposes had no impact on opinions regarding appropriateness for religious purposes; had that been the case, the means scores for both French and English would have been high. The status of Hindi as the language of prayer *par excellence* was not subject to differences of opinion between age groups or between the genders.

In Chapter 1.1.4, I explored how the popularity of religious movements such as the arya samaj had managed to promote the status of Hindi in Mauritius. I would, however, not wish to claim that the arya samaj created, for Bhojpurias, an association with Hindi that was wholly new and that caused a shift away from Bhojpuri as the language of expression of culture and belief systems. As Ramyeard (1985:258) explains,

[t]he two most prestigious languages in Mauritius are, unquestionably, English, the official language, and French, the language of social distinction, but amongst a substantial body of Indo-Mauritians, standard Hindi is also prestigious, although not in the same way or to the same degree as French or English. The contexts in which it is used in Mauritius are essentially prestigious... very many Indo-Mauritians feel Hindi to be a living connection with their cultural origins and the source of their values and identity.

Quite a few of my respondents expressed surprise at the question regarding use of languages for the purposes of prayer. For a handful, the notion of any language other than Sanskrit was unthinkable; for others, the issue of language was immaterial: God would hear and understand, whatever the language of address. But for the majority of respondents, only Hindi could be considered suitable. In this opinion, one has a sense that Hindu worship, for Bhojpurias, is not simply a question of reverencing the deity but also one of asserting one's cultural distinctiveness, in a language appropriate for such purposes.

Use at Prayer	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpur	11-21	Male	1.20	.484	30
		Female	1.13	.626	23
		Total	1.17	.545	53
	22-49	Male	1.16	.501	19
		Female	1.00	.000	6
		Total	1.12	.440	25
	50+	Male	1.00	.000	26
		Female	1.40	.821	20
		Total	1.17	.570	46
	Total	Male	1.12	.401	75
		Female	1.22	.685	49
		Total	1.16	.532	124
Hindi	11-21	Male	3.83	.531	30
		Female	3.65	.573	23
		Total	3.75	.551	53
	22-49	Male	3.68	.582	19
		Female	3.83	.408	6
		Total	3.72	.542	25
	50+	Male	3.88	.588	26
		Female	4.00	.000	20
		Total	3.93	.442	46
	Total	Male	3.81	.562	75
		Female	3.82	.441	49
		Total	3.81	.516	124
Creole	11-21	Male	1.23	.504	30
		Female	1.17	.388	23
		Total	1.21	.454	53
	22-49	Male	1.32	.478	19
		Female	1.17	.408	6
		Total	1.28	.458	25
	50+	Male	1.00	.000	26
		Female	1.00	.000	20
		Total	1.00	.000	46
	Total	Male	1.17	.415	75
		Female	1.10	.306	49
		Total	1.15	.376	124
French	11-21	Male	1.00	.000	30
		Female	1.17	.388	23
		Total	1.08	.267	53
	22-49	Male	1.00	.000	19
		Female	1.00	.000	6
		Total	1.00	.000	25
	50+	Male	1.00	.000	26
		Female	1.00	.000	20
		Total	1.00	.000	46
	Total	Male	1.00	.000	75
		Female	1.08	.277	49
		Total	1.03	.177	124
English	11-21	Male	1.00	.000	30
		Female	1.00	.000	23
		Total	1.00	.000	53
	22-49	Male	1.00	.000	19
		Female	1.00	.000	6
		Total	1.00	.000	25
	50+	Male	1.00	.000	26
		Female	1.00	.000	20
		Total	1.00	.000	46
	Total	Male	1.00	.000	75
		Female	1.00	.000	49
		Total	1.00	.000	124

Q.13: Opinions Regarding Language Use at Prayer (by age and gender)

Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Use at Prayer)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpuri	123.382	1	123.382	444.755	.000
	Hindi	1362.154	1	1362.154	5188.905	.000
	Creole	123.431	1	123.431	933.069	.000
	French	99.116	1	99.116	3539.487	.000
	English	93.611	1	93.611	.	.
Age	Bhojpuri	.190	2	.095	.343	.710
	Hindi	1.054	2	.527	2.008	.139
	Creole	1.272	2	.636	4.808	.010
	French	.216	2	.108	3.862	.024
	English	.000	2	.000	.	.
Gender	Bhojpuri	.077	1	.077	.279	.598
	Hindi	.018	1	.018	.069	.794
	Creole	.113	1	.113	.855	.357
	French	.079	1	.079	2.809	.096
	English	.000	1	.000	.	.
Age * Gender	Bhojpuri	1.695	2	.847	3.055	.051
	Hindi	.674	2	.337	1.284	.281
	Creole	.074	2	.037	.281	.756
	French	.216	2	.108	3.862	.024
	English	.000	2	.000	.	.

Q.13: Opinions Regarding Language Use at Prayer (by age and gender)

Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Use at Prayer)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Differenc e (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	.05	.128	.920
		50+	.00	.106	.999
	22-49	11-21	-.05	.128	.920
		50+	-.05	.131	.911
	50+	11-21	.00	.106	.999
		22-49	.05	.131	.911
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.03	.124	.958
		50+	-.18	.103	.193
	22-49	11-21	-.03	.124	.958
		50+	-.21	.127	.214
	50+	11-21	.18	.103	.193
		22-49	.21	.127	.214
Creole	11-21	22-49	-.07	.088	.691
		50+	.21(*)	.073	.015
	22-49	11-21	.07	.088	.691
		50+	.28(*)	.090	.007
	50+	11-21	-.21(*)	.073	.015
		22-49	-.28(*)	.090	.007
French	11-21	22-49	.08	.041	.155
		50+	.08	.034	.069
	22-49	11-21	-.08	.041	.155
		50+	.00	.042	1.000
	50+	11-21	-.08	.034	.069
		22-49	.00	.042	1.000

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.13: Opinions Regarding Language Use at Prayer (by age)

Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.14: What languages do respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) use when they read newspapers, magazines or journals?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, opinions regarding language use when reading for pleasure as variable.

(ii) N = 116, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	28	23	51
22-49	15	5	20
50-over	25	20	45
Total	68	48	116

(iii) The number of females in the age range 22-49 is 5, which is not great enough to permit accurate comparison with the age ranges 11-21 or 50 and over.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in attitudes of groups, in both age and gender, and age-gender interaction, regarding opinions on language use when reading for pleasure ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.033	629.965	5.000	106.000	.000
Age	.574	6.772	10.000	212.000	.000
Gender	.763	6.597	5.000	106.000	.000
Age*Gender	.549	7.401	10.000	212.000	.000

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between the age groups 50 and over and 11-21 in French and English, and between the 50 and over and 22-49 age groups in French only. The test also reveals significant differences amongst gender groups in English, but none of the other languages, and an interaction with age and gender in Bhojpuri, Hindi and English.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - indicate a significant difference in means scores for the age group 50 and above and the 11-21 age group in French (50 and above: $\underline{M} = 2.02$; 11-21: $\underline{M} = 3.18$), and in English (50 and above: $\underline{M} = 2.42$; 11-21: $\underline{M} = 3.08$). A significant difference also obtains between the age group 50 and above and the 22-49 age group in French (22-49: $\underline{M} = 3.05$).

Gender. Males have a higher means score in English ($\underline{M} = 3.04$) than females ($\underline{M} = 2.48$), which is entirely consistent with findings from previous research questions.

Age and gender. With the 11-21 age group, males indicate more positive opinions than females regarding language use when reading for pleasure in both Bhojpuri (Male: $\underline{M} = 1.68$; Female: $\underline{M} = 1.22$) and Hindi (Male: $\underline{M} = 2.86$; Female: $\underline{M} = 2.26$). With English, females in the 11-21 age group have a higher means score ($\underline{M} = 3.13$) than males ($\underline{M} = 3.04$). The pattern that one sees amongst the younger age group in Bhojpuri, Hindi and English is quite different to that found amongst the age group 50 and over; in fact, it is completely reversed. Females in the age group 50 and above have higher means scores than males in Bhojpuri (Female: $\underline{M} = 1.85$; Male: $\underline{M} = 1.12$) and Hindi (Female: $\underline{M} = 2.75$; Male: $\underline{M} = 2.40$); in English, however, the female means score is lower than the male (Female: $\underline{M} = 1.65$; Male: $\underline{M} = 3.04$).

Summary and analysis. Again, findings illustrate a distinct age-gender effect taking place amongst both the Indian and the European languages, in that female respondents from the age groups 11-21 and 22-49 indicate more positive responses than males in the perceived use of European languages (here, only English is statistically significant), but the males from those age groups are more positive with respect to the Indian languages. With the age group 50 and above, by contrast, there is a marked decrease in the perceived use of English amongst females, and correspondingly higher means scores for Bhojpuri and Hindi than males. It may be suggested that French and English, as languages of the educational system, have a strong impact on perceived language use when reading for pleasure.

Use When Reading	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpuri	11-21	Male	1.68	.945	28
		Female	1.22	.518	23
		Total	1.47	.809	51
	22-49	Male	1.40	.507	15
		Female	1.40	.548	5
		Total	1.40	.503	20
	50+	Male	1.12	.332	25
		Female	1.85	.366	20
		Total	1.44	.503	45
	Total	Male	1.41	.717	68
		Female	1.50	.546	48
		Total	1.45	.651	116
Hindi	11-21	Male	2.86	.803	28
		Female	2.26	.541	23
		Total	2.59	.753	51
	22-49	Male	2.27	.458	15
		Female	2.40	.548	5
		Total	2.30	.470	20
	50+	Male	2.40	.500	25
		Female	2.75	.786	20
		Total	2.56	.659	45
	Total	Male	2.56	.678	68
		Female	2.48	.684	48
		Total	2.53	.678	116
Creole	11-21	Male	2.04	.744	28
		Female	1.74	.541	23
		Total	1.90	.671	51
	22-49	Male	1.73	.458	15
		Female	2.00	.000	5
		Total	1.80	.410	20
	50+	Male	1.72	.458	25
		Female	1.80	.696	20
		Total	1.76	.570	45
	Total	Male	1.85	.605	68
		Female	1.79	.582	48
		Total	1.83	.594	116
French	11-21	Male	3.00	.667	28
		Female	3.39	.656	23
		Total	3.18	.684	51
	22-49	Male	3.07	.884	15
		Female	3.00	.000	5
		Total	3.05	.759	20
	50+	Male	2.08	.812	25
		Female	1.95	.999	20
		Total	2.02	.892	45
	Total	Male	2.68	.888	68
		Female	2.75	1.042	48
		Total	2.71	.951	116
English	11-21	Male	3.04	.744	28
		Female	3.13	.920	23
		Total	3.08	.821	51
	22-49	Male	3.07	.884	15
		Female	2.80	.447	5
		Total	3.00	.795	20
	50+	Male	3.04	1.136	25
		Female	1.65	.933	20
		Total	2.42	1.252	45
	Total	Male	3.04	.921	68
		Female	2.48	1.130	48
		Total	2.81	1.046	116

Q.14: Opinions Regarding Language Use when Reading for Pleasure

(by age and gender) Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Use when Reading)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpur	172.301	1	172.301	473.707	.000
	Hindi	511.736	1	511.736	1230.491	.000
	Creole	279.037	1	279.037	795.751	.000
	French	623.718	1	623.718	1020.943	.000
	English	641.612	1	641.612	760.398	.000
Age	Bhojpur	.088	2	.044	.120	.887
	Hindi	.710	2	.355	.854	.429
	Creole	.403	2	.202	.575	.564
	French	34.928	2	17.464	28.587	.000
	English	13.375	2	6.688	7.926	.001
Gender	Bhojpur	.166	1	.166	.456	.501
	Hindi	.029	1	.029	.070	.791
	Creole	.006	1	.006	.016	.898
	French	.087	1	.087	.142	.707
	English	5.597	1	5.597	6.634	.011
Age * Gender	Bhojpur	8.416	2	4.208	11.570	.000
	Hindi	5.559	2	2.779	6.683	.002
	Creole	1.323	2	.662	1.887	.156
	French	1.754	2	.877	1.436	.242
	English	13.389	2	6.695	7.934	.001

Q.14: Opinions Regarding Language Use when Reading for Pleasure

(by age and gender) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Use when Reading)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	.07	.159	.897
		50+	.03	.123	.976
	22-49	11-21	-.07	.159	.897
		50+	-.04	.162	.959
	50+	11-21	-.03	.123	.976
		22-49	.04	.162	.959
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.29	.170	.212
		50+	.03	.132	.967
	22-49	11-21	-.29	.170	.212
		50+	-.26	.173	.307
	50+	11-21	-.03	.132	.967
		22-49	.26	.173	.307
Creole	11-21	22-49	.10	.156	.791
		50+	.15	.121	.450
	22-49	11-21	-.10	.156	.791
		50+	.04	.159	.958
	50+	11-21	-.15	.121	.450
		22-49	-.04	.159	.958
French	11-21	22-49	.13	.206	.813
		50+	1.15(*)	.160	.000
	22-49	11-21	-.13	.206	.813
		50+	1.03(*)	.210	.000
	50+	11-21	-1.15(*)	.160	.000
		22-49	-1.03(*)	.210	.000
English	11-21	22-49	.08	.242	.944
		50+	.66(*)	.188	.002
	22-49	11-21	-.08	.242	.944
		50+	.58	.247	.054
	50+	11-21	-.66(*)	.188	.002
		22-49	-.58	.247	.054

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.14: Opinions Regarding Language Use when Reading for Pleasure

(by age) Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

5.1.3.4 Socioeconomic Activity

Q.15: According to respondents (distinguished by both age and gender), what languages can be used in post offices?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, opinions regarding language use in post offices as variable.

(ii) N = 124, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	23	53
22-49	19	6	25
50-over	26	20	46
Total	75	49	124

(iii) This is the full complement of respondents, but since the number of females in the age range 22-49 is 6, a comparison between this age range and the age ranges 11-21 and 50 and above is not undertaken.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in opinions regarding language use in post offices amongst groups in both age and gender, and in age-gender interaction ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.010	2240.587	5.000	114.000	.000
Age	.666	5.138	10.000	228.000	.000
Gender	.793	5.946	5.000	114.000	.000
Age*Gender	.760	3.348	10.000	228.000	.000

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between age groups in Bhojpuri and Hindi, but not the other languages; that gender differences exist in Bhojpuri and Creole only, and that there is an interaction with age and gender in Hindi, Creole and English.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - indicate a significant difference in means scores between the age group 50 and over and both of the younger age groups, in the Indian languages. With Hindi, respondents in the age group 50 and above have a higher means score ($\underline{M} = 3.04$) than those from the age groups 11-21 ($\underline{M} = 2.55$) and 22-49 ($\underline{M} = 2.20$). This ordering of age groups holds for responses to Bhojpuri, in that the age group 50 and above is the most positive ($\underline{M} = 3.28$), followed by the age groups 11-21 ($\underline{M} = 2.58$) and 22-49 ($\underline{M} = 2.32$).

Gender. Males have higher means scores than females in their opinions regarding the use of both Bhojpuri (Male: $\underline{M} = 2.91$; Female: $\underline{M} = 2.61$) and Creole (Male: $\underline{M} = 3.81$; Female: $\underline{M} = 3.69$), and it is noticeable that this is the case across all age groups. Significantly, the females in the age group 50 and above do not achieve a means score greater than the males in Bhojpuri, as might have been anticipated from an inspection of previous analyses.

Age and gender. A fairly complex set of patterns emerges from an analysis of age-gender interaction. With Hindi, males are more positive in the age group 11-21 than females (Male: $\underline{M} = 2.70$; Female: $\underline{M} = 2.35$), but this position is reversed in the age group 50 and above (Male: $\underline{M} = 2.77$; Female: $\underline{M} = 3.40$) - both details being consistent with previous research findings. With Creole, males have higher means scores than females in both the age groups 50 and above (Male: $\underline{M} = 3.85$; Female: $\underline{M} = 3.80$) and 11-21 (Male: $\underline{M} = 3.77$; Female: $\underline{M} = 3.74$), although it should be pointed out that the difference in opinions over Creole is much less pronounced than with Hindi. True to the trend that an analysis of the research questions has already identified in Q.3 and Q.14, females in the age group 11-21 display a more positive opinion on the use of English than do males (Female: $\underline{M} = 3.26$; Male: $\underline{M} = 3.17$), and a predictable pattern is re-affirmed with English amongst the age group 50 and above, with males achieving a higher means score than females (Male: $\underline{M} = 3.54$; Female: $\underline{M} = 2.85$) (For parallels with respect to English, see the analysis of age-gender interaction for Q.14, p.360).

Summary and analysis. As concerns opinions regarding perceived language use in post offices, the older age group is evidently the most positive with respect to the Indian languages. Additionally, males are more positive than females as to the use of the vernacular languages - Bhojpuri and Creole - in the age groups 50 and over and 11-21 (Gender differences between these age groups and the age group 22-49 are not analysed, per note (iii), p.365). Briefly stated, the only instance in which females have a higher means score than the males in the non-European languages, is in the evaluation of the perceived use of Hindi by respondents in the age group 50 and above. With English, the situation is less clear-cut, in that females in the age group 11-21 are more positive than males, whereas males are more positive than females in the age group 50 and over.

One cannot but remark that the situation with English is in keeping with a hypothesis that Bhojpuria females from the younger age groups display opinions and attitudes that differ markedly from Bhojpuria males in the evaluation of the European languages. Alongside this, one may add that males tend to be more positive towards the European languages than females in the oldest of the age groups - although there is a perceptible inclination towards English rather than French: The latter point is supported by the fact that the difference between the means scores for males and females in the age group 50 and above for English (Male: \bar{M} = 3.54; Female: \bar{M} = 2.85) is far greater than that which obtains for French (Male: \bar{M} = 3.85; Female: \bar{M} = 3.30).

Both for ease of reference and in order to facilitate a direct comparison with the data in Q.16 - the complementary question to the Q.15 - the following information summarizes how age groups evaluated the use of languages, in ranked order:

Ranking of opinions regarding language use in post offices, by age group (means indicated)		
50 and over	22-49	11-21
Creole (3.83)	Creole (3.68)	Creole (3.75)
French (3.61)	French (3.60)	French (3.47)
Bhojpuri (3.28)	English (3.16)	English (3.21)
English (3.24)	Bhojpuri (2.32)	Bhojpuri (2.58)
Hindi (3.04)	Hindi (2.20)	Hindi (2.55)

Use in Post Offices	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpun	11-21	Male	2.87	.776	30
		Female	2.22	.600	23
		Total	2.58	.770	53
	22-49	Male	2.42	.902	19
		Female	2.00	.000	6
		Total	2.32	.802	25
	50+	Male	3.31	.471	26
		Female	3.25	.716	20
		Total	3.28	.584	46
	Total	Male	2.91	.791	75
		Female	2.61	.812	49
		Total	2.79	.809	124
Hindi	11-21	Male	2.70	.750	30
		Female	2.35	.714	23
		Total	2.55	.748	53
	22-49	Male	2.26	.806	19
		Female	2.00	.000	6
		Total	2.20	.707	25
	50+	Male	2.77	.765	26
		Female	3.40	.754	20
		Total	3.04	.815	46
	Total	Male	2.61	.787	75
		Female	2.73	.884	49
		Total	2.66	.825	124
Creole	11-21	Male	3.77	.430	30
		Female	3.74	.449	23
		Total	3.75	.434	53
	22-49	Male	3.84	.375	19
		Female	3.17	.408	6
		Total	3.68	.476	25
	50+	Male	3.85	.368	26
		Female	3.80	.410	20
		Total	3.83	.383	46
	Total	Male	3.81	.392	75
		Female	3.69	.466	49
		Total	3.77	.425	124
French	11-21	Male	3.47	.629	30
		Female	3.48	.511	23
		Total	3.47	.575	53
	22-49	Male	3.63	.597	19
		Female	3.50	.548	6
		Total	3.60	.577	25
	50+	Male	3.85	.368	26
		Female	3.30	.733	20
		Total	3.61	.614	46
	Total	Male	3.64	.561	75
		Female	3.41	.610	49
		Total	3.55	.589	124
English	11-21	Male	3.17	.648	30
		Female	3.26	.619	23
		Total	3.21	.631	53
	22-49	Male	3.05	1.224	19
		Female	3.50	.548	6
		Total	3.16	1.106	25
	50+	Male	3.54	.508	26
		Female	2.85	.671	20
		Total	3.24	.673	46
	Total	Male	3.27	.811	75
		Female	3.12	.666	49
		Total	3.21	.757	124

Q.15: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Post Offices

(by age and gender) Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Use in Post Offices)	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpun	670.912	1	670.912	1431.609	.000
	Hindi	623.128	1	623.128	1137.922	.000
	Creole	1277.000	1	1277.000	7631.327	.000
	French	1171.177	1	1171.177	3569.974	.000
	English	975.485	1	975.485	1796.857	.000
Age	Bhojpun	20.116	2	10.058	21.462	.000
	Hindi	14.157	2	7.079	12.927	.000
	Creole	1.333	2	.667	3.984	.021
	French	.278	2	.139	.424	.655
	English	.088	2	.044	.081	.922
Gender	Bhojpun	3.309	1	3.309	7.060	.009
	Hindi	.001	1	.001	.001	.973
	Creole	1.459	1	1.459	8.721	.004
	French	1.154	1	1.154	3.517	.063
	English	.056	1	.056	.103	.748
Age * Gender	Bhojpun	2.126	2	1.063	2.268	.108
	Hindi	6.365	2	3.183	5.812	.004
	Creole	1.571	2	.786	4.695	.011
	French	1.934	2	.967	2.948	.056
	English	5.680	2	2.840	5.231	.007

Q.15: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Post Offices
(by age and gender) Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Use in Post Offices)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	.26	.166	.252
		50+	-.70(*)	.138	.000
	22-49	11-21	-.26	.166	.252
		50+	-.96(*)	.170	.000
	50+	11-21	.70(*)	.138	.000
		22-49	.96(*)	.170	.000
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.35	.180	.134
		50+	-.50(*)	.149	.003
	22-49	11-21	-.35	.180	.134
		50+	-.84(*)	.184	.000
	50+	11-21	.50(*)	.149	.003
		22-49	.84(*)	.184	.000
Creole	11-21	22-49	.07	.099	.733
		50+	-.07	.082	.663
	22-49	11-21	-.07	.099	.733
		50+	-.15	.102	.325
	50+	11-21	.07	.082	.663
		22-49	.15	.102	.325
French	11-21	22-49	-.13	.139	.627
		50+	-.14	.115	.463
	22-49	11-21	.13	.139	.627
		50+	-.01	.142	.998
	50+	11-21	.14	.115	.463
		22-49	.01	.142	.998
English	11-21	22-49	.05	.179	.962
		50+	-.03	.148	.975
	22-49	11-21	-.05	.179	.962
		50+	-.08	.183	.902
	50+	11-21	.03	.148	.975
		22-49	.08	.183	.902

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.15: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Post Offices (by age)

Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.16: According to respondents (distinguished by both age and gender), what languages can be used in banks?

(i) Two-way MANOVA: Age and gender as factors, opinions regarding language use in banks as variable.

(ii) N = 124, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	23	53
22-49	19	6	25
50-over	26	20	46
Total	75	49	124

(iii) This is the full complement of respondents, but since the number of females in the age range 22-49 is 6, a comparison between this age range and the age ranges 11-21 and 50 and above is not undertaken.

(iv) A multivariate test using Wilks' Lambda indicates that there are significant differences in opinions regarding language use in banks amongst groups in both age and gender, and in age-gender interaction ($p \leq .05$).

Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	.005	4302.423	5.000	114.000	.000
Age	.784	2.951	10.000	228.000	.002
Gender	.849	4.059	5.000	114.000	.002
Age*Gender	.657	5.328	10.000	228.000	.000

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that these differences obtain between the oldest of the age groups and the two younger age groups in Bhojpuri and Hindi; that gender differences exist in Bhojpuri and French only, and that there is an interaction with age and gender in all languages other than Bhojpuri.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - indicate a significant difference in means scores between the

age group 50 and over and both of the younger age groups in the Indian languages, a situation that has strong similarities with opinions regarding language use in post offices (Q.15). In Bhojpuri, the means score for the age group 50 and over ($\underline{M} = 2.20$) is higher than those for the age groups 22-49 ($\underline{M} = 1.80$) and 11-21 ($\underline{M} = 1.62$). The older group has the highest means score for Hindi also ($\underline{M} = 2.41$), but the order amongst the remaining two age groups is not the same as with Bhojpuri: The age group 11-21 is more positive towards Hindi ($\underline{M} = 2.04$) than the age group 22-49 ($\underline{M} = 1.96$). This contrast with the opinions expressed regarding language use in post offices where, in both Bhojpuri and Hindi, the oldest age group was the most positive in its evaluation and the age group 22-49 the least positive.

Gender. Males have a higher means score than females in their opinions of the use of Bhojpuri in banks (Male: $\underline{M} = 2.0$; Female: $\underline{M} = 1.67$), and - in a curious reversal of a trend that has been observed in previous research questions - in the use of French (Male: $\underline{M} = 3.96$; Female: $\underline{M} = 3.86$). The following observations, which relate to the present question, are equally true of Q.15 (subject to differences in means values):

- a. The highest means score in Bhojpuri is that of males of the age group 50 and above ($\underline{M} = 2.31$).
- b. The highest means score for Hindi is that of females in the age group 50 and above ($\underline{M} = 2.7$).
- c. The highest means score for French is that of males (Age groups 22-49 and 50 and above: $\underline{M} = 4.0$).

A further observation is appropriate, not only inasmuch as it echoes the findings on language use on post offices, but because of the resonances with analyses from previous research questions.

- d. The highest means score for English is amongst males in the age group 50 and above ($\underline{M} = 4.0$).

It should be noted that a means score of 4.0 is the highest possible.

Age and gender. Although males have higher means scores than females in French (Male: \underline{M} = 3.96; Female: \underline{M} = 3.86) and English (Male: \underline{M} = 3.89; Female: \underline{M} = 3.86), it does not follow that this gender effect holds across all age groups. Certainly, male respondents from the oldest of the age groups achieve the highest possible means scores in both European languages, but in the age group 11-21, it is the females who have the higher means scores in French (Female: \underline{M} = 3.96; Male: \underline{M} = 3.9) and English (Female: \underline{M} = 3.96; Male: \underline{M} = 3.83). The position with Hindi and Creole is similarly more complex than a glib analysis allows, for whilst statistics indicate that males have higher means scores than females in both languages, that is only seen to be partially true when the data are analysed in terms of age-gender interaction: In Hindi, males in the age group 11-21 have a higher means score (\underline{M} = 2.33) than females (\underline{M} = 1.65), but in the age group 50 and above, females have a higher means score (\underline{M} = 2.70) than males (\underline{M} = 2.19). In Creole, as with Hindi, males from the 11-21 age group parallel the general gender effect, in that they have a higher means score (\underline{M} = 3.37) than females (\underline{M} = 3.22); this situation is nevertheless reversed in the age group 50 and above, where females have a higher means score (\underline{M} = 3.40) than males (\underline{M} = 3.15).

Summary and analysis. As with Q.15, a summary is provided of the opinions on the use of languages, in ranked order:

Ranking of opinions regarding language use in banks, by age group (means indicated)		
50 and over	22-49	11-21
French (3.91)	French (3.92)	French (3.92)
English (3.91)	English (3.80)	English (3.89)
Creole (3.26)	Creole (3.60)	Creole (3.30)
Hindi (2.41)	Hindi (1.96)	Hindi (2.04)
Bhojpuri (2.20)	Bhojpuri (1.80)	Bhojpuri (1.62)

Despite differences in means scores, age groups agree in ranking European languages at the top and Indian languages - more specifically, Bhojpuri - at the bottom. The order is in stark contrast to that which obtains for language use in post offices.

An analysis of opinions regarding language use in banks confirms the parallels in language patterns that I have already alluded to, with respect to age, gender, and age-gender interaction. These will be further discussed in the ensuing conclusion, where connections will be established between findings and explanations given under the four headings that accomodated the research questions (*demography, education, sociocultural activity and socioeconomic activity*). For the moment, it is worth clearly stating the following points:

1. The age group 50 and above expresses the most positive opinions on Bhojpuri and Hindi. This somewhat obscures the fact that there are important gender distinctions: Whilst males from the age group 11-21 have a higher means score than females from the same age group in the Indian languages, females from the oldest age group have the highest means score of all age groups in Hindi.

2. Whilst females from the 11-21 age group have a higher means score in French and English than males from the same age group, it is statistically the case that males (all age-groups combined) have a higher means score than females in both European languages. Furthermore, males in the age group 50 and above have the highest means scores possible in these languages.

At this juncture, it is important to mention the predominance of the European languages as languages perceived to be the most appropriate in banks. Baker (1972:23) offers the following marvelously concise summary of the use of language in the Mauritian workplace:

In offices French is the dominant language, both spoken and written, but there appears to have been a slight increase in the amount of Kreol spoken. Most office-workers are required to read and write English but only those with regular contacts with non-French-speaking foreigners need to be able to speak this fluently.

Where commerce normally involves selling directly to the public the salesman or woman will normally endeavour to speak to the client in whatever language the client chooses to address him or her. This is most often Kreol but in the more expensive shops French, and occasionally English, may be used. In banking and insurance the use of French is especially extensive.

Whilst English is undoubtedly a language associated with education and employment rather than informal, interpersonal communication, as the present research has demonstrated (Chapter 4.2), the existence of Creole makes French far more accessible; and it is this accessibility, coupled with its high status that serves to consolidate it as the language of choice in work contexts where a degree of formality is required.

Baker's remark concerning the linguistic convergence of the service provider to the customer is well taken: It would be foolish to assume that Mauritian banks operate on the principle that customers should be made to feel unwelcome whilst being separated from their money; on the contrary, one could quite imagine a situation in which bank policy regarding the language of interaction between tellers and customers would be focused on accommodating the customer. This is precisely what Baker surmises (personal communication); he further asserts that the recruitment, in banks owned by Franco-Mauritians, of Indo-Mauritians rather than almost exclusively applicants from the 'General Population', as would formerly have been the case, has resulted in customers feeling more at ease with the use of Creole. There are, to be sure, banks in Mauritius that are not owned by Franco-Mauritians, and where French may never have enjoyed such a cachet. Philip Baker made the very relevant point of mentioning to me the Indian-owned Bank of Baroda, whose presence in Mauritius predates Mauritian independence and whose branches are largely in rural areas.

Whatever the truth of linguistic practices in Mauritian banks, I suggest that associations - like old habits - die hard. Analysis of the questionnaire data regarding language use in banks makes it uncontrovertible that the overwhelming number of respondents assume French and English to be the most appropriate languages of the five languages specified. That this should be so, irrespective of age and irrespective of any basis in fact, strongly indicates that one is not here dealing with a set of attitudes that are grounded in generational differences, but rather attitudes that have been formed out of an acute psychosocial awareness on the part of Mauritian respondents that not all languages enjoy equal socioeconomic status.

Use in Banks	Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Bhojpuri	11-21	Male	1.77	.626	30
		Female	1.43	.590	23
		Total	1.62	.627	53
	22-49	Male	1.95	.780	19
		Female	1.33	.516	6
		Total	1.80	.764	25
	50+	Male	2.31	.679	26
		Female	2.05	.686	20
		Total	2.20	.687	46
	Total	Male	2.00	.717	75
		Female	1.67	.689	49
		Total	1.87	.721	124
Hindi	11-21	Male	2.33	.661	30
		Female	1.65	.647	23
		Total	2.04	.733	53
	22-49	Male	2.00	.816	19
		Female	1.83	.408	6
		Total	1.96	.735	25
	50+	Male	2.19	.402	26
		Female	2.70	.571	20
		Total	2.41	.541	46
	Total	Male	2.20	.637	75
		Female	2.10	.770	49
		Total	2.16	.691	124
Creole	11-21	Male	3.37	.490	30
		Female	3.22	.600	23
		Total	3.30	.540	53
	22-49	Male	3.74	.452	19
		Female	3.17	.983	6
		Total	3.60	.645	25
	50+	Male	3.15	.613	26
		Female	3.40	.598	20
		Total	3.26	.612	46
	Total	Male	3.39	.567	75
		Female	3.29	.645	49
		Total	3.35	.599	124
French	11-21	Male	3.90	.305	30
		Female	3.96	.209	23
		Total	3.92	.267	53
	22-49	Male	4.00	.000	19
		Female	3.67	.516	6
		Total	3.92	.277	25
	50+	Male	4.00	.000	26
		Female	3.80	.410	20
		Total	3.91	.285	46
	Total	Male	3.96	.197	75
		Female	3.86	.354	49
		Total	3.92	.273	124
English	11-21	Male	3.83	.379	30
		Female	3.96	.209	23
		Total	3.89	.320	53
	22-49	Male	3.84	.375	19
		Female	3.67	.516	6
		Total	3.80	.408	25
	50+	Male	4.00	.000	26
		Female	3.80	.410	20
		Total	3.91	.285	46
	Total	Male	3.89	.311	75
		Female	3.86	.354	49
		Total	3.88	.327	124

Q.16: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Banks (by age and gender)

Descriptive Statistics

Source	Dependent Variable (Use in Banks)	Type III Surr of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Intercept	Bhojpuri	305.541	1	305.541	696.181	.000
	Hindi	420.139	1	420.139	1102.779	.000
	Creole	1044.431	1	1044.431	3113.619	.000
	French	1414.487	1	1414.487	20380.023	.000
	English	1387.380	1	1387.380	13437.823	.000
Age	Bhojpuri	8.895	2	4.447	10.134	.000
	Hindi	6.239	2	3.119	8.188	.000
	Creole	.433	2	.216	.645	.527
	French	.122	2	.061	.880	.418
	English	.314	2	.157	1.522	.223
Gender	Bhojpuri	3.767	1	3.767	8.583	.004
	Hindi	.301	1	.301	.790	.376
	Creole	.582	1	.582	1.737	.190
	French	.591	1	.591	8.518	.004
	English	.165	1	.165	1.603	.208
Age * Gender	Bhojpuri	.418	2	.209	.477	.622
	Hindi	8.557	2	4.279	11.231	.000
	Creole	2.350	2	1.175	3.503	.033
	French	.679	2	.340	4.894	.009
	English	.717	2	.358	3.470	.034

Q.16: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Banks (by age and gender)

Between-Subjects Effects

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable (Use in Banks)	(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
Bhojpur	11-21	22-49	-.18	.161	.514
		50+	-.57(*)	.133	.000
	22-49	11-21	.18	.161	.514
		50+	-.40(*)	.165	.046
	50+	11-21	.57(*)	.133	.000
		22-49	.40(*)	.165	.046
Hindi	11-21	22-49	.08	.150	.862
		50+	-.38(*)	.124	.009
	22-49	11-21	-.08	.150	.862
		50+	-.45(*)	.153	.011
	50+	11-21	.38(*)	.124	.009
		22-49	.45(*)	.153	.011
Creole	11-21	22-49	-.30	.141	.090
		50+	.04	.117	.934
	22-49	11-21	.30	.141	.090
		50+	.34	.144	.052
	50+	11-21	-.04	.117	.934
		22-49	-.34	.144	.052
French	11-21	22-49	.00	.064	.997
		50+	.01	.053	.975
	22-49	11-21	.00	.064	.997
		50+	.01	.065	.994
	50+	11-21	-.01	.053	.975
		22-49	-.01	.065	.994
English	11-21	22-49	.09	.078	.508
		50+	-.03	.065	.913
	22-49	11-21	-.09	.078	.508
		50+	-.11	.080	.336
	50+	11-21	.03	.065	.913
		22-49	.11	.080	.336

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.16: Opinions Regarding Language Use in Banks (by age)

Post-Hoc Effects: Multiple Comparisons

Q.17: Would respondents (distinguished by both age and gender) be content for their children to study Bhojpuri?

(i) Two-way between-groups ANOVA: Age and gender as factors, opinions regarding child's study of Bhojpuri as variable.

(ii) N = 124, distributed as follows:

	Male	Female	Total
11-21	30	23	53
22-49	19	6	25
50-over	26	20	46
Total	75	49	124

(iii) This is the full complement of respondents. The number of females in the age range 22-49 would not be sufficient to allow for a comparison with the age ranges 11-21 or 50 and over, but the issue does not arise, as per point (v).

(iv) Multivariate tests do not apply with ANOVA.

(v) A test of between-subjects effects shows that differences obtain between the 50 and above age group and the two lower age groups, and that there are significant gender differences. There is no significant interaction with age and gender.

Age. Post-hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test - age only - indicate significant differences in the means score of the 50 and above age group ($\underline{M} = 3.89$) and those of the age groups 22-49 ($\underline{M} = 3.16$) and 11-21 ($\underline{M} = 2.79$).

Gender. Males have a higher means score than females in their opinions regarding the study of Bhojpuri by their children (Male: $\underline{M} = 3.43$; Female: $\underline{M} = 3.04$) - a situation that may have been predicted, given the findings stated throughout the 17 questions of the present research.

Summary and analysis. With this, the last of the research questions, it seemed incumbent to elicit information as to the extent to which Bhojpuria respondents would favour the maintenance of Bhojpuri by subsequent generations. An overwhelming majority of respondents had stated, whilst giving their responses, that they would like both themselves and their children to speak all of the languages mentioned in the questionnaire; this had pre-empted the possibility of asking probing questions regarding attitudes towards learning and maintaining particular languages (See questions 78 and 79 of the questionnaire, p.xxxiv for the Creole original, p.xlviii for the English translation). Yet an analysis of questionnaire data revealed that one language stood out as an exception, and that was Bhojpuri.

It is unsurprising that the older respondents exhibit the most positive attitudes towards Bhojpuri as a language that they would wish their children to learn. Throughout the analyses of the research questions, the oldest age group has consistently been the most positive towards Bhojpuri - apart from as a language of prayer, where opinions were negative across all age groups. It is, however, unexpected that the age group 11-21, having paralleled the language practices of the oldest age group to a far greater extent than has the age group 22-49, should diverge so sharply on this issue. Unexpected too is the fact that, contrary to popular Mauritian belief, it is the male respondents more than the female respondents who give the more positive replies to a question that is inextricably linked to language maintenance and language shift.

When interacting with the Bhojpuria respondents, one becomes aware of a certain blasé approach to Bhojpuri and Creole as vernacular languages: Whilst important, either for reasons of affirming cultural identity or for speaking to other Mauritians, both Bhojpuri and Creole are not associated as languages that need to be formally acquired; they are 'picked up' in the course of things. Needless to say, whilst that may be true of Creole, the undoubted lingua franca of Mauritius, it does not hold for Bhojpuri - a language of intimacy, as Unnuth and Ramyeed have suggested (Chapter 4.1.3), but one that is destined, ironically, to be rendered obsolete through insouciance.

Dependent Variable: Would you be happy for your child to study/learn Bhojpuri?

Age	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
11-21	Male	3.03	1.273	30
	Female	2.48	.947	23
	Total	2.79	1.166	53
22-49	Male	3.42	.838	19
	Female	2.33	.816	6
	Total	3.16	.943	25
50+	Male	3.88	.588	26
	Female	3.90	.308	20
	Total	3.89	.482	46
Total	Male	3.43	1.029	75
	Female	3.04	1.020	49
	Total	3.27	1.039	124

Q.17: Opinions Regarding Child's Study of Bhojpuri (by age and gender)

Descriptive Statistics

Dependent Variable: Would you be happy for your child to study/learn Bhojpuri?

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Age	33.803	2	16.902	21.416	.000
Gender	6.887	1	6.887	8.726	.004
Age * Gender	4.413	2	2.206	2.796	.065

Q.17: Opinions Regarding Child's Study of Bhojpuri (by age and gender)

Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Would you be happy for your child to study/learn Bhojpuri?

Tukey HSD

(I) Age	(J) Age	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.
11-21	22-49	-.37	.216	.208
	50+	-1.10(*)	.179	.000
22-49	11-21	.37	.216	.208
	50+	-.73(*)	.221	.003
50+	11-21	1.10(*)	.179	.000
	22-49	.73(*)	.221	.003

Based on observed means.

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Q.17: Opinions Regarding Child's Study of Bhojpuri (by age)

Post-Hoc Tests

CONCLUSION

Summary of Research Findings

In Chapter 1.2.1, I stated my position regarding the importance of linguistic diversity and the need to preserve modes of expression that reflect unique world-views. But this would not appear to coincide with the perspective, as I understand it, of Bhojpurias in Mauritius. Certainly, responses to the questionnaire administered revealed that the majority of Bhojpuria respondents indicated a desire for their children to speak Bhojpuri (see Q.17, p.379), yet many incongruities and paradoxes came to light in the analysis of the language practices and language attitudes of this community. Whilst Bhojpuria respondents appeared to want ensuing generations to maintain a knowledge of Bhojpuri, the patterns of language use that have been identified strongly suggest that the domains and contexts where Bhojpuri holds sway and is perceived as being appropriate are limited to the informal, non-educational and non-economic. Interview data supplied by Lutchmee Parsad Ramyead (Chapter 4.1.3) provides confirmation of the opinions of other Bhojpuria informants such as Abhimanyu Unnuth and Moonishwurlall Chintamunnee - respected Hindi author and academic respectively - to the effect that Bhojpurias perceive their ancestral language as important in terms of intimacy, and continue to feel an emotional attachment to it. But sentiment is one thing, linguistic pragmatism quite another: Whilst valuing the contribution of Bhojpuri to the maintenance of Bhojpuria identity, Bhojpurias hold the language in evident low esteem when evaluated alongside Hindi, Creole, French and English. My purpose behind including an overview of migration and settlement in Mauritius (Chapter 3.1) was to demonstrate that the social conditions created by plantocratic interests have had the most profound effects not only on the way that Bhojpurias have lived and worked but also on how, as a community, Bhojpurias have created a sense of ethnolinguistic identity and adjusted their linguistic repertoire as a response to the Mauritian experience.

As the present research draws to an end, it is useful to summarize the findings that have arisen from an analysis of the questionnaire data in Chapter 5 and to do this within the context of a broader discussion that incorporates key points discussed in earlier chapters together with theoretical perspectives. To this end, summaries and discussions are provided of the areas of investigation that were identified in the Research Outline (Chapter 1.2.3: Research Questions); these summaries and discussions are cross-referenced with sections that contain relevant, substantiating information. The present research ends with a section appropriately entitled Concluding Remarks, where I make some personal observations regarding the future of research in language maintenance and language shift not only in Mauritius but elsewhere.

Demography

An analysis of the questionnaire data (Q.1, pp.304-308) shows that, in gender terms, Bhojpuria males have a greater self-perception of their proficiency in Bhojpuri than females. Analysed according to age, this is true for the age group 11-21 but does not hold for the age group 50 and over. As regards the claimed use of Bhojpuri in informal, domestic contexts (Q.2, pp.309-313), males again have a higher means score - this time in all age groups - and females have a correspondingly higher means score in French in all age groups. It is important to note that males are also more positive than females in their perceived use of Hindi, whilst females are more positive than males in all groups as concerns the perceived use of English. These findings are not in accordance with what I had anticipated, since the opinion often expressed by Mauritian respondents and informants throughout my period of fieldwork was that Bhojpuri is used predominantly by old women, in domestic contexts.

Even when dealing with people outside of the familial, domestic environment (Q.3, pp.314-318), males in the age group 11-21 continue to achieve higher means scores than females in the same age group in their perceived use of both Indian

languages, with the same pattern-reversal for the age group 50 and above as with Q.1, where it is the females who are the more positive in their responses for Indian languages. An interesting pattern has already become evident in the data: Males are more positive than females towards the use of the Indian languages in general, as borne out by the youngest age group, although females from the oldest of the age group tend to be an exception to this. With the European languages, females in the youngest age group are more positive than the males but, again, this does not hold with the older age group. In effect, the patterning is that of older females with younger males and older males with younger females, as the following general schema illustrates:

	M 11-21	M 50 & over	F 11-21	F 50 & over
Indian languages (Bhojpuri and Hindi)	✓	x	x	✓
European languages (French and English)	x	✓	✓	x

(The responses in terms of ✓/x are relative to the same age group in the corresponding gender. The age group 22-49 has not been included, due to the paucity of females in this group).

The association between self-identification as Hindu and perceived proficiency in both Bhojpuri and Hindi is strongly indicated by respondents (Q.4, pp.319-322), as is self-identification as Hindu and the perceived appropriateness of Bhojpuri and Hindi as languages of interaction in the home (Q.5, pp.323-326). This lends a good deal of support to the assertion that the association *Hindi=Hindu*, as stated by King (1994:127 - see also p.388 of the present research), is valid also in the Mauritian sociolinguistic environment. It ought to be pointed out that, since opinions and attitudes towards Bhojpuri are equal to Hindi in this context, the association *Bhojpuri=Hindu* seems to apply equally. With reference to ethnolinguistic vitality perspectives (see Chapter 2.3.5), it is clear that there is considerable interplay between the notions of demography, language status and sociohistoric status.

Education

Some fascinating and highly unexpected patterns present themselves in the data regarding language practices associated with education (Q.327-333). The youngest and oldest age groups diverge more with the middle age group than with each other, and indicate a much more positive response to the use of Bhojpuri and Hindi in educational contexts than the age group 22-49. The latter group appears to favour French far more, but not English - for which the approval comes from the oldest age group (See p.330). In terms of gender differences, males are more in favour of Bhojpuri in education than females; females rate Bhojpuri the least useful of all five languages, whereas males identify Creole as least useful.

An analysis of CPE results in Chapter 3.2.7 has shown that females have a far better pass rate generally than males, not to mention a higher proportion of 'A' grades, but that the differences between the sexes is less pronounced with English than with Hindi and French (Bhojpuri and Creole do not figure in an analysis of CPE results). Under the circumstances, one may be excused for assuming that academic proficiency is directly responsible for the more positive evaluation of French than English amongst females in the age group 22-49; but there is perhaps another, equally valid explanation.

If Geeta Rughoonundun is correct in her assessment of French as the language of social mobility (see Chapter 4.1.5.2, p.274), the questionnaire data may be revealing the instantiation of the sociological gender pattern identified by Labov (1972) and Milroy (1980), amongst others. Using the phonological variable as the basis for his investigations, Labov (1972) found that women from all social classes and of all ages use a higher proportion of 'standard' variants than males. In the speech community that Labov was researching, standard forms equated with the language of the elite, which therefore suggested that women were engaging in linguistic behaviour which deviated from the 'normal' behaviour of the community to which they belonged. This, according to Labov, represented an attempt to gain social prestige.

The work of Milroy (1980) substantiates Labov's finding, albeit that the networks approach adopted by Milroy adopts an ethnographic approach in which variation within a group (the working class) forms the focus of investigation rather than the linguistic community in general (See Chapter 2.3.4: Social Networks). The findings of Labov and the Milroys have informed research into bilingual minority communities, such as that of Zentella (1987), where participant observation had yielded results that are of particular significance to the present research. Per Wodak and Benke (1997:144), Zentella (1987) revealed that, in the Puerto Rican community of 'El Barrio' in East Harlem, New York,

women do not regard English monolinguals as Puerto Rican anymore. On the one hand, women preserve older and more conservative forms, even if the language changes, yet on the other hand, women are also leading linguistic changes that correlate with the prestigious language variety.

Wodak and Benke (*ibid.*) also refer to Zentella's claim that 'the most prolific code-switchers are the most competent speakers of the language varieties and that these are mostly women'. I suggest that the seeming paradox of women being forces for linguistic conservatism and innovation at one and the same time is visible in the age differences of respondents: Analyses of the Mauritian data repeatedly attest to females in the age group 11-21 having more positive opinions and attitudes towards the European languages (both prestigious), whilst females in the age group 50 and above are the most positive towards the Indian languages - of which Hindi has a certain prestige, but only in particular cultural contexts. With regards to education, even when Bhojpuri is the mother tongue, Bhojpuria respondents evaluate it less highly than Hindi and considerably less highly than English and French (Qs.6-7, pp.327-335); this is the case irrespective of age or gender.

The questionnaire data further indicates that the study of Hindi has an effect on the perceived value of Bhojpuri in education (Q.8, pp.336-337). Quite simply, when the respondent

has formally studied Hindi, he/she is more likely to evaluate Bhojpuri negatively. As obvious as this may appear, it does, however, cast doubt on the Bhojpuri/Hindi relationship which many Mauritians (including Ramyeed, Unnuth and Chintamunnee) have expressed as being one of mutual support. If Bhojpuri and Hindi are indeed to be viewed as two cousins who at some point in their relationship 'work in tandem', as stated by G.J. (Chapter 4.1.5.1, p.265), one may suppose that it is the Hindi cousin who will eventually secure white collar work whilst the Bhojpuri cousin is left behind to labour in the sugar-cane fields.

Sociocultural Activity

Question 11 of the questionnaire (pp.342-347) elicited responses on the perceived appropriateness of languages in situations that were informal and domestic as opposed to educational, in order to detect any contrast between educational and non-educational contexts. A sharp differentiation was evident both in terms of age and gender, with males in the 11-21 age group evaluating Hindi more highly than males in the age group 22-49, and with females in the 11-21 age group evaluating Creole and French far more highly than males of the same age group. In effect, males are more positive than females in their perceptions of the appropriateness of both of the Indian languages, which is the pattern we observe in educational contexts also.

Patterns that I had already begun to detect in terms of perceived proficiency, appropriateness in educational contexts and appropriateness in domestic contexts continued to be visible in analyses of the data regarding language use at weddings (Q.12, pp.348-353). Males in the age group 11-21 are, here also, more positive than females about the use of Bhojpuri, although the positive evaluations of Bhojpuri rise in accordance with age, and it is the females in the oldest age group who have the highest means score for Bhojpuri. The same patterning identified in research questions 1 and 3 obtains between older males/younger females on the one hand, and older females/younger males on the other (See the illustration on p.383). Whilst

females (all age groups combined) are more positive about the use of French, the use of English is viewed more positively by males than by females; this I found rather interesting, given that it appears to conflict with the findings of Milroy with respect to gender and the use of prestige forms. Why, if both French and English are prestigious languages, should there be a tendency for females to be more positive towards French and for males to be more positive towards English? I assert that it is important to draw a distinction between *sociocultural* prestige and *socioeconomic* prestige, In Mauritius, French is associated with the economically powerful Franco-Mauritian community, and with the expression of high culture and *belles lettres*. English is more egalitarian, in the sense that it is not associated with any particular ethnic group, or with a high culture that has historically been cultivated on Mauritian soil. English is prestigious, certainly, but the association is with international trade and administration, not with refinement and cultural expression. Politically, English has served to express Indo-Mauritian dissatisfaction at Franco-Mauritian dominance. Ramharai (1998:99) puts this point concisely when he states that

[s]ince Whites and Coloureds (in the second half of the 19th century) chose the French language to defend their rights and their cultural heritage, the Indians used English, first to make themselves heard by the authorities at the beginning of the 20th century, and later to establish a certain identity in their writings.

I posit that English is more popular amongst males than females because it does not have the same connotation of social climbing and of being in accordance with Franco-Mauritian sociolinguistic practices. English represents, for male Bhojpurias, the language of Indo-Mauritian assertiveness and self-determination - and that is its chief appeal; the advantages that it offers in terms of education and employment are merely secondary. In this sense, the use of English serves as a rejection of French as a prestige language in a way that brings to mind Milroy's analysis of the use of non-standard linguistic forms amongst males as an affirmation of group solidarity.

An analysis of research question 13 (pp.354-358) establishes that Hindi is overwhelmingly the language perceived as appropriate for prayer, irrespective of gender and subject only to minor fluctuations between the age groups. Chapter 4.2.1 contains an illustration of the sensitivity of Mauritians over matters relating to religious identity, and it is important at this juncture to consider the strong associations in Mauritius between a given religion and a language. The attitudes that Bhojpuria respondents expressed, both in their questionnaire answers and in more informal ways, show a striking similarity to those historically attested in the Indian homeland. Writing on the founding of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, a North Indian Hindu organization devoted to the promotion of Hindi in the Devanagari script, King (1994:127) remarks that

many of the Sabha's activities aimed at attaching value to Hindi, Nagari, and a literature which glorified a Hindu past, thus implicitly expressing a Hindu communalism and supporting the equation Hindi = Hindu.

This seems astoundingly familiar to the approach taken by the Arya Samaj movement in Mauritius, and not without reason. The Nagari Pracharini Sabha was founded in 1893 in Benares, the city most holy to Hindus (and, incidentally, located on the western periphery of the Bhojpuri-speaking area of North India), which post-dated the foundation of the Arya Samaj by eighteen years. But the Arya Samaj had not restricted its sphere of activities to the Punjab, proving instead to have wide appeal all over India - and beyond. The Arya Samaj inevitably made common cause with the Hindi-Nagari campaign, since literacy was an utmost priority for Arya Samajists. Kaithi script (see Chapter 1.1.7.3) did not have a broad enough distribution in India, so its use in the promotion of literacy was not advocated, whilst Urdu, being visually Perso-Arabic, was strongly associated with Islam. One may add, for good measure, that an analysis of various forms of Indian Bhojpuri, as they appear in Grierson (1903), indicates a high proportion of words of Perso-Arabic origin (Chapter 1.1.7.5). If these were representative of the forms of Indic

speech that contributed to the *jahāji* language (that is, the composite Eastern Hindi/'Bihari' dialect used on the ships bringing indentured labourers from India to Mauritius) which subsequently became identified as 'Bhojpuri' in Mauritius, such speech would have been subject to derogation amongst proponents of the sanskritized, 'purer' Hindi of the Arya Samaj.

If any literacy practices were to be promoted in an Indian language, amongst the majority Hindu Indian population of indentured labourers in Mauritius, Hindi was the natural choice (This does not, of course, hold true for Marathis, Telugus and Tamils, who had recourse to their own literary languages). Nor was this choice unilateral. In Chapter 1.1.4 (p.33) I explained how the Arya Samaj was described as paying 'sedulous attention' to the cultivation of Hindi; but in Chapters 3.2.3 - 3.2.5, it was explained that the Bhojpuria population did not itself favour the use of Bhojpuri as a medium of education. The promotion of Hindi by Arya Samajists would not, therefore, have met with any appreciable resistance from Hindu Bhojpurias.

As concerns an analysis of literacy practices for pleasure (Q.14, pp.359-363), it is evident that the oldest age group has the greatest vitality perceptions regarding both Bhojpuri and Hindi. Females within this age group are the most positive towards Bhojpuri, followed by males in the age group 11-21; this adheres to the patterning that I have already identified in the analysis of previous research questions. Contrasted with the other languages, Bhojpuri is perceived by all age groups - apart from the oldest female group - as the language least appropriate for literacy practices; even Creole elicits more positive responses in this context. This almost certainly reflects an awareness that Creole is becoming more visible on the Mauritian linguistic landscape. The present research does not have the scope to explore the linguistic landscape (for which separate research is ongoing), but data collected on newspaper news items and advertisements, commercial street posters and billboards, public notices warning against the perils of driving whilst drunk, public notices on road safety, public notices on AIDS and sexually transmitted diseases, and graffiti are all well

attested and well represented in Creole using a variety of transcription methods. The existence of organizations such as *Ledikasyon Pu Travayer*, which make newspapers and publications available in Creole, and of individuals such as Dev Virahsawmy, who translate plays and write short stories and novels in Creole, the Mauritian lingua franca is rising to prominence.

Bhojpuri, by contrast to Creole, remains the 'invisible language', despite the existence of the Bhojpuri Institute: During the entire time of my fieldwork in Mauritius, I located only one example of Bhojpuri in writing, outside of conference circuits, and this was arguably not Bhojpuri at all, but romanized Hindi. In and around the town of Triolet, in Pamplemousses district, several trees and walls had been daubed with graffiti in white paint stating: DAYAL MAHACHOOR ('Dayal (a politician) [is a] big thief'). Even English provided more examples of graffiti than did Bhojpuri - although, admittedly, this type of graffiti tended to be restricted to short, lewd expressions of amorous interest, and the eulogizing of various English football teams (predominantly Manchester United) indicative of the importance of football in Mauritius, as mentioned in Chapter 4.2.1, pp.276-277.

I consider it significant that the male respondents to the questionnaire are less positive than the females in their perceptions of Bhojpuri as a language in which they read (or could read) for pleasure. Hitherto in my analyses, males have exhibited higher vitality perceptions of Bhojpuri than females; here, this trend is reversed. This cannot be accounted for on the basis that males indicated a preference for Creole instead of the Indian languages; were that so, males would be less in favour of Hindi than females, which is not the case: An analysis of the data shows that males are slightly more positive about Hindi than females, and females slightly more positive than males with regards to Creole. English is considerably more popular with males than females (although, in keeping with earlier research findings, the youngest females are more positive than the youngest males), whilst females have a higher perceived use of French for literacy purposes than males.

Socioeconomic Activity

The present research elicit information in Mauritius that would permit an analysis of distinctions in language use between contexts that were broadly cultural and those that could not be construed as involving expressions of cultural identity. Preliminary reading, both on the Mauritian linguistic situation and on research undertaken in other parts of the world, had made abundantly clear the importance of taking socioeconomic factors into account. The question as to how to elicit such data was not, however, as obvious as its need. Since I wished to gather information from as representative a cross section of the Bhojpuria community as possible, for the methodological reasons explained in Chapter 1.2.4, questions could not be asked relating to interaction with employers, employees or colleagues: many of the respondents to the questionnaire were pupils in secondary and tertiary education, unemployed, self-employed, housewives, or retired. How to get to the grain regarding language practices in contexts where financial transactions were involved was therefore somewhat problematic. To this end, paired questions were devised that would be comprehensible to respondents, by eliciting information in two environments where money is handled and transactions are made for something other than foodstuffs, household goods or luxury items. Having to factor in variables according to the nature of such purchases and the prestige of the store involved would have been vexatious, as the obvious criticisms of Labov's study of rhoticity in New York department stores demonstrates. The decision was felicitous, in that the data elicited reveal extraordinary differences in the language practices of the respondents that I consider to be not only of the utmost significance, but also epitomizing the language attitudes of Bhojpurias and corroborating the discussions and analyses of the qualitative data brought together in the present research.

When questioned about their use of particular languages in post offices (Q.15, pp.364-369), respondents clearly indicated, across all age groups, that Creole and French are used more often by them than the other languages. There is a single

exception to this, in that females in the age group 50 and above evaluate Hindi more highly than French. The pre-eminence of Creole, however, is not controverted by any age group (Although descriptive statistics, as given of p.367, indicate that females in the age group 22-49 evaluate French and English more highly than Creole, this is not statistically significant since there are only 6 female respondents in this group). In terms of gender, males have a higher means score in Bhojpuri than females, and this follows a trend already identified. Surprisingly, with Hindi, it is the females who have the higher means score, although a closer analysis of the data reveals that this position is statistically influenced by the markedly pro-Hindi responses of females in the age group 50 and above; in both of the other age groups, males have the higher means scores in Hindi. A further two findings are in keeping with general patterns identified throughout my analysis of the research data: Here again, males from the age group 50 and above evaluate the use of English more highly than females from the same age group (the differences in French being statistically non-significant); secondly, males from the 11-21 have higher means scores in Hindi than females of same age group (with no statistical significance for Bhojpuri).

It is illuminating that when the same question is asked regarding language use in banks (Q.16, pp.370-377), Creole is no longer given as the leading language and the two European languages rise in perceived importance - English the more sharply, since it is ranked neither first nor second as the language used in post offices (See summarized information, pp.366/372). The perceptions that the age group 50 and over has of the use of Bhojpuri in the post offices vanishes when the context becomes that of the bank, and there is a consensus between all age groups that Bhojpuri is the least useful of all languages - all age groups, that is, apart from males in the oldest age group, who evaluate Bhojpuri more highly than Hindi and thereby designate Hindi as the least useful language in banks. Once more, it is the males who have the higher means score with respect to the use of the Indian languages. Whilst

the males do not challenge the position of the European languages and, similarly to the females, place Creole above both Hindi and Bhojpuri, the means score for males in Hindi is higher than that of the females in all cases except the age group 50 and above, as mentioned; for Bhojpuri, the means score for males is higher without exception. As with Q.15, a pattern, now well established, reaffirms itself: Males from the age group 50 and above evaluate the use of French and English more highly than females from the same age group, and males from the 11-21 have higher means scores in Hindi than females of same age group (with no statistical significance for Bhojpuri).

Of particular interest is the fact that males (all age groups combined) have a higher means score than females for French - although the pattern holds with respect to males having a lower means score than females in the 11-21 age group. Given the earlier discussion of the bias of females towards French and of males towards English (p.387), one might have anticipated that females would have a higher means score in French than males in this particular context. It is crucial to point out that research questions 15 and 16 were worded in such a way that information was elicited on the perceived appropriateness of the use of the five languages, not on perceptions of personal use; these questions clearly reflected that distinction in Creole (See Appendix 4(a), Qs.48-49, p.xxxi):

Eski sa banne langaz la kapav servi avek sa banne dimoun la?

Q.48: Banne dimoun ki travay dan lapos?

Q.49: Banne dimoun ki travay dan labank?

Can the following languages be used with the following people?

Q:48: People who work in the post office?

Q:49: People who work in the bank?

(The composition of the questionnaire pre-dates my familiarity with the Creole transcription advocated by Ledikasyon Pu Travayer, which has been employed in the transcription elsewhere in the present research; but since the questions were delivered verbally, this is a moot point).

In defence of the choice to phrase questions 15 and 16 in such a manner, it is necessary to point out that a close comparison of perceptions of language use in post offices and language use in banks was the aim; to have phrased question 15 in terms of personal language use would have created a situation whereby question 16 would not have been comparable. Evidently, research question 16 could not be reformulated to elicit information from the point of view of personal language use; such a reformulation would have rendered the question inapplicable to the majority of respondents in the age group 11-21 who were schoolchildren and possibly also to the majority of females in the age group 50 and above.

I suggest that the opinions of the male respondents in question 16 must be given the following interpretation: Male attitudes are less positive than female attitudes towards French, due to the association with French as the language of Franco-Mauritians, whose economic importance is disproportionate to the size of the Franco-Mauritian community (especially, one might add, in areas such as banking); 'less positive' does not, in this particular context, equate with achieving lower means scores. The perceived importance of French in environments such as banks is, I posit, a residual stereotype that harps back to the times when bank tellers were predominantly French-speaking, with few Indo-Mauritians amongst them (See pp.373-374). Despite the changes that may have taken place in both staffing and language practices within banks, and irrespective of attitudes towards given languages, French continues to be perceived as being much in use in banks. To what extent an apprehensiveness of Franco-Mauritian economic strength is well-founded is subject to debate; an analysis of the top hundred Mauritian companies in 1990 indicated that 33% of companies were Franco-Mauritian, 27% Sino-Mauritian and only 7% were owned by Hindus (Hanoomanjee, 2000:224). If post-independence Mauritius has been moving towards the creation of a social hierarchy based on economic prosperity rather than ethnicity, Franco-Mauritians would appear to be still in the ascendant. So too, one may argue, their language.

Concluding Remarks

I find myself in agreement with Nancy Dorian that languages are 'frequently despised to death' (Ch. 1.2.1, p.66), although I would rephrase this sentiment, in the Mauritian context, to suggest that languages are frequently disparaged into obsolescence. This being so, one may well wonder about the desirability of researching Bhojpuri in Mauritius on the basis that it is questionable to whom the benefit of such research accrues. To linguists researching maintenance and shift, it may seem regrettable - even deplorable - that Mauritian Bhojpuri seems destined to be added to the list of endangered languages. But what would its loss actually signify to Bhojpurias?

As I come to the end of the present research, I will attempt to summarize the role played by individual languages in occasioning shift in Bhojpuri; the language that most obviously springs to mind as the main protagonist is Creole, the lingua franca and hallmark of Mauritian identity for Mauritians in diaspora. Even within Mauritius, Creole occupies a special role which, in the words of Tsang Mang Kin, is that of providing a linguistic 'meeting place' for the different communities. That opinion is shared by Ramharai (1998:108) who nevertheless alludes to a potential loss of identity as a consequence:

In Mauritian writings in the Kreol language, we find that every character speaks Kreol although each tries to keep his "own culture". However, one wonders how much of the French, African, Indian or Chinese culture (*sic.*) has survived after so many years away from the country of origin. In spite of these racial and cultural differences, a national identity can be said to exist because now everybody meets on equal terms, a situation which did not exist under colonial rule.

In Mauritius, there can be but one lingua franca, on the basis that no other is necessary; much is made by Mauritian writers of the use of Bhojpuri as an early lingua franca by non-Indo-Mauritians (Ch. 1, note 28, pp.97-98), or to the popularity of Bhojpuri songs outside of the Bhojpuria community (Ch. 4.1.5.2, p.272), but these phenomena do not constitute ethnolinguistic vitality. In terms of sociostructural factors, Mauritian Bhojpuri was born and reached infirmity under an unlucky star.

But Creole cannot alone be responsible for the attrition of Bhojpuri. Having, historically, no prestige status, cultural status or institutional support, Creole is nothing other than a contributing factor to the decline of Bhojpuri. The view taken by Alain Ah-Vee (Ledikasyon Pu Travayer) and Pushpa Lallah (Federation of Pre-School Playgroups) is that there is no conflict between Creole and Bhojpuri, and that the creation of a notion of conflict lies with government officials operating with party political manifestos in mind. Some of the data investigated in the present research certainly appear to substantiate this view (Ch. 3.2.7). But the Mauritian jury would appear to be out in determining the culpability of Creole. The celebrated Hindi author Abhimanyu Unnuth (personal communication) puts the blame squarely on non-Bhojpuria Creole speakers by construing an inequality to have existed in the convergence practices of Creole speakers and Bhojpuri speakers to each other's languages; L.P. Ramyeed (Ch.4.1.3) shifts the emphasis to Bhojpurias themselves, who have unconsciously allowed Creole to creep into contexts once reserved for Bhojpuri; G.J. is even more forthright in placing the burden on Bhojpurias (Ch. 4.1.5.1), although the motivation for shifting to Creole is given as societal disparagement of Bhojpuri, engendering feelings of inadequacy amongst Bhojpurias.

The presence of French in the Mauritian linguistic environment appears consistently to be a powerful factor when looking for causes for the occasioning of shift in Bhojpuri. Analyses of questionnaire data unequivocally indicate that French is strongest amongst younger females and older males than among older females and younger males. This is important inasmuch as sociolinguistic studies have repeatedly shown females to be the innovators in language and to have great impact on language change. Clearly, if the mother tongue (or perhaps, in the case of Mauritius, one should say 'the mother's tongues') holds the key to language maintenance, the future is not bright for Bhojpuri: The support for it is weak in sociocultural contexts, weaker still in education and socio-economic ones amongst the mothers of the future. Additionally,

with French there is an association with the bourgeoisie and cultural refinement - an institution and an aspiration that are a world removed from the Bhojpuria cane-cutting community and the simple oral traditions of story telling, wordplay and humour (often crude and occasionally ribald) in Bhojpuri. In that French is the language principally associated with Franco-Mauritians, it is far from 'neutral' in socio-political terms; whereas this might not be the case for English, it should not be forgotten that the latter is the *de facto* national language of Mauritius and, as such, in a prime position to impose sociostructural constraints on the other languages of Mauritius.

Which, then is the culpable language? The vernacular Creole, with its ability to blur and remove ethnic distinctions? French, as the language of refinement, education and economic strength; or English, the language of the school system and of political administration? One language has evaded the list, which should not have done, despite assertions by Bhojpuria interviewees and informants that it does not represent a threat to Bhojpuri. That is Hindi, of course. With Hindi, Bhojpurias have the means of maintaining a cultural identity distinct from other Mauritians; it is even suggested by Eriksen (1986) (cited in Hanoomanjee, 2000:216) that the primary means of determining group distinctiveness is not so much cultural as ethnic:

Mauritians generally perceive themselves as strongly and profoundly different from what they perceive as members of other ethnic groups. This is a feature so pervasive and multifaceted in daily intercourse that it cannot be accounted for as a purely political phenomenon, whether conscious or not.

In Mauritius, as the present research has discussed (Ch.1.1.4), there is a strong connection between *Hindi* and *Hindu*. If Hanoomanjee (2000:219) is correct in suggesting that there is a 'tendency to subsume religion under ethnicity', it is not difficult to arrive at the conclusion that Hindi is the necessary part of an equation that defines Bhojpurias as a separate ethnic group: Bhojpuri = Hindi → Hindi = Hindu → Hindu = ethnicity → Bhojpuri = ethnicity.

Hindi has received institutional support and is an option at the CPE level, which makes it valuable as an educational commodity. In a society where competition for employment is as severe as Mauritius, any potential advantage to be gained by the studying of languages results in the politicization of the language issue at the educational level (Ch.3.2.7). My interview data showed that Mauritians are conscious of the fact that Hindi is a major world language and potentially useful for careers that involve dealings with the Indian market. It is irrelevant to speculate on the validity of the claim that knowledge of Hindi would allow Mauritians access to a vast Asian labour market; it suffices to acknowledge that, for many Mauritians, this would appear to be an extremely important consideration (Ch.4.2.3). Aside from considerations of education and employment, Hindi represents the language of Bollywood films and of Indian popular music. The impact of these, discussed in Chapter 4.1.5.2 (p.274), should not be underestimated in a country where consumer goods such as televisions, video recorders, stereo hi-fi systems, compact disc and DVD players are now within the means of many.

It is evident that the pressures on Bhojpuri come not from one language, or from a particular social factor, but from Creole, French, English and Hindi, and from a wide range of factors that interact between demographic, educational, sociocultural and socioeconomic aspects. But how should the complexity of a linguistic situation such as this be accommodated within research into language maintenance and language shift? In this area of linguistic research, it is evident that the use of models predicting maintenance and shift are acquiring a certain pedigree, especially as they become more refined, but I do not necessarily subscribe to the view that it is desirable - or even possible - to devise a single model that is able to account for the phenomena of language maintenance and language shift. It is, for example, not a simple issue to decide what the individual variables ought to be (informal conversation with grandparents, attitudes towards the use of a given language in primary schools, etc.), but also how such variables should be

incorporated within a domain analytic framework. How, for example, is a researcher to decide whether a conversation between neighbours constitutes a sociocultural activity or a socioeconomic one? To what extent can it be shown that the subject matter of a given conversation has an impact on the language(s) used? Additionally, how does a model account for the complex pattern of situational, contextual, linguistic and interpersonal factors that take place in a conversation where code-switching occurs - and how are the code-switches in question classified?

I am of the opinion that an accurate division into constituent parts, in a model attempting to account for (or predict) language maintenance or language shift, is highly problematic. Religion, ethnicity, education and sociohistoric status may be obvious categories for researchers to establish, but it is unclear to me where, with the Mauritian data, I would have been able to draw the line between any of these, given the amount of overlap and interplay between them. I could propose, with monstrous arrogance, that one ought to consider research on language maintenance and language shift best undertaken with a flexible, integrative, non-theory-specific approach such as the present research instantiates. And that is precisely what I do propose, at least with respect to Mauritius. I have been guided by what I consider to be the most thoroughgoing theoretical approach, Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory (Ch.2.3.5), since I deem it crucial to analyse language maintenance and language shift not merely from a macro-societal perspective - as do the theoretical approaches outlined in Chapter 2.2 - but to take into account the strategies and motivations of the individual speaker of any given language. Certainly, macro-societal approaches are important, since they inform the research as to forces that impact on the linguistic behaviour of the individual in terms of control and support systems. Yet human beings are not automata. To underestimate the role of the language speaker in creating his/her personal linguistic environment is to take a deterministic view that devalues human resourcefulness and perceives people as hapless victims devoid of free will.

I posit that no research on language maintenance and language shift should be considered complete without a thorough investigation of the socio-historical background to the interaction between the languages with which the social group being investigated is in contact. This equates with the *sociological level*, as identified by Allard and Landry, 1992. Subsequent to this, analysis of data on linguistic networks is indispensable, either through participant observation (as per Milroy) or through a combination of questionnaire interviews and interviews where unconstrained data may be elicited (as per the present research). In Allard and Landry's terms, the latter provide details on the *socio-psychological level*. What the researcher ought thereafter to be in possession of is a body of quantitative and qualitative data that may then be analysed within the context of a broader (macro-societal) language survey. I appreciate that there are potential objections to such an approach; Wodak and Benke (1997:148) are of the opinion that such objections may be ideologically based:

Quantitative studies tend to simplify many phenomena; qualitative analyses, on the other hand, often rely on samples which are too small to draw general conclusions. Many categories are defined in a male-oriented way, male linguistic behavior is seen as unmarked, female linguistic behaviour as deviating from the male norm. Most studies are undertaken in English-speaking countries, thus general explanations suffer from Anglo-European ethnocentrism.

I acknowledge that the approach that has been adopted in the present research may be subject to much criticism, in that the focus of the investigation is a particular ethnolinguistic community in a country that, officially at least, prides itself on being a 'salad bowl' of languages, cultures and ethnic groups. I may also be accused of having been too inquisitive about an outmoded ancestral language in a community where the benefits of education, economic prosperity and globalization outweigh consideration of such things. I can only claim in my defence that I did what I thought to be appropriate and ethically acceptable in representing the practices of Bhojpurias as accurately as possible, and did so for the sake of posterity.

Envoi

It was on the penultimate day of my period of fieldwork that I was afforded an opportunity to interview the father of the Hon. Cassam Uteem, President of the Republic of Mauritius. As previous interviews had been, this was revelatory in many ways and indicative of the patient indulgence and generosity of spirit exhibited by my Mauritian respondents and informants throughout the many months that I had been privileged to spend in this unique, beautiful part of the world. Yet the interview was tinged with regret, since I was aware that, despite the lucidity and pride with which 'Dada' Uteem spoke of the Indo-Mauritian experience and of changes within his community, he did so from the perspective of a Bhojpuria who was self-consciously and proudly Muslim. Had I but had more time and a wider brief within which to operate, my research would have included Muslim respondents in my questionnaire, and I would have undertaken to investigate the sociohistorical background of Mauritian Muslims as well as of their Hindu neighbours - siblings in the great diaspora that imperial exigency had promoted and exploited at horrific human cost. But I had made a decision, whilst in the United Kingdom, that the research needed to be focussed: to have considered a broader study would have been to attempt a definitive sociolinguistic account far exceeding the parameters and limitations of a single doctoral thesis.

If one were to look for a single, comprehensible illustration of Bhojpuria language practices, one would perhaps find the best such illustration in the esteemed person of 'Dada' Uteem. Albeit a Muslim, in research that has focussed on Hindus, I firmly believe that 'Dada' is the finest example of how Mauritians determine their language practices and those of their children. 'Dada' is comfortable only with Creole and Bhojpuri and puts time aside to study Arabic, but his son is highly proficient in English and French, as indeed one would expect of the head of state. Yet the Hon. Cassam Uteem is not a Bhojpuri speaker, hence our interview with the father rather than the son. If 'Dada' discouraged the use of Bhojpuri by his children, were his linguistic decisions not, after all, justifiable?

APPENDIX 1(a): Tables of Census Information, 1944-1990.

<i>Language</i>	<i>General Population</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Chinese	-	-	9,931	9,931	2.4
Creole	103,888	44,599	887	149,380	35.6
English	1,373	13	-	1,386	0.3
French	35,512	325	58	35,895	8.5
Hindi	-	219,093	-	219,093	52.3
Other	20	-	-	20	0.0
Not mentioned	2,263	1,211	6	3,480	0.8
<u>Total</u>	<u>143,056</u>	<u>265,241</u>	<u>10,888</u>	<u>419,185</u>	<u>99.9</u>

Table 1: 1944 Census: language habitually spoken.

<i>Language</i>	<i>General Population</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Chinese	1	1	11,260	11,262	2.5
Creole	99,254	94,165	4,287	197,706	44.2
English	589	56	11	656	0.1
French	34,160	1,648	419	36,227	8.1
Gujarati	-		796	796	0.2
Hindi	62	174,409	3	174,474	39.0
Marathi	-	1,341	-	1,341	0.3
Tamil	33	9,448	-	9,481	2.1
Telugu	2	3,562	-	3,564	0.8
Urdu	4	11,791	-	11,795	2.7
<u>Sub total</u>	<u>134,105</u>	<u>297,217</u>	<u>15,980</u>	<u>447,302</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 2: 1952 Census: language currently spoken.

Language	General Population	Indian	Chinese	Total	%
Chinese	9	1	1,669	1,679	0.4
Creole	23,829	190,136	10,796	224,761	50.3
English	10,325	1,336	162	11,823	2.7
French	37,318	16,726	1,408	55,452	12.4
Gujarati	-	418	-	418	0.1
Hindi	236	13,288	37	13,561	3.0
Marathi	4	240	-	244	0.0
Tamil	34	4,990	-	5,024	1.1
Telugu	1	886	-	887	0.2
Urdu	35	7,738	3	7,776	1.7
<u>Sub total</u>	<u>71,791</u>	<u>235,759</u>	<u>14,075</u>	<u>321,625</u>	<u>71.9</u>
No additional language	62,339	61,545	1,908	125,792	28.1
Other				[45] *	0.0
<u>Total</u>	<u>134,130</u>	<u>297,304</u>	<u>15,983</u>	<u>447,462</u>	<u>100.0</u>

* See Appendix 1(b): Note 2(e).

Table 3: 1952 Census: additional language occasionally spoken.

<i>Language</i>	<i>General Population</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Chinese</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Chinese	2	1	12,788	12,791	2.9
Creole	102,902	60,592	2,876	166,370	37.2
English	578	30	7	615	0.1
French	30,431	832	303	31,566	7.0
Gujarati	-	1,167	-	1,167	0.3
Hindi	96	182,513	96	182,612	40.8
Marathi	3	1,732	-	1,735	0.4
Tamil	47	19,645	3	19,695	4.4
Telugu	10	6,150	-	6,160	1.4
Urdu	8	24,604		24,612	5.5
<u>Sub total</u>	<u>134,077</u>	<u>297,266</u>	<u>15,980</u>	<u>447,323</u>	<u>100</u>
Other/Not Mentioned				139	0.0
<u>Total</u>	<u>134,077</u>	<u>297,266</u>	<u>15,980</u>	<u>447,462</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Table 4: 1952 Census: mother tongue.

MOTHER TONGUE			LANGUAGE SPOKEN		
<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>
Chinese	19,484	2.9	Chinese	13,621	2.1
Creole	199,091	29.2	Creole	289,112	45.3
English	1,606	0.2	English	1,824	0.3
French	47,109	6.9	French	53,367	8.3
Gujarati*	1,306	0.2	Gujarati*	734	0.1
Hindi	248,359	36.4	Hindi	206,978	32.4
Marathi	11,533	1.7	Marathi	7,420	1.2
Tamil	44,044	6.5	Tamil	17,970	2.8
Telugu	16,181	2.4	Telugu	6,721	1.1
Urdu	92,276	13.5	Urdu	40,667	6.4
Other	630	0.1	Other	332	0.0
<u>Total</u>	<u>681,619</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>638,746**</u>	<u>100.00</u>

* See Appendix 1(b): Note 3(g).

** See Appendix 1(b): Note 3(h).

Table 5: 1962 Census: mother tongue and language spoken.

LANGUAGE OF FOREFATHERS			LANGUAGE USUALLY SPOKEN		
<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>
Chinese	20,610	2.5	Chinese	9,417	1.1
Creole	272,076	32.9	Creole	428,434	51.9
English	2,410	0.3	English	2,279	0.3
French	36,735	4.5	French	39,240	4.8
Gujarati	2,028	0.2	Gujarati	403	0.0
Hindi	320,889	38.9	Hindi	262,198	31.7
Marathi	16,553	2.0	Marathi	12,036	1.5
Tamil	56,758	6.9	Tamil	29,094	3.5
Telugu	24,234	2.9	Telugu	17,364	2.1
Urdu	71,669	8.7	Urdu	23,740 *	2.9
Other	2,237	0.2	Other	1,994	0.2
<u>Total</u>	<u>826,199</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>826,199</u>	<u>100.0</u>

* See Appendix 1(b): Note 4(e).

Table 6: 1972 Census: language of forefathers and language usually spoken.

LANGUAGE OF FOREFATHERS			LANGUAGE USUALLY SPOKEN		
<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>
Arabic	68,033	7.04	Arabic	1,813	0.19
Bhojpuri	180,983	18.72	Bhojpuri	197,050	20.38
Chinese	20,580	2.13	Chinese	6,156	0.64
Creole	280,377	29.00	Creole	521,950	53.98
English	1,903	0.20	English	2,028	0.21
French	32,627	3.37	French	36,048	3.73
Gujarati	1,707	0.18	Gujarati	531	0.05
Hindi	208,450	21.56	Hindi	111,134	11.49
Marathi	20,412	2.11	Marathi	12,420	1.29
Tamil	66,154	6.84	Tamil	35,646	3.68
Telugu	25,619	2.65	Telugu	15,364	1.59
Urdu	55,347	5.72	Urdu	23,572	2.45
Other *	1,793	0.18	Other	515	0.05
Not stated	2,878	0.30	Not stated	2,636	0.27
<u>Total</u>	<u>966,863</u>	<u>100.00</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>966,863</u>	<u>100.00</u>

* See Appendix 1(b): Note 1(d).

Table 7: 1983 census: language of forefathers and language usually spoken.

<i>Languages</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>of total opulation</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>
Creole + Bhojpuri	48,574	4.75	Arabic	208	0.02
Creole + Chinese	2,055	0.20	Bhojpuri	201,616	19.72
Creole + French	21,326	2.08	Chinese	3,650	0.36
Creole + Hindi	3,426	0.34	Creole	617,630	60.41
Creole + Marathi	1,779	0.17	English	2,232	0.22
Creole + Tamil	5,312	0.52	French	34,343	3.36
Creole + Telugu	1,797	0.18	Gujarati	290	0.03
Creole + Urdu	6,478	0.63	Hindi	12,845	1.25
Creole + other Indian	1,701	0.17	Marathi	7,535	0.74
Bhojpuri + Hindi	20,976	2.05	Tamil	8,002	0.78
Bhojpuri + Urdu	603	0.06	Telugu	6,437	0.63
Bhojpuri + other Indian	374	0.04	Urdu	6,804	0.66
<u>Sub total</u>	<u>114,401</u>	<u>11.19</u>	<u>Sub total</u>	<u>901,592</u>	<u>88.18</u>
			<u>Not stated</u>	<u>6,463</u>	<u>0.63</u>
			B/F	<u>114,401</u>	<u>11.19</u>
			<u>Total</u>	<u>1,022,456</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Table 8: 1990 Census: current language(s).

<i>Languages</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>of total opulation</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>No. of speakers</i>	<i>% of total population</i>
Creole + Bhojpuri	34,356	3.36	Arabic	1,686	0.16
Creole + Chinese	2,268	0.22	Bhojpuri	343,798	33.63
Creole + French	14,943	1.46	Chinese	17,503	1.71
Creole + Hindi	2,281	0.22	Creole	345,802	33.82
Creole + Marathi	1,088	0.11	English	883	0.09
Creole + Tamil	5,981	0.59	French	22,314	2.18
Creole + Telugu	1,163	0.11	Gujarati	2,181	0.21
Creole + Urdu	10,116	0.99	Hindi	38,142	3.73
Creole + other Indian	1,237	0.12	Marathi	17,730	1.73
Bhojpuri + Hindi	32,917	3.22	Tamil	47,946	4.69
Bhojpuri + Marathi	352	0.03	Telugu	21,027	2.06
Bhojpuri + Tamil	498	0.05	Urdu	45,274	4.43
Bhojpuri + Telugu	516	0.05	<u>Sub total</u>	<u>904,286</u>	<u>88.44</u>
Bhojpuri + Urdu	3,553	0.35	<u>Not stated</u>	<u>6,738</u>	<u>0.66</u>
Bhojpuri + other Indian	163	0.02	<u>B/F</u>	<u>111,432</u>	<u>10.90</u>
<u>Sub total</u>	<u>111,432</u>	<u>10.90</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>1,022,456</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Table 9: 1990 Census: ancestral language(s).

APPENDIX 1(b): Notes to Census Information, 1944-1990.

1. (a) The 1944 census is the first census to include language details.

(b) Ethnic communities are differentiated.

(c) Hindi is the only Indian language to appear.

(d) There is no category asking the respondent to list the ancestral language or to indicate the use of any language other than the mother tongue. 'Mother tongue' is defined as the 'language habitually spoken'.

(e) The population surveyed by the 1944 census is 100% for the main island. This does not include the dependency of Rodrigues:

<u>Mauritian pop</u> <u>11 June 1944</u>	<u>Rodriguan pop</u> <u>11 June 1944</u>	<u>Total (main</u> <u>Island)</u>	<u>Pop. surveyed</u>
431,070	(11,885)	419,185	419,185

2. (a) The 1952 census differentiates the ethnic communities.

(b) Four Indian languages have been added alongside Hindi: Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu and Urdu. Marathi is not in fact stated on the 1952 census. Following Stein (1982:225/229) and Baker (1972:13), I interpret the category 'other Indian languages' as indicating mainly Marathi, whilst noting the fact that this is not wholly accurate.

(c) The 1952 census contains categories for 'mother tongue' and 'additional language occasionally spoken'. 'Mother tongue' is defined as 'the language spoken in the individual's home in his early childhood'. This results in repetition of the same language in both categories.

(d) The population surveyed by the 1952 census is 89.24% of the main island. This does not include the dependency of Rodrigues. It additionally excludes those below the age of three.

<u>Mauritian pop</u> <u>30 June 1952</u>	<u>Rodriguan pop</u> <u>30 June 1952</u>	<u>Total (main</u> <u>Island)</u>	<u>Pop. surveyed</u>
514,748	(13,333)	501,415	447,462

(e) I have added a figure of 45 to the category of 'other' in Table 3. This number of replies is missing from the official data, with no explanation given for the shortfall.

3. (a) The 1962 census does not differentiate the ethnic communities linguistically - nor does any subsequent census.

(b) Marathi is included in the list of Indian languages.

(c) There is no category asking respondents to give details on additional languages spoken.

(d) Instruction forms accompanying the census give a definition of the term 'mother tongue' that differs markedly to the 1952 census:

Mother tongue - The language spoken in your home during your early childhood. You may not necessarily have spoken or speak the language at present.

As Baker (1972:12) points out, instructions to sub-enumerators of the 1962 census stated that

[m]other tongue is the language spoken by the forefathers of the respondent, the language that has been spoken in his home when he was a young child. It makes no difference if the respondent does not speak that language now or if he has never spoken it.

Crucially, Baker (*ibid.*) points out that

it is this writer's experience that many Indo-Mauritians understand 'mother tongue' to mean 'language spoken by one's ancestors at the time of their arrival in Mauritius'.

(e) Alongside the category 'mother tongue' - which has in effect become a category specifying for the ancestral language of the respondent - is a category entitled 'language spoken'. An explanatory note defines this as meaning the 'language currently or most often spoken by the individual in his home'.

(f) The population surveyed by the 1962 census is 100% of the main island. This excludes the dependency of Rodrigues but does not exclude (as did the 1952 census) those below the age of three.

<u>Mauritian pop</u> <u>30 June 1962</u>	<u>Rodriguan pop</u> <u>30 June 1962</u>	<u>Total (main</u> <u>Island)</u>	<u>Pop. surveyed</u>
699,954	(18,335)	681,619	681,619

(g) Baker (1972:13) does not indicate Gujarati in his analysis of this census.

(h) It is important to note that a shortfall of 42,873 exists in the responses to the category 'language spoken', representing 6.3% of the population surveyed. It should be understood that the percentages given for % of total population under the heading of 'language spoken' are calculated on the basis that 100% = 638,746.

4. (a) The 1972 census is similar in design to that of 1962.

(b) There is no category asking respondents to give details on additional languages spoken.

(c) The term 'mother tongue' has been abandoned. Two categories exist: 'Language of forefathers' and 'language

usually spoken'. With respect to the latter, the note that appeared in the 1962 census is reissued, defining this as the 'language currently or most often spoken by the individual in his home'.

(d) The population surveyed by the 1972 census is 100% of the main island. This excludes the dependency of Rodrigues.

<u>Mauritian pop</u> <u>30 June 1972</u>	<u>Rodriguan pop</u> <u>30 June 1972</u>	<u>Total (main</u> <u>Island)</u>	<u>Pop. surveyed</u>
850,968	(24,769)	826,199	826,199

(e) Stein (1982:225) quotes a figure of 23,470 for respondents indicating Urdu as the language usually spoken. This contains a transposition error.

5. (a) For the purposes of the 1983 census, the expression 'language usually spoken' is officially defined as 'the language currently or most often spoken by the individual in his home'. The definition has survived intact from the 1962 census (via the 1972 census, where it also appears). It is likely that the term 'mother tongue' has been abandoned due to confusion between mother tongue/ancestral language. The latter is now designated as 'language of forefathers'.

(b) The 1983 census contains no questions on additional languages. Bilingualism - an exceptionally important aspect of Mauritian life - is therefore not reflected.

(c) Bhojpuri is listed for the first time in the 1983 census. The dramatic decrease in the number of respondents returning Hindi as either the language usually/most often spoken by them or as the language of their forefathers clearly demonstrates that, hitherto, Hindi had served as a proxy term for Bhojpuri.

(d) In the 1983 census, the term 'other' - within the section relating to the language of the respondents forefathers - comprises the following:

- 30 languages, each reported by less than 20 respondents, totalling 164.
- A further 13 languages, each reported by less than 100 persons, totalling 634.
- Bengali (118), 'Muslim' (243), Polish (367), Panjabi (142) and Sindhi (125).

(e) The population surveyed by the 1983 census is 100% of the main island.

<u>Mauritian pop</u> <u>31 July 1983</u>	<u>Rodriguan pop</u> <u>31 July 1983</u>	<u>Total (main</u> <u>Island)</u>	<u>Pop. surveyed</u>
999,945	(33,082)	966,863	966,863

6. (a) The 1990 census is the most detailed since 1952. Like the 1952 census, it allows respondents the choice to indicate more than one language, but differs in clearly distinguishing between the language spoken by the respondent and that spoken by his/her ancestor. The ancestral language is defined as the language that would have been spoken by the ancestor of the respondent at the time of arrival in Mauritius.

(b) Bilingualism is far more clearly indicated in this census than in the census of 1952. If one wishes to obtain a figure for the number of people declaring, for example, use of Hindi, one simply adds the figure indicated against Hindi to those indicated against Creole + Hindi and Bhojpuri + Hindi. This two-language declaration is most desirable in censuses that are undertaken in multilingual societies, where asking a respondent to name a single language as his/her habitual language does not capture the phenomenon of

bilingualism and forces the respondent to make an unrepresentative (and uninformative) choice.

(c) The population surveyed by the 1990 census is 100% of the main island.

<u>Mauritian pop</u> <u>31 July 1990</u>	<u>Rodriguan pop</u> <u>31 July 1990</u>	<u>Total (main</u> <u>Island)</u>	<u>Pop. surveyed</u>
1,056,660	(34,204)	1,022,456	1,022,456

APPENDIX 2: Origin of Indian Migrants to Mauritius

<i>District</i>	<i>Number (for Natal) n = 1,384</i>	<i>Percentage (for Natal)</i>	<i>Number (for Fiji) n = 45,439</i>	<i>Percentage (for Fiji)</i>
Basti	98	7.08	6,415	14.12
Gonda	83	6.00	3,589	7.90
Azamgarh	69	4.99	1,716	3.78
Ghazipur	66	4.77	1,127	2.48
Sultanpur	62	4.48	1,747	3.85
Faizabad	55	3.97	2,329	5.13
Patna	52	3.76	644	1.42
Gaya	48	3.47	765	1.68
Allahabad	48	3.47	1,218	2.68
Rai Bareli	46	3.32	1,087	2.39
Lucknow	45	3.25	613	1.34
Gorakhpur	38	2.75	1,683	3.70
Jaunpur	37	2.67	1,188	2.61
Partabgarh	37	2.67	894	1.97
Raipur	37	2.67	744	1.64
Benares	28	2.02	672	1.48
Arrah	25	1.81	(Below one per cent)	
Bara Banki	25	1.81	769	1.69
Monghyr	24	1.73	(Below one per cent)	
Bahraich	23	1.66	750	1.65
Shahabad	23	1.66	1,128	2.48
Jaipur	20	1.44	473	1.04
Unao	19	1.37	556	1.22
Kanpur	18	1.30	583	1.28
Fatehpur	18	1.30	(Below one per cent)	
Mirzapur	16	1.16	527	1.16
Saran	16	1.16	(Below one per cent)	
Ballia	15	1.08	(Below one per cent)	
Hardoi	15	1.08	(Below one per cent)	
<u>Total</u>	<u>1,106</u>	<u>79.90</u>	<u>31,217</u>	<u>68.69</u>

Table 10: Districts Supplying over 1% of Total
of North Indian Migrants: Natal and Fiji
(per Mesthrie 1991:22 and Mishra 1979:21)

<i>Language</i>	<i>Breakdown by dialect</i>		
Bihari	Bhojpuri	500	36.13 %
	Magahi	97	7.01 %
	Maithili	36	2.60 %
		<u>633</u>	<u>45.74 %</u>
Eastern Hindi	Awadhi	447	32.30 %
	Chattisgarhi	39	2.82 %
	Bagheli	6	0.43 %
		<u>492</u>	<u>35.55 %</u>
Western Hindi	Kanauji	69	4.98 %
	Khari Boli	43	3.11 %
	Braj	14	1.01 %
	Bundeli	13	0.94 %
		<u>139</u>	<u>10.04 %</u>
(Other)	Bengali	47	3.39 %
	Rajasthani	17	1.23 %
	Nepali	7	0.50 %
	Oriya	3	0.22 %
	Panjabi	3	0.22 %
	Indeterminate	43	3.11 %
		<u>120</u>	<u>8.67 %</u>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>1,384</u>	<u>100.00 %</u>

Table 11: Language Affiliations of North Indian Migrants to Natal n = 1,384 (Mesthrie 1991:25).

<i>District</i>	<i>Male (%)</i>	<i>Female (%)</i>
Arrah (Shahabad)	22.4	13.9
Benares	2.5	2.4
Chapra (Saran)	4.8	3.0
Chota Nagpur (Ranchi)	6.0	15.8
Bihar/Sahebganj (Gaya)	20.4	11.1
Ghazipur	4.0	1.8
Hazaribagh	4.7	3.0
Muzaffarpur	2.7	0.6
Patna	7.4	2.7
Other	25.1	44.7
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>
Number of Migrants	(2187)	(332)

Table 12: Major Districts of Origin of Sample
of North Indian Migrants to Mauritius, 1842-44

(Brennan et al. 1998:45).

APPENDIX 3(a): Tables on Indian Immigration to Mauritius

Year	Arrivals		Departures	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1834	75	-	4	-
1835	1,182	72	25	1
1836	3,639	184	187	3
1837	6,939	353	114	20
1838	11,567	241	148	6
1839	933	102	170	3
1840	170	9	394	23
1841	499	43	995	94
1842	73	10	2,021	94
1843	30,218	4,307	2,884	108
1844	9,709	1,840	2,312	149
1845	8,918	2,053	1,492	170
1846	5,718	1,621	2,556	204
1847	5,174	656	1,651	133
1848	4,739	656	2,639	376
1849	6,378	1,047	4,298	594
1850	8,436	1,594	3,283	442
1851	8,257	1,763	2,895	374
1852	13,671	3,814	2,034	392
1853	9,877	2,267	1,767	261
1854	14,995	3,489	3,166	509
1855	9,645	3,270	3,702	565
1856	9,130	3,523	4,220	677
1857	8,640	4,085	3,794	809
1858	20,932	9,014	6,707	1,458
1859	31,643	12,754	4,146	971

Table 13: Indian Immigration to Mauritius, 1834-1859
(Ramyeed, 1985: 273-274).

Year	Arrivals		Departures	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1860	9,070	4,216	2,290	543
1861	10,232	3,753	1,786	471
1862	7,440	2,453	1,752	460
1863	3,667	1,587	2,553	667
1864	5,626	1,926	2,692	721
1865	14,910	5,373	2,854	667
1866	3,702	1,894	2,925	890
1867	317	33	2,571	827
1868	1,968	640	1,880	664
1869	1,182	590	1,684	636
1870	2,831	1,245	2,172	670
1871	2,318	974	2,369	705
1872	4,015	1,759	2,788	1,031
1873	5,226	2,388	2,160	875
1874	4,818	2,234	2,874	1,201
1875	1,996	923	2,368	1,055
1876	330	172	2,354	917
1877	1,528	659	1,794	623
1878	3,203	1,623	1,835	527
1879	2,013	1,066	1,926	629
1880	371	213	1,731	614
1881	-	-	1,180	371
1882	805	436	1,466	397
1883	1,283	632	1,766	640
1884	4,450	1,939	1,362	491
1885	246	112	2,891	1,110
1886	511	235	1,649	671
1887	191	73	1,707	643
1888	482	231	1,283	448
1889	3,244	1,298	990	329

Table 14(i): Indian Immigration to Mauritius, 1860-1900
(Ramyeed, 1985: 274-275).

Year	Arrivals		Departures	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1890	2,152	873	827	228
1891	713	278	716	184
1892	-	-	1,129	349
1893	353	132	1,197	457
1894	758	268	754	214
1895	1,249	485	860	275
1896	593	208	858	297
1897	314	112	671	248
1898	-	-	842	264
1899	-	-	564	182
1900	2,094	796	858	293

Table 14(ii): Indian Immigration to Mauritius, 1860-1900
(Ramyeed, 1985: 274-275).

Year	Arrivals		Departures	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1901	3,265	1,309	469	162
1902	1,875	690	462	186
1903	374	134	383	140
1904	1,513	544	413	148
1905	534	186	314	105
1906	463	155	435	180
1907	439	147	366	145
1908	-	-	775	266
1909	-	-	512	174
1910	397	135	403	182
1911	-	-	364	127
1912	-	-	338	119

Table 15: Indian Immigration to Mauritius, 1900-1912
(Ramyeed, 1985: 275).

<i>Period</i>	<i>Arrivals</i>		<i>Departures</i>	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
1834-1859	231,157	58,767	57,604	8,436
1860-1900	106,201	43,829	70,928	23,484
1901-1912	8,860	3,300	5,234	1,934
Total	<u>346,218</u>	<u>105,896</u>	<u>133,766</u>	<u>33,854</u>
	<u>452,114</u>		<u>167,620</u>	

Table 16(i): Summary of Indian Immigration to Mauritius, 1834-1912 (per Ramyeed, 1985).

<i>Period</i>	<i>Arrivals</i>		<i>Departures</i>	
	Males (%)	Females (%)	Males (%)	Females (%)
1834-1859	79.73	20.27	87.23	12.77
1860-1900	70.79	29.21	75.13	24.87
1901-1912	72.86	27.14	73.02	26.98
1834-1912	76.58	23.42	79.80	20.20

Table 16(ii): Summary of Indian Immigration to Mauritius, 1834-1912, Analysed by Sex (per Ramyeed, 1985).

APPENDIX 3(b): Notes to Tables on Indian Immigration

Ramyead (1985) gives his source as *Mauritius* by Allister Macmillan, although this work is not listed in his bibliography. The information is cited as having been extracted from the *Mauritius Almanac* for the year 1913.

When looking at statistics for immigration to Mauritius, one encounters several inconsistencies. Tinker differs from Ramyead on seven occasions in the period 1834-1864 (Tinker does not give statistics beyond 1864), resulting in a disparity of 1,263. There are reasons to suggest that Tinker is more likely to be in error than Ramyead. Tinker fails to give a breakdown of the migrants by sex after 1842, and his totals for 1852 and 1856 have the appearance of being transposition errors (17,845 and 12,635, respectively, as opposed to Ramyead, who has 17,485 and 12,653. It is not the case that this disparity can be accounted for on the basis that Tinker's figures may relate to Indian emigration rather than Mauritian immigration, since Tinker (1993:392) makes it explicit that his figures for Mauritius are taken from immigration sources. To complicate matters, Tinker (*ibid.*), stating that the Mauritius figures for the period 1843-1848 are taken from a report dated 29 February 1860, presented by the Protector of Immigrants, further remarks:

It should be noted that on 19 March 1844, (Special Magistrate Charles) Anderson notified the Colonial Secretary that 'The General Register only records 37,000 of the 41,000 introduced in the past year.' There is therefore a strong possibility that the 1843 figure for Mauritius omitted some 4,000 arrivals.

Tinker's figures for the period 1843-1848 are in agreement with Ramyead (with a difference of only one arrival in 1845). Thus, if Tinker is correct about the shortfall in official figures of around 4,000 arrivals, Ramyead's figures must also be viewed as inaccurate.

In addition to differences existing between the immigration figures given by Tinker and Ramyead, Benedict (1961:18) refers to research that he conducted using the original immigration records which 'list the arrival of 431,557 immigrants between

1836 and 1924'. Yet Ramyead's total for arrivals for a shorter period (1834-1912) is greater by 20,557. Furthermore, a figure of 453,063 for Indian arrivals in Mauritius is given by Barz and Siegel (1988:1), Mishra (1979:18) and Clarke et al. (1990:9). Unfortunately, Siegel quotes this figure for the period 1834-1900, Mishra for the period 1834-1910, and Clarke et al. for the period 1834-1912.

UNIVERSITY OF YORK, UNITED KINGDOM
AND
THE MAHATMA GANDHI INSTITUTE, MAURITIUS

QUESTIONNAIRE ON
BHOJPURI IN MAURITIUS, MARCH – JUNE 2000

GUIDELINES FOR CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS

1. The questionnaire is to be conducted verbally in Creole.
2. It shall be explained to respondents why the questionnaire is being undertaken and by whom. A letter of introduction, provided by the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (MGI), is to be shown to all respondents.
3. It shall be explained to respondents that there are no 'right' or 'wrong' (or 'good' or 'bad') answers to the questions, and that the purpose of the questionnaire is to elicit information about language use and language attitudes.
4. It shall be explained to respondents that they do not have to speak a given language in order to express an opinion about it.
5. It shall be explained to respondents that if a question does not apply to them (ie. they have no grandparents – see questions 24 and 36), they should say so.
6. If respondents wish to discuss questions or make additional comments, they should not be discouraged from doing so.
7. Clarification shall be given of any question(s) that the respondent finds either ambiguous or difficult to understand.
8. Information given by respondents that lies outside the scope of an answer specified by the questionnaire shall be recorded separately.
9. It shall be explained to respondents that the information given by them shall remain confidential and not be used for commercial purposes, and that no government body will have access to the information.
10. The researcher will not voice any personal opinion or debate an answer or comment made by respondents.
11. Respondents shall be encouraged to take short breaks if they feel that they are getting tired or confused.
12. It shall be explained to respondents that they are allowed to request the presence of a friend or a family member if they choose, but that such a person must not provide answers or prompt them in any way.

BANNE DETAY PERSONEL

1. Ou group d'az 11-18 19-21 22-49 50 ou plis
2. Homme / Femme (Homme [H] ou Femme [F])
3. Ou larelizyon
4. Ou lokipasyon
5. Kot ou fine né (Rezyon ek vil/vilaz)
6. Dat ki ou anset vine Moris
7. Pays ek rezyon ou anset vine sorti (si ou koné)
8. Premyer langaz ki ou kozé
9. Langaz (banne langaz) ki ou kozé aster la
10. Langaz (banne langaz) ki ou 'n apranne lekòl
11. Etid Hindi (kot ou 'n apranne, ki lexamen)
12. Premyer langaz ou maman
13. Ot langaz (banne langaz) ou maman
14. Premyer langaz ou papa
15. Ot langaz (banne langaz) ou papa
16. Ki kominoté ou maman (indyen, sinnwa, etc.)?
17. Ki kominoté ou papa?
18. Ki kominoté ou mem?
19. Koumen ou rekonet ki ou été?

20. Dire nou ki kalité ou kompren sa banne langaz la

Bhojpouri	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Hindi	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Kreol	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Fransé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Anglé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen

21. Dire nou ki kalité ou koz sa banne langaz la

Bhojpouri	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Hindi	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Kreol	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Fransé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Anglé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen

22. Dire nou ki kalité ou kapav lire sa langaz la

Bhojpouri	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Hindi	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Kreol	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Fransé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Anglé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen

23. Dire nou ki kalité ou kapav ekri sa langaz la

Bhojpouri	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Hindi	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Kreol	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Fransé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen
Anglé	Pa di tou	Ene tigit	Asé byen	Byen byen

24. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou banne granparen?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	Hindi
	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	

28. Kan ou pé faire banne asa dan environ?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

25. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou banne paren?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	Hindi
	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	

29. Kan ou pé assisté mariaze ?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

26. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou banne frer / ser?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	Hindi
	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	

30. Kan ou pé fer lapriyer?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

27. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou banne kamarad?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	Hindi
	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour	

31. Kan ou pé lir zournal, gazet, revi?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

32. Kan ou pé koz avek banne profeser dan klas?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------|--------|--------|---------|
| Bhojpouri | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Hindi | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Kreol | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Fransé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Anglé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
33. Kan ou pé koz avek banne profeser en dehor klas?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------|--------|--------|---------|
| Bhojpouri | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Hindi | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Kreol | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Fransé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Anglé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
34. Kan ou pé koz avek ou banne kamarad dan lekol / kolez?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------|--------|--------|---------|
| Bhojpouri | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Hindi | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Kreol | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Fransé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Anglé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
35. Kan ou pé koz avek ou banne kamarad en dehor lekol / kolez?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------|--------|--------|---------|
| Bhojpouri | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Hindi | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Kreol | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Fransé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
| Anglé | Zamé | Parfwa | Souven | Touzour |
36. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou banne granparen?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|----------|-------|-----------------|
| Bhojpouri | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Hindi | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Kreol | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Fransé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Anglé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
37. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou banne paren?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|----------|-------|-----------------|
| Bhojpouri | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Hindi | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Kreol | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Fransé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Anglé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
38. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou frer / ser?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|----------|-------|-----------------|
| Bhojpouri | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Hindi | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Kreol | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Fransé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Anglé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
39. Kan ou dan lakaz avek ou kamarad?
- | | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|----------|-------|-----------------|
| Bhojpouri | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Hindi | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Kreol | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Fransé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |
| Anglé | Pa dakor di tou | Pa dakor | Dakor | Byen byen dakor |

40. Kan ou pé faire banne asa dan environ?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

41. Kan ou pé assisté mariaz?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

42. Kan ou pé fer lapriyer?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

43. Kan ou pé lir zournal, gazet, revi?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

44. Kan ou pé koz avek banne profeser dan klas?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

45. Kan ou pé koz avek banne professeur en dehor klas?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

46. Kan ou pé koz avek banne kamarad dan lekòl / kolez?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

47. Kan ou pé koz avek banne kamarad en dehor lekòl / kolez?

Bhojpouri Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Hindi Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Kreol Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Fransé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor
Anglé Pa dakor di tou Pa dakor Dakor Byen byen dakor

Eski sa banne langaz la kapav servi avek sa banne dimoun la?

Eski ou krwar sa banne langaz la servi dans sa banne plas la?

48. Banne dimoun ki travay dan lapos?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

52. Lekol primer?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

49. Banne dimoun ki travay dans labank?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

53. Lekol sekonder (kolez)?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

50. Banne dimoun ki travay dan Central Water Authority?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

54. Liniversité Moris?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

51. Banne dimoun ki travay dan lopital (dokter ek infirmyer)?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

55. Banne endrwa ki donne ledikasyon teknik?

Bhojpouri	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Hindi	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Kreol	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Fransé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour
Anglé	Zamé	Parfwa	Souven	Touzour

*Eski ou dakor ki banne langaz la bizin servi plis souven ar banne dimoun
la?*

56. Banne dimoun ki travay dan lapos?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

57. Banne dimoun ki travay dan labank?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

58. Banne dimoun ki travay dan *Central Water Authority*?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

59. Banne dimoun ki travay dan lopital (dokter ek infirmyer)?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

*Eski ou dakor ki sa banne langaz la bizin servi plis dans sa banne plas
la?*

60. Lekol primer?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

61. Lekol sekonder (kolez)?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

62. Liniversité Moris?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

63. Banne endrwa ki donne ledikasyon teknik?

Bhojpouri	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Hindi	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Kreol	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Fransé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor
Anglé	Pa dakor di tou	Pa dakor	Dakor	Byen byen dakor

Pas trakasé si ou pa koné repons sa banne kestasyon la. Seki nou interes pou kon ou banne lidé ek ou banne pensé lor la.

64. Ki pousentaz (%) dimoun kapav koz sa banne langaz la?

Bhojpouri	%	Hindi	%
Goujarati	%	Marathi	%
Tamoul	%	Telougou	%
Ourdou	%	Arabe	%
Fransé	%	Anglé	%
Sinwa	%	Kreol	%

65. Ki pousentaz dimoun ki dan sa banne larelizyon la?

Hindou (ek Tamoul)	%
Kretyen	%
Mizilman	%
Ot (ki kalité?)	% []

66. Ki pousentaz dimoun ki dan sa banne group la ?

Indien (indou ek mizilman)	%
Blan	%
Kreol	%
Sinwa	%
Ot (ki kalité?)	% []

67. Ki dan sa banne group la ki pé ogmenté ou diminué?

Indien	Pli grand	Pli pitü
Blan	Pli grand	Pli pitü
Kreol	Pli grand	Pli pitü
Sinwa	Pli grand	Pli pitü
Ot (ki kalité?)	Pli grand	Pli pitü []

68. Ki nivo ledikasyon dan sa banne kominité la Moris?
Kominité
Komenter

69. Ki nivo emplwa ki bon / mové dan sa banne kominité?
Kominité
Komenter

70. Ki kalité kontrol ki sa banne kominité la ena lor lekonomi?
Kominité
Komenter

71. Ki kalité pouvwwar politik ki sa banne kominité la ena?
Kominité
Komenter

Sa seksyon la a pé diman ou ki kalité ou konten avek banne siliasyon

72. Eski ou konten pou aksepté plis program televizyon dan sa banne langaz la?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

73. Eski ou konten pou aksepté plis program radyo?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

74. Eski ou konten pou gayn plis bokou liv?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

75. Eski ou konten ki ena plis dimoun pou koz sa banne langaz la ?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

76. Eski ou konten pou gayn plis kontak avek banne dimoun ki koz sa banne langaz la?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

77. Eski ou konten pou gayn mwen kontak avek banne dimoun ki koz sa banne langaz la?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

78. Eski ou konten pou etidir ou apren sa banne langaz la?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

79. Eski ou konten ou zenfen pou etidir ou apren sa banne langaz la?

Bhojpouri Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Hindi Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Kreol Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Fransé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten
Anglé Pa konten di tou Pa konten Konten Byen konten

APPENDIX 4(b): English Translation and SPSS Variable Values

Part 1

1. Age group
 - 1 = 11-18
 - 2 = 19-21
 - 3 = 22-49
 - 4 = 50 and over

2. Gender
 - 1 = Male
 - 2 = Female

3. Religion
 - 1 = Hindu
 - 2 = Other

4. Occupation
 - 1 = Agricultural worker
 - 2 = Artisan
 - 3 = Business person
 - 4 = Teacher
 - 5 = Student
 - 6 = Civil servant
 - 7 = Retired
 - 8 = Social/health worker
 - 9 = Housewife

5. Place of birth (Region)
 - 1 = Port Louis
 - 2 = Pamplemousses
 - 3 = Rivière du Rempart
 - 4 = Flacq
 - 5 = Grand Port
 - 6 = Savanne
 - 7 = Black River
 - 8 = Plaine Wilhems
 - 9 = Moka

6. Date you ancestors arrived in Mauritius
 - 1 = Prior to 1900
 - 2 = After 1900
 - 3 = Not known

7. Country and region your ancestors came from (if known)
- 1 = India (unspecified)
 - 2 = India (region specified - not Bihar)
 - 3 = Bihar
 - 4 = Not known
 - 5 = Other
8. First language
- 1 = Bhojpuri
 - 2 = Creole
 - 3 = Other
9. Language(s) spoken now
- 1 = Bhojpuri
 - 2 = Bhojpuri and Hindi
 - 3 = Bhojpuri and Creole
 - 4 = Bhojpuri, Hindi and Creole
 - 5 = Creole and French
 - 6 = Creole, English and French
 - 7 = All five languages
 - 8 = Other combination
10. Language(s) learned at school
- 1 = Hindi
 - 2 = Creole
 - 3 = English and French
 - 4 = Hindi, English and French
 - 5 = Creole, English and French
 - 6 = Hindi, Creole, English and French
 - 7 = Other combination
11. Study of Hindi (where learned; examinations taken)
- 1 = Informal
 - 2 = Formal (elementary)
 - 3 = Formal (CPE and above)
 - 4 = None
12. First language of mother
- 1 = Bhojpuri
 - 2 = Creole
 - 3 = Hindi
 - 4 = Other
13. Other language(s) of mother

- 1 = Hindi
- 2 = Bhojpuri and Hindi
- 3 = Bhojpuri and Creole
- 4 = Hindi and Creole
- 5 = Creole and French
- 6 = Creole, French and English
- 7 = All five languages
- 8 = Creole
- 9 = No other language

14. First language of father

- 1 = Bhojpuri
- 2 = Creole
- 3 = Hindi
- 4 = Other

15. Other language(s) of father

- 1 = Hindi
- 2 = Bhojpuri and Hindi
- 3 = Bhojpuri and Creole
- 4 = Hindi and Creole
- 5 = Creole and French
- 6 = Creole, French and English
- 7 = All five languages
- 8 = Creole
- 9 = No other language

16. What is/was your mother's community?

- 1 = "indyen"
- 2 = "indu"
- 3 = "indo-morisyen"
- 4 = Other

17. What is/was your father's community?

- 1 = "indyen"
- 2 = "indu"
- 3 = "indo-morisyen"
- 4 = Other

18. What is your community?

- 1 = "indyen"
- 2 = "indu"
- 3 = "indo-morisyen"
- 4 = Other

19. How do you identify yourself?
- 1 = "indyen"
 - 2 = "indu"
 - 3 = "arya samaj(i)"
 - 4 = "aryen"
 - 5 = By language
 - 6 = By religion
 - 7 = By tradition
 - 8 = "indo-morisyen"
 - 9 = Other
20. Tell us how well you understand the following languages
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = A little
 - 3 = Quite well
 - 4 = Very well
21. Tell us how well you speak the following languages
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = A little
 - 3 = Quite well
 - 4 = Very well
22. Tell us how well you read the following languages
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = A little
 - 3 = Quite well
 - 4 = Very well
23. Tell us how well you write the following languages
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = A little
 - 3 = Quite well
 - 4 = Very well

Part 2

How often do you use the following languages in these situations?

24. When you are at home with your grandparents?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

25. When you are at home with your parents?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

26. When you are at home with your brothers / sisters?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

27. When you are at home with friends?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

28. When you are shopping in the neighbourhood?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

29. When you go to weddings?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

30. When you are praying?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

31. When you read newspapers, magazines or journals?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

(Questions 32-35 for school-children / students only)

32. When you are talking to teachers in the classroom?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

33. When you are talking to teachers outside the classroom?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

34. When you are talking to friends at school / college?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

35. When you are talking to friends outside school / college?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

Part 3

Do you agree with using the following languages in these situations?

36. When you are at home with your grandparents?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Strongly disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Agree
 - 4 = Strongly agree
37. When you are at home with your parents?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Strongly disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Agree
 - 4 = Strongly agree
38. When you are at home with your brothers / sisters?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Strongly disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Agree
 - 4 = Strongly agree
39. When you are at home with your friends?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Strongly disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Agree
 - 4 = Strongly agree
40. When you are shopping in the neighbourhood?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Strongly disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Agree
 - 4 = Strongly agree
41. When you go to weddings?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Strongly disagree
 - 2 = Disagree
 - 3 = Agree
 - 4 = Strongly agree

42. When you are praying?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

43. When you read newspapers, magazines or journals?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

(Questions 44-47 for school-children /students only)

44. When you are talking to teachers in the classroom?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

45. When you are talking to teachers outside the classroom?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

46. When you are talking to friends at school / college?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

47. When you are talking to friends outside school / college?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Part 4

Can the following languages be used with the following people?

48. People who work in the post office?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

49. People who work in banks?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

50. People who work for the Central Water Authority?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

51. People who work in hospitals (i.e., doctors and nurses)?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

Do you think the following languages are used in the following places?

52. Primary school?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

1 = Never
2 = Sometimes
3 = Often
4 = Always

53. Secondary school (college)?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

54. The University of Mauritius?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

55. Places that give technical education?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Sometimes
- 3 = Often
- 4 = Always

Part 5

*Do you agree that the following languages should be used more often
with the following people?*

56. People who work in the post office?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

57. People who work in banks?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

58. People who work for the Central Water Authority?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

59. People who work in hospitals (i.e., doctors and nurses)?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Do you agree that the following languages should be used more often in the following places?

60. Primary school?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

61. Secondary school (college)?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

62. The University of Mauritius?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

63. Places that give technical education?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Agree
- 4 = Strongly agree

Part 6

Don't worry if you don't know the answer to these questions.
We are interested in your ideas and your thoughts.

64. What percentage of people speak the following languages?

Bhojpuri	Hindi
Gujarati	Marathi
Tamil	Telugu
Urdu	Arabic
French	English
Chinese	Creole

65. What percentage of people are from the following religions?

Hindu (this includes Tamils)
Christian
Muslim
Other (please specify)

66. What percentage of people are from the following groups?

Indo-Mauritian
White
Creole
Chinese
Other (please specify)

67. Are the following groups getting larger or smaller?

Indian	Larger	Smaller
White	Larger	Smaller
Creole	Larger	Smaller
Chinese	Larger	Smaller
Other (please specify)	Larger	Smaller

68. What is the educational level of the communities in Mauritius?

Community Comments

69. How good/bad is the level of employment in these communities?

Community Comments

70. How much control do the communities have in the economy?

Community Comments

71. How much political power do the communities have?

Community Comments

Part 7

This section asks you how much you would like certain situations.

72. Would you like more television programmes in the following?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = Not much
 - 3 = Quite a lot
 - 4 = Very much
73. Would you like more radio programmes?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = Not much
 - 3 = Quite a lot
 - 4 = Very much
74. Would you like to have more books available in the following?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = Not much
 - 3 = Quite a lot
 - 4 = Very much
75. Would you like it if more people spoke the following languages?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = Not much
 - 3 = Quite a lot
 - 4 = Very much
76. Would you like more contact with speakers of the following?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)
- 1 = Not at all
 - 2 = Not much
 - 3 = Quite a lot
 - 4 = Very much
77. Would you like less contact with speakers of the following?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = Not much
- 3 = Quite a lot
- 4 = Very much

78. Would you like to study or learn the following?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = Not much
- 3 = Quite a lot
- 4 = Very much

79. Would you like your children to study or learn the following?
(Bhojpuri, Hindi, Creole, French, English)

- 1 = Not at all
- 2 = Not much
- 3 = Quite a lot
- 4 = Very much

80. Location of Interview

- 1 = Lekraj Teelock SSS (Flacq)
- 2 = Mahatma Gandhi Institute (Moka)
- 3 = University of Mauritius (Moka)
- 4 = Vacoas (Plaine Wilhems)
- 5 = Moka and Saint Pierre (Moka)
- 6 = Triolet (Pamplemousses)
- 7 = Montagne Blanche-Sebastopol (Flacq)
- 8 = Mahébourg (Grand Port)

REFERENCES

- Abdulaziz Mkilifi, M. H. (1978). *Triglossia and Swahili-English bilingualism in Tanzania*. In J. A. Fishman (ed.). *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Adone, D. (1994). *The Acquisition of Mauritian Creole*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Agnihotri, R.K. (1987). *Crisis of Identity: The Sikhs in England*. New Delhi: Bahri Publications.
- Alladina, S. and V. Edwards. (eds.) (1991). *Multilingualism in the British Isles*. Vol. 2. London: Longman.
- Allen, R.B. (1983). *Creoles, Indian immigrants and the restructuring of society and economy in Mauritius, 1767-1885*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois.
- Anttila, R. (1989). *Historical and Comparative Linguistics* (3rd ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Appel, R. and P. Muysken. (1987). *Language Contact and Bilingualism*. London: Edward Arnold (Publishers) Limited.
- Arno, T. and C. Orian. (1986). *Ile Maurice: une société multiraciale*. Paris: Editions L'Harmattan.
- Asgurally, I. (1982). *La situation linguistique de l'île Maurice*. Postgraduate thesis, Université René Descartes, Paris.
- Asgurally, I. (ed.) (1999). *Education and Culture at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Vacoas, Mauritius: Editions Le Printemps.

- Auer, P. (ed.) (1998). *Code-Switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*. London: Routledge.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Limited.
- (1993). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, P. (1972). *Kreol: A Description of Mauritian Creole*. London: C. Hurst and Company.
- (1976). *Towards a social history of Mauritian creole*. BPhil. Dissertation, University of York.
- (1988). *Writing systems and the vernacularization of literacy in Mauritius. Abstract of the Proceedings of the International Group for the Study of Language Standardization and the Vernacularization of Literacy*. University of York.
- Baker, P. and C. Corne. (1982). *Isle de France Creole: Affinities and Origins*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Baker, P. and P. Ramnah. (1986). *Mauritian Bhojpuri: An Indo-Aryan language spoken in a predominantly creolephone society*. In S. Romaine (et al.) *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Languages 4*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics A-72.
- Baker, P. and A. Ramnah. (1988). *Recognizing Mauritian Bhojpuri*. In R. K. Barz and J. Siegel (eds.) *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Baker, P. and A. Syea. (1996). *Changing Meaning, Changing Functions: Papers Relating to Grammaticalization in Contact Languages*. London: University of Westminster Press.

- Barth, F. (1970). *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Cultural Differences*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Barz, R.K. (1980). The cultural significance of Hindi in Mauritius. *South Asia (New Series)*. 3(1): 1-13.
- (1988). Language Maintenance and Literary Use: The Case of Mauritian Bhojpuri, Sarnami and Fiji Hindi. In R. K. Barz and J. Siegel (eds.) *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Barz, R.K. and J. Siegel. (eds.) (1988). *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Basham, A.L. (1967). *The Wonder that was India (3rd ed.)*. Calcutta: Rupa and Company.
- Bayer, J. M. (1986). *Dynamics of Language Maintenance among Linguistic Minorities: A Sociolinguistic Investigation of the Tamil Communities in Bangalore*. Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Beejadhur, A. (1935). *Les Indiens à l'Ile Maurice*. Port Louis, Mauritius: La Typographie Moderne, Marcel Gaud et Compagnie.
- Beekes, R. S. P. (1995). *Comparative Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Benedict, B. (1961). *Indians in a Plural Society: A Report on Mauritius*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
- Bhatia, T. K. (1982). Transplanted South Asian languages: An overview. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 11(2): 129-34.

- (1988). *Trinidad Hindi: Its genesis and generational profile*. In R. K. Barz and J. Siegel (eds.) *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Bhuckory, S. (1988). *Hindi in Mauritius* (2nd ed.). Port Louis: Royal Printing.
- Bickerton, D. (1975). *Dynamics of a Creole System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bissoondoyal, U. (1983). *Make haste slowly: The problems and politics of language reform*. In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Bissoondoyal, U. (ed.) (1984). *Indians Overseas: The Mauritian Experience*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Bissoondoyal, U. and S. B. C. Servansing. (eds.) (1984). *Indian Labour Immigration*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Blom, J. -P. and Gumperz, J. J. (1972). *Social meaning in linguistic structure: Code-switching in Norway*. In J. J. Gumperz and D. Hymes (eds.) *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933). *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Blount, B. G. (1981). *Sociolinguistic theory in anthropology*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 31: 91-108.

- Bobaljik, J. D., R. Pensalfini and L. Storto. (eds.) (1996). *Papers on Language Endangerment and the Maintenance of Linguistic Diversity*. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics Vol.28. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MITWLP.
- Boodhoo, S. (1999). *Bhojpuri Traditions in Mauritius*. Moka, Mauritius: Mauritius Bhojpuri Institute.
- Bourhis, R. Y. (2001). Acculturation, language maintenance, and language shift. In J. Klatter-Folmer and P. Van Avermaet (eds.) *Theories on Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages: Towards a More Integrated Explanatory Framework*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Bourhis, R. Y., H. Giles and D. Rosenthal. (1981). Notes on the construction of a subjective vitality questionnaire for ethnolinguistic groups. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 2(2): 145-155.
- Bourhis, R. Y. and I. Sachdev. (1984). Vitality perceptions and language attitudes: some Canadian data. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 3: 97-126.
- Brass, P. R. (1974). *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brennan, L., J. McDonald and R. Shlomowitz. (1998). The geographic and social origins of Indian indentured labourers in Mauritius, Natal, Fiji, Guyana and Jamaica. *South Asia*, 21 (special issue): 39-71.
- Brenzinger, M. and G. J. Dimmendaal. (1992). Social contexts of language death. In M. Brenzinger (ed.) *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bright, W. (ed.) (1990). *Language Variation in South Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- (1990). Language, social stratification and cognitive orientation. In W. Bright (ed.) *Language Variation in South Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bright, W. and A. K. Ramanujan. (1964/1990). Sociolinguistic variation and language change. In W. Bright (ed.) (1990). *Language Variation in South Asia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Broeder, P. and G. Extra. (1999). *Language, Ethnicity and Education: Case Studies on Immigrant Minority Groups and Immigrant Minority Languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Limited.
- Bunwaree, S. S. (1994). *Mauritian Education in a Global Economy*. Mauritius: Editions de l'Océan Indien.
- Bynon, T. and F. R. Palmer. (eds.) (1986). *Studies in the History of Western Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Calvet, L-J. (1998). *Language Wars and Linguistic Politics*. M. Petheram (trans.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cameron, D. (1990). Demythologizing sociolinguistics: Why language does not reflect society. In J. E. Joseph and T. J. Taylor (eds.) *Ideologies of Language*. London: Routledge.
- Cardona, G. (1974). The Indo-Aryan languages. In *Encyclopedia Britannica* (15th ed.) 9:439-50.
- Carter, M. (1992). The family under indenture: A Mauritian case study. *Journal of Mauritian Studies* 4(1): 1-21.
- (1996). *Voices from Indenture: Experiences of Indian Migrants in the British Empire*. London: Leicester University Press.

- Carter, M. (ed.) (1998). *Consolidating the Rainbow: Independent Mauritius, 1968-1998*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies.
- (2000). *Across the Kalapani: The Bihari Presence in Mauritius*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies.
- Carter, M. and J. Ng. (1997). *Forging the Rainbow: Labour Immigrants in British Mauritius*. Mauritius: Alfran Co. Ltd.
- Chambers, J. K. (1995). *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and its Social Significance*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chandrasekhar, S. (ed.) (1988). *From India to Mauritius: A Brief History of Immigration and the Indo-Mauritian Community*. La Jolla, California: Population Review Books.
- Charette, M. (1991). *Conditions on Phonological Government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chaudenson, R. (1979a). A propos de la genèse du créole mauricien: le peuplement de l'île de France de 1721 à 1735. In *Etudes Créoles* 1979-1.
- (1979b). *Les créoles français*. Paris: Nathan.
- (1981). *Textes créoles anciens (La Réunion et Ile Maurice): Comparaison et essai d'analyse*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Chintamunnee, M. (n/d). *The Role of Indian Languages in the Maintenance of Indian Culture in Mauritius*. (Unpublished paper presented at the International Conference on Maintenance of Indian Languages and Culture abroad, January 1994).

- (1983). Bhojpuri as a medium of instruction. In H. Unmole (ed.). *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Clarke, C., C. Peach and S. Vertovec. (eds.) (1990). *South Asians Overseas: Migration and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Comrie, B. (ed.) (1990). *The Major Languages of South Asia, the Middle East and Africa* (Revised ed.). London: Routledge.
- Coulmas, F. (ed.) (1997). *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited.
- Coupland, N. and A. Jaworski. (eds.) (1997). *Sociolinguistics: A Reader*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Crystal, D. (2000). *Language Death*. Cambridge University Press.
- Culler, J. (1986). *Saussure* (2nd ed.). London: Fontana Press.
- Currie, H. C. (1981). Sociolinguistics and American linguistic theory. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 31: 29-41.
- Cziffra, C., P. Soupe and R. Tirvassen. (1983). Langues internationales et langues nationales: de la pluriglossie au multilinguisme? In H. Unmole (ed.). *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Damsteegt, T. (1988). Sarnami: A living language. In R. K. Barz and J. Siegel (eds.) *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- Deerpalsingh, S. and M. Carter. (1994). *Select Documents on Indian Immigration. Mauritius, 1834-1926. Vol.1: Organisation and Evaluations of the Indenture System.* Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- (1996a). *Select Documents on Indian Immigration. Mauritius, 1834-1926. Vol.2: The Despatch and Allocation of Indentured Labour.* Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- (1996b). *Select Documents on Indian Immigration. Mauritius, 1834-1926. Vol.3: Living and Working Conditions Under Indenture.* Moka, Mauritius, Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Denison, N. (1977). Language death or language suicide? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 12: 13-22.
- Deschamps, J-C. (1982). Social identity and relations of power between groups. In H. Tajfel (ed.) *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Devi Nirsimloo-Anenden, A. (1990). *The Primordial Link: Telugu Ethnic Identity in Mauritius.* Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Domingue, N. Z. (1971). *Bhojpuri and Creole in Mauritius: A study of Linguistic Interference and its Consequences in Regard to Synchronic Variation and Language Change.* PhD. thesis, University of Texas.
- (1982). Internal change in a transplanted language. *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 11(2): 151-159.
- Dorian, N. C. (1977). Language shift in community and individual. The problem of the semi-speaker in language death. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 12: 23-32.

- (1982). Language loss and maintenance in language contact situations. In R. D. Lambert and B. F. Freed (eds.) *The Loss of Language Skills*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House.
- (1998). Western language ideologies and small-language prospects. In L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (eds.) *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dorian, N. C. (ed.) (1989). *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Downes, W. (1998). *Language and Society* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Dressler, W. and Wodak-Leodolter, R. (eds.) (1977). Language death. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 12.
- Dua, H. R. (1981). Dimensions of speech community. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 32: 85-119.
- Durand, J. P. and J. (1978). *L'Ile Maurice et ses populations*. Bruxelles: Editions Complexe.
- Eckert, P. (1980). Diglossia: Separate and unequal. *Linguistics* 18: 1053-1064.
- Edwards, J. (ed.) (1984). *Linguistic Minorities, Policies and Pluralism*. London: Academic Press Incorporated. (London) Limited.
- Edwards, J. (1985). *Languages, Society and Identity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- (1994). *Multilingualism*. London: Routledge.

- Edwards, W. F. (1992). Sociolinguistic behavior in a Detroit inner-city black neighborhood. *Language in Society* 21: 93-115.
- Emeneau, M.B. (1980). *Language and Linguistic Area* (Essays edited by A. S. Dil). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Extra, G. and J. Maartens. (eds.) (1998). *Multilingualism in a Multicultural Context: Case Studies on South Africa and Western Europe*. Netherlands: Tilburg University Press.
- Fase, W., K. Jaspaert and S. Kroon. (eds.) (1992). *Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Fasold, R. (1984). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Limited.
- Ferguson, C. A. (1959). Diglossia. *Word* 15: 325-340.
- Ferguson, C. A. and J. J. Gumperz. (eds.) (1960). Linguistic diversity in South Asia: Studies in regional, social and functional variation. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 26 (special issue).
- Fishman, J. A. (1964). Language maintenance and language shift as a field of inquiry. *Linguistics* 9: 32-70.
- (1965). Who speaks what language to whom and when? *La Linguistique* 2: 67-88.
- (1967). Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism. *Journal of Social Issues* 32: 29-38.

- (1976). *The sociology of language: An interdisciplinary social science approach to language in society*. In J. A. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in the Sociology of Language. Vol.1: Basic Concepts, Theories and Problems: Alternative Approaches* (2nd ed.). The Hague: Mouton.
- (1977). *Language and ethnicity*. In H. Giles (ed.) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.
- (1989). *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Clevedon, U.K: Multilingual Matters Limited.
- Fishman, J. A. (ed.) (1968). *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- (1976). *Advances in the Sociology of Language. Vol.1: Basic Concepts, Theories and Problems: Alternative Approaches* (2nd ed.). The Hague: Mouton.
- (1978). *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Fraser, C. and K. Scherer (eds.). (1982) *Advances in the Social Psychology of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gal, S. (1979). *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria*. New York: Academic Press.
- Gambhir, S.K. (1983). Diglossia in dying languages: A case of Guyanese Bhojpuri and Standard Hindi. *Anthropological Linguistics*. 25(1): 28-38.
- (1988). Structural development of Guyanese Bhojpuri. In R. K. Barz and J. Siegel (eds.) *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

- Giles, H. (et al.) (1973). Towards a theory of interpersonal accommodation through language: Some Canadian data. *Language in Society* 2: 177-192.
- Giles, H., R. Y. Bourhis and D. M. Taylor. (1977). Towards a theory of language in ethnic group relations. In H. Giles (ed.) *Language, Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations*. London: Academic Press.
- Giles, H. and P. Johnson. (1987). Ethnolinguistic identity theory: a social psychological approach to language maintenance. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 68: 69-99.
- Giles, H., D. Rosenthal and L. Young. (1985). Perceived ethnolinguistic vitality: the Anglo- and Greek-Australian setting. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 6: 253-269.
- Giles, H. and B. Saint-Jacques. (eds.) (1979). *Language and Ethnic Relations*. Oxford: Pergamon Press Limited.
- Gillion, K. L. (1962). *Fiji's Indian Migrants*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Goburdhun-Jani, M. (1999). Mon "indo-mauricianisme": entre Maurice et l'Inde, le récit de ma double diasporisation. *Rencontre avec l'Inde: La diaspora indienne à Maurice* 28(2): 32-38.
- Grenoble, L. A. and L. J. Whaley. (1998). Toward a typology of language endangerment. In L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (eds.) *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grierson, G. A. (1903). *Linguistic Survey of India. Vol.5, Part 2: Indo-Aryan Family, Eastern Group: Bihari and Oriya languages*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Grillo, R. (1989). Anthropology, language, politics. In R. Grillo (ed.) *Social Anthropology and the Politics of Language*. London: Routledge.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1974). Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. In B. G. Blount (ed.) *Language, Culture and Society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers Incorporated.
- Guyot, D. (1997). Plurilinguisme et métissage: le cas des métis du Togo. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 128: 73-94.
- Haarman, H. (1986). *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hagège, C. (2000). *Halte à la mort des langues*. Paris: Editions Odile Jacob.
- Hale, K. (1998). On endangered languages and the importance of linguistic diversity. In L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (eds.) *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halliday, M. A. K., A. McIntosh and P. Strevens. (1964). *The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching*. London: Longmans, Green and Company Limited.
- Hamers, J. F. and M. H. A. Blanc. (1989). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanoomanjee, E. (2000). Ethnicity, social policy and mobility. In S. Nirsimloo-Gayan (ed.) *Towards the Making of a Multicultural Society*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.

- Harwood, J., H. Giles and R. Y. Bourhis. (1994). The genesis of vitality theory: historical patterns and discorsal dimensions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 108: 167-206.
- Haugen, E. (1953). *The Norwegian Language in America*. 2 Vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- (1966). Semicommunication: The language gap in Scandinavia. In S. Lieberson (ed.) *Explorations in Sociolinguistics. Sociological Inquiry* 36: 280-297 (special issue).
- (1978). Bilingualism, language contact, and immigrant languages in the United States: A research report, 1956-1970. In J. A. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Haynes, L. M. (1982). Rural and urban groups in Barbados and Guyana: Language attitudes and behaviors. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 34: 67-81.
- Hazareesingh, K (ed). (1976). *Indian Centenary Book, Published on the Occasion of the Second World Hindi Convention, 1936* (2nd ed.). Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Hazareesingh, K. (1977). *History of Indians in Mauritius* (Revised ed.). London: Macmillan Education Limited.
- Herman, S. (1968). Explorations into the social psychology of language choice. In J. A. Fishman (ed.) *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Hill, J. H. (1978). Language death, language contact and language evolution. In W. C. McCormack and S. A. Wurm (eds.) *Approaches to Language: Anthropological issues*. The Hague: Mouton.

- Hock, H. H. (1991). *Principles of Historical Linguistics* (2nd ed.). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hoenigswald, H. M. (1989). Language obsolescence and language history: Matters of linearity, leveling, loss, and the like. In N. C. Dorian (ed.) *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hogg, M. A. (1996). Identity, cognition, and language in intergroup context. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 15(3): 372-384.
- Hogg, M. A. and N. Rigoli. (1996). Effects of ethnolinguistic vitality, ethnic identification, and linguistic contacts on minority language use. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 15(1): 76-89.
- Hookoomsing, V. Y. (2000). Managing our multilingualism. In S. Nirsimloo-Gayan (ed.) *Towards the Making of a Multicultural Society*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Hookoomsing, V. Y. and P. Baker (forthcoming). *The History and Potential of the Mauritius Language Censuses 1944-1990*.
- Hossen, J. S. A. (1990). La production ethno-centriste des identités socio-culturelles à l'Ile Maurice. *Journal of Mauritian Studies* 3(2): 68-83.
- Huffines, M. L. (1980). Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and shift. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25: 43-57.
- Husband, C. and V. S. Khan. (1982). The viability of ethnolinguistic vitality: Some creative doubts. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 3(3): 193-205.

- Hymes, D. H. (1967). Models of the interaction of languages and social setting. *Journal of Social Issues* 23: 8-28.
- (1974). The ethnography of speaking. In B. G. Blount (ed.) *Language, Culture and Society*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Winthrop Publishers Incorporated.
- Hymes, D. H. (ed.) (1971). *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jagatsingh, Kh. (1979). *The Future in Our Hands: Mauritian Education for Today and Tomorrow*. Mauritius: Mauritius Institute of Education.
- Jahageer-Chojoo, A. (1999). Les communautés chiites de l'île Maurice. *Journal of Mauritian Studies* 5(1): 12-32.
- Jain, B. D. (1982). *Ardha Magadhi Reader* (2nd ed.). Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- Jaspaert, K. and S. Kroon. (1991). Social determinants of language shift by Italians in the Netherlands and Flanders. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 90: 77-96.
- Jeffers, R. J. and I. Lehiste. (1979). *Principles and Methods for Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge, U.S.A.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Jespersen, O. (1922). *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin*. London: George Allen and Unwin Limited.
- Jha, S. (1958). *The Formation of the Maithili Language*. London: Luzac and Company Limited.
- Johnson, P., H. Giles and R. Y. Bourhis. (1983). The viability of ethnolinguistic vitality: A reply. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 4(4): 255-269.

- Joseph, J. E. and T. J. Taylor. (eds.) (1990). *Ideologies of Language*. London: Routledge.
- Jugessur, S. (1983). National consciousness through cultural integration based on languages. In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Kachru, B. B. (1981). 'Socially realistic linguistics': the Firthian tradition. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 31: 65-89.
- (1983). *The Indianization of English - The English Language in India*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kachru, Y. (1990). Hindi/Urdu. In B. Comrie (ed.) *The Major Languages of South Asia, the Middle East and Africa* (Revised ed.). London: Routledge.
- (1992). Language maintenance, shift and accommodation: Linguistic repertoire in South Asia. In E. C. Dimock, B. B. Kachru and Bh. Krishnamurti (eds.) *Dimensions of Sociolinguistics in South Asia (Papers in memory of Gerald B. Kelly)*. New Delhi: Oxford and I B H Publishing.
- Kachru, Y. and T. Bhatia. (1978). The emerging dialect conflict in Hindi. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 16: 47-58.
- Kalla, A. C. (1983). The language issue: A perennial issue in Mauritian education. In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Kasseean, P. D. (1999). *Le statut problematique du Bhojpuri à Maurice: Une étude de cas*. Dissertation for B.A. (Humanities), University of Mauritius.

- Kellogg, S. H. (1938). *A Grammar of the Hindi Language* (3rd ed.). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company Limited.
- Kelly, G. (1966). The status of Hindi as a lingua franca. In W. Bright (ed.) *Sociolinguistics*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Kermnitz, G. (1981). Du "bilingualisme" au "conflit linguistique". *Languages* 61: 63-73.
- Khemlani-David, M. (1998). Language shift, cultural maintenance, and ethnic identity; a study of a minority community: The Sindhis of Malaysia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 130: 67-76.
- Khubchandani, L. M. (1991). *Language, Culture and Nation-Building: Challenges to Modernisation*. Shimla, India: Indian Institute of Advanced Study.
- King, C. R. (1994). *One Language, Two Scripts: The Hindi Movement in Nineteenth Century North India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ki-Zerbo, J. (1978). *Histoire de l'Afrique noire*. Paris: Librairie A. Hatier.
- Klaiman, M. H. (1990). Bengali. In B. Comrie (ed.) (1990). *The Major Languages of South Asia, the Middle East and Africa* (Revised ed.). London: Routledge.
- Kloss, H. (1966). Types of multilingual communities: A discussion of ten variables. *Sociological Inquiry* 36: 135-145.
- Kraemer, R., E. Olshtain and S. Badier. (1994). Ethnolinguistic vitality, attitudes, and networks of linguistic contact: The case of the Israeli Arab minority. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 108: 79-95.

- Krishnamurti, Bh. (ed.) (1986). *South Asian Languages: Structure, Convergence and Diglossia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. and W. A. Harris. (1986). De facto segregation of black and white vernaculars. In D. Sankoff (ed.) *Diversity and Diachrony*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Lambton, A. K. S. (1954). *Persian Vocabulary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Landry, R. and R. Allard. (1994). Diglossia, ethnolinguistic vitality, and language behaviour. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 108: 15-42.
- Lass, R. (1994). *Old English: A Historical Linguistic Companion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ledikasyon Pu Travayer. (1985). *Diksyoner Kreol - Angle (Prototype Dictionary Mauritian Creole - English)*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Ledikasyon Pu Travayer.
- Lee, J. K. (1999). *Mauritius: Its Creole Language*. London: Nautilus Publishing.
- Lehmann, W. P. (1981). Historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 31: 11-27.
- Le Page, R. B. (1980). Projection, focussing, diffusion. *York Papers in Linguistics* 9. *Festschrift for R. B. Le Page*. York: University of York.

- (1994). The notion of "linguistic system" revisited. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 109: 109-120.
- (1997). The evolution of a sociolinguistic theory of language. In F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited.
- Le Page, R. B., P. Christie, B. Jurdant, A. J. Weeks, and A. Tabouret-Keller. (1974). Further report on the sociolinguistic survey of multilingual communities. *Language in Society* 3: 1-32.
- Le Page, R. B. and A. Tabouret-Keller. (1985). *Acts of Identity: Creole-Based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lepschy, G. (1986). European linguistics in the twentieth century. In T. Bynon and F. R. Palmer (eds.) *Studies in the History of Western Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lieberman, D. (1974). *Bilingual behavior in a St. Lucian community*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin.
- Lieberson, S. J. (1970). *Language and Ethnic Relations in Canada*. New York: John Wiley and Sons Inc.
- (1972). Bilingualism in Montreal: A demographic analysis. In J. A. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in the Sociology of Language*. Vol.2. The Hague: Mouton.
- Lieberson, S. J. and E. J. McCabe. (1982). Domains of language usage and mother-tongue shift in Nairobi. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 34: 83-94.
- Lockwood, W. B. (1972). *A Panorama of Indo-European Languages*. London: Hutchinson and Company (Publishers) Limited.

- Ly-Tio-Fane Pineo, H. (1984). *Lured Away: A Life History of Indian Cane Workers in Mauritius*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- (1999). *Ile de France, 1747-1767: Port Louis - Base Navale* Vol.2. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Lyons, J. (1981). *Language and Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mackey, W. F. (1962). The description of bilingualism. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics* 7: 51-85.
- (1979). Toward an ecology of language contact. In W. F. Mackey and J. Ornstein (eds.) *Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Contact: Methods and Cases*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Mackey, W. F. and D. G. Cartwright. (1979). Geocoding language loss from census data. In W. F. Mackey and J. Ornstein (eds.) *Sociolinguistic Studies in Language Contact: Methods and Cases*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Mahadeo, P. (1995). *Mauritian Cultural Heritage*. Beau Bassin, Mauritius: Gold Hill Publication Limited.
- Mahadeo, S. K. (1983). Language teaching and the use of Creole and Bhojpuri as media of instruction. In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Marks, S. and P. Richardson. (eds.) (1984). *International Labour Migration: Historical Perspectives*. London: Institute of Commonwealth Studies.

- Martin-Jones, M. (1989). Language, power and linguistic minorities: The need for an alternative approach to bilingualism, language maintenance and shift. In R. Grillo (ed.) *Social Anthropology and the Politics of Language*. London: Routledge.
- (1991). Sociolinguistic surveys as a source of evidence in the study of bilingualism: A critical assessment of survey work conducted among linguistic minorities in three British cities. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 90: 37-55.
- Masica, C. (1991). *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCormack, W. C. and S. A. Wurm. (eds.) (1979). *Language and Society: Anthropological Issues*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- McGregor, R. S. (1977). *Outline of Hindi Grammar* (2nd ed.). Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- (ed.) (1993). *The Oxford Hindi-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Meade, J. E. (et al.) (1961). *The Economic and Social Structure of Mauritius*. London: Frank Cass and Company Limited.
- Meillet, A. (1925/1970). *The Comparative Method in Historical Linguistics*, Gordon B. Ford, Jr. (trans.). Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion.
- Meisenhelder, T. (1997). The developmental state in Mauritius. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 35(2): 279-297.

- Mesthrie, R. (1988). Lexical change in a transplanted language: The case of Bhojpuri in South Africa. In R. K. Barz and J. Siegel (eds.) *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- (1991). *Language in Indenture: A Sociolinguistic History of Bhojpuri-Hindi in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Mesthrie, R., J. Swann, A. Deumert and W. L. Leap. (2000). *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Mewasingh, P. A. (1983). The role of Bhojpuri in Mauritius. In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and Social Networks*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- (2001). Bridging the micro-macro gap: social change, social networks and bilingual repertoires. In J. Klatter-Folmer and P. Van Avermaet (eds.) *Theories on Maintenance and Loss of Minority Languages: Towards a More Integrated Explanatory Framework*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Milroy, L. and P. Muysken (1995). *One Speaker, Two Language: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives on Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ministry of Economic Development, Productivity and Regional Development. (1999a). *International Travel and Tourism Statistics, 1998*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Central Statistical Office.
- (1999b). *Mauritius in Figures. 1998*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Central Statistical Office.

- (2000). *Mauritius in Figures*. 1999. Port Louis, Mauritius: Central Statistical Office.
- Ministry of Economic Planning and Development. (1992). *1990 Housing and Population Census of Mauritius. Vol.4: Educational Characteristics*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Central Statistical Office.
- (1996). *1990 Housing and Population Census of Mauritius. Analysis Report. Vol.9: Education: Characteristics, Prospects and Implication*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Central Statistical Office.
- Ministry of Education and Scientific Research. (1998) *Action Plan for a New Education System in Mauritius: Pre-School, Primary School, Middle School and College Education*. Mauritius: Mauritius College of the Air.
- Mishra, V. (ed.) (1979). *Rama's Banishment: A Centenary Tribute to the Fijian Indians 1879-1979*. Auckland: Heinemann Educational Books (NZ) Limited.
- Mithun, M. (1998). The significance of diversity in language endangerment and preservation. In L. A. Grenoble and L. J. Whaley (eds.) *Endangered Languages: Current Issues and Future Prospects*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moag, R. F. (1979). The linguistic adaptations of the Fiji Indians. In V. Mishra. (ed.) *Rama's Banishment: A Centenary Tribute to the Fijian Indians 1879-1979*. Auckland: Heinemann Educational Books (NZ) Limited.
- (1986). Diglossia versus bidialectalism: Hindi in Fiji and in eastern Uttar Pradesh. In B. Krishnamurti (ed.) *South Asian Languages: Structure, Convergence and Diglossia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.

- Mohan, P. R. (1978). *Trinidad Bhojpuri: A morphological study*. PhD thesis, University of Michigan.
- (1990). The rise and fall of Trinidad Bhojpuri. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 85: 21-30.
- Mohan, P. and P. Zador. (1986). Discontinuity in a life cycle: The death of Trinidad Bhojpuri. *Language* 62(2): 291-319.
- Moorghen, P. M. and N. Z. Domingue. (1982). Multilingualism in Mauritius. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 34: 51-66.
- Morpurgo Davies, A. (1986). Karl Brugmann and late nineteenth-century linguistics. In T. Bynon and F. R. Palmer (eds.) *Studies in the History of Western Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Mühlhäusler, P. (1997). *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* (Revised ed.). London: University of Westminster Press.
- Mukherjee, A. (1996). *Language Maintenance and Language Shift: Panjabis and Bengalis in Delhi*. New Delhi: Bahri Publications.
- Muysken, P. (1995). Code-switching and grammatical theory. In L. Milroy and P. Muysken (eds.) *One Speaker, Two Languages: Cross Disciplinary Perspectives in Code-Switching*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Muysken, P. and N. Smith. (eds.) (1986). *Substrata versus Universals in Creole Genesis: Papers from the Amsterdam Creole Workshop, April 1985*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

- Myers-Scotton, C. (1992). Codeswitching as a mechanism of deep borrowing, language shift and language death. In M. Brenzinger (ed.) *Language Death: Factual and Theoretical Explorations with Special Reference to East Africa*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Nagapen, A. (1996). *Histoire de la Colonie Isle de France - Ile Maurice, 1721 - 1968*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Diocèse de Port Louis.
- Nath, D. (1950). *A History of Indians in British Guiana*. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Limited.
- Neerpath, N. C. (1986). *Le système verbal du bhojpuri de l'île Maurice*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- (2000). Bhojpuri in overseas Indian communities: Linguistic and cultural interaction. (Paper presented at the 2nd World Bhojpuri Convention. Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Mauritius).
- Ng Foong Kwong. (1999). Intersections culturelles: immigrants indiens et chinois de l'île Maurice (19ème - début 20ème siècle). *Rencontre avec l'Inde: La diaspora indienne à Maurice* 28(2): 9-23.
- Nirsimloo-Gayan, S. (ed.) (2000). *Towards the Making of a Multicultural Society*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Noels, K. A., G. Pon and R. Clément. (1996). Language, identity, and adjustment: The role of linguistic self-confidence in the acculturation process. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 15(3): 246-264.

- Ohannessian, S. and G. Ansre. (1975). Some reflections on the uses of sociolinguistic surveys. In S. Ohannessian., C. A. Ferguson and E. C. Polomé (eds.) *Language Surveys in Developing Nations: Papers and Reports on Sociolinguistic Surveys*. Arlington, Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Pachai, B. (ed.) (1979). *South Africa's Indians: The Evolution of a Minority*. Washington: University Press of America.
- Pandharipande, R. (1992). Language of religion in South Asia: The case of Hindi. In E. C. Dimock, B. B. Kachru and Bh. Krishnamurti (eds.) *Dimensions of Sociolinguistics in South Asia (Papers in memory of Gerald B. Kelly)*. New Delhi: Oxford and I B H Publishing.
- Pandit, P. B. (1978). Language and identity. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 16: 93-108.
- Parasher, S. V. (1980). Mother tongue - English diglossia: A case study of educated Indian bilinguals' language use. *Anthropological Linguistics* 22(4): 151-162.
- Patnaik, B. N. and I. Pandit. (1986). Englishization of Oriya. In Bh. Krishnamurti (ed.) *South Asian Languages: Structure, Convergence and Diglossia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Pattanayak, D. P. (ed.) (1990). *Multilingualism in India*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Limited.
- (1998). Mother tongue: An Indian context. In R. Singh (ed.) *The Native Speaker: Multilingual Perspectives*. New Delhi: Sage Publishers.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Platt, J. T (1977). A model for polyglossia and multilingualism (with special reference to Singapore and Malaysia). *Language in Society* 6(3): 361-378.
- Prabhakaran, V. (1998). Multilingualism and language shift in South Africa: The case of Telugu, an Indian language. *Multilingua* 17(2/3): 297-319.
- Prithipaul, D. (1976). *A Comparative Analysis of French and British Colonial Policies of Education in Mauritius, 1735-1889*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Imprimerie Idéale.
- Rai, Alok. (2001). *Hindi Nationalism*. New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited.
- Rai, Amrit. (1984). *A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi/Hindavi*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Rajabally, M. H. (1997). *La Couleur du Communalisme*. Pailles, Mauritius: Arts Graphiques Modernes.
- Ramharai, V. (1998). Language, literature and national identity. In M. Carter (ed.) *Consolidating the Rainbow: Independent Mauritius, 1968-1998*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Centre for Research on Indian Ocean Societies.
- Ramdoyal, R. D. (1977). *The Development of Education in Mauritius, 1710-1976*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Mauritius Institute of Education.
- (1983). Proposals for a rational language policy for the development of an integrated Mauritian personality. In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.

- (1990). *The Education System of Mauritius: Proposals for Structural Reform*. Port Louis, Mauritius: Ministry of Education.
- Ramyead, L. P. (1984). Indian languages in Mauritius: A perspective. In U. Bissoondoyal (ed.) *Indians Overseas: The Mauritian Experience*. Moka: Mauritius.
- (1985). *The Establishment and Cultivation of Modern Standard Hindi in Mauritius*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Rastorgueva, V. S. (1954/1992). *A Short Sketch of Tajik Grammar*. H. H. Paper (trans.). Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University.
- Renfrew, C. (1987). *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*. London: Penguin Books.
- Robillard, D. de. (1991). "Lalang pena lezo": quelques réflexions fragmentaires sur le problème du choix de la langue d'alphabétisation à l'Ile Maurice (dans la perspective des projets GRAF). In R. Tirvassen and D. de Robillard (eds.) *L'alphabétisation fonctionnelle (à l'Ile Maurice et dans les autres îles du sud-ouest de l'océan indien)*. Actes du colloque 22 -26 Août 1990 [Ile Maurice]. Mauritius: Editions de l'Océan Indien.
- Robins, R. H. and E. M. Uhlenbeck. (eds.) (1991). *Endangered Languages*. Oxford: Berg Publishers Limited.
- Romaine, S. (1983). Problems in the sociolinguistic description of communicative repertoires among linguistic minorities. In Dabène, L., M. Flasaquier and J. Lyons (eds.) *Status of Migrant's Mother Tongues (Contributions to the Fourth ESF Workshop held in Granada on 23-25 November 1981)*. Strasbourg, France: European Science Foundation.

- (1996). The status of sociological models and categories in explaining language variation. In R. Singh (ed.) *Towards a Critical Sociolinguistics*. CILT Vol.125. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ross, J. A. (1979). Language and the mobilisation of ethnic identity. In H. Giles and B. Saint-Jacques (eds.) *Language and Ethnic Relations*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Rubin, J. (1968). *National Bilingualism in Paraguay*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Sachdev, I., R. Bourhis, S. W. Phang and J. D'Eye. (1987). Language attitudes and vitality perceptions: Intergenerational effects amongst Chinese Canadian communities. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 6 (3-4): 287-307.
- Sachdev, I. and A. Wright. (1996). Social influence and language learning: An experimental study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 15 (3): 230-245.
- Saha, P. (1970). *Emigration of Indian Labour 1834-1900*. Delhi: People's Publishing House.
- Saint Pierre, B. de (1773). *Voyage à L'Isle de France*. (Original text with notes and index by R. Chaudenson, 1986). Mauritius: Editions de l'Océan Indien.
- Sambasiva Rao, G. and R. Sharma (1989). *A Sociolinguistic Survey of Mauritius*. Mysore, India: Central Institute of Indian Languages.
- Sankoff, G. (1980). *The Social Life of Language*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Saussure, F. de (1972). *Cours de linguistique générale*. Paris: Editions Payot.

- (1984). *Recueil de publications scientifiques de Ferdinand de Saussure*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints.
- Saville-Troike, M. (1989). *The Ethnography of Communication: An Introduction* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher Limited.
- Saxena, M. (1995). *A sociolinguistic study of Panjabi Hindus in Southall: Language maintenance and shift*. Ph.D thesis, York University.
- Schiffman, H. F. (1996). *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. London: Routledge.
- (1997). Diglossia as a sociolinguistic situation. In F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited.
- Schmidt, R. L. (1999). *Urdu: An Essential Grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Schuhardt, H. (1883-88). *Kreolische Studien*. (8 Vols.) Vienna: Gerold.
- Shackle, C. and R. Snell (1990). *Hindi and Urdu since 1800: A Common Reader*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Shapiro, M. C. and H. Schiffman. (1981). *Language and Society in South Asia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Shukla, S. (1981). *Bhojpuri Grammar*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Siegel, J. (1985). Koines and koineization. *Language in Society* 14: 357-78.

- (1987). *Language Contact in a Plantation Environment: A Sociolinguistic History of Fiji*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1988). The development of Fiji Hindustani. In R. K. Barz and J. Siegel (eds.) *Language Transplanted: The Development of Overseas Hindi*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Simmons, A. S. (1982). *Modern Mauritius: The Politics of Decolonization*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Simon, B. L. (1986). *Bilingualism and language maintenance in Banaras*. Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison.
- Singaravélou. (1990). Indians in the French overseas departments: Guadeloupe, Martinique, Reunion. In C. Clarke, C. Peach and S. Vertovec (eds.) *South Asians Overseas: Migration and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Singh, B. B. (1975). *L'Inde et L'Ile Maurice*. Port Louis, Mauritius: G. Gangaram.
- Singh, I. (2000). *Pidgins and Creole: An Introduction*. London: Arnold.
- Singh, R. (ed.) (1998). *The Native Speaker: Multilingual Perspectives*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Singh, R., J. Lele and G. Martohardjono. (1996). Communication in a multilingual society: Some missed opportunities. In R. Singh (ed.) *Towards a Critical Sociolinguistics*. CILT Vol.125. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Smith, P. M., H. Giles and M. Hewstone (1980). Sociolinguistics: A social psychological perspective. In N. R. St. Clair and H. Giles (eds.) *The Social and Psychological Contexts of language*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Souchon, H. (1983). *Le mythe des quinze langues pour un million*. In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Souza, C. de (2000). *The present educational context in Mauritius and the building of a multicultural society*. In S. Nirsimloo-Gayan (ed.) *Towards the Making of a Multicultural Society*. Moka, Mauritius: Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Srivastava, R. N. and R. S. Gupta. (1990). *Literacy in a multilingual context*. In D. P. Pattanayak (ed.) *Multilingualism in India*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Limited.
- Stein, P. (1982). *Connaissance et emploi des langues à l'Ile Maurice*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- (1986). *The value and problems of census data on languages: An evaluation of the language tables from the 1983 population census of Mauritius*. In J. A. Fishman (et al.) (eds.) *The Fergusonian Impact. Vol.2: Sociolinguistics and the Sociology of Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Stewart, W. A. (1968). *A sociolinguistic typology for describing national multilingualism*. In J. A. Fishman (ed.) *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. The Hague: Mouton Publishers.
- Sturtevant, E. H. (1907). *Linguistic Change*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Tabouret-Keller, A. (1968). *Sociological factors of language maintenance and language shift: A methodological approach based on European and African examples*. In S. Fishman, C. Ferguson and J. Das Gupta (eds.) *Language Problems of Developing Nations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

- (1972). A contribution to the sociological study of language maintenance and language shift. In J. A. Fishman (ed.) *Advances in the Sociology of Language*. Vol.2. The Hague: Mouton.
- (1997). Language and identity. In F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited.
- Tajfel. H. (1972). La categorization sociale. In S. Moscovici (ed.) *Introduction à la psychologie sociale*. Vol.1. Paris: Larousse.
- Taylor, D. M. and W. E. Lambert. (1996). The meaning of multiculturalism in a culturally diverse urban American area. *Journal of Social Psychology* 136(6): 727-740.
- Teelock, V. (1998). *Bitter Sugar: Sugar and Slavery in 19th Century Mauritius*. Moka, Mauritius, Mahatma Gandhi Institute.
- Thakerar, J., H. Giles and J. Cheshire. (1982). Psychological and linguistic parameters of speech accommodation theory. In C. Fraser and K. Scherer (eds.) *Advances in the Social Psychology of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Timm, L. A. (1980). Bilingualism, diglossia and language shift in Brittany. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25: 29-41.
- Tinker, H. (1976). *Separate and Unequal: India and the Indians in the British Commonwealth, 1920-1950*. London: C. Hurst and Company.
- (1993). *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas 1830-1920* (2nd ed.). London: Hansib Publishing Limited.

- Tirvassen, R. (1992). Les langues et l'éducation à l'Ile Maurice: convergences et divergences. In Comité International des études créoles. *Etudes créoles: culture, langue, société*. Vol.15, No:2. Ottawa, Quebec: Didier Erudition.
- (1993). Le bilinguisme créole/français des enfants à l'Ile Maurice: Etude des compétences linguistiques et communicationnelles en créole et en français d'enfants mauriciens en début de scolarisation. In F. Lumwamu, M. Missakiri, C. Ntsadi and R. Tirvassen (eds.) *Les enfants, les langues, l'école: les cas du Congo et de Maurice*. Paris: Didier Erudition.
- (1994). *Communications et développement: le cas de Maurice*. Paris: Didier Erudition.
- Tiwari, U. N. (1960). *The Origin and Development of Bhojpuri*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society. Monograph Series, Vol.10.
- Toussaint, A. (1977). *History of Mauritius*, W. E. F. Ward (trans.). London: Macmillan Education Limited.
- Tsitsipis, L. D. (1997). Language contact, language shift and power relations. In W. Wölck and A. De Houwer (eds.) *Recent Studies in Contact Linguistics*. Belgium: University of Brussels.
- Turner, J. C. (1982). Towards a social redefinition of the social group. In H. Tajfel (ed.) *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, R. L. (1975). *Collected Papers, 1912-1973*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Unmole, H. (ed.) (1983). *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.

- Unnuth, A. (1983). Whither Hindi? In H. Unmole (ed.) *Proceedings of the National Seminar on the Language Issue in Mauritius*. Réduit, Mauritius: University of Mauritius.
- Valdman, A. (ed.) (1977). *Pidgin and Creole Linguistics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Veltman, C. (1991). Theory and method in the study of language shift. In J. R. Dow (ed.) *Language and Ethnicity: Focusschrift in Honour of Joshua A. Fishman on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Vol.2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Verdoodt, A. F. (1997). The demography of language. In F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Verma, M. K. (1991). The Hindi speech community. In S. Alladina and V. Edwards (eds.) *Multilingualism in the British Isles*. Vol.2. London: Longman.
- (1996). Language endangerment and the non-indigenous minority languages in the UK. In J. D. Bobaljik et al. (eds.) *Papers on Language Endangerment and the Maintenance of Linguistic Diversity*. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics. Vol.28. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MITWP.
- Verma, S. K. (1984). *The Changing Roles of Asian Languages: A Study in Register Creation*. Singapore: National University of Singapore.
- Virahsawmy, D. (1984). Le système éducatif mauricien: problèmes et possibilités. *Etude Créole* 7(1): 116-25.
- Wardhaugh, R. (1987). *Languages in Competition: Dominance, Diversity and Decline*. Oxford: Blackwell Limited.

- (1998). *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (3rd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited.
- Weinreich, U. (1964). *Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems*. The Hague: Mouton and Company.
- Weinreich, U., M. Herzog and W. Labov. (1968). Empirical foundations for a theory of language change. In W. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel (eds.) *Directions for Historical Linguistics*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.
- Williams, G. (1979). Language, group allegiance and ethnic interaction. In H. Giles and B. Saint-Jacques (eds.) *Language and Ethnic Relations*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Wodak, R. and G. Benke. (1997). Gender as a sociolinguistic variable: New perspectives on variation studies. In F. Coulmas (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited.
- Woolard, K. A. (1989). Language convergence and language death as social processes. In N. C. Dorian (ed.) *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1991). Linkages of language and ethnic identity: Changes in Barcelona, 1980-1987. In J. R. Dow (ed.) *Language and Ethnicity: Focusschrift in Honour of Joshua A. Fishman on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*. Vol.2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Yvan Martial Publications Limitée. (n/d). *Répertoire de la presse mauricienne, Mai 1997*. Vacoas, Mauritius: Yvan Martial Publications Limitée.